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PRE BUDDHIST INDIA

A POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC,
SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF
ANCIENT INDIA BASED MAINLY ON THE
JĀTAKA STORIES

BY

Narabheram

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TO
THE DAWN
OF LOVE

—“*Between the shores of Me and Thee,
there is the loud·ocean, my own surging self,
which I long to cross*”—

*“Let me light my lamp”
says the Star,
“And never debate
if it will help to remove the darkness”
—Rabindranath Tagore.*

FOREWORD

INDIAN History is progressing fast in the direction of its object, the past. Some years ago the History of India began with Alexander's campaign through the Panjab and the East. Then the rise of Buddhism and Jainism was added. The present book deals with a period prior to the appearance of Gautama and Mahāvira. The book is all the more welcome since the author has taken as a subject a portion of that period which has been styled "the Dark Ages of India."

This denomination refers to the subjective state of ignorance of the students of history, rather than to the objective panorama of the past, which was not dark at all.

Illustrious kings ruled the country with justice and wisdom. Of one of them, Aśvapati Kaikeya, who ruled in the North-Western area, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V, 11, 5, states that when he got up in the morning he said: "In my country there are no thieves, nor misers, nor drunkards, nor people who do not perform sacrifices, nor ignorant, nor debauchees, nor much less harlots." Such personal statement of the king himself is a credit to the excellent administration that India enjoyed in that early age. The student of history, while going through the pages of this book, will easily detect some of the principles that later on crystalized in the immortal *Arthaśāstra* of Kautalya, and which were so much admired by the Greek envoy Megasthenes.

The economic conditions of India were also prosperous. Agriculture, mining, fisheries, farming, cottage industries, building industries and other sources of wealth are described minutely, and sometimes with such abundance of detail as to make us believe we are living in those remote ages. Trade was brisk, and the reports we have about sea-voyages incline us to believe that it was the cause of many settlements of Indians abroad, both in the east and in the west.

Special interest is attached to the sociological conditions of the country, which may be wisely compared with those prevailing at present. The superiority of the kings in matters spiritual is indeed an eye-opener which has not been sufficiently accounted for. Those good administrators of the country were also profound thinkers and wise philosophers, at whose school many eminent brāhmanas learned the secrets of the ancient lore of India. Some authors have seen in them representatives of the old pre-Aryan rulers of the country, and if this view is finally accepted, it will lead us to revise our opinion about the origin of Indian

philosophy and asceticism. Such kings, whose intellectual pursuits still shine after perhaps thirty centuries, fostered liberal education in their dominions. It was precisely during this period that the first *āśrama* of life was constituted on practical bases. The agglomerations of *Brahmacārins* in the same towns were the *nuclei* of all those ancient famous centres of learning, the main ones being Takṣaśilā and Vārāṇasī, which were rivalled by Nālandā, Odantapura, Vallabhipura and others in a subsequent historical period.

This one, the history of which Mr. Ratilal N. Mehta presents to the public to-day, is a period of extraordinary importance, during which the final amalgamation of the two main races of India, the Drāvidians and the Āryans, which began in the *Vedic* period, was accomplished. The student of Proto-Indian History will easily discover the constituent elements of this amalgamation in many pages of this book. This is a subject of research which Mr. Mehta had neither time nor opportunity to study in the course of his post-graduate research. It was totally outside the scope of his work. Other students may undertake it, and the country will be grateful to them for it. It is a subject about which much *darkness* still prevails in the minds of many.

The main source of information which the author has tapped has been the collection of Buddhist stories of the pre-births of the Buddha, called the *Jātakas*. These stories undoubtedly depict conditions and situations of a period of time prior to that of the revered teacher. The fact that similar episodes are at times found in the *Jātakas* and in the *Mahābhārata* seems to point to a common older source, which is now lost. About the historicity of these stories we cannot doubt at present. The very incidental way in which they are narrated, is a guarantee of their trustworthiness and accuracy. Whenever the mythical element is introduced, it is easily detected.

The work of Mr. Ratilal N. Mehta is a credit to him and to this Institute, his *Alma Mater*. His views are always impartial, his method is faultless, his criticism well founded and precise. I hope that his work will be widely read throughout this country and abroad, and help to dispel the darkness still perhaps existing in some minds, and to disclose the brilliancy of that ancient culture which was the foundation of the culture and achievements of the Indians of later periods.

H. HERAS, S.J.

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July 23, 1939.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN the following pages a humble attempt has been made to visualise the picture of Ancient India through the *Jātaka* stories. Ever since the publication of these stories, scholars have attempted to draw from them as much help as they could to enhance their researches. They have been studied and utilised by various hands for shedding more light on the various aspects and problems of Ancient Indian History. And they have undoubtedly been recognised as an important source for this purpose.

A synthetic history embracing the long period through which Indian Life and Society have grown and developed is yet a *desideratum*. Before this is possible, an intensive study has to be made of the different ages through which they have grown. And this study of a particular age or period has to be made through different sources—literature, art, archaeology, ethnology, anthropology and the like. It is obvious that this is not the task for one hand. Various hands have to work to create a complete whole. Thus what Zimmer in his *Altindisches Leben* has done for the early *Vedic* Period, still remains to be done for the subsequent periods. The Buddhist and Jaina literatures together must yield a sufficiently clear picture of Ancient India of the period immediately encircling round the figures of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. An attempt in this direction was made years ago by Prof. Rhys Davids, in his *Buddhist India*. But he mostly relied upon Buddhist sources, and that too not exhaustively, whereas the study of the history of the Buddhist period, to be complete, must be made by a careful collation of different sources, the *Upaniṣadic*, the Buddhist and the Jaina literatures, over and above the archaeological and other evidences. Every piece of literature has to be thoroughly ransacked. It was with this object that I took up the study of the *Jātakas*—a part of the extensive Buddhist literature.

As I said before, these stories have been utilised by various scholars. Richard Fick has studied these stories chiefly from the social point of view, keeping always the 'Caste' and the 'Priest' before his eyes, which fact, in my opinion, has at times hindered a purely impartial judgment. Dr. Ray Chaudhury has derived from these stories such data as could be helpful to his '*Political History*,' and this again not exhaustively. Mrs. Rhys Davids and Mr. N. S. Subbarao have given us the '*Economic Conditions*.' For '*Administrative Aspect*' something has been done by Mr. Beni Prasad in his work '*The State in Ancient India*.' Lastly I must mention a really valuable work by Dr. B. C. Sen, '*Studies in*

Jātakas, published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, dealing mainly with political and administrative matters. But all these studies were more or less isolated. In the absence, therefore, of a work comprehensive and critical in its treatment, and systematically written with a view to present a connected idea of Ancient Indian life as portrayed in these stories, I feel myself justified in taking up this subject. I have endeavoured, not only to gather all that research has done, but to put it in a systematic scientific and connected narrative form.

The work has, for convenience's sake, been divided into five Sections, dealing with five different aspects : political, administrative, economic, social and geographical. As regards political history, there are several chronological strata dimly recognisable in the stories. The kings and princes there mentioned did not belong to a single period of time : they were often wide apart from one another in respect of age. So that the information derived goes to supplement our knowledge of the political history from the *Vedic* times down to the time of the Buddha. Only the last chapter of this section, entitled the *Mahājanapada Period*, gives us a fair idea of the period immediately preceding the Buddha. And all the remaining aspects of life, namely, administrative, economic, social and geographical, delineated in the stories, fall, in my opinion, in this *Mahājanapada* or pre-Buddha period. Hence the title of this work.

It is a moot point whether history should be subjective or objective. To write objectively has been the avowed aim of historians from Herodotus to H. G. Wells. But it seems impossible for the historian to remain unperturbed over the vicissitudes in life which he observes. And even H. G. Wells had in the end to confess : "There never will be an outline of history written that is not tendential." These tendencies of the historian, his pre-conceived notions and prejudices, are bound to be interwoven in the delineation of the subject he treats. And what is wrong in it ? However unscientific this method of approach might be termed, it has its value and its interest. The historian should not dive into an ever-receding and irrevocable past, simply for the sake of the past. He has to reevaluate the past in the light of the present. Instead of appearing in the fashion of a colourless spectator, he has to assume the rôle of a representative of the people of whom he speaks. He is to share their thoughts and reciprocate, or at least understand, their sentiments. He may grow eloquent over their glorious achievements, as he should stress their drawbacks. In this way, attempting to write history is, inevitably though

imperceptibly, like subjecting oneself to psycho-analysis. It draws out not only the historian's opinions but his 'repressions,' not only his intellectual character but its 'complexes.' Even those historians who profess to be most impartial and purely objective have their hidden snags and tags.

Anyhow, it is quite obvious that every historical study should have more than purely academic interest. Up till now it has always been regarded as dry as dust, a jumble of dates, an unmeaning medley of wars and massacres. To have any value, history must be viewed as a kaleidoscope. It should be a presentation of life, complete and whole.

The *Jātakas* offer us a clear advantage in this respect. Though their aims and objects are not avowedly secular, they nevertheless depict society from an independent point of view, give details, specially of the darker phases of social life, with the fullness and variety that we naturally miss in the 'sacred texts.' We can see here merchants and artisans, workers and peasants, women and children, old people and ascetics, Brahmins and Princes—all engrossed in their daily life. The characters we witness are lively and realistic, and the incidents narrated are also taken from real life. In the words of Prof. Rhys Davids, the *Jātakas* are the oldest, most complete and most important collection of Folklore extant.

I am not unmindful of my inabilities. My claim to these stories as being a faithful representation of the pre-Buddha period will particularly be questioned. The fear of uncertain ground on which I was standing at first prevented me from giving the title which has been given to this work, and I thought it wise to make myself secure by vaguely describing the work as *Ancient India in the Jātakas*. But repeated reading of the book, page after page, while plodding through the unending proofs, reassured me, and finally encouraged me in giving the present title. I leave it now to the readers to decide whether the title is justified or not. But I take consolation in the fact that there was, after all, very little possibility of change in the general *milieu* of Ancient Indian life within a few centuries, as its persistent conservatism is only too well-known.

The present work is a revised form of the Thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the M.A. Degree in 1935. It took two years for it to go into the Press, and it is after about the same period that it comes out of the Press, to see the light of day. Four long years have thus passed by since it was written. Journalism having lured me away from an academic career, it was well-nigh impossible for me to keep pace with the fast-growing

tempo of Historical Research Work. If, therefore, the work suffers from any defects, I crave the indulgence of my readers. I shall deem my labours amply rewarded if the work lightens even a single obscure corner of our Ancient History.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., the Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, but for whose guidance and constant encouragement it would have been impossible to produce this work.

Finally, I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the substantial financial help it has granted towards the cost of the publication of this book.

RATILAL MEHTA.

Bombay, September 4, 1939.

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TRACING UP

THE HOMOGENEITY OF THE JĀTAKAS AND THEIR AGE

THEIR
NUMBER. The *Jātakas*, on which the whole of the present work is based, are, as is well-known, a collection of stories included in the *Khud-daka-Nikāya* of the *Suttapitaka* of the Pāli Canon. These stories, as edited by Fousböll, number 547. But as in some of these numbers, several stories are included, while others only contain references to later *Jātakas*, and also as sometimes the same stories recur in different versions, the figure 547 does not agree exactly with the actual number of the stories.¹ The *Culla-Niddesa* gives the number as 500 (*pañca-jātaka-satāni*).² The collection is obviously incomplete. It does not, and could not, include all the stories current at the time of its final redaction or compilation, probably in the 5th century A.D.;³ neither does it include all the inscribed episodes still to be seen on the remnants of the Barhut railing,⁴ nor does it include all *Jātaka*-like stories to be found in other canonical works.⁵

DIFFERENT
PARTS. Now, every single *Jātaka*, in the present collection, consists of the following parts: (a) An introductory story, *Paccuppannavatthu*, i.e., 'story of the present time' which relates on what occasion the Buddha himself told the monks the *Jātaka* in question; (b) *Atītavatthu*, i.e., 'story of the past' in which a story of one of the former births of the Buddha, in other words, a *Bodhisatta* story, according to later Buddhist dogmatics, is told; (c) the *Gāthās*, verses which, as a rule, constitute the *Jātaka* of the *Akkhāna* type and form part of the story of the past, are supplemented by the *abhisambuddhagāthās* as these latter are generally termed;⁶ (d) short commentary (*Veyyākaraṇa*) in which the *Gāthās* are explained word for word; and (e) the 'connexion' (*samodhāna*) in which, finally, the personages of the 'story of the present' are identified, by the Buddha himself, with those of the 'story of the past,' and the psychological effect of the discourse on the mind of the hearers is described. These are the different parts which form a single

1. The *Culla-Niddesa*, II, p. 80, an old commentary (probably of 1st or 2nd century B.C.) on the *Pārāyanavagga* of the *Sutta-Nipāta*, speaks of 500 *Jātakas*: Fa-hien too, (*Record of the Buddhist kingdoms*, transl. by J. Legge, Oxford, 1886, p. 106) speaks of pictures illustrating '500 *Jātakas*' which he had seen in Ceylon. See Barua, *I.H.Q.*, I, p. 247; II, pp. 723 ff. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 124 n. 1. See now, B.C. Law, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1939, pp. 241-255.

2. *Culla-Niddesa*, II, p. 80; noticed by Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 247; also *Indian Culture*, Vol. V, No. 2.

3. The authorship of Buddhagoṣa (*Gandhavarīsa*, *J.P.T.S.* 1886, p. 59), has been questioned: Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. LXIII ff; Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends* (*H.O.S.*) pp. 49, 59 ff. But see Law, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1939, p. 243.

4. Cf. Foucher, *J.B.O.E.S.*, VI, pp. 470, 472-3.

5. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, I, p. 164; also *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Intro., p. lxxxI; cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* II, p. 115 n., 4; Gokuldas De, *Cal. Rev.* Aug. 1929, 256 ff. B. C. Law, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1939, pp. 241-55, puts a strong case for the traditional number 550.

6. i.e., 'verses spoken by the Buddha after his enlightenment'. Cf. Senart, *J.A.*, 1901 pp. 385 ff.

Jātaka in this huge narrative work, the *Jātakatṭhavanṇanā*. Out of these, again, we have chosen to take our stand, for drawing up a picture of Ancient India, only on the 'story of the past' (prose) and the *Gāthās* or verses which both easily join one another and together form a beautiful whole (*Atītaavatthu*). The stories of the present (*Paccuppannavatthu*) are left aside, for they are sometimes only duplicates of the 'stories of the past,' sometimes foolish and entirely worthless inventions, and at best narratives which have been borrowed from other parts of the Canon, e. g., *Vinaya-piṭaka*, *Suttanipāta*, *Apadāna* or from other commentaries, and are not therefore as valuable as the actual *Jātakas*, or the 'stories of the past.' Similarly the commentary (*veyyākaraṇa*) and the 'connexion' (*samodhāna*), being solely the work of the later-day compiler, are left out.'

Now, the actual *Jātaka* is a story in which the *Bodhisatta* plays a part in one of his former births, whether as the hero of the story or as a secondary character or as a spectator only. So that it was possible to change into a *Jātaka* any story which was told among the people or which was known from literature, by identifying the best character, according to the Buddhists who handled it, with the *Bodhisatta*, or the Buddha himself in some previous birth. In this way all kinds of stories, fairy-tales, fables, anecdotes, traditional ballads (*akkhāna : anussuti*) were utilised,² And even the Buddha, as we read in the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, for instance,³ one of the earlier Buddhist Sanskrit texts, taught by means of *Sūtras*, *Gāthās*, legends and *Jātakas*.

We do not however mean to enter into a detailed discussion about the history of the *Jātakas* as we have them, their origin, growth and development when and how they were included in the Buddhist canon in their original form, and how they were finally compiled in their present form. These problems, very intricate indeed, are more or less exhaustively dealt with by other scholars.⁴ In order to understand, as far as possible, the real nature of the basis on which we stand, we have to note certain important points with the help derived from the painstaking researches of these eminent scholars.

Mr. Gokuldas De, in one of his essays on the *Significance of the Jātakas*, has conclusively shown that, bereft of the *Bodhisatta* idea, a *Jātaka* originally consisted of a verse or verses embodying in a concise form a past episode, generally with a moral understood with the help of a prose-narration which for the most part remained implicit rather than explicit, changing according to circumstances.⁵ That originally the *Jātakas* were folk-tales in verses

1. See Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 123; Gokuldas De, *Cal. Rev.* Feb. 1931, pp. 298 ff.

2. See Winternitz in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VII, p. 491.

3. II, 44 (S.B.E., XXI, p. 45). The division of the Buddhist Scriptures into nine *aṅgas*, viz., *Suttam*, *geyyam*, *veyyākaraṇam*, *gāthā*, *udānam*, *itivuttakam*, *jātakam*, *abbhutadhammam* *vedallam*, is very old : *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. IV ; See Thomas, *I.H.Q.*, IX, 32 ff.

4. The latest among them are Dr. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 113-56, and Dr. Bimala Churn Law, *A History of Pāli Literature*; also Gokuldas De, *Significance of the Jātakas*, being a reprint of articles published in the *Calcutta Review*. Law, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1939, pp. 241-55.

5. *Calcutta Review*, Jan. 1930, pp. 78 ff.

is not only a natural assumption but has been very ably established by him.¹ The Sinhalese tradition also asserts that during the process of translation into the Old Sinhalese language and retranslation into Pāli of the *Jātakatṭhakathā*, it was only the prose which was open to this process, the *Gāthās* were preserved unchanged in Pāli. And it is only these *Gāthās*, the verses, which were included in the Canon whenever it was compiled.² The same tradition says that the canonical texts were first transmitted orally, until under the Sinhalese king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, in the first century B.C., they were committed to writing, and this, according to Dr. Winternitz, sounds quite trustworthy.³ Originally both prose and verse of the *Jātakas* came down orally; but naturally the prose had a less stable form than the verse, being more exposed to changes and enlargements, so that when the canon was composed, and subsequently when it was written down, in the 1st century B.C. as noticed above, only the verses retained their original form, whereas the rendering of the prose was at first entrusted to the reciters who could recite the verses more faithfully than the prose, and it was only at a later period committed to writing by Commentators.⁴ As Mr. Gokuldas De says, the *Jātakas* as a collection of selected verses go back to the time of the very Buddha if not earlier still.⁵ "...And their antiquity will not preclude the possibility of a prose interpretation in the light of their progenitor following them from the very beginning. Though there is ample evidence in support of the fact that, ancient Indian literature was in verse, more so folk-lore called *Akkhānas*,⁶ the Buddha, who is said to have enjoined his disciples not to use them in practical life, could not have entirely done away with their application and, in the absence of developed Buddhist literature, must have had recourse to such passages from these *Akkhānas* as seemed helpful to the propagation of his Doctrine of *Ahimsā* and *Kamma* mixing them with his own interpretations for safeguarding against the influx

1. *Calcutta Review*, July, 1930, p. 68. It was hitherto thought that this canonical *Jātaka*, consisting entirely of verses, had been preserved in manuscripts. Frederick Weller, however, examined critically the Phyaṇa and two other MSS. from Mandalay of *Jātaka* verses, and came to the conclusion that these manuscripts only contain extracts from the *Jātaka* Commentary, but not the ancient verse-*Jātaka* which belongs to the canon. Dr. Winternitz while admitting that 'our hope and belief that the original verse *Jātaka* is still extant in MSS. has been shaken by Dr. Weller's arguments,' takes great pains to prove the existence of such an independent work: see *Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary*, in *I.H.Q.*, IV, pp. 1 ff. *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 117 and note.

2. Even the tradition about the Four councils (*saṅgītis*) wherein the canon is said to have been compiled is disputed: See Winternitz, *History of Ind. Lit.* II, pp. 3 ff. But see R. C. Majumdar, *Buddhist Councils in Buddhist studies*, pp. 26-72. On the whole the view of Dr. Winternitz (*op. cit.*, p. 7.) that it is possible that the canon was not compiled all at once, but at several meetings of the monks, the most important of which was the Pāṭaliputta session (in Aśoka's time) seems correct.

3. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 8.

4. Cf. W. Geiger 'Pāli Literature und Sprache,' in Bühler's *Grundriss*, 1916, pp. 14, 21; Lüder, *N.G.G.W.*, 1897, p. 119, n. 2. Oldenberg, *J.P.T.S.* (1910-2) p. 31. "Nevertheless we may certainly say that, on the whole, the *Gāthās* have a stronger claim to be regarded as canonical than have the prose portions of the *Jātakas*.... Moreover, the language of the *Gāthās* is more archaic than that of the prose": Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 119, 123; The difference of language is noted by Fousböll in Dines Anderson's *Index to the Jātakas*, *Intro.* pp. IV-VI.

5. *Calcutta Review*, July 1930, p. 83; See also J. Przyluski, *I. H. Q.*, V, p. 1.

6. Oldenberg's famous theory: *The Prose-and-Verses type of Narrative and the Jātakas*. *J.P.T.S.*, 1910-2, pp. 19 ff.; *I.H.Q.*, IV, p. 13.

of vulgar ideas and misconceptions. These interpretations augmented and modified by various other hands supplied the prose of the *Jātakas* from the time of their origin onwards.”¹

The above discussion, then, brief though it is, points to the pre-Buddhist origin of the *Jātakas*—*Jātakas* in the sense of versified stories. Says R. Otto Franke: “The bulk of *Jātaka-Gāthās* is the work of many, chiefly non-Buddhist authors, though one editor or compiler (not author) may, in recasting the whole, have altered and even added verses here and there.”² Authors of folklore have always remained anonymous: the story originates in the mind of one man: he composes the verses and puts them afloat among the folk: in course of time these verses become the common possession of the whole folk: the verses are thus preserved, with very rare modifications: the prose which is only a commentary on these verses changes from mouth to mouth, until it settles in the form in which it is finally committed to writing. This is, in general, the life-story of a folk-tale. The same can be said with regard to the *Jātaka* stories.

This is not to say that all the *Jātaka* stories, or even the *Gāthās* as embodied in our collection, were current at the time of the Buddha. It may however be conceded that the major portion was. It is also probable that even the verse-*Jātaka* of the canon, if it existed as an independent work, contained a smaller number of *Gāthās*. The number seems to have gradually increased. And as regards prose³, too, it is the work of the later-day commentator, say of the 5th century A.D. But this is about the language with which we have no concern at present. We have to see what kind of material has been used in that prose. Dr. Winternitz⁴ has analysed the different kinds and forms of narrative composition as represented in the *Jātaka*-collection: (a) First, there are narratives in prose with fable verses, fairy-tale stanzas, or aphorisms inserted here and there. Prose and verses easily join with one another, and together form such a beautiful whole that we cannot but assume that in these cases the *Jātakatṭhavaṇṇanā* used good old traditions for the prose also; (b) secondly, there are Ballads in dialogue form, in a mixture of conversational verses and narrative stanzas. The prose which we find in the collection is as a rule, in these cases, the entirely superfluous and insipid fabrication of some commentator, and as a matter of fact is not infrequently in actual contradiction to the verses; (c) thirdly, there are longer narratives, beginning in prose and continued in verse, or in which prose narration alternates with narrative and conversational verses. Here prose is indispensable, but the prose of the collection is not a faithful copy of the original prose, but greatly enlarged on, and disfigured, by commentatorial additions; (d) fourthly, there are collections of sayings on any subject, and, lastly (e) regular epics or epic fragments. In the latter two cases, the

1. *Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1931, pp. 279-80.

2. *W. Z. K. M.*, 20 (1906), p. 318.

3. Cf. Charpentier: “In general the *Jātaka* prose rests on an ancient tradition.” *Z. D. M.G.*, 66 (1912), pp. 41 ff. *W. Z. K. M.* 27, (1913) pp. 92 ff.

4. *History of Ind. Lit.*, II, pp. 124-5.

prose in the book is again a superfluous commentary, and mostly spiritless into the bargain.

But, as we said, it is the material, the contents of the stories which are of more importance than the language of the prose in which they are written. And we cannot deny that the major part of the stories in the collection preserves older material. Even

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.

Dr. Winternitz has to admit in the face of archaeological evidence of a compelling character, that in the prose, too, much that is old may have been preserved.¹ This evidence comes from the precious monuments, the *Stūpas* of Barhut and *Sāñchī*, of the second or third century B.C.² The importance of the reliefs on the stone-walls around these *stūpas*, from the point of view of the history of the *Jātakas*, can hardly be overestimated. On these reliefs are depicted scenes from the *Jātakas*³ including scenes which occur only in the prose. Not only this. Sometimes even the titles of the *Jātakas* are inscribed, which are sometimes the same as those in the *Jātaka* book, but which in other cases differ. These reliefs then prove, as admitted by Dr. Winternitz, that a number of stories, which are also to be found in the *Jātaka* collection, were in the second, perhaps even in the third century B.C., technically called '*Jātakas*' and were regarded as *Bodhisatta* stories⁴ and that accordingly they must have been known in India long before, and possibly belonged to the pre-Buddhist period.⁵

We do not at all dogmatise on the point. The composition of the *Jātaka*-collection has undoubtedly passed through several stages. It is utterly impossible to assign a definite date to the stories.

NO DEFINITE DATE.

Some of the poems and prose narratives must reach back to a great antiquity, even to the Vedic times. Some of the sayings, legends and ballads may belong to pre-Buddhist days. For the greater portion of the book, we may not urge any greater antiquity than the 3rd century B.C. And much of the prose decidedly belongs to the Christian era. In fact, we can generally hold, with Mr. Gokuldas De⁶ that the prose stories of the

1. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 120.

2. See specially Barua, *Barhut-Stone as a story-teller*.

3. More than thirty scenes have been as yet identified : See Barua, and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 78-99 ; also Oldenberg, *J. A. O. S.*, 18 (1897) pp. 183 ff. E. Hultzsch, *J. R. A. S.*, 1912 pp. 399 ff. 406 ; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 209 ; Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 61 ff.

4. But Gokuldas De, after a minute examination of the Barhut *Jātaka* label, comes to the conclusion that 'the *Jātakas* of Barhut have to be taken in their ordinary sense meaning stories or fables told by the Master in illustration of his Doctrine and not in the special sense in which the Buddhists used them in later times implying birth stories of the *Bodhisatta* before he became the Buddha.' *Cal. Rev.* Aug. 1929, pp. 257-64 : '*Barhut Jātakas in a New Light* !

5. *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, II, p. 121.

6. *Calcutta Review*, July, 1930, p. 83 : He has shown the growth of the *Jātaka* literature through these stages : Pre-Buddhist times—*Akkhānas* as popular folklores and ballads in Prakrit ; Time of Buddha and the 1st Council—*Jātakas* as popular folklore and ballads illustrating the doctrine of *Karma*, incorporated in *Āgama Pīṭaka* ; Second Council—*Suttanta Jātaka* and *Jātakas* as moral stories incorporated with the *Dhamma Vinaya* ; Third Council—*Jātaka* collection as a separate book of verses included in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* : special *Jātakas* as *Cariyā Pīṭaka* ; First Century A.D.—*Bodhisatta* vs. Devadatta stories from *Jātakas* and *Jātakas* as moral verses found in the *Milinda* ; Fifth Century A.D.—*Jātaka* verses found in the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* ; End of 5th Century A.D.—*Jātakas* of the *Jātaka* Book exclusively as birth stories of the *Bodhisatta* in *Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā*." *Ibid*, p. 84.

Jātaka-Atthakathā compiled about the latter part of the 5th century A.D., and looked upon as expansions or *vitthāras* of *Jātaka* verses, many of which as old as the time of the Buddha, some even still older, are really a compendium of facts with dates ranging from the time of their origin up to that of their final redaction, *i.e.*, from pre-Buddhistic times down to the 5th century A.D., while we maintain that except in very rare cases, the claim to pre-*Nikāya* antiquity of the verses constituting the real *Jātakas* must be generally accepted.

Thus, while recognising the uncertainty about the age of the *Jātakas*—
 THEIR HOMO- our source of enquiry—we are unable to act up to the injunc-
 GENEITY. tion laid down by Dr. Winternitz that ‘not only every large
 section and every single narrative but often also every single
gāthā will have to be tested independently as regards its age.’ While going
 minutely through the stories we have felt that they are more or less faithful
 in depicting the picture of ancient Indian society: this picture again seems
 to be a *homogeneous* one. Throughout, it seems, the story-teller, whoever
 he might be, has fixed his eyes on the period before the Buddha. Old verses
 may have been mixed up with new, and the prose considerably enlarged,
 the details of the contents may not *all* be assigned to an older period, but as
 Mr. B. C. Sen² has rightly observed, “the spirit of the old narrative was not
 sacrificed to novelty, and the literary embellishments, if introduced, did not
 apparently tend to produce an ill-assorted combination of things, belonging
 to different ages as found in many other works.”

We have set ourselves to the arduous task of presenting, as far as possible, a clear and comprehensive portrait of ancient Indian Society as reflected in the *Jātaka* stories. We have slowly but carefully gone through the whole of this huge collection, noted down each and every single fact contained in it and, in the end, tried to arrange the facts thus collected in a systematic narrative form. During this process, moreover, each and every fact has been minutely examined in the light of literary and other evidence of the surrounding period. We have already admitted that all the stories in this collection are handled by a compiler or compilers of about the 5th century A.D. And we have also shown that the major portion of the material thus handled had come down through several centuries. But we again lay the utmost emphasis on this fact, that the compiler (or compilers) had focussed his (or their) attention on the days before the birth of the Buddha. As we in these days, while narrating stories to our children, fix our eyes on the period of which we may be speaking, taking care that modern things and individuals do not find their way in our narrations, so must have the *Jātaka* compiler taken care to see that the stories he handled were not out of tune with the pre-Buddhistic conditions of society as he himself had come to know through tradition and literature. Thus it was that a fair degree of homogeneity was accomplished for this collection of stories. This homogeneity will readily

1. *Op. cit.*, II, p. 122. This is the task which some future Hopkins may well take up.

2. *Studies in Jātakas*, p. 169.



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inestimable value, not only as regards literature and art, but also from the point of view of the history of civilization¹. Through all these centuries the *Jātakas* have enriched, directly or indirectly, the literature of many other peoples and have therefore been of immense importance in universal literature.² Similarly Indian and non-Indian art was also enriched by the *Jātakas*. "They belong to the oldest subjects that were pictorially represented in India, and to-day they are still favourite themes for sculpture and painting in all Buddhist countries."³ They are found in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. on the stone walls of Barhut and Sāñchī, in the 2nd century A.D. on those of Amarāvati, and still later in the caves of Ajanṭā. Fa-hien in the 5th century A.D. saw in Abhayagiri in Ceylon five hundred *Jātakas* represented by figures. Hiuen-Tsiang saw many *Stūpas* on which the *Jātakas* were represented. And the temples of Boro-Budur in Jāvā (9th century) of Pagan in Burmā (13th century) and of Sukhodaya in Siām (14th century) are decorated by beautiful reliefs containing *Jātaka* illustrations.⁴

Such is the great value of these simple stories. They have penetrated deeply into the minds of the people among whom they have been told. Even to-day their popularity among Buddhist people is not lessened. To these stories the Sinhalese folk still listen all the night long with unaffected delight.⁵ In Burmā too the *Jātakas* are, and have been for centuries, the delight of both learned and unlearned, of monks and laymen alike.⁶ So also in Tibet, in China, and in other places where Buddhism has penetrated and flourished.⁷

We conclude with these instructive remarks of Prof. Rhys Davids: "The popularity of the *Jātakas* as amusing stories may pass away. How can it stand against the rival claim of the fairy tales of Science and the entrancing, many sided, story of man's gradual rise and progress? But though these less fabulous and more attractive stories shall increasingly engage the attention of ourselves and of our children, we may still turn with appreciation to the ancient book of the Buddhist *Jātaka* tales as a priceless record of the childhood of our race."⁸

1. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 156.

2. *Ibid*, p. 154, See also Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Intro, pp. l-xlvi

3. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 155.

4. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

5. See *I. A.*, XXXII, (1903) p. 340.

6. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. II, pt. I.

7. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 153-4.

8. *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Intro. lxxxvi-vii.

SECTION I
GLIMPSES OF POLITICAL HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

A SYSTEMATIC chronological framework, however essential it may be for a chapter on political history, cannot be expected from such a class of literature as the *Jātakas*. However we do get here and there in the *Jātakas*, a number of clues, hints, indications or some data which may really prove valuable in the resuscitation of loose facts of political history supplied by Tradition. Thus this section will be based on such indicative data, aided by external corroboration wherever possible. .

With the help derived from the *Vedic*, the *Epic* and the *Paurāṇic* traditions, we have tried to work out a plan by which to arrange the loose but varied mass of traditional historical facts embodied in the *Jātakas*, in some sort of chronological strata. “As Bacon said, Science is possible only on generalities. In a quest after the unknown, it is better to have an imperfect plan than no plan at all. In Science, a hypothesis has always, even when false, the advantage of suggesting researches and experiments, even though subsequently destroyed by these very researches and experiments. According to the inverse realization of the legend of Ugolin, every good theory is a coagulum of logical thought and certain number of known facts.”¹

In arriving at the plan of this work as suggested above, we have necessarily placed reliance upon other literary sources which preserve the names of kings and their traditional accounts, and which supply us with somewhat systematic and connected chronological strata based on generally accepted dates.²

On analysis of the contents of the *Jātakas* as regards political data, this plan would divide itself as follows :—

<i>Probable date.</i>				<i>Period in History.</i>
(1)	B. C. 2000-1400	..	..	.. <i>Ancient Period</i> : (a) famous kings, some of whom are mentioned in the <i>Vedic Literature</i> , mentioned only in the <i>Gāthās</i> ; (b) Ancient kings, who are treated in detail.
„	1400-1000	..	..	..
(2)	B. C. 1200-1000	..	..	.. <i>The Kuru Pañcāla Kings.</i>
(3)	„ 1200- 800	..	..	.. <i>Videha and the lesser Kingdoms.</i>
(4)	„ 800- 600	..	..	.. <i>The Mahājanapada Period :</i>

1. A. Banerji Sastri, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, pp. 390-91.

2. We should not, however, be unmindful of the fact, that the dates of these literary sources arranged by those eminent scholars, as the celebrated American savant W. D. Whitney said years ago, “are only pins set up to be bowled down again.” Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 25.

- (a) *Rise and Supremacy of Kāśī.*
- (b) *Nāga Ascendancy.*
- (c) *Fall of Kāśī.*
- (d) *Assaka-Kaliṅga.*

In accordance with the above sketch, the present section is divided into four Chapters dealing with the kings and traditions assigned to their respective periods. We do not, however, commit ourselves to an admission of the historicity or the authenticity of the individual kings or their accounts as herein given. We have stated the facts, compared them with others and suggested the hints or clues which may prove true in future. This is the only thing possible, we believe, in the present state of our knowledge of Ancient India, specially of the period just preceding the Buddha.



CHAPTER I

THE ANCIENT PERIOD

1. FAMOUS TRADITIONAL KINGS (2000-1400-B.C.)

IT WOULD REQUIRE a great amount of courage, now, to deny the fact that there was a *Kṣatriya* tradition side by side, and distinct from the *Brāhmanic* one, after the problem has so fervently and ably been thrashed out by Pargiter.¹ And it would be possible, though not quite correct to say that the *Jātakas* preserve a third type of tradition, distinct from the other two, *viz.*, the *popular tradition*—a tradition which was a common heritage of the simple folk, and which was utilised by different sectarian hands for their own purposes. It may not be regarded as quite pure and unbiassed, as it is handled by later Buddhist propagandists. But its essence, as here and there perceived, will be found to be clearly a popular one and hence interesting and valuable.

The *Purāṇas*, over and above giving the regular genealogical lists, name some of the most famous ancient kings under various titles. Thus, some were *Cakravartins* and others *Samrāts*; others, again, were those who became famous by giving gifts to Brāhmaṇas, and so on. The names of these traditionnal kings have been compiled by Pargiter² as follows :—

Māndhātṛ, Hariścandra, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Daśaratha and Rāma of Ayodhyā; Śaśabindu and Arjuna Kārtavīrya among the Yādavas; Duṣyanta, Bharata, Ajamīdha, Kuru and Śantanu among the Pauravas; Jahnu and Gādhi of Kānyakubja; Divodāsa and Pratardana of Kāśī; Vasu Caidya of Cedi and Magadha; Marutta Āvikṣita and Tṛṇabindu of the Vaiśāla Kingdom; and Uśīnara and Śivi of the Panjab Ānvas.³

Further, we know, the *Purāṇas* have preserved traditional accounts of these and other kings and they, also, reproduce 'eulogistic ballads' as those in praise of Māndhātṛ, Arjuna Kārtavīrya and others, which were current in those days.⁴

Now let us see how many of these names are to be found in the *Jātakas*, and what kinship does the *Jātaka* tradition about them bear with the *Vedic* and the *Paurāṇic* traditions. The discussion about the relation between the two does not fall within the purview of this section, since it has been tackled by a host of eminent scholars, though without definite results, and the question of priority, origin, or sources of different versions remains as vexed and undecided as ever.

1. See his papers in *J. R. A. S.*, p. 1908, 1910, 1913 and 1914. The question is thoroughly dealt with in his work *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 58-77; Keith's protestations against the theory in *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 118 ff.; 734 ff.; 1915, p. 799.

2. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 6-7; 39-42.

3. Cf. specially, the *Śoḍaśa-rājika* list given twice in the *Mahābhārata*, VII, 55 ff; XII 29 ff; also I, 1,222-7; *A. I. H. T.*, p. 39, where a notable inclusion is that of Rāma Jāmadagnya who is usually known as a great sage and not as a king.

4. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 15-16; 25.

The *Nimi Jātaka*,¹ has the following *gāthās* :—

“*Dudīpo Sāgaro Selo Mucalindò Bhagīraso
Usīnaro Atthako ca Assako ca Puthujjano
Ete c’aññe ca rājāno khattiyā Brāhmaṇā bahū
Puthuyaññaṃ yajitvāna Petāṃ te nātivattisun ;*”

and the *Mahānārada-kassapa Jātaka*² gives the following :—

“*Yathā ahu Dhatarattho Vessāmitto ca Atthako
Yāmata (-da) ggi
Usīnaro cāpi Sivi ca rājā
Parivārakā samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṃ
Ete c’aññe ca rājāno ye Sakkavisayaṃ gatā.*”

Resembling in some respects,³ but differing in others⁴ from, the *Paurāṇic śloka*s, these *gāthās* stand as distinct forms of composition embodying a distinct tradition. The kings mentioned in the above *gāthās* are distinctly spoken of as belonging to bygone days (*porāṇakarājāno*), and cited as illustrations from past history (*udāharaṇavasena*). Though the names are jumbled up together without any regard paid to a dynastic, genealogical or even a chronological order,⁵ most of these are included in Pargiter’s list given above and can be arranged in some order in the light of *Paurāṇic* chronology as established by the same scholar.

DUDĪPA or Dujīpa can be no other than the *Paurāṇic* Dilīpa. But the *Purāṇas* know of at least three Dilīpas, viz.,

(a) the father of Bhagīratha, (b) the father of Raghu and (c) the father of Pratiṭha of the Paurava line.⁶ The most famous amongst these is, however, decidedly the ‘Second Dilīpa’ who is styled ‘*Khatvāṅga*’ and who played a very important part in bringing Ayodhyā into prominence,⁷ and whose eulogy has been sung by the great poet Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa*.⁸ We should not therefore hesitate in identifying our Dujīpa with Dilīpa II, the *Ailavilā Khatvāṅga* of the *Purāṇas*. It is interesting to hear him praised in another place also, in a *gāthā* which runs as follows :

“*Mahānubhāvo vassasahassajīvī
Yo pabbaji dassaṇeyyo ulāro*

1. J. VI, p. 99-Gg. 420-421.

2. J. VI, p. 251-G. 1122. It seems to us that the third line of the verse should be shifted up to the second to fill up the gap which seems to have been wrongly put in the printed text of Fousboll.

3. For instance, in the general naming of the kings and the neumonic phrase ‘*Ete c’aññe*’—these and others. Cf. *MBH.*, I, 1,222.

4. For instance, in the use of ‘*Samaṇabrāhmaṇā*’ and ‘the *Peta* and *Sakka* worlds,’ which have a Buddhistic tinge.

5. So also in the *Purāṇas* : See *A. I. H. T.*, p. 42.

6. See Pargiter’s Table of Royal genealogies in *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 144-149.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 275.

8. *Raghuvamśa*, I-II.



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(or Śailaka) who was a *rājarṣi*-sage-king.¹ We cannot, however, locate him definitely in our list.

MUCALINDA or MUJALINDA. In another place in a *gāthā*² he is praised as a great sacrificer and as one who reached the divine Heaven :

“*Mahāsanam devam anomavaṇṇam*
Yo sappinā asakkhi jetum Aggim
So yaññatam tam varato yajitvā
dibbam gatim Mujalind’ ajjhagañchi.”

The name itself is indeed curious and at first sight seems to be irreconcilable. Mucukunda, the third son of the great Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśva, is a famous king in the *Purāṇas*, about whom fables had sprung up in course of time.³ It appears that we should equate Mucalinda with this Mucukunda. In doing this we are not quite without a base. There is nothing strange in the corruption or correction of the word *Mucukunda* into *Mucalinda* or *vice versa*. As a matter of fact, we find that if Mucukunda is the name of a lake,⁴ Mucalinda is so in our *Jātakas*.⁵ This similarity forces us, at least to suggest the proposed identification.

BHAGĪRASA is obviously the great king Bhagīratha of the *Paurāṇic* fame, included in Pargiter’s list given above. He is also mentioned in the *Vedic* literature.⁶ Our *Jātakas* have nothing more to say about him. According to the *Paurāṇic* genealogy, he comes four steps below Sagara.⁷

USĪNARA is mentioned in both the *gāthās* quoted above. He must be identified with his namesake mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and included in Pargiter’s list given above. A legendary story about him is given in the *Mahākaṇha Jātaka*.⁸ Sakka assumes the form of a hunter and, with Mātali made into a terrible hound, comes to Usīnara’s kingdom to punish the irreligious and restore religion. At the end he reveals his character, declares the Law and strengthens the waning power of religion.⁹ The Epic legend

1. Had ‘Sela’ anything to do with the Śailana school of teachers mentioned in the Vedic literature? See, *Ved. Ind.*, I p. 288; II, p. 394. The fact of the difference as to one being a king and the other a Brāhmaṇa teacher should not alone frighten us much, as we have glaring examples of kings like Viśvāmitra and others having turned Brāhmaṇas. Even the phrase ‘*Khattiyā Brāhmaṇā bahū*’ in our *gāthā*, itself seems to suggest that some of them were Brāhmaṇas. Cf., also Jaina epithet ‘*rājarṣi*’. Sela occurs as the name of a great Brāhmaṇa in the *Sela-Suttanta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 5, 2.

2. J., VI, p. 202-G. 874.

3. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 41, 176, 262.

4. De, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 132. Mucalinda is, according to the same authority, a name of a tank. *Ibid.* It occurs also as the name of a tree.

5. J., VI, pp. 519, 534-G. 2065; 585. Perhaps ‘*linda*’ and ‘*Kunda*’ mean a similar thing. I cannot decide it from Apte’s Dictionary. If they prove really to be so, we shall have a stronger proof for our identification. Mucalinda, in Pāli Literature, occurs also as a name of a mountain, a Nāga and a tree. See Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 21, note 6.

6. *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 6, 1, 2; Bhajeratha of the *R̥gveda*, X. 60, 2; *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 93. 94.

7. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 147 Bhagīratha is an ideal king in the epigraphical records. See, for instance, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 74.

8. J., IV, pp. 181-6.

9. Are we to read here a faint recollection of some religious upheaval?

about him is different. There he is depicted as rescuing and feeding the vulture¹ and giving away his flesh for the penguin.²

ATTHAKA. A natural Sanskritized equivalent for this would be *Aṣṭaka*. And one *Aṣṭaka* is known to have been a famous king, both in the *Vedic Literature*³ and the *Purāṇas*,⁴ and is stated to be one of the sons of Viśvāmitra. His connection with Viśvāmitra is attested also by the *Jātakas*, in that he is associated with him in both the traditional *gāthās* reproduced above. According to the *Purāṇas*, he succeeded Viśvāmitra in the throne of Kānyakubja.⁵

Atthaka is also mentioned in the prose and in the several *gāthās* of the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*⁶ as being contemporary with Bhīmaratha and Kālīṅga, all the three being stated, in the prose portion of the story, to be subordinates to King Daṇḍaki.⁷ Were these two then really one and the same? We do not think they were. As a matter of fact it seems to us, looking to the circumstances, that Atthaka of the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka* must be a mistake for Assaka.

ASSAKA seems at first sight to be a generic name. Indeed the *Jātakas* themselves speak of several Assakas⁸ who must however be placed much later in time. But if the present *gāthā* really means him to be an ancient king like the others there mentioned, he should rather be identified with Aśmaka of the *Purāṇas*, the son of Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa, who is said to have been a 'rājarsi'.⁹

PUTHUJJANO is very probably the same as the *Paurāṇic Prithu Vainya*¹⁰ and *Prithi* of the *Rgveda* and later *Vedic Literature*.¹¹ The *Jātakas* have nothing more to say about him. Both Pargiter¹² and the authors of the *Vedic Index*¹³ regard him as a mythical personage,¹⁴ but without any tangible grounds. He cannot, however, be arranged in any definite place in our list.

1. Cf. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 20—"The story of Uśinara's feeding of a vulture and that of Śivi's presenting his two eyes to a Brahmin seem to have been amalgamated together to form the basis of the well-known *Paurāṇic* legend about Śivi Auśinara."

2. *M.B.H.* III, 130-131; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, I, pp. 157-8.

3. *Ait. Brāhm.*, VII, 17; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XV, 26; *Ved. Ind.* I, p. 45.

4. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 142-3, 266-7.

5. *Ibid.*, his contemporaneity with Śivi, Pratardana of Kāśī and Vasumanas of Ayodhyā is maintained by Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 23-5, but disputed by Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 142-3.

6. *J.*, V, pp. 135, 137-G. 50, 144-G. 85.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *J.*, II, pp. 155, 157—GG. 112, 113; 158; III, pp. 3, 8.

9. *MBH.* I, 179, 47 (*Aśmako nāma rājarsiḥ*.) See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-2, 131-2, 148-150, etc., He may be however only an eponymous hero.

10. Included in the *Ṣoḍaśarājika* group: *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 39-41.

11. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 16-17.

12. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 40 and note where *Paurāṇic* references are given.

13. II, pp. 16-17.

14. See Buddhaghosa's fanciful explanation of the word 'Puthujjano' in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*. (P. T. S.), p. 69; but Cf. *Harṣacarita*, ch. III; *Manu*, VII, 42; XI, 66-7. King Vena is mentioned as a great conqueror in the Khāravela Inscription, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIII, pp. 224-5. Cf. also Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 20-21.

DHATARATṬHA is also a puzzling personage. Of course the name represents Dhṛtarāṣṭra. But identity of names does not necessarily imply identity of persons. We know that Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the son of Vicitravīrya and father of the Kauravas, is a well-known figure in the Great Epic, as also in the *Purāṇas*.¹ Again *Vedic Literature* knows of two Dhṛtarāṣṭras, sons of Vicitravīrya, both of whom however are taken to be identical with each other but different from the Epic and *Paurāṇic* one, by the authors of the *Vedic Index*.² Hopkins, on the other hand, seems to go to the length of saying that the Epic and *Paurāṇic* Dhṛtarāṣṭra is not a reality of the period, but only an irresponsible borrowing of the older *Brāhmaṇic* king.³ If the last view be taken as correct our Dhataratṭha must be identified with that of the *Brāhmaṇas*. The question however is difficult to be decided finally.

VESSĀMITTA is of course none other than the famous Viśvāmitra. He is a great celebrity both in the *Vedic* and the *Paurāṇic* literature. The *Jātaka* tradition, as read from the *gāthā*, may be taken to lend support to the Epic one in representing him as first a king, and then a Brāhmaṇa.⁴ It is true that, "there is no trace of his kingship in the *Rgveda*,⁵ but that he is, there, only a ṛṣi to whom the third *maṇḍala* is attributed by tradition⁶ and is, in later *Vedic* literature, a mythical sage usually mentioned in connection with Jamadagni."⁷ But this in no way enables us to dismiss it as a 'mere legend' as the *Vedic Index*,⁸ tries to do. The unanimous Indian tradition knows him as first a king of Kānyakubja under the name of Viśvāmitra and then a great sage.⁹ The *Paurāṇic* genealogy places him a few degrees below Śivi Auśīnara.¹⁰

YĀMATAGGI or YĀMADAGGI is evidently an equivalent of Jāmadagni who is so wellknown to the Epic and *Paurāṇic* tradition. According to this, he was the son of the Bhārgava Jamadagni by Renukā, the princess of Ayodhyā.¹¹ His grandmother Satyavatī, also, was a *Kṣatriyānī*, being the daughter of Gādhi, King of Kānyakubja, and sister of the great Viśvāmitra.¹² Thus he was more of a Kṣatriya than of a Brāhmaṇa.¹³ He should be placed just one or two degrees below Vessāmitta.

1. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 148, 282.

2. *Kāthaka Samhitā*, X. 6; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 22, where he is a king of Kāśi. *Ved. Ind.*, I. p. 403.

3. *J. A. O. S.*, 13, pp. 65-6. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 15, note. It may be mentioned in passing that Dhataratṭha, in the *Jātakas*, is also the name of a Nāga king. See *J.*, III, p. 257; VI, p. 162. 163-G. 763; 186, 195--G 853; 196; 200-G. 867; 219-G. 945; Cf., Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 24, 146.

4. Note the phrase 'ete c'aññe ca rājāno Khattiyā Brāhmaṇā bahū.'

5. *Vedic Index*; I. p. 311.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

7. *Vedic Index*, p. 311. Cf. our *gāthā*, where also Yāmataggi occurs.

8. II, p. 312 and note.

9. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 18, 151, 205; Cf. *Nirukta*, II, 24; *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXI, 12, 2; also *Ait. Brāh.*, VII, 18, 9; *Manu*, VII, 42—"Brahmanyam caiva Gādhijah."

10. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

12. *Ibid.*

13. He is even included in the *śodaśarājika* list in one place; See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 39 and his remarks on the point, p. 40. For his glorious career see, *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 205, etc. The Jāmadagnis are mentioned in the later *Vedic* literature: *Ved. Ind.*, I, pp. 276, 284.

SIVI must be identical with the famous *Paurāṇic* king mentioned in Pargiter's list given above and also included in the *ṣoḍaśa-rājika* group.¹ He is also mentioned in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*,² as a 'son of Uśīnara and protégé of Indra who sacrificed for him on the *Vārṣiṣṭhīya* plain and saved him from fear of foreign invasion.' From him the Śivi people are said to have originated.³

His piety and self-sacrifice are related in several *gāthās* of the *Sivi Jātaka*⁴ which relates the story of his giving away of his eyes to a Brāhmaṇa who begged for them.⁵ He was the son of Uśīnara.⁶

Our discussion about the 'famous traditional kings' included in the above two 'group-gāthās', as we might call them, ends here. Now leaving these 'group-gāthās', we search for the names of other ancient kings in the body of the *Jātakas*, and we find several of them, spoken of also in the *gāthās*, who should, if we accept the *Paurāṇic* chronology, be treated as belonging to this part of the Ancient Period.

MANDHĀTR, who is included in Pargiter's list given before, is a famous Ancient king. The *Jātakas*, in two places⁷ give his descent in a genealogical table, from *Mahāsammata*—a name meaning a great personage *chosen by the people* and hence, a *biruda* not a proper name—who is said to have flourished at the dawn of history (*pathama Kappe*). The legendary table runs as follows :

Mahāsammata
|
Rōja
|
Vararoja
|
Kalyāṇa
|
Varakalyāṇa
|
Uposatha
|
Mandhātā
|
Varamandhātā
|
Cara
|
Upacara

1. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 39.

2. XXI, 18; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 380; The *Anukramanī* of the *Rg-Veda* ascribes one hymn (X. 179) to him: *Ibid*, I, p. 103.

3. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 264. They are the Śivas of the *Rgveda* VII, 18, 7, whom the *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 381-2, identifies with the Siboi of the Greeks, who dwelt between the Indus and the Akesines (Asiknī) in Alexander's time.

4. J., IV, pp. 401 ff. Cf. his extollation in *MBH.*, III, 197.

5. The *Mahābhārata*, III, 196, 207 etc., has a different fable: See J. B. B. R. A. S., (N. S.) IV, p. 126, while in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 14, 5, it is king Alarka, and not Sivi, who gives away his eyes to a Brāhmaṇa.

6. Other Sivi kings are mentioned: J., V. pp. 210 ff; VI, pp. 480 ff.

7. J., II, p. 311; III, p. 454; Cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 128-40 ff. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 7, 9.

The table, of course, has no historical value, since none of the names, except Mandhātā and Upacara, is known to the *Purāṇas*, or to *Vedic Literature*. The *Mandhātu Jātaka*¹ glorifies him in all the mysterious colours familiar to the *Jātakas*, only to bring him to an unhappy end, which was the result of his unsatiate greed 'the root of all pains'. Leaving aside the mysterious career of his victories in heaven, this much impression we may keep with advantage, that he was remembered as a *Cakkavatti*, a king who had wide conquests to his credit. This is confirmed by the *Paurāṇic* evidence, which makes him the son of Yuvanāśva and the father of Mucukunda.² Moreover, we know that eulogistic ballads in praise of him were sung in those days and are preserved in the *Purāṇas*.³ Our *Jātaka* also, not unsurprisingly, shares the credit of preserving a verse of these ballads. The *gāthā* runs as follows :

“*Yāvatā Candimasūriyā (pariharanti)*
disā bhanti Visecamānā
Sabbe va dāsā Mandhātu
(ye) pāṇā paṭhavinissitā.”⁴

The *Paurāṇic* parallel is :

“*Yāvat sūryasya udayo*
yāvadastamanam bhavet
sarvam tad yauvanāśvasya
Māndhātuh kṣtramucyate.”⁵

We should place Mandhātā above Mucalinda, if our identification of the latter with Mucukunda of the *Purāṇas* be accepted as correct.

AJJUNA. He is the great *Paurāṇic* king Arjuna Kārtavīrya, the greatest of the Haihayas. He is regarded as both a *cakravartin* and a *samrāt*.⁶ Evidently he was a great conqueror.⁷

The *Jātakas* mention him in several places. The topic in connection with which he is mentioned is, in one place,⁸ the performance of sacrifices and the giving of gifts to the Brāhmaṇas—where he is extolled along with Sagara, Bhagīratha, Dilipa and others—and elsewehre⁹ that of sinning against holy sages and consequent destruction—where on the other hand, he is associated with Kalābu, Nālikira and Daṇḍaki.

1. J., II, pp. 311-313.

2. *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 2 ; *Vāyu P.*, 88, 68 ; Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 39-40. 261-2 “He was a very famous king, a *Cakravartin* and a *Samrāt* and extended his sway very widely, over Kānyakubja and the Pauravas right up to Gāndhāra.” He is also mentioned in the *R̥g-Veda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* ; *Vedic Index*, II. pp. 132-3. He is referred to also in many an epigraphic record as an ideal king : See for instance *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 146, 149.

3. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 25. They were sung by the historians of those days—*Purāṇajñas*.

4. J., II, p. 311-G. 22.

5. *MBH.*, VII, 62 ; XII, 29 ; *Vāyu P.*, 88, 68 ; *Viṣṇu P.*, (Wilson's tr.) p. 363 and note ; *A. I. H. T.*, p. 40 and note.

6. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 151-3 ; 265 ff.

8. J., VI, p. 201-G. 872 ; Cf. *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 33, 14-16 ; *MBH.*, XII, 49.

9. J., V, pp. 135 ; 143-G. 68, 71 ; 267-G. 94.

Some of the epithets given to him in the *gāthās* deserve notice. As in the *Purāṇas*¹ so in the *Jātaka gāthās*, he is called “*Sahassabāhu*” or thousand-armed. Two of the *gāthās* try to give a rational interpretation for this term, viz., that he was so called because he had the power and strength to wield five-hundred bows together (*vikāsitasa cāpa satam pañca*), or a single bow equal to them (*mahissāso*).² It seems much more conceivable, as Pargiter says, that he had the name *Sahasrabāhu*.³

Another point to which attention may be drawn is the epithet ‘*Kekakā-dhipo*’—the lord of the Kekakas—given to him in a *gāthā* of the *Samkicca Jātaka*.⁴ The *Paurāṇic* tradition is unanimous in describing him as the ruler of Māhiṣmatī which he wrested from the Karkoṭaka Nāgas and made his fortress-capital.⁵ This Māhiṣmatī was, undoubtedly, in the south, whichever identification we may accept.⁶ Thus the *Jātakas* would have us believe that the Kekakas or Kekayas lived in or around Māhiṣmatī. This is an important point which needs further orientation. We must hold, then, if we accept the statement of the *Jātaka gāthā* to be creditable, that the Kekayas who are generally connected with the Northern people like the Śivis, the Madras and others⁷ migrated, at some period of our history, to the south.⁸

One thing more, in connection with Ajjuna. The *Jātakas* seem to preserve a traditional account of the end of Ajjuna Sahassabāhu. The cause of

1. *Vāyu P.*, 94, 11, 15 etc. *Matsya P.*, 43, 14 etc. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 76.

2. Cf. the commentary on the *gāthā* in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*, “*Sahassabhāhu ti nā tassa bāhunam Sahassam pañcannam pana dhanuggahasatānam bāhusahassena ākaddhitabbenā dhanuno ākaddhanam eva evam vutto*”—*J.*, VI, p. 202; also p. 273. See *MBH.*, XIII, 152.—“but he had ordinarily only two at home.” In *J.*, V, p. 267, he is styled *atikāyo* and in *J.* VI, p. 201, *Bhimaseno*. This latter is very interesting in that it preserves the technical epithet from Bhīma, the Pāṇḍava hero, which still survives—‘strong like Bhīma.’

3. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 76: “This was a name, so also *Sahasrapād*.” See Sorensen’s *Index*, s. v. Quite a novel interpretation was recently given by Mr. Karandikar of the Narmada-Valley-research fame, in a lecture he delivered at the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier’s College, Bombay, in which he said that the 1000 arms were really 1000 boats given to him (Arjuna) as a present from Datta Ātreya.

4. *J.*, V, p. 267-G 94.

5. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 153 156, 262, 266 etc.

6. The identification of Māhiṣmatī has, up to now, been a very vexed question. Several scholars have attempted to identify it with various places—Mandhātā, Maheśwara and others. It seems very likely, as Mr. Munshi has shown, that there were several Māhiṣmatīs which came into existence at different times at different places in more or less the same locality, i.e. around the Narmadā, and it appears wrong to equate them all. A Māhiṣmatī, said to have been built by Mucukunda, was, as Mr. Munshi says, different from that of the Karkoṭaka Nāgas and of Arjuna Kārtavīrya. This latter was destroyed by Rāma Jāmadagnya in his wrath. In the opinion of the above writer, Māhiṣmatī of Arjuna was somewhere near modern Broach. *I.A.*, LI pp. 217-221; Mr. Karandikar however in a paper reported to have been read at the 7th Oriental Conference held at Baroda, locates the city on a small island called Mandhātā in the Narmadā river. For some of the attempts at the identification see Pargiter, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 444-7, 867-9.

7. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 185-6; *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 264, 276; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 41-2; also *J.*, VI, p. 280-G. 1223 where the Kekakas are mentioned together with the Pañcālas, Śūrasenas and the Maddas.

8. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 42.

his destruction, they say, was that he sinned against, (*aparajjivā : āsajja*) nay, killed outright (*heṭhayitvā*),¹ a holy sage Āṅgīrasa, also named Gotama,² or more correctly, Āṅgīrasa Gotama,³ who was so forgiving (*khantī*), austere (*tapassī*) and a life-long celibate (*cirabrahmacārī*).⁴ It seems illusive to try to discover a real personal name of the sage, for both Āṅgīrasa and Gotama are either patronymic or *gotra* names.⁵ And moreover there are instances of sages with personal names who were both Āṅgīrasas and Gotamas.⁶ So that it is quite impossible for us to know from this *gotra*-medley which Āṅgīrasa Gotama the *Jātaka-gāthā*-compiler meant.⁷

Be that as it may, our main purpose was to see whether there was any sameness in the *Jātaka* and *Paurāṇic* traditions as regards Arjuna Kārtavīrya's end. The *Paurāṇic* tradition, as we know, says that he was killed by Rāma Jāmadagnya.⁸ The cause given is, sometimes,⁹ that Arjuna or his sons raided Jāmadagni's hermitage, ill-treated him and carried off his calf, but more often the authorities state as the cause the curse of a holy sage named Āpava Vasiṣṭha whose charming hermitage near the Himalayas Arjuna burnt and destroyed.¹⁰ And it is precisely here that we have to look for the much sought for agreement between the two traditions. It seems needless now to go further into details.¹¹ Suffice it to note that the *Jātakas* preserve a faint remembrance of Arjuna's conflict with the Brāhmaṇas, be they Bhārgavas or others, and his consequent death at the hands of the terrible Paraśurāma—our Yāmadaggi named in the '*group-gāthās*' cited above.¹² The curse cannot be taken in any other light than as a priestly or a moralist's feat of imagination so familiar to Indian mind.

2. LATER KINGS AND TRADITIONS ABOUT THEM (1400-1200 B.C.)

In the preceding part of this chapter on the Ancient Period, we spoke something about those traditional ancient kings who are mentioned in the *gāthās* alone, but, with two or three exceptions, are not treated separately in the prose portions of the *Jātakas*. This fact makes us believe in their higher antiquity, for by the time these verses were composed, say about the

1. "*Heṭhayitvā*" means, according to the Commentator, piercing by a poisoned arrow. He gives a story. The king once went on a hunting, and stopped at a secluded place in search of a deer. Not very far, the sage was plucking up fruits from a tree for eating. Seeing him the deer did not venture to come near. The king was angry with the sage and shot at him a poisoned arrow which pierced the poor sage outright and felled him from the tree." J., V, p. 145.

2. J., V, p. 135. *Ibid.*, p. 267-G. 94.

3. *Ibid.*, pp., 143-4-G. 71.

4. *Ibid.*

5. That there were definite families which were both Āṅgīrasa and Gotama, is clear from the *Vedic* and the *Paurāṇic* evidence, See for instance, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 235; Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-161, 218 etc.

6. For instance Rāhugaṇa the *purohita* of Māthava Videgha, mentioned in the *Rgveda*, I, 78, 5 and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 4, 1, 10 *et seq.* *Ved. Ind.*, I. p. 235; Pargiter, *op. cit.* p. 224. Dīrghatamas, also a Vedic singer, was both an Āṅgīrasa and a Gotama: *Ved. Ind.* I. p. 366; Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-9; 218 ff.

7. Cf. for this *Gotra*-confusion in the *Purāṇas*, Pargiter, *op. cit.* p. 190.

8. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 267.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 153; Cf. *Harṣacarita*, Ch. III.

10. *Matsya P.*, 43, 41-3; *Harivamśa*, 33; *MBH.* XII, 49; Pargiter *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 206.

11. The misfortune is that here again Āpava Vasiṣṭha is not a personal name but a patronymic: Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

12. Kauṭilya names Arjuna, among others, as one who perished for being so haughty as to despise all people: *Arthasāstra*, I, 6.



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(a) The *Dasaratha Jātaka* is an older version and the source of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

(b) It is an older version but *not* the only source of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

(c) It is *neither* an older version *nor* a source of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

It was natural for those who attempted to solve this problem earlier, *viz.* D'Alwis,¹ Weber,² and Burnell,³ to see in the *Jātaka* an older version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The first view has had no sufficient backing. Weber,⁴ who partly held the second view, said that an ancient Buddhist saga of the pious prince Rāma which glorified him as an ideal of Buddhist equanimity was, later on, cast into a different form by the skilful hand of Vālmiki. He was followed by Sen,⁵ and Grierson,⁶ who upheld the same view with the help of fresh material. But this view again has not been able to stand against the severe attacks from Jacobi,⁷ Luders⁸ Keith,⁹ and Utgikar,¹⁰ who hold the opposite view, *viz.*, that the *Jātaka* prose version of the Rāma story presents a later and more confused form of the legend than the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹¹ As regards the *gāthās* occurring in the *Jātaka*, Utgikar¹² has subjected them to a searching analysis and has shown that none of the four *gāthās*, which have any narrative application out of the total thirteen, seems to be the fore-runner of the *Rāmāyaṇic śloka*. Whether we accept this conclusion or not, the fact that some of the striking similarities,¹³ literal or otherwise, still remain unexplained, holds good. And after all has been said, our faith in the priority of the *Jātaka* version has not, we must admit, been shaken. On the whole, we may stand with Prof. Winternitz, who seems to hold a much sounder view¹⁴, *viz.*, that at the time when the *Tipiṭaka* came into being (in the 4th and the 3rd cent. B.C.) there were ballads dealing with Rāma, perhaps a cycle of such ballads, but no Rāma Epic as yet which was only created later on by Vālmiki who utilised those very ballads.¹⁵

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 120 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8 while reviewing Fousböll's edition of the *Jātakas*.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 120 ff.

5. *The Bengal Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 7. ff.

6. *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 135 ff; while reviewing Sen's work.

7. *Das Rāmāyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt*, Bonn. 1893, pp. 84 ff.

8. *N. G. G. W.*, 1897, 1, pp. 40 ff.

9. *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 323.

10. *Ibid.*, *Centenary Supplement*, 1924, pp. 203 ff.

11. Is it not more probable, on the contrary, that the more confused the form, the more is it antiquated, and the more refined a work, the later is it in time?

12. *Op. cit.*, pp. 207 ff.

13. Besides the apparent agreement of the 5th and the last *gāthās* with the *Rāmāyaṇic ślokas*, I can read some sameness, may it not be literal, of other *gāthās* also. Thus G2nd—Rā., II, 106, 2; 6th—Rā., II, 105, 19-24; 8th—Rā., II, 105, 28; 10th—Rā., II, 105, 27; 11th—Rā., II, 105, 38-39.

14. *History of Indian Literature*, I, pp. 509-10.

15. One more remark of a scholar may be noted: "It rather puzzles me that while the equally late and much tampered with *Kāvya* version of the really ancient *Rāmāyaṇic* tradition is passed by scholars, the *Jātaka*, a Buddhist version, which, from the standpoint of historical criticism, is a much sounder source, should be viewed with unmitigated scepticism."

S. C. Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*. 1928, Intro., p. ix note.

However, leaving aside this controversial matter, let us take the *Jātaka* material as a whole and see what it has to say about Rāma. Besides the *Dasaratha Jātaka* noticed above, there are two other allusions to Rāma, one in a *gāthā* of the *Jayaddisa Jātaka*,¹ and the other in a *gāthā* of the *Vessantara Jātaka*²...The former says that Rāma's mother won salvation for her son who was absent in the Daṇḍaka forest :

“As Rāma's fair-limbed mother won
Salvation for her absent son,
When woods of Daṇḍaka he sought,
So for my child is freedom wrought.”

The latter is spoken by Maddī, Vessantara's wife :—

“I am a banisht prince's wife,
A prince of glory fame ;
As Sītā did for Rāma
So I for my husband care.”

Here the relation between Rāma and Sītā, even at the time of their exile, is clearly suggested as being that of husband and wife, and not that of brother and sister, though the Commentator, it is worthy of note, with a surprisingly uniformity, naively holds the latter view even here.³

Such divergences in the body of the *Jātakas* themselves, puzzling as they are, make it really difficult for us to say ‘how much’, as a learned scholar remarked, ‘the uncertain drift of irresponsible tradition has to do with this process of distortion.’⁴

LOMAPĀDA

Lomapāda, the *Paurāṇic* King of Aṅga, is mentioned in a *Gāthā* of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*⁵ which says of him as follows :

“*Yassānubhāvena Subhoga Gaṇḍā*
Pavattatha dadhisāññaṃ samuddaṃ
sa Loampādo paricariya-m-aggiṃ
Aṅgo saḥassakkhapurajjhagañchi.”

1. J., V, p. 29-G. 80.. It is put in the mouth of the Buddha, a fact which may be taken by some to lower its value in this connection.

2. J., VI, p. 557-G. 2224.

3. J., VI, p. 538.

4. See the bitter remarks of Mr. Bhatakriشنا Ghosh, *I. H. Q.*, V, p. 158, while reviewing the jain *Padmapurāṇa*. Whether that is really distortion we cannot definitely say. The *Dasaratha Jātaka* has its resemblance in many a Far-Eastern version of the story, cf. Lévi, *Bulletin l'ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* III, p. 741 ; Hüber, *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 698 ff.

5. J., VI, p. 203-G. 877.

By whose power the Ganges swelled to the curd-like ocean, he, Lomapāda, the Aṅga,¹ giving offerings to the fire went to the world of Sahasrākṣa *i.e.*, Indra.

Lomapāda is a familiar personage in the Epics,² and the *Purāṇas*,³ all of which agree that he was the king of Aṅga. As to his being a contemporary with Daśaratha of Ayodhyā, *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁴ is quite clear, while the *Purāṇas*,⁵ at least suggest it. It is this testimony that lead us to place Lomapāda side by side with Rāma. The connection of Lomapāda with Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, the sage, is not brought out in the *Jātakas*, though they know the sage quite intimately as seen from the *Alaṃbusā*,⁶ and *Nalinikā Jātakas*.⁷

CECCA UPACARA-APACARA.

The *Cetiya Jātaka*,⁸ after giving the legendary dynastic list of kings who preceded Upacara or Apacara of Ceti (Cedi),⁹ goes on to relate his story in detail. The prose portion in the beginning speaks of him in a mythical strain, as is naturally to be expected. The story then has it that Upacara had a Brāhmaṇa *purohita* named Kapila, whose younger brother Korakalāmbaka was his class-mate. While a prince, Upacara had made a promise to his class-mate that he would make him his *purohita* when he would ascend to the throne of Ceti. But he could not keep his promise as he was not able to remove the old *purohita* Kapila. Kapila, afterwards, turned out an ascetic and managed to place his own son in his office. The king however tried to fulfill his promise by telling a lie, despite the oft-repeated warnings of the old ascetic Kapila, with the result that he had to go to the Avici hell. And so this ancient *gāthā* :—

“Cursed by a sage, Cecca,
Who once, could tread the air, they say,
Was lost and swallowed
By the earth on his appointed day.”¹⁰

We may dismiss the foregoing story as a fabrication on the part of the story-teller. But in the above *gāthā*, old as it seems to be, and in the prose passage that follows, we have to look for something traditionally historical.

1. Cowell and Rouse, perhaps by following the commentator, wrongly translate this as ‘Aṅga, Kāśi’s lord’: Cambridge edition, J. VI, p. 108. The Commentator seems generally prone to describe Kāśi as the kingdom to whatever king he may come across whose identity is otherwise not given in the original.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 9-11; *MBH.*, III, 110-113.

3. *e.g.*, *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 18.

4. I, 113.

5. Cf. Wilson, *Viṣṇu P.*, p. 445 and note. Out of the confusion with regard to the relation of Śantā, they wrongly equate Daśaratha and Lomapāda.

6. J., V, pp. 152 ff. His epithet ‘Kassapa’ is known—*Ibid.*, pp. 157-G. 118; 159-G. 129.

7. J. V, pp. 193 ff. H. Lüders, *N. G. G. W.*, 1897, pp. 1 ff. 1901, pp. 1 ff. has analysed the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga story as occurring in these two *Jātakas* and compared it with its different versions in India Literature. His conclusion is that the *Jātakas* preserve a more ancient form of the story, because in the Buddhist story, it was the Princess, and not the courtesans as stated in the epic, that seduced and brought over the sage from the forest, this being, as Lüders thinks, the original trait of the story.

8. J., III, pp. 454-61.

9. *Supra.*

10. J., III, p. 460-G. 58; repeated at J., V, p. 267-G. 98.

The identity of this Cecca Upacara with the *Paurāṇic* Caidya Uparicara Vasu has long since been recognised.¹ That Upacara ruled at Soṭṭhivatīnagara is in full agreement with the *Mahābhārata*,² which names Vasu's capital as Śūktimatī or Śūktisāhvaya. This latter stood on the river of the same name identified by Pargiter,³ with the modern Ken, thus locating itself in the neighbourhood of Banda.⁴

The *Jātaka* statement that Cecca could tread the air is only in keeping with the latter-day misunderstanding of the title "*Caidyoparicara*" which means simply, as rightly pointed out by Pargiter,⁵ "the overcomer of the Caidyas," and which he obtained after conquering the kingdom of Cedī which belonged to the Yādavas.

Further, the *Mahābhārata*,⁶ admirably supports our *Jātaka* in stating that Vasu Uparicara sank down into *Rasātala* by telling a lie, meaning thereby that he met an unhappy end.

Let us turn finally to the last prose passage in the *Jātaka*. It informs us that the five sons of King Upacara founded five different kingdoms on the advice of the same old Kapila.⁷ This fact is corroborated by the evidence furnished by the *Mahābhārata*,⁸ and the *Purāṇas*,⁹ which also give the names of those five sons not remembered by the *Jātaka*. They were Brhadratha, Pratyagraha, Kuśāmba surnamed Maṇivāhana, Yadu or Lalittha or Matsya and Māvella.¹⁰ According to the *Jātaka*, the five sons founded respectively the five cities, viz., Hatthipura in the East, Assapura in the South, Sīhapura in the West, Uttarapañcāla in the North and Daddarapura in the North-West. We cannot ascertain how much truth there is in the account. It is also difficult to identify correctly the places mentioned. Hatthipura may however be taken to represent Hastināpura traditionally identified with an old town in Mawāṇā tahsil, Meerut.¹¹ Sīhapura may represent the Seng-ho-pu-lo or Singhapura of Yuan Chwang, situated at 117 miles to the east of Taxila.¹² Assapura, again, may possibly be the same as mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya*.¹³

1. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 91-2; Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 63 ff; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, I p. 96. Some are inclined to identify him with Kaśu Caidya of the *Rgveda*, VIII, 5, 37: Rapson in *C. H. I.*, I, p. 309 note.

2. I, 63; III, 22; XIV, 83; Cf., De, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 196

3. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 359.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 118. See the Epic and *Paurāṇic* references to this misunderstood idea of treading the air—'*antalikkacaro pure*' given in the footnote by Pargiter, *Ibid.*

6. XII, 338.

7. J., III, pp. 460-1.

8. I, 62.

9. *Viṣṇu P.*, for instance, IV, 19.

10. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 118; Pradhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4.

11. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 24.

12. *Ibid.*, A Singhapura is identified by Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150-350 A.D., pp. 89 ff, with Jalandhara.

13. I, 4, 9-10. Here it is a city in the country of Aṅga.

and the *Mahābhārata*.¹ Uttarapañcāla is of course well-known, corresponding roughly to Bareilly, Budaon, Farrukhābād and the adjoining district of the United Provinces.² Daddarapura may be taken to represent a place somewhere in the present Dārdistān as we have tried to show elsewhere.³ If these identifications be correct, they would seem to refer to the kingdoms of Kuru, Gandhāra, Aṅga, Pañcāla and Nāga kingdom,⁴ respectively. According to the Paurāṇic account, Br̥hadratha took Magadha, and founded the famous Br̥hadratha dynasty, Kuśāmba had Kauśāmbī, Pratyagraha may have taken Cedi, and Yādava Karūṣa while the fifth kingdom was probably Matsya.⁵ Whatever the difference, due credit must be paid to the *Jātaka* for preserving, though in a mythical garb, faint traces of traditional recollection about Vasu Caidya Uparicara and the founding of different kingdoms by his sons. Its ignorance of real fact may only prove the antiquity of the happenings of the remote past.

After Upacara, the Ceti country seems to have sunk into unimportance, since with Br̥hadratha, the eldest son of Vasu, according to the *Purāṇas*, Magadha takes a prominent place in traditional history.⁶ Subsequently as will be shown, Ceti underwent a constitutional change when it became a republic.⁷

THE PĀṆDAVAS.

The text of the *Kuṇḍala Jātaka*,⁸ the only *Jātaka* which gives us a version of the Pāṇḍava story, is quite unsatisfactory. It is almost impossible, in many places, to distinguish between the various portions of the *Jātaka*. We cannot ascertain which portions belong to the 'atītavatthu' proper and which to the commentary or the 'paccuppannavatthu'. Both the *gāthā*, which names the five Pāṇḍavas, and the prose portion which relates the story in detail are, in Fousböll's edition, printed in smaller types, which fact, according to the general method followed in that edition, would assign these passages to the commentarial portions. But looking minutely into the context, a distinction might possibly be made. Thus the *gāthā* which is preceded by the phrase: '*bhavati ca pan uttaretha vākyam*'—'here too we have a further verse—: should be taken, as we believe, to have been a part of the 'atītavatthu' proper. While the prose portion which relates the story in detail should be relegated to the commentarial portion, since it only repeats at length, that is comments upon, that which has already been said before. This latter procedure has been resorted to also in respect to other stories of the same type occurring in the same *Jātaka*,

1. II, 27, 20. In later period it was a seat of a feudatory dynasty of the Vākāṭakas: See Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150-350 A. D., pp. 89 ff.

2. Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

3. See *Infra*, under Geographical Lexicon.

4. See J., III, pp. 16-7, where the Daddara Nāgas are mentioned.

5. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

6. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

7. See J., VI, pp. 480 ff; where we hear of *Cetirājāno*—the kings of Ceti, evidently meaning an oligarchical state.

8. J., V. pp. 412 ff.

viz., those of Saccatapāvi, Kākātī and Kuraṅgavī.¹ This however does not take away the value that attaches to the novel version of the story before us.

Let us then examine the story as it is. The *Gāthā* says :—

“*Ath Ajjuno Nakulo Bhīmaseno
Yudhiṭṭhilo Sahadevo ca rājā
ete patī pañca-m-aticca nārī
Akāsi khujjavāmanena pāpaṃ ti*”.²

The lady, named Kaṇhā just above the *gāthā*,³ says the *gāthā*, not content with the five husbands sinned with a hunchbacked man. This incident is then further explained in the prose portion. Kaṇhā was the posthumous daughter of a king of Kosala who had been killed in a battle and whose pregnant queen had been carried away by a certain Brahmadata of Kāśī. They arranged a *svayamvara* or choice marriage for her in Benares. Just at that time the five sons of King Pāṇḍu, Ajjuna, Nakula, Bhīmasena, Yudhiṭṭhila and Sahadeva, who had completed their education at Takkaśilā and who were now travelling about the country, came to Benares. They attended the *Svayamvara* and Kaṇhā chose all of them as her husbands. Now, sometime after she fell in love with her hunchbacked servant. This unchasteness, disloyalty and depravity of hers were exposed by the eldest prince Ajjuna, whereupon the five brothers in sheer disgust renounced the world to pass their remaining lives in the Himālayas.

This is, in short, the life-history of the Pāṇḍavas according to the *Jātaka*. It is in singular contrast with the story as given in the *Mahābhārata*, or for the matter of that, in the whole range of Hindu Literature and tradition.

As we said above, this detailed story appears to be a fabrication, or, may be, a corruption of the original, by the commentator of the 5th or the 6th century A. D. The principal aim of the story teller is here to show the feminine depravity. It is true. But why and how did he fall upon this particular instance—this Kaṇhā who is one of the most magnificent characters in the whole of the Epic and later literature—is utterly inexplicable.⁴ That she was married to the five Pāṇḍavas may be taken to be a *fait accompli*, in as much as it is in perfect agreement with the Epic and Tradition. But there is, at least as far as we can see, not an inkling, or even a concealed suggestion of her unchastity in the whole range of Hindu Tradition. Had she really been so, as the *Jātaka* depicts her, the fact would, anyhow, have leaked out, try however the Epic writers might to conceal it. The libel is really malicious, may be an outcome of blissful ignorance of facts.

1. J., V, pp. 427-30.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 424-G. 288.

3. The *Jātaka* knows and uses this original and real name of the lady—Kaṇhā-Kṛṣṇā—but does not know her by the famous epithet Draupadī, daughter of King Drupada or Pāñcālī, the woman of Pāñcāla. Kṛṣṇā is the real name in the Epic also.

4. The reason, to our imagination, seems to have been this. The *Jātaka* compiler in the 4th or 5th century A.D. in his enthusiasm, misguided though, to hurl down his wrath against womankind, caught hold of Kaṇhā, thinking that a woman who had married five husbands could never in the world be chaste or loyal. He had evidently no genuine recollection of facts and was influenced by later day explanations and Buddhist morality. And he created the hunchbacked servant.

Two other glaring discrepancies are : (a) the education of the five Pāṇḍavas at Takkasīlā and (b) the Kāśī-Kosala incident and the consequent double parentage (*dvepetikā*) of Kaṇhā. Both of these can be accounted for as due to the general tendency of the *Jātakas* to bring in, wherever they like, Takkasīlā and Benares—traits which were common for the *Mahājanapada Period* that preceded the Buddha and which produced these stories.

The fact that the *gāthā* makes Ajjuna the eldest brother may have some significance.¹ It may not have been a fact. But the early heroic bard, most probably, considered Ajjuna as a type of hero and had, therefore, given him the first place he deserved. The same idea was perhaps taken up in the *gāthā*.

The most valuable support that the *Jātaka* gives to the Epic account is in stating that Kaṇhā married the five Pāṇḍavas. It was a fact, though the *Jātaka* may try in its own way to justify it as does the Epic itself.² It seems futile and sentimental weakness now to try to deny or justify and explain the simple fact of an ancient family custom of polyandry. That the Pāṇḍavas belonged to a different family, or rather a tribe, at a level of culture lower than that of the Kurus or the Pañcālas is a fact difficult to deny.³ It would be much wiser in the interests of Truth to face and recognise the fact.

Finally, the *Jātaka* does not make any reference to the Great War or to the connection of the Pāṇḍavas with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa or to the death of Jarā-sandha.⁴

VĀSUDEVA KAṆHA AND KAṆSA.

There is nothing in the *Jātakas* themselves, it is true, that can support us in our attempt to speak of Kaṇha and Kaṁsa just after the Pāṇḍavas. Our attempt is due therefore to an inclination to accept the *Paurāṇic* traditional genealogy as worked out by Pargiter⁵ to be plausible, if not absolutely correct.

1. Siddhanta, *The Heroic Age of India*, p. 66 note.

2. Cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I. pp. 337-8 and note.

3. See Hopkins, J. A. O. S., 13, pp. 64-6 ; *Great Epic of India*, pp. 376-397 ; *Religions of India*, pp. 388, 466-7 ; Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, 24-27, 122, 220 etc. "The shadowy figure of Pāṇḍu, the birth in the forest, the unknown parentage, the custom of polyandry—all these would go to suggest the foreign origin of the Pāṇḍus." *Ibid.* Dr. Raychaudhury's attempt to justify his opposition does not carry much weight. That Patañjali calls the Pāṇḍus as Kurus or that *Niyoga* is known to be an ancient Hindu custom and is not far from Polyandry, are weak arguments : See *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 25-6 ; *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 26-7, *Pāṇḍava* occurs in a *Jātaka* II, 98-99-G. 65, as the name of a horse. Does it signify anything ?

4. Whether Kṛṣṇa was really connected with the Pāṇḍavas, in any way, is doubtful. See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 457 and note. But the story of Heracles and Pandias narrated by Greek writers undoubtedly proves the antiquity of the tradition regarding this connection. Cf. Raychaudhury, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 45.

5. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 148, 166, 282-4. About the relation between Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas—Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, I, p. 457 note : "It seems to me however that the warrior Kṛṣṇa, not the God Kṛṣṇa is too closely bound up with the main narrative for the Epic to be imaginable entirely without him." See also S. L. Katre "Kṛṣṇa and Jarāśandha," *I. H. Q.*, VIII, p. 500.



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The ten brothers, now known as the sons of Andhakaveṇhu, grew big and strong and fierce and ferocious withal, they went about plundering. King Kamsa came to know of these plundering raids. The real identity was then disclosed and Kamsa devised a plan to put an end to them. He invited the two brothers, Vāsudeva and Baladeva, to a wrestling fight. The two came to the place making havoc all the way through. Baladeva easily put the two royal wrestlers, Cānūra and Muṭṭhika to death, and Vāsudeva killed Kamsa and his brother by throwing a wheel. The crowd which had gathered to witness the performance was terrified and at once accepted Vāsudeva as their protector.

Then began the career of conquest. The ten brothers first of all surrounded the city of Ayodjā, cleared the jungle around it and took the king, Kālasena, prisoner. From Ayodjā they proceeded to Dvāravatī. Now, this was a wonderful city. On one side of it there was a mountain and on another the sea. Being unable to capture it they took the advice of sage Kaṇhadīpāyana who was their friend. They fixed four iron pillars at the four gates of the city and clumped them with chains of iron. Thus enabled they entered the city, killed its king and captured the country. After this they conquered three and sixty thousand cities all over India and then lived at Dvāravatī dividing the kingdom in ten shares. At the generous suggestion of the youngest Aṅkura, his share was conferred upon lady Añjanā. In course of time their parents died.

Then died one dearly-loved son of King Vāsudeva. The king, overwhelmed with grief, gave himself up to mourning, neglecting everything. Then Ghaṭapāṇḍita, wishing to relieve him, made a trick. He said he wanted 'the hare within the moon'. 'This was absurd,' pointed out Vāsudeva. Ghaṭa, then, showed with wise sayings, that his mourning too was futile. Thus consoled, Vāsudeva Mahārājā ruled the kingdom righteously.

After a long time the sons of the ten brothers visited Kaṇhadīpāyana of divine insight (*dibbacakkhuka*) to test him. They procured a young lad and dressed him up and by binding a pillow about his belly, made it appear as though he were big with child. "When, Sir, will this woman be delivered?" they asked. The sage perceived everything. He replied, "this man on the 7th day from now will bring forth a knot of accacia wood (*khadiraghaṭikā*) with which he will destroy the line of Vāsudeva." "Ah, false ascetic!" said they, "a man can never bring forth a child," and they killed the sage at once.

Some time after, the kings proposed to enjoy a sport in the water. In a gorgeous pavillion they sat, ate and drank. They began to go quarrelsome and divided themselves into two groups. At last one of them picked a leaf from the *eraka* plant, which, even as he plucked it, became a club of accacia wood in his hand. With this he beat many people. Then the others also did the same, and cudgelling one another they all were killed. Vāsudeva, Baladeva and sister Añjanā fled in a chariot with the *purohita*, while the fight was on.

Baladeva was killed in the forest of Kālamuṭṭhika by Muṭṭhika, the wrestler, who had been born again as a *yakkha*. Vāsudeva, with his sister and the *purohita* came to a frontier village. He lay down in a forest, sending his sister and the *purohita* into the village to get some food. A hunter named Jarā, passing by the way, took him to be a pig and threw a spear which pierced his feet. The wound proved fatal. Thus excepting Lady Añjanā, they perished everyone, it is said.

It will be readily seen from the foregoing summary that, leaving out some statements of purely mythical and legendary character, there is a *nucleus* of a really historical tradition. Our task must be to compare this version with others and get at the Truth, at least to a probable degree.

First to take the identity of names. Our *Jātaka* knows that Vāsudeva was also called Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa) which was his *gotta* name.¹ His father's name is given as Upasāgara, quite an unfamiliar name, while the Epic,² the *Purāṇas*³ and the Jaina *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*⁴ unanimously give the name Vasudeva. His mother's name, according to our *Jātaka*, is Devagabbhā, which is identical with Devakī of other authorities.⁵ That he had a younger brother named Baladeva is vouchsafed by other sources also.⁶ The names of Añjanādevī, Kaṇha's sister, and the eight brothers⁷ seem to be free inventions of the laterday commentator.

Dr. Raychaudhury, in his valuable monograph on '*The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*' has thoroughly examined all the available sources for the life history of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva and has maintained with good reasons, that Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,⁸ the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini,⁹ the *Indika* of Megasthenes,¹⁰ the Jaina *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*,¹¹ the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*,¹² the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali,¹³ the *Mahābhārata*,¹⁴ and the *Purā-*

1. J., IV, pp. 79-89-GG. 139, 147, 148 ; Cf. also J., VI, pp. 421-G. 1485. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar took the two names as denoting two different individuals. Vāsudeva, in his opinion, was a Kṣatriya belonging to the Yādava, Vṛṣṇi or Sātvata race who founded a theistic system. Later on he was identified with Kṛṣṇa whose name had been handed down as that of a holy seer *Ind. Ant.* 1912, p. 13. But, as Keith opines, the separation of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa as two entities, it is impossible to justify. J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 840.

2. MBH. xiii, 147, 33-5.

3. See Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 104-7.

4. *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, xxii.

5. See above ; also *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. III, 17, 6 ; Cf. Bhītari Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (5th cent. A. D.) "*jītamiti paritoṣānmātaram sāsrunetrām Hataripuriva Kṛṣṇo Devakī mahhyupetaḥ*. Fleet, *G. I.* No. 13, p. 54.

6. MBH., II, 79, 23 ; *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, IV.

7. These names betray the later-day conception of the legend as a Nature-myth : Cf. Keith, J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 839 ff. Aṅkura—Akrura ?

8. III, 17, 6.

9. IV, 3, 95 ; IV, 3, 98-99.

10. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 201.

11. Lecture, XXII.

12. J., IV, pp. 79-89.

13. See *Ind. Ant.*, III, 1874, pp. 14-6.

14. Cf. Sørensen's, *Index to the Mahābhārata*, sub. voc.

nas,¹ is one and the same person.² This illuminating identity does not at all seem improbable when we try to visualise the simple, inornate and human figure of Kṛṣṇa from out the entangling 'prodigious after-crop of fable' that has grown around him. It is a remarkable way of looking at things legendary that has led scholars to interpret Kṛṣṇa as a solar divinity,³ or a god⁴, or even a vegetarian deity,⁵ like the Greek Dionysos. It was the same process by which that talented French Savant,⁶ was dragged on to represent Gotama Buddha as a Solar type, and the history of the reformer as a sun-myth. It is a wrong process, this, to begin at the wrong end with the late epic and *Paurāṇic* legends which have completely overshadowed the original figure, instead of at the right end with the earlier sources which preserve it in its original colours.⁷

Kṛṣṇa is not a mythical personage. Our *Jātaka* lends support to the *Upaniṣad* and the Jaina *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra* in manifesting the simple and human character of Kṛṣṇa.⁸ The *Jātaka* presents him as only a powerful warrior and a great king 'who has not even sufficient self-control for checking his feelings at the death of his dear son, and some wise sayings of his brother Ghāṭa Paṇḍita,⁹ restore him to his normal peace of mind.'

The *Jātaka* knows that Vāsudeva was a scion of the royal family—the Yādava, Sātvata or Vṛṣṇi of the *Purāṇas*—of Mathurā—Uttara Madhurā.¹⁰ The existence of a city named Asitañjanā and a separate district of Kāṁsa is unknown to other sources.¹¹

1. See Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 104-7.

2. Raychaudhury, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect.*, pp. 34-5. The identity of the Epic and *Paurāṇic* Kṛṣṇa with the *Upaniṣadic* Kṛṣṇa is denied by Max Müller, *S. B. E.*, I, p. 52 note; Macdonnell and Keith doubt it: *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 184. Barth accepts it rather reluctantly: *Religions of India*, p. 168. cf. Keith. "The epic has a god, the *Upaniṣad* a man, and the means of connexion are not apparent." *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 839.

3. Barth, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 167 and note.

4. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 467.

5. Keith, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 839 ff.

6. Emile Senart, *Essai Sur la l'egende du Buddha*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1882.

7. Raychaudhury, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 24.

8. Though, we must observe here, the *Jātaka* seems to be conversant with the popular deification of him in that his epithet *Kesava*, so well-known in the Epic and the *Purāṇas* is known to and used by, the *gāthās*, nos. 139, 144 of this *Jātaka*. *Kesava*, as we know from the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II, 5, 24, was an epithet of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu: Raychaudhury, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 62. Grierson points out that the deification of Kṛṣṇa was an accomplished fact as early as the time of Pāṇini (8th B.C.) *I. A.*, 1908, p. 253. But this is a matter of controversy. See Jayaswal *Hindu Polity*, I, pp. 120-2. *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 483 ff; II, pp. 186 ff. 409 ff. 856-6. But Epigraphic evidence shows that the deification was complete before 2nd B. C. See Lüders, *Brāhmī Inscriptions*, *E. I.*, X, Appendix, nos. 6, 669, 1112.

9. There is nothing to corroborate this incident which seems to us to have risen out of the imagination of a latter-day commentator. One may however be tempted to try to discover some link between these *gāthās* of Ghāṭa and the philosophisings of Ghora Aṅgīrasa of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. Is Ghāṭa identical with Gaya Sūkumāla of the *Antagaḍadasāo*, pp. 62, 71 ?.

10. Cf. the statement of Megasthenes regarding the connection of the Indian Herakles (*i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa already deified) with the Souasenoī (Surasena is mentioned in a *Jātaka*, VI, p. 280-G. 1228) and Methora: McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 201.

11. In the Epic and the *Purāṇas*, it is Mathurā over which Kāṁsa ruled: Pargiter, *op. cit* pp. 167, 171, 282, 291.

It is not a little surprising to learn that the *Jātaka* takes *Andhakavenḥu* (*Andhakavṛṣṇi*) as a name of one particular person who was the slave husband of Nandagopā, the maid servant of Devagabbhā in her confinement,¹ and after whom Kṛṣṇa and his brothers were known as *Andhakavenḥudāsaputtā*, the sons of Andhakavenḥu, the servitor.² Whereas the *Paurāṇic* tradition, we know, makes Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi two sons of Sātvata, the Yādava, after whom their descendants were together known as *Andhakavṛṣṇis*.³

The *Jātaka* does not give us any definite account of Vāsudeva's childhood, except that he and his brothers are said to have grown very naughty, plundering wherever they liked.⁴ Neither those miraculous youthful performances of his, so elaborately described in the *Purāṇas*, nor his questionable relations with the 'gopis' are thrust upon us by the *Jātaka* which only knows the simple story.⁵

The story of his quarrel with Kāṁsa, and the eventful death of the latter appears on the other hand to be founded on fact. As early as the time of Patañjali (2nd B.C.) this event was clearly remembered, though believed to have occurred at a very remote time, and was the subject of dramatic representation.⁶ The real cause of this quarrel is unknown to the *Jātaka*; which does not portray Kāṁsa in essentially bad colours as does the *Paurāṇic* account, but makes him, on the contrary, a kind king who readily hears and decides the complaints of his subjects. The prophesy, both here and elsewhere, is only an ignorant sheath for the real cause.⁷ The incident of

1. In the *Purāṇas*, they are Nanda and Yaśodā respectively, Cf. *Harivaṁśa*, 59.

2. J., IV, p. 81.

3. If the *Jātaka* conception about the Andhakavenḥus has any value, and if we are not wrongly obsessed with its idea, we have our misgivings about the true denotation of the term 'Andhakavṛṣṇis' of the *Purāṇas*. Is it really a combination of the two words, *Andhaka* and *Vṛṣṇi*, or is it one single word as the *Jātaka* boldly declares? Andhakas are not known to Vedic literature, which indeed knows the Vārṣṇa (Vṛṣṇi) family: See *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 289-90. On the other hand so old an authority as Pāṇini knows both of them as a joint name: *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV, 1, 114; VI, 2, 34. Kṛṣṇa himself is generally supposed to belong to the Vṛṣṇi family, (Cf. *Gītā: Vṛṣṇinām Vāsudevoham*) but the Mandasore stone Inscription of Yashodharman (6th A. D.) would seem to connect him with the Andhakas: Fleet, *G. I.*, p. 153. Vidūratha, again who is placed by the *Purāṇas* in the Andhaka line, is taken by Bāṇa (7th A. D.) as a Vṛṣṇi: *Harṣacarita*, Cowell, p. 193. Ugrasena, generally an Andhaka, is, in the *Mahābhārata*, I, 221, 8, a powerful king of the Vṛṣṇis. How are we to reconcile these conflicting statements? May be, the difference is only outwardly. See, now J. Przyluski, *The name of the God Viṣṇu and the Kṛṣṇa legend*. *Q. J. M. S.*, XXV, pp. 39 ff.

4. Dr. Raychaudhury, *Early History*, p. 45, accepting his identity with Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, says that "as a child he most probably lived with his preceptor Ghora Aṅgīrasa and returned to Mathurā on arriving at adolescence."

5. Cf. Hopkins, "It is not till he becomes a great, if not the greatest god, that tales about his youthful performances when he condescended to born in low life begin to rise." *Religions of India*, p. 467.

6. See passages from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* examined by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar: *I. A.*, III (1874), pp. 14-6: "*Asādhurmātule Kṛṣṇaḥ*," shows that Kṛṣṇa was not well-disposed towards his maternal uncle; *Cirahate Kāṁse*" and "*Jaghāna Kāṁsam Kila Vāsudevaḥ*" assert that in remote times Vāsudeva killed Kāṁsa. This event is also depicted in the delightful drama '*Bālacarita*' ascribed to Bhāsa, who preceded Kālidāsa: Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 98-100.

7. The *Jātaka* does not know Jarāsandha, King of Magadha, whose two daughters, as the *Paurāṇic* accounts tell us were married to Kāṁsa and whose favour empowered Kāṁsa to tyrannise over his own subjects, thus enraging Kṛṣṇa against himself: Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

the wrestling match may have some historical basis, since it is commonly related by various authorities.¹

After the death of Kāṁsa, the people chose Kṛṣṇa to be their lord and protector. Then followed the career of conquests. Only two out of these conquests are specifically mentioned in the *Jātaka*. First, they invaded the city of Ayodjā, captured it and took its king Kālasena prisoner. Then they proceeded towards Dvāravātī which they could not easily capture. It was only after various tactics learnt from sage Kaṇhadīpāyana that they were able to take possession of it and then they settled there.²

The *Jātaka* does not at all refer to Kṛṣṇa's connection with the Pāṇḍavas or Jarāsandha which must have been intimate if the Epic and *Paurāṇic* accounts are to be believed.³

The *Mahāummagga Jātaka* preserves, it seems, a genuine tradition when it states in a *gāthā* that Vāsudeva Kaṇha had for his beloved queen Jāmbavati, a Caṇḍāla woman, the mother of King Sivi.⁴

The story of the Andhakaveṇhu youths testing the divine sight of the wise sage Kaṇhadīpāyana, in a rather indecent manner, and the consequent rage of the latter and the slaying of him by the youths, might appear to have been originated in fact, as it is related by various other authorities in common.⁵

This brings us to the final phase of the life of Kṛṣṇa and his kinsfolk, viz., the final destruction of the Andhakevenhus. Besides the detailed and well-nigh picturesque account given in the present *Jātaka*, there are two *gāthās* which summarize the episode, in a nut-shell as it were. The one in the *Kumbha Jātaka*⁶ says :—

“ ‘Twas after drinking this, I ween,
The Andhakas and Vṛṣṇi race,
Roaming along the shore, were seen,
To fall, each by his kinsman's mace ;”

1. J., IV, pp. 81-2 ; *Bālacarita*, Act V ; *Harivaṁśa*, 83 ; *Viṣṇu P.*, V, 20.

2. According to the clear testimony of the Epic and the *Purāṇas*, it was through fear of Jarāsandha, the mighty foe, and their incompetence to resist his forces that Kṛṣṇa together with all his people migrated from Mathurā to Dvārakā, See S. L. Katre, *op. cit.*, pp. 856, 858, 863-5. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 282. See for an interesting suggestion from Dr. Raychaudhury *P. H. A. I.* p. 100, regarding the probable cause of this Yādava exodus.

3. See *Supra*, also see Katre, *l. c.* Some may venture to see a concealed reference to Jarāsandha in the use of the name *Jarā*, the hunter, in our *Jātaka*.

4. J., VI, p. 421-G, 1485. Cf. *Viṣṇu P.*, V, 37 ; IV, 15 ; *Bhaviṣya P.*, 139 ; *Antagaḍa-dasāo*, pp. 79, 84, all of which name the son as Śāmba not quite dissimilar a name from Sivi Pāṇini, the poet, is said to have composed a poem named *Jāmbavatī-parinayaṁ* or marriage of Jāmbavatī : Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, II, pp. 167, 360, 364, 368 : Cf. verses quoted in Thomas, *Kavīndravacanāsamuccaya*, pp. 51 ff : See Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 45, 203-4-, 430.

5. *MBH.* XVI, 1 ; *Viṣṇu P.*, V, 37 ; *Arthaśāstra*, I, 6 ; *Antagaḍadasāo* pp. 80-2. The story of Kaṇhadīpāyana—the famous Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, the traditional compiler of the great Epic—as found in the *Ghāṭa* and the *Kaṇhadīpāyana Jātakas*, J., IV, pp. 87-8 ; IV, pp. 27 ff. has been examined with its parallel in the great Epic by Prof. Utgikar, *J.B.B.R.S.*, IV (N.S.) pp. 120-4. The irreverent attitude of the Andhakaveṇhus towards Brāhmaṇas may have some significance in connection with Aryan expansion if the episode was a reality. Cf. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 100. Yādavas as an Asura tribe, see A. Banerji Sastri, *Asura India*, pp. 83 ff.

6. J. V. p. 18-G, 57.

and the other in the *Samkicca Jātaka*¹ reads :—

“Assailing black Dīpāyana, the men of Vṛṣṇi race²

With Andhakas sought Yama’s realm, each slain by other’s mace”³.

This incident of the pathetic ruin of the Andhakavenhus by fratricidal strife, which occurred a few years after the great Kurukṣetra war,⁴ must, we think, be regarded as historical fact.⁵

Vāsudeva and his favourite brother Baladeva were the sole survivors.⁶ Both of them leave the fatal place at once. Baladeva dies on the way and Kṛṣṇa himself lives a few days more.⁷ Thus ends this tragic, but completely misunderstood, chapter of the remote period of our history which, though unsupported by any definite contemporary records, has sufficient naturalness and vividness to be taken as historically true.

The disunited remnants of this great and distinguished family of Dvāra-vatī (Dvārakā) then abandoned their main stronghold—Dvārakā, on which the sea encroached as the *Paurāṇic* accounts say—and retreated northwards but were attacked and broken up by the rude Ābhīras of Rājputānā.⁸ Their descendants, however, reappear in history as one of the powers which arise on the ruins of the Mauryan Empire in the second century B. C. and the name of their corporation (*rājanya gaṇa*) has been preserved by a unique coin.⁹

3. SOME LESS KNOWN KINGS.

Here may also be included, we think, the names of some less-known, but apparently ancient, kings who are known to the *Jātaka gāthās* as ancient and traditional ones.

1. *Ibid.* p. 267-G. 97.

2. The English translation has ‘Viṣṇu’ for Vṛṣṇi.--which is evidently a wrong interpretation arising from the later connection of Kṛṣṇa with the God Viṣṇu. Cf. also Utgikar, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 123.

3. Cf. *MBH.* XVI, 3 ; *Viṣṇu P.*, V. 37 ; *Arthaśāstra*, I, 6 ; *Antagaḍadasāo*, pp. 80-2.

4. This incident according to the solitary statement of the *MHB*, XVI, 1, 13, occurred 36 years after the Great Battle. Pargiter thinks this to be an exaggeration, *op. cit.*, p. 282 and note.

5. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 284. N. K. Siddhanta, *The Heroic Age*, p. 123 ; N. K. Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, p. 126 ; N. C. Banerji, *I. H. Q.*, I, p. 97.

6. Cf. *MBH.*, XVI, 3.

7. The throwing of an arrow by the hunter named Jarā and the consequent death of Kṛṣṇa as related in our *Jātaka* are also described in the *Purāṇas* and the Jain *Antagaḍadasāo*. Cf. *Viṣṇu P.*, l. c., *Antagaḍadasāo*, l. c. This must be taken to be an allegorical aspect of the end of the great person, if Jarā has any significance, though the popular belief is still there and the place where the incident happened is shown and worshipped, a few miles far from Prabhāsa pāṭaṇa, Kāthiāwād. It is known as *Dehotsarga*.

8. Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 284.

9. N. K. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 126 ; Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India* pp. 279-80 ; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 99-100.

With Ajjuna leading, these kings stand in one line *i.e.*, those who according to the *Jātakas* were remembered to have perished long before for their wrong deeds.

The *gāthā*,¹ which contains the names of four kings together is this :—

“*Yathā ahū Daṇḍakī Nālikīro*
Ath’ Ajjuno Kalābu cāpi rājā
tesaṃ gatiṃ bruhi supāpakammaṇaṃ
katth’ upapannā isinam viheṭhakā”

From amongst these four kings, Ajjuna has already been dealt with. Daṇḍakī is a later king as will soon appear. Here we should therefore take up the other two.

KALĀBU

The *Khantivādī Jātaka*,² relates the whole story in detail, how a faultless and forgiving sage met his unhappy end at the hands of this cruel and arrogant king, Kalābu. Towards the end of the story there are two *gāthās*,³ which contain the purport of the story in short. The prose-portion says that Kalābu was the king of Kāsī. So also does the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*⁴ which also knows the story and has the traditional *gāthā*.⁵ We have no mention of this king, as far as we can gather, in any other literary or traditional source. It may be noted, *en passant*, that ‘lābu’ and ‘alābu’ from which is apparently derived the word *kalābu*, are words of Austro-Asiatic origin and mean, in Malaya language, ‘gourd’—*Lagenaria vulgaris*.⁶ Kalābu, then, may perhaps be found out to be a king of one of the islands of further India or Greater India. But this is only a delightful surmise, a speculation.

NĀLIKIRA

Nālikira is a curious word indeed. It seems *Nālikira*, *Nālikera*, *Nalikela* and *Nārikela* are all only different pronunciations of one and the same word connected with the cocoanut tree.⁷ The *gāthā*⁸ cited for him is in the same line as the others. For torturing a sinless ascetic, Nālikira, it says, perished.

1. J., V, p. 143-G. 68.

2. J., III, pp. 38 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, GG. 49, 50.

4. J., V, p. 135.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 144-G. 72.

6. See J. Przyluski, ‘Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan’—Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 155 ff. “*Ka* is a prefix frequently met with in these languages. *e.g.*, *timnu-Katimun* : *lābu-alābu-Kalābu*.

7. The change of ‘*ra*’ into ‘*la*’ and *vice versa* is a well-known phonetic rule. Cf. Pāṇini ; *ralayorabhedah*.

8. J. V, p. 144-G. 72.



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that of the excommunication and the consequent migration of the Brāhmaṇas of Benares to a presumably foreign country,¹ may have some historical significance, though we have nothing to ascertain it. Mejjha, it is however interesting to note, seems to be a *Pāli* rendering of the *Saṃskṛta Medhya* and from the *Mahābhārata*,² at least we do get the name of Medhyāranya corresponding to our Mejjhāranya, and also of a river called Medhyā. But this identification does not lead us any further. It may, moreover, be mentioned in this connection that some of the Pāla Inscriptions³ name the Medas along with the Andhrakas and the Caṇḍālas, as low-caste people, thus suggesting a possible affinity with our Mejjha. But this again gives us nothing more than that it raises a suspicion whether Mejjha had any connection with the Medes of Ancient Persia. M. de St. Martin connects the Medas referred to by Maṇu and named in the Pāla Inscriptions mentioned above as low caste people, with the Maccocalingae of Pliny and with the Maga peoples who are in their turn to be associated with the Median Magi.⁴

MAGA

This very naturally brings us to an interesting reference to a Maga king in a *gāthā* of the *Samkicca Jātaka*⁵ which runs as follows :—

“yo ca rājā adhammattho ratthaviddhamsano Mago
tapayitvā janapadam Tapane pecca paccati.”

From the nature of its occurrence, it is difficult to hazard even a surmise of what is meant by this Maga king. We have no reference, as far as we know, in any other Indian literary source to a Maga king, excepting one of the Edicts of Aśoka⁶ which does mention a Maga king of Cyrene along with other Hellenistic kings—Antiochos Theos of Syria, Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt, Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia and Alexander of Epirus (or of Corinth).

But as regards the *Maga Brāhmaṇas*, we have ample authorities. These Brāhmaṇas gave the name to the country of their last adoption—Magadha, i.e., *magān dhārayati* or Maga-land. “The inhabitants of this region still call it Maga,” says Rapson,⁷ “a name doubtless derived from Magadha.” The

1. It must have been a foreign country or one inhabited by Non-Aryan people, which would not object to these ‘defiled’ Brāhmaṇas, but rather, welcome them as it seems to have been suggested in the Mejjha king’s favourable treatment towards these Brāhmaṇas.

2. III, 222 ; 295 ; See Sorensen, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

3. Cf. *The Bhāgalpur Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla*, I. A., XV, p. 306. *The Mungir Copper-plate grant of Devapāladeva*, I. A., XXI, p. 256. Cf. also *Maṇu*, X, 36; 48. See McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 133-4 notes.

4. See McCrindle, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-4 notes.

5. J., V. p. 267-G, 103.

6. Rock Edict XIII, See Mookerji, *Aśoka* p. 166 n., Bhandarkar *Aśoka*, pp. 45-6. also *C. H. I.*, I, p. 502 ; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 225-6.

7. *C. H. A. I.*, I, p. 182.

Viṣṇu and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇas*, it is interesting to note, relate in detail the traditional migration of the Magas from Śākadvīpa or Persia into India.¹ Even one of our *Jātakas* knows a Brāhmaṇa boy of Magadha styled Magakumāra.² These sun-worshipping Maga Brāhmaṇas are doubtless the Magi of Iran as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar³ showed long ago. However, for us it is quite impossible to see anything substantial in the solitary *gāthā* quoted above—as to whether it refers to a king of the Maga Brāhmaṇas domiciled in India or to one of the Magis of Persia.⁴

1. See Wilson, *Viṣṇu P.*, Intro., pp. XXXIX-XLI.

2. J., I, p. 199.

3. *Collected Works*, IV, pp. 218-21; For Maga Brāhmaṇas and their connection with the Magi of Persia, see Spooner, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 422 ff.; McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 133-4 and notes; A. Banerji-Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 72; Hodiwala, *Parsis of Ancient India*, pp. 28, ff. 73 ff.

4. What does “*ratthavidhamsana*” “the destroyer of the realm” of our *gāthā* refer to? Does it refer to the revolt of the Magians against the Zoroastrian religious revolution, the setting up by them as king of the false Smerdis, and the suicide of Cambyses at Harran (522 B. C.) which brought the sternly Zoroastrian Darius, son of Hystashis to the throne of Egypt? See *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 313.

CHAPTER II

THE KURU-PĀÑCĀLA KINGS

(1200-1000 B.C.)

WE HAVE DESIGNATED the period with which we were concerned in the preceding chapter as the “ancient period,” in order just to retain its obscure and uncertain character. It has not moreover been possible to give anything like a historical narrative, of that period. The only chronological strata that can be discerned are those of ancient traditional kings, mentioned only in the *gāthās*, and of those others who are treated in detail in prose portions. The time limit, ranging from 2000 B. C. to 1400 B. C., given to that period, cannot be anything but arbitrary or at the most approximate. It must be remembered, however, that this approximation rests on the assumption, that some of the names of kings discussed here are to be found in the *Vedic Literature*, which, according to the majority of *Vedic* scholars,¹ corresponds to the earlier period of Indo-Āryan expansion—second millenium B. C.

During, and probably long before, this period the Āryans were pouring into India, through the North-west of India along the high mountains of Himavat, Mūjavat and Trikakud, and across the rivers Suvāstu, Krumu and others.² We see them coming into conflict with the Non-Āryan Dāsa people of the east and south and with the Asura people from along the Sindhu-Sarasvatī waterways.³ The conflict terminates with the Dāsarājña battle on the Paruṣṇī (Rāvi) where the Ārya-Bhāratas emerge victorious and lead their way into the ‘interior’. The Asura-Pūrus, with their ten allies, suffer defeat and are pushed to further east. The Dāsa is also vanquished and driven away among the hills.⁴ Then follows a remarkable process of amalgamation, by which the Trtsu-Bhāratas merge into the Kurus on the Sarasvatī,⁵ the Asura-Pūrus into the Pāñcālas,⁶ and at last in the Brāhmaṇa Period we see the United nation of the Kuru-Pāñcāla⁷ inhabiting the region which latterly becomes the hallowed Kurukṣetra. “Indo-Āryan genealogy starts a fresh page with the Kuru-Pāñcāla—Pauravas of Hastināpura”.⁸

1. See Keith in *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 76, 110 ff; Winternitz, *op. cit.*, I pp. 290 ff; Haug, *The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, I, Intro., pp. 47 ff; Kaegi, *The RgVeda*, pp. 38 ff; 109; N. N. Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, pp. 39 ff, 65; A. Banerji Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 34 etc.

2. A. Banerji Sastri, *Asura India*, p. 34.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 49.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 55; Schröder, *Indien Literature und Cultur*, p. 465.

6. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 3, p. 108.

7. See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 406-9.

8. A. Banerji Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

This brief and running sketch of the period, which must have absorbed centuries, only supplies us with faint, though impressing, glimpses of the remote past—of the civilization buried under the ruins at Mohenjo-dāro in Sind and at Harappā in Panjab.¹ We felt it necessary to give this sketch in order to maintain the connecting link between the story and the detached periods with which we have to concern ourselves here.

The next stage in Indo-Āryan history begins, as we saw above, with the appearance of the Kurus and the Pañcālas who were, in the Brāhmaṇa Period, settled in the Middle country—the *madhyamā dik* of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.² Even though the two peoples are often seen to be referred to in the *Brāhmaṇas* as a united nation,³ it does not necessarily follow that both lived under one kingship. As a matter of fact, the relations between the two were sometimes friendly,⁴ and then tied with matrimonial alliances,⁵ but at other times, hostile. This conflict drags on till the great Bhārata war,⁶ and later. It is precisely here that we should usher in the *Jātaka* evidence for this period which forms the subject of this chapter.

As the *Jātakas* do not give us much that can be said as co-relative to the two kingdoms of Kuru and Pañcāla, it would be better, we think, for the sake of clearness, to treat them separately and notice the relation between the two wherever possible.

THE KURUS

The Kuru kingdom, as known to the *Jātakas*,⁷ had an extent of three hundred leagues. Its capital was Indapatta,⁸ (modern Indrapat near Delhi) which is sometimes said to have extended over seven leagues.⁹ The reigning dynasty belonged to the *Yudhiṣṭhira gotra*, i.e., the family of Yudhiṣṭhira,¹⁰ a fact which shows that the *Jātakas* are familiar only with the events that occurred after the Great war, one of which was the inclusion of the Pāṇḍavas in the famous Kuru line.¹¹ The date of the Bhārata war is still a matter of

1. See now Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo Dāro and the Indus Civilization*, (London, 1931,) 3 volumes.

2. VIII, 14; *Vedic Index*, I. p. 168; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 392-3.

3. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 165, 468; also see *C. H. I.*, I. pp. 119-20.

4. As the common occurrence of this in the *Brāhmaṇas* indeed shows.

5. Keśin Dālbhya, for instance, a king of the Pāñcālas, was sister's son to Uchchaih-Śravas, King of the Kurus. See Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 49.

6. 'Those two tribes whose mighty battles form the nucleus of the great Indian Epic, the *Mahābhārata*' Winternitz, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 195-6. Cf. Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13, p. 69 but contrast Pargiter, *J. R. A. S.*, 1920. p. 101. *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 285, 326, who dates the fusion of the two people of the *Brāhmaṇas* much later than the Bhārata battle.

7. *J.*, II, pp. 214-G, 154, 366; III, p. 400; IV. pp. 361, 444; V, pp. 57, 474, 484—'tiyojanasate'; VI, pp. 255, 329.

8. The older capital Asandivat of Janamejaya Pāriṣita had already vanished: *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 72; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 16, 24. The *Jātakas* do not know of Hastināpura.

9. *J.*, V, p. 484. But these measurements are only conventional.

10. *J.*, III, p. 400; V, p. 457.

11. See Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, I, p. 33; Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-4.

controversy. But between the two plausible extremes of 15th century B. C.¹ and the 10th century B. C.,² we may take the 12th century B. C. as the *via media*.³

The *Jātakas* mention only a few kings of this line. Those who find mention are : Koravya,⁴ Dhanañjaya Koravya,⁵ Sutasoma⁶ and perhaps Reṇu⁷. Of these, Dhanañjaya Koravya appears to have been the most familiar, as he must have been also very popular in those times, and his relation with his minister Vidhurapaṇḍita forms the subject of some of the stories, Who is this Dhanañjaya ? In the Epic Dhanañjaya is an ordinary epithet of Arjuna.⁸ But there are indications in the *Jātakas* themselves which tend to connect it with Yudhiṣṭhira himself. Thus the *gāthās* of the *Sambhava Jātaka* have the refrain :

“*Raṇṇo ‘hampahito dūto koravyassa yasassino*

Atthaṃ dhammaṃ ca pucchesi ‘iccabravi Yudhiṣṭhilo’.”⁹

Again Dhanañjaya is said to have been remembered for his skill in the game of dice (*jūtavittako*),¹⁰ which qualification, according to the Epic, applies well to Yudhiṣṭhira¹¹. He is moreover described as a pious, righteous and charitable king,¹² which again is in complete agreement with what we know of Yudhiṣṭhira from the Epic¹³ and later Hindu tradition¹⁴.

With Dhanañjaya Koravya is mentioned his almost inseparable companion Vidhurapaṇḍita¹⁵ who is generally known as a minister and a teacher of law, morality and polity. One *Jātaka*¹⁶ prose unnecessarily makes him the *purohita* of a king of Benares, though the *gāthās* do not suggest anything of the kind. Similarly the prose of the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka*¹⁷ seeks to describe him as a Brāhmaṇa and the son of a Brāhmaṇa Canda, while the *gāthās* are clear in representing him as a Kuru councillor, holding the status of a noble

1. Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., I. p. 111.

2. Pargiter, A. I. H. T., p. 182.

3. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 248 ff, on the *Paurāṇic*, astronomical and other evidences, actually comes to this date.

4. J., IV, p. 361 ; V, p. 457.

5. J., II, p. 366 ; III, p. 400 ; V, p. 57 ; VI, pp. 255.

6. J., V, p. 457.

7. J., IV, p. 444.

8. See Sørensen, *Index to the Mahārbhārata*, sub. voc. ; Dhanañjaya is a king of Benares in J. III, pp. 97 ff.

9. J., V, pp. 57 ff-GG. 145, 149, 171.

10. J., VI, pp. 255, 271.

11. Cf. *M.B.H.*, II, 59, 19. “who is there who can stake equally with me ?” asks Yudhiṣṭhira to Śakuni.

12. J., V, pp. 57-8-GG. 135-141.

13. See Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, p. 28 : “Yudhiṣṭhira, on the other hand, is made to be the pattern of a virtuous prince.”

14. The tradition had passed down even to the south where in Māmallapuram near Madras we find a temple raised in his honour (*Dharmarāya ratha*) in the 7th century A.D. See Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, p. 86.

15. He of is course the Epic Vidura who is however there associated with Dhṛtarāṣṭra. *MBH.*, I, 63, 100 ff. For the difference in spellings of his name, see Barua and Sinha, *Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 95-6.

16. J., V, pp. 57 ff

17. J., VI, p. 262.

of the royal family of the Kurus, though born in a natural state of servitude¹ That he was born of a slave is proved by his own declaration '*addhā hi yonito ahaṃ pi jāto*',² thus agreeing with the Epic account of his birth, though related in the usual miraculous manner.³

Vidhura is a just and truthful man, possessing great power of eloquence, so much so that all kings from India are said to have approached him and—sat at his feet to hear the *Dhamma*.⁴ His discourse on a householder's life and happiness, and his advice to young aspirants to the king's court, testify to his genius and political insight.⁵ In the *Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka*,⁶ he figures as an advocate of a revolting opinion about the Brāhmaṇas of his time, which may well have some historical significance.⁷ The *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* relates at length, predominantly in *gāthās* which run in the epic strain, the story of Vidhura and the Yakkha prince Puṇṇaka :⁸ the Nāga queen Vimalā's desire for the heart of Vidhura, the princess Irandatī's search for a husband to fulfil that desire, her union with the Yakkha prince Puṇṇaka, his victory at a dice play with king Dhanañjaya and the consequent winning over the wise man, their return to the Nāga capital, the queen's humbling down at the sight of the great man, and his final release and a gift of a precious jewel from Puṇṇaka which he delivered to the Kuru king—all this may only be a fable, pure and simple, though as old as the second century B. C..⁹

One more point to be noticed in connection with Dhanañjaya Koravya. In the *Dhūmakārī Jātaka*¹⁰ he is represented as showing favour to new comers (*āgantukānaṃ yeva saṃgahaṃ akāsi*) neglecting the old and faithful soldiers (*porāṇakayodhe agaṇetvā*). This policy was responsible for his defeat in a battle in a disturbed frontier province. He came to realize his mistake with the help of his wise councillor Vidhura. How far this incident can be taken as historical, we are not able to ascertain, it being left uncorroborated, as far as we know, by further evidence.

1. Barua and Sinha *op. cit.*, p. 95.

2. J., VI, p. 285-G. 1239.

3. *MBH.* I, 63, 113-4; 106, 23-28, V. 41, 5—"*Sūdrayonāvahaṃ jāto*."

4. J., VI, pp. 255-6.

5. J., VI, pp. 286-7—GG. 1244-50.

6. J. IV, pp. 361 ff.

7. Dr. Winternitz remarks in his valuable essay on the "*Ascetic Poetry*," . . . "though the majority of the verses in this section (*i.e.*, the *Vidhuraḥitavākya*, *MBH.*, V, 32-40) contains rules of morality and wisdom, it also contains a great number of verses which teach what I call ascetic morality—verses which sound quite Buddhistic and some of which have actually been traced in the *Pāli* literature." *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1923, p. 8.

8. The story is found depicted in the sculptures of one of the railings of the Barhut Stupa, with a label bearing the inscription "*Vitura-Punakiya-Jātakaṃ*"—of the second century B.C. See Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-5; Cunningham, *Stupa of Barhut*, plate XVIII.

9. See above; Vidhura also occurs as the name of a wise monk in the *Majjhimanikāya* I, 5, 10 and the *Therīgāthā*, 1188.

10. J., III, pp. 400 ff.

For Sutasoma's historical existence, we cannot vouch. In the long, dreary and epic-like story related in the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*,¹ we find him as the Lord of the Kurus.² The king of Benares turns out a man-eater. Sutasoma, with his masterly genius, restores him to his senses and, at the end, establishes him on his throne. In the intervening *gāthās* we are given a glorious description of Sutasoma's virtuous reign.³ The man-eater king, who is in the *gāthās* towards the end⁴ named Kammāsapāda, restores the kings whom he had captured to liberty. The story of Kalmāṣapāda, the king of Ayodhyā, is well-known in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.⁵ But it has no reference to Sutasoma or any other person named in the *Jātaka* story. The story, with almost the same oft-repeated *gāthās*, occurs in the *Jayaddisa Jātaka*,⁶ where however the hero-king is Jayaddisa of Pañcāla. All this makes us doubtful of the real existence of Sutasoma.⁷

Such is perhaps also the case with King Reṇu mentioned in the *Somanassa Jātaka*.⁸ The *Jātaka* makes him the king of Kuru with Uttarapañcāla as his capital city, which is rather interesting. We cannot say whether this statement is based on fact or is an outcome of the confused ignorance of the *Jātaka* compiler. It must however be admitted that there is nothing improbable in this, since we know that 'a great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pañcālas for the possession of Uttarapañcāla'.⁹ And king Reṇu, in this case, might in all probability have taken possession of Uttarapañcāla after a bitter struggle with a Pañcāla king and made it his seat of government.

The story relates, that once a rebellion broke out in the frontier. The king went to suppress it, leaving his son Prince Somanassa (by queen Sudhammā¹⁰) in charge of the government. On his return a false charge was brought against his son by a deceitful ascetic. Trusting upon the ascetic, the king ordered the prince to be executed. He however soon came to realize the falsity of the charge, and then began to implore his son to take the charge of the kingdom which the latter forsook in disgust and turned an ascetic. This is a story on which little reliance can be placed, in absence of further evidence to corroborate it. A king by the name of Reṇu is indeed mentioned in the

1. J., V, pp. 457 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 479-G. 396 : "Koravyasetṭha Sutasoma."

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 491-2 GG. 429-438.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 503-GG, 471-2 This shows the inconsistent nature of the *Jātakas*—between the prose and the *gāthās*.

5. *MBH.*, I, 178-9; *Vīṣṇu P.*, IV, 4; See Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 208 ff. According to the *Jātaka* story, it was after this king Kammāsapāda that a town named Kammāsa-dhamma was founded in Kuru Kingdom. Cf. Law, *op cit.*, I, p. 18; Rhys Davids. *Buddhist India*, p. 27.

6. J. V, pp. 21 ff

7. Sutasoma appears as the name of a son of Bhīma in the *MBH.*, I, 63, 122; 95, 74; the story of Sutasoma is referred to in the *Milindapañho* (1st cent. B.C.); The *Jātaka* is also depicted in a fresco at Ajantā.

8. J., IV, pp. 444 ff. Only one *gāthā*, 192, names him.

9. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 94, cf. *MBH.*, I, 140.

10. J., IV, p. 452-G. 215.



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“It seems probable,” says Dr. Raychaudhury,¹ “that after the removal of the main royal family to Kauśāmbī,² the Kuru realm was parcelled out into small states of which Indapatta and Íśukāra were apparently the most important. Later on the little principalities gave place to a Saṅgha or republic” known to Kauṭilya.³

Here finishes our information about the Kuru kings as supplied by the *Jātakas*, and we may now take up the Pañcāla Kings.

THE PANCĀLAS

The curious legend, given in the *Cetiya Jātaka* about the foundation of Uttarapañcāla by a Ceti Prince, may or may not have any historical value.⁴ The *Jātakas*, curiously enough, speak of Uttarapañcāla both as a capital city in the Kingdom of Kāmpilla⁵ and as a kingdom with Kāmpilla as its capital city.⁶ It is to be noted, however, that not a single *gāthā* in the whole of the *Jātaka* book mentions Uttarapañcāla, but that it is Pañcāla simply that finds repeated mention in a number of *gāthās*.⁷ The two terms must therefore be clearly understood. No trace of such a division of Pañcāla as the northern (*Uttara*) or the southern (*Dakṣiṇa*) is to be found in the *Vedic* or *Brāhmaṇic* Literature.⁸ They know the Pañcālas,⁹ and the town of Kāmpilla¹⁰ which is really known in later times to be their capital. It follows, then, that this division must be a later one. Even the Great Epic itself, if we condescend to believe it, clearly says that the division took place sometime before the Great war, when the Pāṇḍavas defeated Drupada king of Pañcāla and handed over the Pañcāla kingdom to their preceptor Droṇa as promised, who, by way of kindness, kept the northern half of the kingdom for himself and returned the southern half to Drupada, river Bhāgīrathī forming the dividing line.¹¹ The capital of the former was at Ahicchatrā which is unknown to *Vedic* Literature, and that of the latter at Kāmpilya, *Vedic* Kāmpila. *Ahicchatrā* appears to be a later form of *Adhicchatrā* preserved in the famous Pabhosā cave

1. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 94.

2. This happened in the reign of Nicakṣu, the fifth successor of Janamejaya Pārīkṣita when Hastināpura the old capital was destroyed by the Gangas ‘flood’ or rather by the inroads of the locusts (*matachi*) presumably a few centuries after the Great War, *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 46-7.

3. *Arthaśāstra*, XI, 1. The existence of the Kurus can be traced as late as the time of King Dharmapāla of Bengal (800 A.D.) Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, p. 125.

4. *J.*, III, pp. 460-1. *Supra*.

5. *J.*, II, p. 213; III, p. 79; IV, p. 430; V, pp. 21, 98; VI, pp. 391-392, 409, 415, 426, 461, 466. It is once a city in Kuru kingdom as already noticed.

6. *J.*, III, p. 379; VI, p. 405.

7. *J.*, II, p. 214-G, 154; III, pp. 80-GG. 90-1, 381-G, 94; VI, pp. 397-G. 1455; 424-G. 1491; 477-G. 1677. The name of Dakkhinapañcāla is conspicuously absent from the whole of the *Jātaka* book. Pañcāla roughly corresponds to Bareilly, Budaon, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces: Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 47.

8. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 47, 94; *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 469. The solitary reference in a later *Vedic* text to the Prācyā Pañcālas may perhaps only point to the Eastern inhabitants of the country and it cannot well be taken to refer to a division as such.

9. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 468-9.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

11. *MBH.*, I, 104; 168; *Harivaṃśa*, 20; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 94.

Inscription of the second century B. C..¹ It seems probable therefore that the above division is a later product when perhaps Adhicchatrā rose into prominence and succeeded in securing for itself a separate part from out the renowned kingdom of Pañcāla.

How then are we to reconcile this with the *Paurāṇic* accounts which, actually, give long lists of the two dynasties separately? ² We must admit our inability to decide the precise facts in the present state of our knowledge, especially in view of the fact that we have the confused *Paurāṇic* accounts as our sole guide in this direction. We should leave this problem for further light that future research may throw.

There is a very remarkable evidence, as regards the family or dynastic connections of the Pañcāla kings named in the *Jātakas*, which has not gained the prominence it deserves. As will be seen, most of the Pañcāla kings are connected with, what seems to be their family title, *Brahmadatta*. And a Brahmadatta is a famous king of south Pañcāla in the *Purāṇas*.³ Now, to co-ordinate various other facts, two *gāthās*, at least, in our *Jātaka* book,⁴ preserve a dim recollection of the dynastic descent of the Pañcāla kings from the Bhāratas of old, as the epithets *Bharatūsabha* and *Bhārata* given to these kings clearly show. This latter fact lends valuable confirmation to the *Vedic*⁵ Epic⁶ and *Paurāṇic*⁷ evidence.⁸ Thus it seems legitimate to infer that the Brahmadatta Dynasty of Pañcāla was of Bhārata-descent. Then again, as pointed out by Dr. Raychaudhury,⁹ a king of Kāśī named Dhataratṭha is represented as a Bhārata prince in the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. "The Bhārata dynasty of Kāśī," adds the learned scholar, "seems to have been supplanted by a new line of Kings who had the family name Brahmadatta and were probably of Videha origin."¹⁰ We may or may not place any great reliance on the solitary reference about the Bhārata connection with Kāśī. But as regards *Brahmadatta* being a family name of the Kāṇ monarchs, our *Jātakas* are quite explicit, as will appear¹¹. A question naturally arises: had this Brahmadatta dynasty of Kāśī anything to do with the similarly named one of Pañcāla? This is a subtle and an interesting question. Some of the *Jātaka* passages, as will be shown later on, have led Dr. Raychaudhury,¹² to assign a Videhan origin for the Brahmadattas of

1. *Epigraphica Indica*, II. p. 243 and note. See Majumdar, *C. A. G. I.* pp. 412 ff; 704-5.

2. Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-8; Pradhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff; 103 ff.

3. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 64-5, 69, 148, 164-6, 316-7; Pradhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.

4. J., IV, p. 435-G, 159; V, p. 99-G, 306.

5. See *Vedic Index*, II, p. 96; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 408.

6. *MBH*, I, 94. Dhṛṣṭadyumna of the North Pañcāla line is called *Bharatarṣabha* in the Epic. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 113 note.

7. *Matsya P.*, 50, for instance.

8. Cf. Pargiter, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 26, 28; 1914, p. 284; 1918, pp. 238-9; *A. I. H. T.*, p. 113; Raychaudhury *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 48-9; Dutt *Aryanisation of India*, p. 108; A. Banerji Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 69. Keith, in *C. H. I.*, I. pp. 118 ff.

9. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 51. Cf. J., V, p. 317-G. 94 where a Kāśī king is addressed as *Bhārata*.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-2.

11. See Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 56-7,

12. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 51-2,

Kāśī. Stray, and therefore insufficient, as these references are to warrant such a conclusion,¹ they are not altogether untenable. What is more, as it seems to us, Videha must have acted as a mediator between the two kingdoms of Pañcāla and Kāśī in supplying the title *Brahmadatta* to the latter from the former. By a mysterious process of alliances, unknown to us, the Brahmadatta kings of Pañcāla, very probably through the medium of Videha, transferred, and perpetuated, their dear title to the kings of Benares.²

To return to the Pañcālas. The *Jātakas*, as we just saw, know the Pañcāla-Bhārata connection, that old merging of the Vedic Bhāratas into the later Pañcālas. We also saw that most of the Pañcāla kings, mentioned in the *Jātakas*, bear the family title of *Brahmadatta*. As such, they may perhaps be convincingly regarded as kings of South Pañcāla of the *Purāṇas*. We shall now take up the individual kings.

Dummukha seems to have been a famous personality. According to the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*,³ his kingdom was styled Uttara-Pañcālaratṭha. His capital was Kāmpillanagara. He is represented to have renounced the world in company with his contemporary kings, viz., Karaṇḍu of Kalinga, Naggaji of Gandhāra and Nimi of Videha.⁴ The contemporariety of these four Kings is also attested to by the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*⁵ in a similar *gāthā*. The Vedic evidence, as pointed out by Raychaudhury,⁶ also goes in support of this. "Durmukha, the Pañcāla king, had a priest named Bṛhaduktha,⁷ who was the son of Vāmadeva.⁸ Vāmadeva was a contemporary of Somaka, the son of Sahadeva.⁹ Somaka had close spiritual relationship with Bhīma, king of Vidarbha, and Nagnajit, king of Gandhāra".¹⁰ Thus if the above synchronism be accepted as correct, we shall have to hold all these kings to be contemporaneous with one another, viz., Somaka Sāhadevya,¹¹ Durmukha

1. See Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

2. That there were wars between the Pañcālas and the Videhas is clear from the *Brāhmaṇas* as well as from the *Jātakas*: See *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 122-3; *J.*, V, pp. 98 ff. After the struggle, there must have been matrimonial alliances between the two as is natural and as is in fact proved by the *Jātaka* instance of Pañcālacaṇḍī's marriage with the Videha: *ibid*; close relations between Videha—and Kāśī are known from the *Brāhmaṇas*: *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 122-3. Thus there is nothing improbable in this process of transference, though we must take it as hypothetical only.

3. *J.*, III, p. 379.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 381-G. 94.

5. *S. B. E.*, XLV, p. 87. Cf. also J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 121. On the slightly variant forms of the names in different versions Meyer remarks: "So the names speak for the priority, or at least, a greater originality, of the Buddhistic versions." *op. cit.*, and *loc. cit.* n.

6. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 57-8.

7. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 23; *Ved. Ind.*, I, p. 370.

8. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 2, 2, 14; *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 71.

9. *Rg Veda*, IV, 15, 7-10; Pradhan *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100; Somaka and Sahadeva in the passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, referred to above, are connected with the ṛṣis, Parvata and Nārada. See *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 479.

10. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 34; the passage names another king-Babhru Daivāvradhah also.

11. Somaka Sāhadevya is represented in the *Purāṇas* as a king of the North Pañcāla line Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 148; Pradhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 ff. So our Dummukha should naturally be regarded as a king of south Pañcāla.

Pañcāla, Bhīma Vaidarbha and Nagnajit Gāndhāra.¹ The Vedic texts do not mention Karaṇḍu or Nimi.²

Our *Jātaka*, as has been stated above, depicts Dummukha as renouncing the world on seeing the lustful nature of animals and their consequent ruin.³ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, on the other hand, describes him as a great conqueror. "This great anointing of Indra," so declares the *Brāhmaṇa*, "Bṛhaduktha, the seer, proclaimed to Durmukha, the Pāñcāla. Therefore Durmukha Pāñcāla, being a king, by this knowledge, went round the earth completely, conquering on every side."⁴ It would seem probable that his renunciation, about which there can be no doubt,⁵ took place towards the end of his glorious career as world-conqueror.

It is difficult to assign to him any particular date or place among the Pāñcāla kings known to us. Janaka's Pāñcāla contemporary, as we know,⁶ was the famous Pravāhaṇa Jaivali. If the Nimi mentioned in our *Jātaka* as a contemporary of Dummukha be the same as the penultimate king of Janaka's family mentioned in the *Nimi Jātaka*,⁷ then Dummukha must be placed after Janaka, and hence later than Pravāhaṇa Jaivali.⁸ But this does not seem possible, for it would bring down Dummukha much lower in time, and would thus go against the unquestionable verdict of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which refers to him as an ancient king. Dummukha, therefore, appears to our mind to have lived prior to Pravāhaṇa Jaivali.⁹

Another really great king is Culaṇi-Brahmadatta mentioned in the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka*.¹⁰ We may be quite sure that this Culaṇi-Brahmadatta is identical with that mentioned in the *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*,¹¹ the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, a play by Bhāsa¹² and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,¹³ though the stories told about him in these works differ from one another. The *Uttarādhyaṇa*

1. This synchronism agrees, more or less, with the findings of Pargiter except that Dummukha and Nagnajit, are not mentioned in the genealogical list given by him. *A. I. H. T.*, P. 148.

2. Nimi's identification with Nami Sāpya of the Vedic texts is, as Raychaudhury points out, more or less, problematical: *P. H. A. I.*, p. 57.

3. It is interesting to note that the cause of renunciation is different in the Jaina version. Both the *Jātaka* and the Jaina versions have the four *Gāthās* spoken by the four kings but while the *Jātaka* is reticent about the respective names of the kings, the Jaina story gives them and, as such, may be taken as more correctly informed. According to the latter, Dummukha renounced the world when he beheld the banner of Indra fall down. See *Hindu Tales*, p. 144.

4. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 23; translation by Keith, *Rg-Veda Brāhmaṇas*, p. 338.

5. The *Tibetan Tales* (Schiefner and Ralston) p. 11 and the *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil), pp. 211, 217, remember him as a *ṛṣi*—a sage.

6. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 49 ff.

7. *J.*, VI, pp. 95 ff.

8. Cf. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 49.

9. Cf. Keith, in *C. H. I.*, p. 121.

10. *J.*, VI, pp. 391 ff.

11. XLV, 57-61; See also Meyer *op. cit.*, pp. 3. ff., where Bāmbhadatta is a wicked king. "wooden statue of a sensualist."

12. *Svapnavāsavadattā* (ed. Gaṇapati Śāstrī), Act. V.

13. I, 33, 18 ff.

Sūtra seems to be more correct in interpreting the name of the king as 'Brahmadatta, born of (queen) Cūlanī',¹ than the *Rāmāyaṇa* which invents a fanciful story of the sage named Cūlī who, through his austerities, bestowed upon a lady a son named Brahmadatta. The fact that he is a popular figure in all the various versions only strengthens our belief that he is a real historical personage. We cannot however ascertain at present whether he can be identical with the Brahmadatta of south Pañcāla found in Pargiter's dynastic list.² The least we can say is that the two, if not identical, were most probably connected with the same dynastic or lineal relation. This may gain confirmation by the fact that some of the direct descendants of the *Paurāṇic* Brahmadatta are, as will be shown, known to the *Jātakas*, though in a different garb.

The story as related in the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka* embodies in itself a great conflict between this great Pañcāla king and a Videha king. Even if we solely confine ourselves to the *gāthās*, we do visualise the picture of the conflict, with its various aspects, so vividly as to render the account historically probable.

On the advice of his Brāhmaṇa minister Kevaṭṭa, so runs the story,³ King Cūlanī Brahmadatta started a vigorous career of conquest and succeeded in establishing his sway over the whole of India excepting Videha. Twice, in his attempts to capture Mithilā, the capital of Videha,⁴ he failed, owing to the diplomatic opposition of the Videha minister-Mahosadha.⁵ Baffled in these attempts, Brahmadatta now, again through Kevaṭṭa's advice, offered to marry his daughter Pañcālacaṇḍī to the Videha king, and invited him to the city for the purpose, with the ulterior motive of putting him to death during his stay there⁶. The Videha king was ready. But the unfailing alertness of Mahosadha again saved him from the treacherous design of Kevaṭṭa. He caused an underground tunnel from Mithilā to the Pañcāla city, had 300 ships ready within a short time, and in a most ingenuous manner carried out the safe escape of the king from the enemy's country, with Pañcālacaṇḍī who was now his wife, Pañcālacaṇḍa, the Pañcāla prince, and Nandā, Brahmadatta's wife⁷. Final reconciliation was then arrived at between the two kings. After the demise of his master, Mahosadha, as promised, left the kingdom of Videha and passed the remainder of his life with Cūlanī-Brahmadatta, now a sincere appreciator of his.

1. XIII, 1, "Cūlanīe Bāmbhadatto."

2. A. I. H. T., p. 148.

3. J., VI, pp. 396 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, GG. 1451-8—"Pañcālo sabbasenāya Brahmadatto samāgato;" and then follows the description of the army; "tāya senāya Mithilā tisandhiparivāritā rājadhānī Videhānaṃ samantā parikkhaṇāti."

5. Cf. the characteristic words of the minister—"Pāde deva pasārehi bhuñja Kāme raṇassa ca, hitvā Pañcāliyaṃ senaṃ Brahmadatto pamāyati"—*Ibid.*, p. 399-G. 1459.

6. "Rājā santhavakāmo te ratanāni paveccati—Pañcālā ca Videhā ca ubhe ekā bhavantu te" *Ibid.* p. 412-GG. 1460-1 and "ānayitvāna Videhaṃ Pañcālānaṃ rathesabho tato taṃ ghātayissati nāssa sakkhī bhavissati" *Ibid.*, p. 424-G. 1491.

7. Thus commands the minister to the servants: "etha mānavā utthetha mukhaṃ sodhetha sandhino, Videho sahayamacchi ummaggena gamissati" *Ibid.*, p. 444-G. 1555; also GG. 1558-61.

The story may essentially be legendary. But the easy flowing and the ballad-like *gāthās*, intervening the narrative, could not but force us to reproduce the account in a nutshell, with a view only to have a tentative recognition of its main historical character.¹

Cūlaṇi Brahmadaṭṭa must really have been a great conqueror as the title of 'Universal Monarch' given to him by the *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra* clearly suggests. It seems probable from this, that he lived during the period when the erstwhile powerful kingdom of Videha was on its wane and when Kāśī had not yet raised its head against the powers of the North and the East. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that two *gāthās* in our *Jātaka* seem to say that the kingdom of Kāśī was under the overlordship of Cūlaṇi Brahmadaṭṭa, since the latter was prepared to give away eighty villages in Kāśī to Mahosadha by way of gifts.² This again is not impossible, in view of the fact that Kāśī, during this period, was an easy prey to the more powerful Kuru-Pañcāla kings.³

Finally, we should notice, a king named Saṅkhaṇḍa, ruling over the kingdom of Ekabala, is mentioned in our *Jātakas*⁴ as being contemporaneous with Cūlaṇi Brahmadaṭṭa and busy preparing for some war. The reference is made in a manner which would appear to locate this kingdom somewhere outside India. Neither the king nor his kingdom can however be identified.

The *Jayaddisa Jātaka*⁵ mentions two kings of Pañcāla, viz., Jayaddisa and his son Alīnasattu. The story relates an encounter of King Jayaddisa, while on a hunting with a man-eating ogre, Kammāsapāda, and the final taming of the latter by Prince Alīnasattu.⁶ Little reliance can however be placed on the story, and we have nothing to offer to prove the historical existence of the two Kings named here.⁷

Such an uncertainty also prevails, we think, as regards the few other unnamed kings of Pañcāla mentioned in the *Jātakas*. A Pañcāla king is mentioned in the *Brahmadatta Jātaka*,⁸ another in the *Sattigumbha Jātaka*⁹ and a third in the *Gaṇḍatiṇḍu Jātaka*.¹⁰ All these kings may be purely legendary, as the stories told about them are too much childish, except, perhaps, the one

1. There is nothing in our *Jātaka* to support the following remarks of Raychaudhury: 'The Rāmāyaṇic legend regarding the king is only important as showing the connection of the early Pañcālas with the foundation of the famous city of Kānyakubja in Kanauj'. *P. H. A. I.* p. 96.

2. "Dammi nikkhasahassaṃ te gāṃsīti ca Kāsisu"—J. VI, pp. 462. 464; GG. 1630, 1638

3. We know that Dhṛtarāṣṭra of Kāśī was defeated by Śatānīka Sātrājita, a Bhārata prince: *Vedic Index*, I, p. 403; II, p. 352.

4. J., VI, p. 390.

5. J., V, pp. 21 ff.

6. "Pañcāla rājā migavaṃ pavuttho, Jayaddiso nāma yadissuto te, cārāmi kaccāṇi vanam cāham pasādamimam khāda mamaṃ muṇḍa" Ibid. p. 23-G. 65—.... "Aham pi puttosmi Jayaddisassa mamaṃ khāda pituno pamokkha" Ibid., p. 30-G. 84.

7. Does the *Jātaka*, here, refer to the Paurāṇic king Jayadratha and his son Viśvajit of the South Pañcāla line, found in Pargiter's dynastic list? *A. I. H. T.*, p. 146; does the name Alīnasattu—the enemy of the Alina—contain something which may connect it with the famous tribe—the Alinas—of the *R̥g Veda*? See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 39.

8. J., III, pp. 79 ff.

9. J., IV, pp. 430 ff.

10. J., V, pp. 98 ff.

whose oppressive measures over his subjects and the devastated condition of his kingdom are so vividly and naturally described in the illuminating *gāthās* intervening the *Jātaka* as to give a historical tinge to the whole narrative.¹ But what is of more importance and value in this connection is the historical association of these unnamed Pañcāla Kings with *Brahmadatta*, their family title² and *Bhārata* their dynastic title.³

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar⁴ has identified Vissasena, Udayabhadda⁵ and Bhallāṭiya of the *Jātakas*⁶ with the *Paurāṇic* kings Viśvaksena, Udakasena and Bhallāṭa respectively. The identification was based merely on the striking agreement in names, which is after all not a very convincing argument, and doubts as regards these have rightly been entertained.⁷ But several circumstances now tend to go in support of Prof. Bhandarkar's theory. First, the immediate predecessor of the *Paurāṇic* kings is Brahmadatta of South Pañcāla;⁸ secondly, Udaya of the *Gaṅgamāla Jātaka*,⁹ but not Udayabhadda of the *Udaya Jātaka*,¹⁰ as Prof. Bhandarkar has taken him to be, is called by the family name '*Brahmadatta*'¹¹; and thirdly, our above discussion on the relation between Brahmadatta and the Pañcālas results in favour of this identification. In view of this we may be inclined to hold that these three kings, whom the *Jātakas* regard, possibly through their usual obstinacy, as the kings of Kāśī, should be taken more correctly as kings of South Pañcāla in agreement with the *Paurāṇic* lists. But here a fresh difficulty faces us as regards Bhallāṭa. A single verse from the *Mahābhārata*,¹² which mentions the country of Bhallāṭa with the mountain Sūktimat, has been the basis of different theories with regard to the identification of this Sūktimt mountain. Dr. R. C. Majumdar¹³ identifies the mountain with the Sulaiman range and Bhallāṭa with the *Rgvedic* Bhalānas who lived, according to Zimmer, in east Kabulistan and after whom the Bolan pass was named. He is supported by Harit Krisna Deb and Jayaswal.¹⁴ But Dr. Raychaudhury,¹⁵ with good reasons, comes to a different conclusion. According to him the

1. J., V, pp. 102-7—GG. 316-42.

2. In J. III, p. 80, G. 89 addresses the king as '*Brahmadatta*', while the following two—90 and 91—address him as 'the lord of the *Pañcālas*'; in J., V, pp. 102 ff, from G. 316 onwards the two forms—*Pañcāla* and *Brahmadatta*—recur alternatively, and one *gāthā*—322—has the two forms together—"garayho brahme Pañcālo Brahmadattasya rājino." The mention of the 'hundred Brahmadattas' in the Epic and the *Purāṇas*, to be intelligible, must include these *Pañcāla Brahmadattas*: See MBH., II, 8, 23; Matsya P., 273, 71; Raychudhury, P. H. A. I., p. 51.

3. J., V, p. 99, G. 306 addresses the Pañcāla king as '*Bharatūsabha*', the best of the *Bhāratas*, while J., IV, p. 435-G. 159 has the appellation '*Bhārata*'.

4. Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 57.

5. See note below.

6. J., II, pp. 345 ff; IV, pp. 104 ff; IV, pp. 437 ff.

7. Sen, op. cit., p. 11. Raychaudhury, op. cit., pp. 69-70, keeps the identification as it is.

8. A. I. H. T., p. 148.

9. J., III, pp. 452 ff.

10. J., IV pp. 104 ff.

11. J., III, p. 452 "*kīm Brahmadatta iti rājānam kulanāmena ālapitvāti*" and G. 42. It is this Udaya, and not Udayabhadda of Bhandarkar, who is distinctly associated with Kāśī in J., IV, p. 113-G. 58, and who is to be identified with the *Paurāṇic* Udakasena.

12. II, 30, 5—"Bhallāṭamabhito Jigye Sūktimantam ca parvatam."

13. Proceedings, Second Oriental Conference, 1923, pp. 609 ff.

14. Ibid., preface p. xliii.

15. Studies in Indian Antiquities, p. 120.



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CHAPTER III

VIDEHA AND THE LESSER KINGDOMS (1200—800 B.C.)

THE VIDEHAS

VIDEHA HAS GAINED an immortal fame through Janaka, the great philosopher-king of the *Upaniṣads*, who even to this day is revered by every pious Hindu. The fame and prosperity of the Kingdom are known also to the *Jātakas*.

It extended over three hundred leagues and was situated in Majjimaḍesa or Middle Country.¹ It comprised 16000 villages.² Its capital city Mithilā covered seven-leagues.³ At its four gates were four market towns (*nigama-gāmas*).⁴ The following fine description of the city is given in the *Mahājānaka Jātaka*⁵ :

“...This Mithilā spacious and splendid,
By architects with rule and line laid out in order fair to see,
With walls and gates and battlements—traversed by streets on every side
With horses, cows and chariots thronged, with tanks and gardens beautified,
Videha’s far-famed capital gay with its knights and warrior swarms,
Clad in the robes of tiger-skins, with banners, spread and flashing arms,
Its Brahmins, dressed in Kāsī cloth, perfumed with sandal decked with gems,
Its palaces and all their queens with robes of state and diadems.”

Videha roughly corresponds to the modern Tirhut in Bihar, and Mithilā is identified with Janakapur, a small town within the Nepal border, north of which the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet.⁶

The *Makhādeva Jātaka*⁷ and the *Nimi Jātaka*⁸ mention a king named Makhādeva as the progenitor of the royal line of Mithilā, while the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁹ and the *Purāṇas*¹⁰ name Nimi as the founder of the Videha dynasty. Both the latter authorities, again, mention Mithi as the son of Nimi and the builder of the city of Mithilā.¹¹ Some scholars¹² are inclined to take Mithi as identical with our Makhādeva. But this is not plausible. Real identification how-

1. J., III, p. 365 ; IV, p. 316.

2. J., III, p. 367-G. 76.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 365.

4. J., VI, p. 330.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7 ; also J., IV, pp. 358-9.

6. *C. A. G. I.*, p. 718. The territory suffered heavily during the recent earthquake.

7. J., I, p. 139.

8. J., VI, p. 96.—“*tesaṃ sabbapaṭhamam*” Cf. the *Makhādeva Suttanta*, of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and *Culla Niddesa*, p. 80.

9. I, 71, 3.

10. *Vāyu P.*, 89 ; *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 5 ; *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 84, 95.

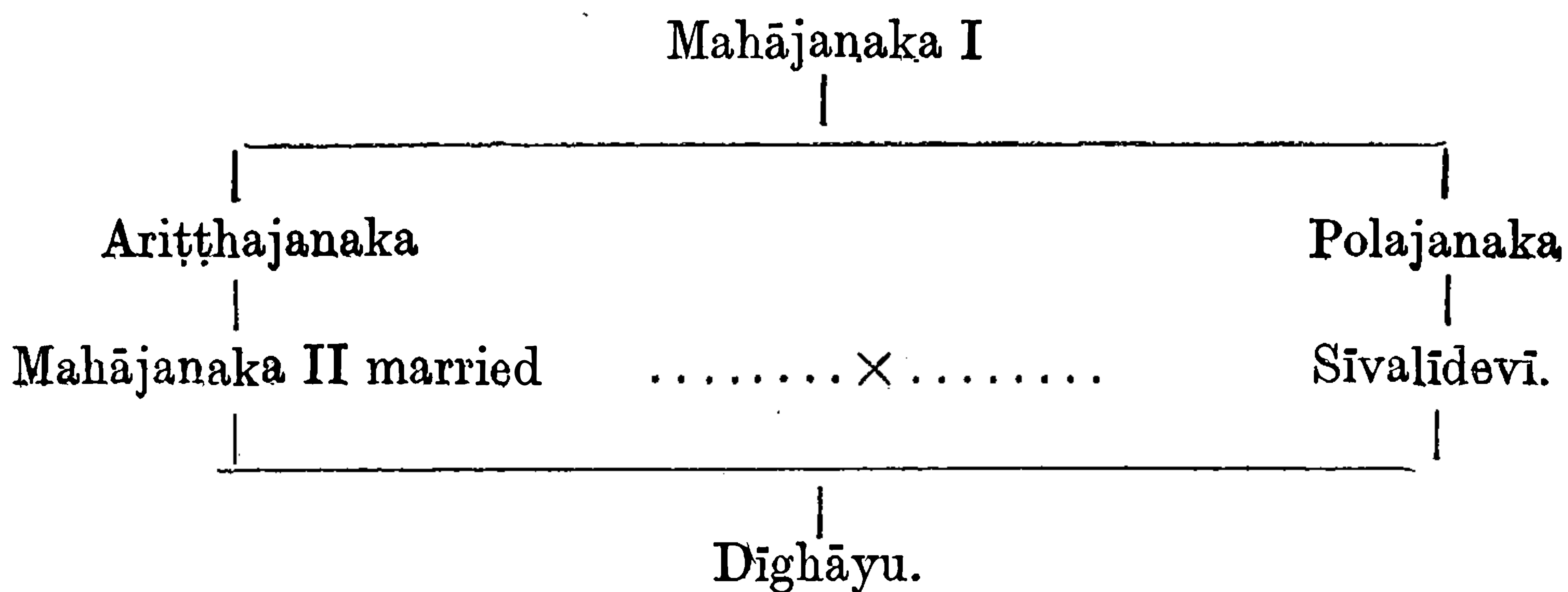
11. J., VI, p. 47-G. 155 names Somanassa as the builder of the city : “*māpitaṃ Somanassaṃ*.”

12. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 14 ; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 35—“Mithi is reminiscent of Māthava.”

ever is to be sought, as already suggested by Raychaudhury¹ between Māthava Videgha of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,² and our Makhādeva or Maghādeva of the *Culla Niddesa* and the Barhut Stupa Inscriptions³. The remarkable passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has, since the time of Weber, been taken, perhaps rightly, to indicate the progress of Vedic Āryan civilization from the North-west towards the East from the Sarasvatī to the Sadānīrā.⁴ Whatever the merits of the interpretations given to this passage, it is certain that it refers to an earlier connection of Māthava Videgha with the Videha people. And moreover there is no difficulty, as shown by Barua and Sinha,⁵ in establishing the phonological identification between the two names, Māthava and Makhādeva, both of which are but dialectical variants of one and the same word, Mahādeva. Thus the *Jātaka* may be given the credit of preserving, in common with the older *Brāhmaṇa*, the tradition about the man who should be regarded as the earliest known king of Videha.

Makhādeva, in our *Jātakas*, is represented as a pious and religious ruler (*dhammiko dhammarājā*). After a long reign of peace and prosperity, he is said to have renounced the world and assumed the garb of an ascetic, on seeing his hair turn grey.⁶

The *Jātakas* also know of more than one Janakas reigning at Mithilā, thus agreeing with the *Paurāṇic* statements about the 'Janakavaṁśa' or the Janaka dynasty of Videha.⁷ The *Mahājanaka Jātaka*⁸ furnishes us with the following genealogical table which, of course, should not be taken as wholly reliable :—



1. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 35-36.

2. *I*, 4, 1, *et. seq.*

3. Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.

4. See *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 151, 298-9; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 398-9; Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, pp. 127-9; Bhandarkar, *C. L.*, p. 14; C. V. Vaidya, *I. H. Q.*, V, p. 257; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 35. contrast Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, pp. 224, 311.

5. *l. c.*; also Barua, in *I. H. Q.* IV, pp. 522-3. *Calcutta Review*, October, 1927, p. 66; Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, p. 520; for Dr. Voegel's objection to the point. *J. R. A. S.*, 1927, p. 594.

6. *J.*, I, pp. 137-9; VI, pp. 95-6; Cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Suttanta* No. 83 The scene of the finding of a grey hair is marvellously sculptured on a railing of the Barhut stupa: See Cunningham, *Stupa of Barhut*, pl. xlviii; Francis and Thomas, *Jātaka Tales*, pl. i; the idea of renouncing the world when one's hair turn grey, is to this day very common with the Hindus. Cf. a similar utterance of the King in Tagore's *The Cycle of Spring*.—'Fālgunī.'

7. *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 13, 11; Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacaritam*, Act. I, verse 7: "Janakā-nām"; Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 96—"Janaka rājāno bahavo"; *Brahmaṇḍa P.*, 88, 22.

8. *J.*, VI, pp. 30 ff.

Now, which of these two Janakas is identifiable with the one known to us from the *Upaniṣads* and the Epics? Dr. Raychaudhury¹ seems to be inclined to identify the *Upaniṣadic* Janaka with our Mahājanaka I. But the theory does not seem to be supported by strong reasons, as he himself admits. The learned doctor does indeed recognise the parallelism of a verse common to the *Jātaka*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*. In the *Jātaka*,² it is Mahājanaka II who gives utterance to this famous verse:—

“*Susukham vata jīvāma yesam no natthi Kiñcanam*

Mithilāya dahyamānāya na me kiñci adahyathā”.³

In the Great Epic,⁴ too, in a similar context, the same verse is attributed to the philosopher king Janaka of Mithilā. Whereas—and this is the one stumbling block for Dr. Raychaudhury—the *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*⁵ attributes this saying to Nami. Thus the Epic and the *Jātaka* are at one with regard to this fact. The Jaina version should not make us hesitate in accepting the above identification. For, it is a simple fact of substitution of the name of Nami, who is more intimately known to the Jainas, for that of Janaka, the *Brāhmaṇic* philosopher-king.⁶

Furthermore, the *Jātaka* does not say much about Mahājanaka I, who is only mentioned as the father of two sons, Ariṭṭha Janaka and Polajanaka. It is, on the other hand, Mahājanaka II who is the central figure in the whole story. He is ‘a towering and luminous personality, a clear-cut historical figure, having had a unique career in his early years and, in the later part of his life, exhibiting a great spirit of renunciation’.⁷ This spirit of renunciation and the general outlook on life bear a great deal of kinship with the character of the *Vedic* Janaka. And even the *Mahābhārata*⁸ relates an ‘old incident’ (*itihāsam purātanam*) of the Videha king’s renunciation, and the discourse that follows between him and his queen who, grief-stricken, makes a pathetic entreaty to alter his resolve—which bears a remarkable resemblance to that which is related in our *Jātaka*. All this makes us feel certain about the identification of Mahājanaka II with the *Vedic* and Epic Janaka.⁹

1. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 37—“But”, he hesitates, “proof is lacking.”

2. *J.*, VI, p. 54-G. 245; also V, p. 252-G. 16; Cf. *Dhammapada*, 200

3. “The utterance” so admits Raychaudhury, “indeed reminds us of the great philosopher king”—*P. H. A. I.*, p. 36. The burning of Mithilā as suggested in this famous *gāthā* is however not a historical fact: See Rajwade, *Proceedings-First Oriental Conference*, II, pp. 115 ff.

4. XII, 18, 12—“*Mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me dahyati kiñcana*”; also XII, 219, 50.

5. IX, 14; *S. B. E.*, XLV, p. 37.

6. Rajwade, *op. cit.*, II, p. 123.

7. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

8. XII, 18, 12.

9. This view seems to have been entertained also by Rhys Davids, *B. I.*, p. 26.

With regard to the *Rāmāyaṇic* Janaka, the father of Sītā, no conclusive proof is forthcoming to identify him with the *Vedic*, the Epic and the *Jātaka* Janaka. It seems however that this Śiradhvaja Janaka was a different king whom later literature, through his connection with Rāma, the divine personage, naively identified with the older *Vedic* king.¹

Neither the *Vedic* Literature nor the Epic and *Paurāṇic* accounts supply us with any information of historical value regarding the early life of this famous Janaka. And the *Jātaka* story depicting his adventures to Suvanabhūmī and his marriage with his own cousin Sivalī seems essentially to be legendary, and no positive reliance can be put on it.²

Dr. Raychaudhury's identification of Ariṭṭha Janaka of our *Jātaka* with Ariṣṭanemi of the *Purāṇas*³ has no good proof excepting the similarity in names.⁴ One chief objection to this identification is that Ariṣṭa (-Nemi)'s predecessor was Rṭujit and successor Śrutāyus,⁵ while Ariṭṭhajanaka's predecessor was Mahājanaka I and successor Mahājanaka II. This, we admit however, is not a very solid argument looking to the legendary nature of the *Jātaka* evidence.

Another Videha king who can claim some historical importance is Nimi (or Nemi) mentioned in the *Makhādeva*⁶ *Kumbhakāra*⁷ and *Nimi*⁸ *Jātakas*. The evidence at our disposal would seem to indicate that Nimi ruled after the great Janaka, as he is called the penultimate sovereign of the dynasty.⁹ His identity with the *Vedic* king Nami Sāpya (*Vaideho rājā*)¹⁰ is, as Raychaudhury remarks, more or less problematical. But as to his being identical with Nami of the *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*¹¹ there seems to be no ground for any objection. Though Nimi appears to have been, like *Janaka*, a family title of the Videha kings, and there must have lived several Nimis, as there were several Janakas, it should be admitted that the famous and popular Nimi was one and one only, as the 'Janaka' was.¹²

1. See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 273. "The identification of Janaka of Videha and the father of Sītā is less open to objection but it cannot be proved and is somewhat doubtful." Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 36, 56. It is indeed strange that Dr. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 13, takes this identification as a *fait accompli*.

2. The tradition however as embodied in the *Jātaka* can be shown to be as old as the 2nd century B. C. since a scene from our *Jātaka* is seen sculptured on a railing of the Barhut Stupa with the inscription: "*isukāro Janako rājā Sivalīdevī*"—The arrowmaker Janaka. Queen Sivalī: Cunningham, *Stupa of Barhut*, pl. xlv. Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

3. *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 37, 56.

4. That Nemi should have been the son of Ariṣṭa and identical with Mahājanaka II is, as we have seen, not probable.

5. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

6. *J.*, I, pp. 137-9.

7. *J.*, III, pp. 379 ff.

8. *J.*, VI, p. 96.

9. *J.*, I, p. 139; VI, p. 96.

10. See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 436. It is certain however, as we saw above, that Nami Sāpya must have lived later than Māthava Videgha who should be regarded as the earliest known king, if not the founder, of the Videha kingdom. Cf. Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, pp. 113-4.

11. *S. B. E.*, XLV, pp. 87 ff.

12. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 57.

The *Jātakas* represent Nimi as a great king, devoted to pious and charitable activities. The greater part of the *Nimi Jātaka*, however, confused as it is, is devoted to the account of Nimi's journey to heaven and hell in company with Mātali. This is useless for our present purpose. The only thing that may be taken notice of is, that he is depicted as a searcher after the Eternal Truth. He is said to have entertained a sincere doubt whether almsgiving or holy life is more fruitful :

“There is king Nimi, wise and good, the better part who chose,
King of Videha, gave great gifts, that Conqueror of his foes ;
And as these bounteous gifts he gave, behold this doubt arose
‘Which is more useful—holy life or giving alms? who knows?’”¹

The *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* as well as the *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, as we have seen before, make him a contemporary of Dummukha of Pañcāla, Naggaji of Gandhāra² and Karandū of Kalinga. This may well be taken to represent a historical fact, though conclusive proof is lacking.³

More valuable is the statement of the *Nimi Jātaka*, repeated in the *Makhādeva Jātaka*, that Nimi was born to round off the royal family of Videha. ‘like the hoop of a chariot wheel’ (—a play on the word ‘Nimi’). “Great King” say the soothsayers to the king, “this prince is born to round off your family. This your family of hermits will go no further.”⁴

And the *Jātaka* ends with a significant statement that “Nimi's son Kalārajanāka brought his line to an end.”⁵ Whether we accept or not this relation between Nimi and Kalāra—for we have no other reasons for either—the association of the termination of the line of Videha with Kalārajanaka may readily be accepted as correct, in as much as we have some corroborative evidence on the point. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya⁶ in the chapter on *Indriyajaya* mentions, among others, Karāla Vaideha as having perished along with his kingdom and relations for a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden. This fact is confirmed by the poet Aśvagoṣa who says “and so Karālajanāka, when he carried off the Brāhmaṇa's daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby (*avāpa bhramśamapyeva*), but he would not give up his love.”⁷ This Karāla, the Vaideha, must be identified, as already pointed out by Rauchaudhury,⁸

1. J., VI, p. 102-GG. 131-2; Cf. a similar verse in the Great Epic: “*Dānādvā Sarpa Satyādvā kimato gururṣyate*” *MBH.*, III, 181, 3; the question is asked by Yudhiṣṭhira to the snake.

2. A Gandhāra king and a Videha king are similarly associated also in the J., III, pp. 364 ff. referring, perhaps, to Nimi and Naggaji.

3. Cf. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 6 “... there is at least some reason for regarding it as correct in as much as it may not be quite proper to think that all the different schools of writers conspired to err on this point, where we find them all agreeing in a striking manner.”

4. J., I, p. 139 : VI, p. 96.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 129-*Putto panassa Kalārajanako nāma tam vaṁsam upacchinditvā apabbajī.*”

6. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 6.

7. *Buddhacarita*, IV, 80.

8. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 58.

with our Kalārajanaka who, as stated above, brought the line of Videha to an end. Kalārajanaka is again identifiable with the *Paurāṇic* Kṛthi with whom the race of Janakas is said to have ended.¹

When precisely this important and memorable event, *viz.*, the termination of the Videhan monarchy and the inauguration of an aristocratic republic, presumably the Vajjian Confederacy, took place, we are unable to decide.² But its terminus *ad quem* may, not unreasonably, be taken to be the 8th century B. C., since it must have taken at least a century for the new powerful confederacy to have been firmly established, as we find it in the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra in the 6th century B. C..³

Here may end, properly speaking, our discussion about the Videha kings. But there are yet several Videha kings mentioned in the *Jātakas* who must be noticed here, though for their historical existence we cannot speak with any certainty.

The *Sādhina Jātaka*⁴ mentions a king named Sādhina who is said to have been very righteous in due accordance with the proverbial fame of Videha. The same *Jātaka* names Nārada⁵ as seventh in direct descent from King Sādhina, which is rather inconceivable.

The *Suruci Jātaka*⁶ presents a rather interesting story. King Suruci I of Videha had a son named Suruci II. The latter, while a prince, was a great friend of a Barahmadatta prince of Kāśī. Both of them studied together at Takkasilā. Later on, when Suruci II was seated on the throne of Videha and Brhmadatta on that of Benares, the old friendship was strengthened by a matrimonial alliance. Prince Suruci III was married to Sumedhā, princess of Benares. The new pair had for a long time no issue.⁷ When at last a child was born, there was great jubilation in both the kingdoms. The child was named Mahāpaṇāda. Of this Mahāpaṇāda it is said :—

“*Paṇādo nāma so rājā*
Yassa yūpo suvaṇṇayo
Tiriyam solasapabbedho
Uccam āhu saḥassadhā ..”⁸

1. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 96. The *Mahābhārata* also mentions Karārajanaka, but in altogether a different colour. He figures there as a very pious king engaged in discussing with the sage Vasiṣṭha, on some philosophical doctrines. See *MBH.*, XII, 303 ff. This is in agreement, if we may so take it, with the *Jātaka*, but differs widely from Kauṭilya and Aśvaghoṣa. The difference, though vital, is remarkably inexplicable.

2. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 58.

3. Raychaudhury remarks : “The downfall of the Videhas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic—the Vajjian Confederacy. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 58. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 84-5, 129 ff. ; Rhys Davids, *B.I.*, pp. 25-6 ; C. J. Shah *Jainism in North India*, pp. 82, 85, 102, 104 ff.

4. J., IV, pp. 355 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 358—“*So kirassa sattano pana nattā,*” also *Ibid.* p. 359-G. 217.

6. J., IV, pp. 315 ff.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 319-20-GG. 101 ff.—“*Mahesī Rucino bhariyā ānītā patkamam aham*” etc. .

8. J., II, p. 334-GG. 40-2 ; IV, p. 325. G (?) The verse also occurs in *Theragāthā* (*P. T. S.*) p. 22.

“This great palace of golden pillars” that he had built sunk down in the Ganges near Payāga (Allahabad).¹

The *Mahāṇḍradakassapa Jātaka*² mentions a king named Aṅgati, who was a righteous ruler of Mithilā. He had a daughter named Rūjā and three ministers, Vijaya, Sunāma and Alata. Once he paid a visit to Guṇa, of the Kassapa family, an ascetic and a great scholar. The king imbibed heretical views from him. His daughter Rūjā tried hard to prove the worthlessness of Guṇa's doctrines. It was Nārada Kassapa, however, who succeeded in winning him back to the right path. The doctrines preached by this Guṇa Kassapa,³ bear a striking resemblance with those of the famous Purāṇa Kassapa, the elder contemporary of the Buddha. Guṇa is an “annihilator” (*Ucchedavādī*) and an unbeliever in the results of good or bad actions, that is to say, a believer in the theory of the ‘passivity of the soul’—the Jaina *Akiriya-vāda*. Such is also the philosophy of Purāṇa Kassapa.⁴ If this identification be accepted as correct, and if Aṅgati is proved to be a real historical character, which is not impossible, and to be a contemporary of Guṇa, then he must be placed somewhere in the earlier part of the 6th century B. C..

Anyhow the kings of Videha, noticed in the latter part of our discussion, are more or less doubtful characters, and they must remain as such, until further corroborative evidence comes to their help and proves them otherwise.

SIVI-MADDA-MALLA-GANDHĀRA-KAMBOJA.

Somewhat less in importance, from the view point of the *Jātakas* of course, were the kingdoms of Sivi, Madda, Malla, Gandhāra and Kamboja, which must have flourished during this period (*i.e.*, 1200-800 B.C.), and should therefore be noticed here.

The kingdom of Sivi appears to have been very ancient. The Śiva people of the *Rgveda*⁵ perhaps occupied this kingdom. During the time of Alexander the Great, there were the Siboi people. “It is probable,” says Raychaudhury, “that Śiva, Sivi and Siboi were one and the same people,.... inhabitants of the Shorkot region in Jhang.”⁶

The earliest kings of Sivi known to the *Jātakas* are Usinara and his son Sivi, the two famous traditional kings of the *Ancient Period* discussed before.

1. The *Cakkavatti Sihanāda Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* says that the palace was recovered by King Saṅkha of Kāśī. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, p. 74 and note. See also *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 57 ff. which in a verse makes Saṅkha contemporaneous with Piṅgala of Kāliṅga, Pāṇḍuka of Mithilā and Elāpatra of Gāndhāra.

2. J., VI, pp. 219 ff. The story is a lengthy one and is presented in a confused construction, which makes it impossible for us to distinguish between the different parts of the *Jātaka*.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6--GG. 979-990.

4. See Barua, *A History of the Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, pp. 277 ff; Law, ‘Six Heretical Teachers’ in *Buddhist Studies*, pp. 74-6.

5. See *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 381-2.

6. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 170.



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Vessantara, i.e., Viśvantara,¹ again reminds us of a *Vedic* prince named Viśvantara Sauśadmana (descendant of Susadman),² whose conflict with his priests may well lead one to establish a connection between the two. But this too is hazardous.³

The Kingdom of Madda, with its capital Sāgala (modern Sialkot), is often mentioned in the *Jātakas*. As a tribe, the Maddas appear in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.⁴ Madda, in the *Brāhmaṇic* Period, appears as a centre of learning and noted for refinement in manners.⁵

The *Jātakas*, in common with the great Epic, represent the Maddas as living under a monarchical constitution. They do not unfortunately supply us with the names of any of the Madda kings. Nor do they give us any information about the manners and customs of the Maddas. The only prominent feature referred to about the Madda kings is, that they quite often enter into matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring, and often far-off, royal families. Thus the Madda house, as we have seen, was united with that of the Sivis through the marriages of Phussatī and Maddī with Sañjaya and Vessantara respectively. Princess Pabhāvatī, the eldest daughter of a Madda king, was married to the ugly prince Kusa, son and heir of a Malla king, Okkāka.⁶ Then Candāvatī, the chief queen of the far-off king Kāsīrāja of Benares, was a daughter of a Madda king.⁷ So was also Subhaddā, the queen of another Benares king.⁸ And lastly, a Madda princess was given to a Kalinga prince.⁹ Whether these alliances are historically true or not, we have nothing to prove. But what significant fact the *Jātakas* do perceive is, that the Madda princesses, owing to their exquisite beauty and virtuous demeanour, were in great demand in other royal families of India.¹⁰

It is interesting to note in this connection, that far from being a bliss, the beauty of their daughters was, not infrequently, a source of danger of invasions upon these Madda kings by other kings. And we twice¹¹ hear the threatening sound of the kings who had besieged the capital of Madda for the hand of the princess.

1. A *gāthā*, however, derives the name from 'Vessavīthi' the Vessa or Vaiśya street, where he is said to have been born: J. VI, p. 482 G. 1700. But this seems to be only a pun on the word. The real form, as is clear philologically, should be Viśvantara which we find in the Tibetan version: *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 257 ff.

2. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 27, 3-4; 34; 7-8; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 309.

3. The story of Viśvantara is delineated in a fresco-painting at Ajantā caves, where the scene of Banishment is so touching and the face of the Brāhmaṇa Jujaka with all its greediness is so faithfully represented.

4. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 123.

5. Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 43; Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, pp. 214 ff.

6. J., V, pp. 285 ff.

7. J., VI, p. 1.

8. J., V, p. 39.

9. J., IV, p. 231.

10. Cf. the descriptions of Pabhāvatī, J. V. pp. 283 ff. GG. 3-4, 37-44. The Madda women are characterised as white (*gaurī*) in the *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 44, 16 ff. So Bimbisāra is said to have married a Madda princess, *C. H. I.*, I. p. 183; Mādrī, wife of Pāṇḍu, is a well known personality in the Great Epic.

11. J., V, pp. 300 ff; IV, pp. 230-1.

Madda has no place in the traditional list of the *Solasamahājanapadas*, which flourished a little before the time of the Buddha. The reason is not far to seek. It is because of the fact, as Mr. H. C. Ray¹ points out, that in the period represented by the *Nikāya* and the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, it was annexed to one of the neighbouring 'Great Countries,' probably Gandhāra. Thus it seems that Madda, an independent kingdom, flourished in a period prior to the 7th century B. C..²

The kingdom of Malla, with its capital Kusāvati, is mentioned in at least three *Jātakas*.³ The *Mahāsudassana Jātaka* mentions a king named Mahāsudassana whose queen was Subhaddā. In his reign the capital Kusāvati was a very prosperous city.⁴

The *Kusa Jātaka*⁵ mentions a Malla king named Okkāka (Ikṣvāku) with his queen Sīlavatī. For a long time, says the story, he had no son, and the people became anxious lest the kingdom should be seized and destroyed by a foreigner. At last the queen gave birth to two sons who were named Kusa and Jayampati.

This Okkāka is surely not a personal name, and cannot therefore be identified. But, as Dr. Raychaudhury⁶ rightly infers, the name probably indicates that like the Śākyaas the Malla kings also belonged to the Ikṣvāku family.

King Kusa, of all the Malla kings, bears a remarkable appearance of a historical character. Though we have no positive evidence to prove this, the long ballad-like *gāthās* of the *Kusa Jātaka* speak of him in such a fervent and sympathetic manner as to make us feel confident and certain about his real existence. He is there said to have been ugly.⁷ His marriage with Pabhāvatī, the Madda princess, is however accomplished with much dexterity.⁸ Pabhāvatī, after a short time, recognizes the ugly face, and out of sheer disgust flies away to her parents. Kusa, an ardent and sincere lover of hers, goes after her and, bent upon getting her back, he lives disguised in the Madda palace, employing various ingenuous means to have a sight of his beloved. And at last, when the city is besieged by a host of kings who wanted the fair lady's hand, he comes out to the help of his father-in-law, and defeating the enemies by his valour, obtains back Pabhāvatī, now completely reconciled.

1. *J. A. S. B.*, (N. S.), 1922, pp. 257 ff.

2. For detailed accounts of the Madras see H. C. Ray, *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.) 1922, pp. 257, ff; Mr. H. K. Deb, has tried to identify the Madras with the Medes of ancient Persia. The proposed identification is not without its value. See *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.) 1925, pp. 205 ff.

3. *J.*, I, p. 392; IV, p. 327; V, pp. 278 ff.

4. Cf. *Mahāsudassana Suttanta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II. pp. 161-2.

5. *J.*, V, pp. 278 ff.

6. *P. H. A. I.*, p. p. 89.

7. *J.*, V, p. 282.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 285. It is related that the pair met only at night in the darkness, so that the ugly person of the King might not be recognised. The secret however was disclosed. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has, apparently from this theme, worked out a beautiful lyrical drama entitled *Śāpamocana*, the Redemption.

Kusa is styled as the 'Chief ruler of all India.' In one place¹ he is said to be the grandfather of a Videha king.

We know from the Buddhist works, that before the time of the Buddha, the Malla monarchy had already been replaced by a republic, and once the prosperous metropolis of the kingdom, Kusāvati, had sunk to the level of a little wattle and daub town, a branch township surrounded by jungles, and it had changed its name to Kusinārā (modern Kāsiā, in the east of the Gorakhpur Dist.).²

The kingdom of Gandhāra with its capital Takkasilā, is mentioned not infrequently.³ No names of Gandhāra kings are specified, except that of Naggaji who figures, as we saw before, as a contemporary of Nimi, Dummukha and Karaṇḍu. The kingdom included Kasmīra.⁴

The fame of Gandhāra, during this period, rested on its capital Takkasilā which was a great centre of learning and a resort of students from all parts of India⁵. Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu, the two great celebrities of the *Upaniṣads*, are represented in the *Uddālaka Jātaka*⁶ and the *Setaketu Jātaka*⁷ respectively, as having studied at Takkasilā under a world-renowned teacher.⁸

In the 6th century B. C. Gandhāra was subject to the Achaemenidan Empire.⁹

Kamboja, constantly associated with Gandhāra in later literature, finds mention in a solitary *gāthā* of the *Bhūridatta Jātaka* which says :—

“Those men are counted pure who only kill
Frogs, worms, bees, snakes or insects as they will—
These are your savage, customs which I hate
Such as Kamboja hordes might amulate”.¹⁰

1. J., VI, p. 388 G. (?).

2. See Rhys Davids, B. I. pp. 19, 26, 29; Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 224, 250; Raychaudhury, P. H. A. I., pp. 88-90; Cf. Kaṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, XI, 1.

3. J., I, pp. 191, 273, 285, 317, 395; II, p. 217. III, pp. 364, 377. Gandhāra corresponds to the modern Rāwalpindī (Punjab) and Peshāwar (N. W. F. P.) districts. The name survives in Kandahār. The ruins of the great capital city are unearthed near Saraikalā. See for its detailed description, Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, pp. 1, 4.

4. J., III, pp. 365, 378. This is confirmed by the evidence of Hekataios of Miletos, (B. C. 549-486) who refers to Kaspapyros (Kāśyapapura, i.e., Kāsmīra) as a Gandharic city: P. H. A. I., p. 103.

5. Takkasilā maintained its reputation during the later *Mahājanapada* period as the innumerable references in the *Jātakas* show.

6. J., IV, p. 298.

7. J., III, p. 235.

8. Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 87-9; II, pp. 409-10, Raychaudhury, P. H. A. I. pp. 39-41.

9. P. H. A. I., p. 102; C. H. I., I, pp. 336-7.

10. J., VI, p. 208—G. 903.

This indictment of barbarity must have been a product of a period later than that of the *Brāhmaṇas* which seem to speak of Kāmboja in favourable terms.¹ As pointed out by Raychaudhury,² “already in the time of Yāska (8th century B.C.) the Kāmbojas had come to be regarded as a people distinct from the Āryas of the interior of India, speaking a different dialect”.³ Kāmboja horses are praised in a *gāthā* of the *Campeyya Jātaka*.⁴

Ancient Kāmboja is located more definitely now by Prof. Jayacandra Vidyālaṅkāra⁵ in the Ghālchā Territory north of Kāshmīr.

Other countries that remain to be noticed here are those of the Macchas,⁶ the Sūrasenas⁷ and the Kekakas⁸ associated with the Kurus and the Pañcālas just as in the *Brāhmaṇa* period. No names of kings survive.

THE DAṆḌAKA EMPIRE

Towards the end of the period which witnessed the waning power of Videha, the South of India was, it seems, undergoing a process of Rise and Fall of some states of which no sufficient connected records survive. A delightful ray of light coming from the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*⁹ enables us, however, to peep a little through the darkness that surrounds this period.

The *Jātaka* mentions a king named Daṇḍaki,¹⁰ as ruling over an extensive realm of sixty *yojanas* with Kumbhavatī¹¹ as his capital city. We are further told that within his realm ruled his three subordinate kings, (*assa ratthasssa antararatthādhipatino*) viz., Kalinga, Atthaka and Bhīmaratha.¹² Of these, Daṇḍaki evidently represents the *Samśkṛta* Daṇḍaka, associated with the forest of that name in the South. Bhīmaratha, again, must represent a South Indian king. The *Mahābhārata*,¹³ the *Purāṇas*¹⁴ and even the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹⁵ know Bhīma or Bhīmaratha (of which Bhīma is a shortened

1. See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 138.

2. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 105 ; Cf. Levi. ‘Pre-Aryan et Pre-Dravidian dans Inde,’ tr. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff.

3. *Ibid.*

4. J., IV, p. 464-G. 242—“Kāmbojake assatare sudante.”

5. *Proceedings Sixth O. C.*, Patna, pp. 102 ff ; See also Jayaswal, *I. A.*, LXII, pp. 130-1.

6. J. VI, p. 280-G. 1228. The country corresponds to parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur : Bhandarkar, *C. L.*, 1918, p. 53.

7. J., VI, p. 280-G. 1228. The Sūrasenas were located around Mathurā on the Jumnā.

8. *Ibid.*, also J. II, pp. 213, 214-G. 154. They dwelt between the Sindhu and the Vitastā (Beas) : *Ved. Ind.*, I, pp. 185-6.

9. J., V, pp. 127 ff.

10. Besides the prose, two *gāthās* also mention him : J., V, p. 143. GG. 68, 69.

11. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 79, 18, the capital was Madhumanta, while the *Mahāvastu* (Senart’s ed.) p. 363, places it at Govardhana (Nāsik) : *P. H. A. I.*, p. 64.

12. J., V, pp. 135, 137-G. 50 ; 149-G. 85.

13. III, 53, 5 ff ; 69, 1 ff.

14. e. g., *Vāyu P.*, 95.

15. VII, 34 ; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 106.

form)¹, as kings associated with the southern kingdom of Vidarbha,² modern Berar. Kalinga is of course a king of the Kalinga country. Now what about Atthaka? No king of this name is, as far as we are aware, to be found elsewhere, except the one mentioned before as belonging to the Ancient Period, and identified with King Aṣṭaka, son and successor of Viśvāmitra, or more appropriately, Viśvaratha.³ But that ancient Atthaka referred to as an inspiring example of ideal kingship seems, most probably, to be a different personage from this Atthaka of the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*, who is more real and intimately associated with the other South-Indian kings.⁴ How is it possible for a North-Indian king to be associated so intimately with the far-off kings of the south separated by the great monarchies and even physical barriers of Central India? We are inclined to think that, if the *Jātaka* is not to be accused of inconsistency, in the present case at least,—and we have no strong reason so to believe,—Atthaka should be taken here as a corrupted form of Assaka,⁵ and all our difficulties vanish in a moment. Assaka or Aśmaka, as we know, was a prominent South Indian state, situated on the river Godāvarī, and closely related to the neighbouring kingdoms of Daṇḍaka, Vidarbha and Kalinga.⁶

It then comes to this. Daṇḍaka, Bhīmaratha, Assaka and Kalinga were contemporaries. But unfortunately none of these, except Bhīmaratha, is a personal name, and therefore it is very difficult to identify any of them. Daṇḍaka is not known to the *Brāhmaṇas* or the *Upaniṣads*. The Paurāṇic Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka is, as rightly pointed out by Pargiter,⁷ an eponym to account for the name of the forest, because it clashes with the other statements about the many kings that occupied the Deccan. But whatever may have been the personal name of our Daṇḍaki, he is most certainly identical with Dāṇḍakya of Kauṭilya⁸ and Daṇḍaka of the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁹ and the *Mahābhārata*¹⁰ and also of the Jaina *Triṣaṣṭiśālākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra.¹¹ For, all of these refer to the dire destruction that befell his realm. He was most probably a post-Vedic king as may be judged by his absence from the *Vedic* texts, though this *argumentum ex silentio* is never conclusive, we admit. We cannot say for certain, again, with which of the several Bhīmas of Vidarbha of the *Purāṇas*

1. Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

2. Vidarbha is mentioned in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 440, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 297.

3. *Supra*.

4. Dr. B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 7, apparently takes the two Atthakas identical and comes to a synchronism which, we admit, seems alluring.

5. We searched in vain, we should admit here, to find if there was any difference of readings of this 'Atthaka' in Fousböll's texts. Other texts like the Siamese, we have not been able to consult.

6. See Bhandarkar, *C. L.*, 1918, pp. 19, 22, 40 etc., *P. H. A. I.*, p. 62.

7. *A. I. H. T.*, p. 258; Cf. G. Ramdas, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XI, p. 47.

8. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 6.

9. VII, 81, 7-19.

10. XIII, 153, 11; also II, 30, 16-7.

11. *G. O. S.*, LI, pp. 44-5; Cf. Jain, *Jaina Jātakas*, pp. 47-8.

mentioned in Pargiter's list¹ are we to identify our Bhīmaratha, or whether the identification is possible at all. Nor is his identification with Bhīma of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* possible, for in that case we shall have to carry him back to the early *Brāhmaṇa* period to make him contemporaneous with such comparatively ancient kings as Dummukha and Naggaji, which is, to our mind, inconceivable. It appears therefore that Bhīmaratha was later than the *Brāhmaṇic* Bhīma. Similarly, the Kalinga king mentioned in our *Jātaka* must be taken as later than Karaṇḍu of the earlier period. Assaka's identity remains uncertain. So from all this it appears reasonable to hold that these four kings, whosoever they in reality may have been, lived at a time when the Northern powers like the Pañcāla and Videha of the later *Vedic* period were showing signs of collapse and when Kāśī had not yet risen to its Imperial status capable enough to capture Assaka and other powers of the South.² The period may with a fair approximation be dated as 800 B. C..³

The fate of Daṇḍaki and his kingdom must be regarded as historical fact, since all our authorities are, as we saw before, at one on this point, though they ascribe different causes to it. That he made a 'lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa girl' is attested by the *Arthaśāstra*⁴ and the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ and also by the Jaina *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*,⁶ while our *Jātaka*⁷ says that he treated the holy sage Kīśavaccha very contemptuously. These causes, of course, cannot be viewed in any other light except as later-day inventions of moralists and sectarian propagandists who, to suit their own purposes, explained away a fact of natural phenomena as resulting from a human sin.⁸ Any way, the fact remains, as the unanimous testimony of the above sources forces us to think, that the kingdom of Daṇḍaki round about the river Godāvarī and the districts of Nāsik and adjoining parts of Mahārāṣṭra suffered from some terrible natural visitations. The statement of the *Jātaka*⁹ that the land was destroyed by a shower of 'fine sand' (*sukhumavālukāvassam*) is in striking agreement with that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*pāṃśuvarṣeṇa*).¹⁰

1. *A, I. H. T.*, pp. 146, 148 numbers 41 (Kṛtha Bhīma), 50 (Bhīmaratha), and 66 (Bhīma Sātvata).

2. See for instance *J.*, II, p. 155.

3. The fact that a town of Lāmbacūlaka in the province (*vijite*) of Candapajjota is referred to in our *Jātaka* in a manner which may suggest that he was contemporaneous with the group of kings, mentioned above, does not carry much weight. For in another place, *J.*, III, p. 463, the name of the king, in the same context, is Pajoka. It seems natural to think therefore that the story-teller, while reciting an ancient story where the name was different, incorporated the name of that king who was more familiar and nearer to him. It may be said to be an anachronism. See Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

4. I, 6.

5. VII, 80, 16.

6. *I. c.*

7. *J.*, V, p. 143-G, 69; also p. 267-G. 95.

8. Did we not hear in this twentieth century the same thing with regard to the recent earthquake havoc in Bihār?

9. *J.*, V, p. 135.

10. VII, 8, 7-18; Mr. G. Ramdas disbelieves this: says he: "this forest (of Dandaka) is said to have been devoid of trees, animals, and water and was converted into a region of ashes. If it had been so, how did so many hermitages exist there? From the descriptions of its parts visited by Rāma, it appears to have been full of rivers and lakes, and consequently habitable to men." The very name of Daṇḍaka in Śabara language, according to the same writer, denotes a region full of water." *J. B. O. R. S.*, XI, pp. 45-7.

Finally let us note, that the great sage Sarabhaṅga, to whom the three southern kings discussed above are said to have approached for instruction, living in a hermitage on the river Godāvarī with a large number of pupils, figures also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹ in a similar setting. It is again interesting to note, that Sarabhaṅga is styled '*Kondañña*' (*Kaundinya*) in two of the *gāthās* of our *Jātaka*.² And we hear of a sage called Vidarbhi Kaundinya even in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.³ The two sages may or may not have been identical, but this fully bears out Sarabhaṅga's association with Vidarbha,⁴ and also the fact of Bhīmaratha's being a Vidarbha king.

With Daṇḍaki, fell his great Empire of the South. We do not hear what happened of his three subordinate kings. Far from renouncing the world, as the *Jātaka* would have us believe,⁵ each of these three kings, must have engaged himself in right earnest, first to make his own position secure and then to gain the overlordship that had been left vacant.⁶ And not long after we shall hear of their descendants quarrelling among themselves for power and, in their turn, falling a prey to the fast-growing powers of the North, like Kāśī and the rest.

1. III, 5.

2. J., V, pp. 140.1-GG, 59, 64.

3. See *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 297.

4. "The name Kaundinya is apparently derived from the city of Kaundina, the capital of Vidarbha, represented by the modern Kaundinyapura on the banks of the Wardhā in the Chandur taluk of Amroati." Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 61.

5. J., V, p. 151.

6. What happened after Aśoka, after Samudragupta and after Harṣa, Akbar and Śivājī? What after Frederick the Great and Napoleon? It is History psychologically repeated.





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The chief struggle that the Kāsi kings had to carry on for many a generation was with their neighbours, the Kosalas (*anantarasāmanto*). We have several vivid, if not wholly historical, instances of these struggles. Thus from one *Jātaka*¹ we learn that Brahmadata once went against the king of Kosala with a large army. He took the king of Sāvattthī prisoner after entering the city. He set up loyal officers as governors (*rājayutte thapitvā*) and himself returned with a large booty. The Kosala prince Chatta had however escaped in disguise, and by strange tactics speedily recovered the lost kingdom. He restored the walls and watch-towers and made the city impregnable against any possible attack from outside. In another place² again a Brahmadata of Kāsi, owing to his having an army (*sampannabalavāhano*), seized the Kosala city, slew its king and carried off his chief queen to Benares and there made her his queen-consort. King Manoja of Kāsi is said to have begun his victorious career of conquests by first capturing the Kosala kingdom.³ Two more *Jātakas*⁴ relate an invasion by another Brahmadata, when Dīghīti was King at Sāvattthī. Brahmadata slew Dīghīti and took his kingdom of Kosala. Dīghīti's son Prince Dīgāyu escaped in disguise and in course of time became very friendly with Brahmadata. The Kāsi king, highly pleased with his conduct, gave him his daughter in marriage and restored his father's kingdom. Could this Dīgāyu be identified with the one mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*?⁵

Infatuated with their victories over the neighbouring kingdom of Kosala, the Kāsi monarchs now turned their arms towards the South and the North. We can hear their footsteps resounding past across the Vindhyas, where the paramount power of Daṇḍaka was no more and the smaller states of Vidarbha, Kalinga and Assaka had probably begun weakening themselves through mutual quarrels. Taking advantage of this, one Kāsi king captured Potali, the capital of Assaka on the Godāvarī, and made the Assaka king his vassal.⁶

Aspirants for an All-India sovereignty (*sabba rājūnaṃ aggarājā*) several Kāsi monarchs are described to have led extensive campaigns, strengthening their forces as they proceeded.⁷ The Crown of their glory must have been reached when king Manoja, of all, carried out a successful campaign throughout India and earned the title of 'aggarājā.' The incidents of this campaign are preserved in the *Soṇa-Nanda Jātaka*.⁸ He is there said to have first subdued the Kosala king and then, reinforced with the defeated army, he marched against Aṅga and conquered it. Similarly he brought Magadha, Assaka and Avantī under his sway.⁹ Thus he practically became an All-India Sovereign.¹⁰

1. J., III, pp. 115 ff.

2. J. VI, pp. 426 ff.

3. J. V, pp. 315-6.

4. J., III, p. 487; *ibid.*, pp. 211-3. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, X, 2, 3-20—"Dīghīti nāma Kosala-rājā ahosi daliddo appadhano appabhogo appabalo appavijito aparipuṇṇakoṭṭhāgāro" etc.

5. VII, 93, 27-8.

6. J., II, p. 155.

7. J., III, pp. 159-61.

8. J., V, pp. 315 ff.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 317-G. 99.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 316—"etena upāyena sakala-Jambūdīpe rājāno attano vase vattetvā".

“*Rājābhīrājā Manojō va jayataṃ pati.*”¹ : such must have been his eulogies prevalent at the time. His capital Bārāṇasī was then styled Brahmavaddhana.² He is once³ addressed as *Bhārata*.

Several Kāsī monarchs are said to have been daring enough to go as far as Gandhāra in the extreme North-west of India, and attack the capital city, Takkaśilā. But their power was effectively checked there. Twice⁴ we hear of them preparing for an attack on the city, and arousing their soldiers with martial words.⁵ But they had to return without achieving their object, because the city of Takkaśilā itself was formidable and impregnable to enemies.

However, the political influence of Kāsī was established, as we saw, in a considerable portion of the east and the south of India. Naturally enough Benares became an eyesore to other kings and we hear, quite frequently, of a ‘leaguer of seven kings’ drawn around this enviable city but it was of no avail.⁶ “All the kingdoms round coveted the kingdom of Benares”, says the *Bhojājānīya Jātaka*.⁷ And the lustful remark of the ex-minister of Kāsī in the *Mahāsīlava Jātaka*⁸ that ‘Sire, the kingdom of Benares is like a goodly honeycomb untainted by flies’, is a glorious tribute to Kāsī. Thus, as remarked by Raychaudhury,⁹ “Benares in this respect resembled ancient Babylon and medieval Rome, being the coveted prize of its more warlike but less civilized neighbours.”

NĀGA ASCENDANCY.

The supremacy of Kāsī, however, does not appear to have been of long duration. We are now coming to a stage when, if however we read the indications correctly, Kāsī is coming in a close grip both from the North and from the East. In the North its old adversary Kosala was only waiting for a suitable opportunity. But before we advert to that struggle which paved the way for the down-fall of Kāsī, let us have a look on the other growing factor from the East, viz., Aṅga and the allied Nāgas. Under Manojā, the most powerful of the Kāsī monarchs, as we saw, Aṅga was a vassal state. The *Dadhivāhana Jātaka*¹⁰ presents before us, though in a curious garb, a king named Dadhivāhana as occupying the throne of Benares. This Dadhivāhana is probably a reminiscence of, if not identical with, the king of Aṅga, Dadhivāhana, known to the *Purāṇas* and to the Jaina Literature.¹¹

1. *Ibid.*, p. 322-G. 127.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 313, 314, 316.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 317-G. 94.

4. J., II, pp. 217-8 ; III, pp. 159-60.

5. J., II, p. 217-GG, 156-7.

6. J., I, pp. 178, 181 ; II, p. 90.

7. J., I, p. 178.

8. J., I, p. 262.

9. *P. H. A. I.*, p. 70.

10. J., II, pp. 101 ff.

11. See Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 77 ; for Jaina references see C. J. Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 96.

But far more important than the Aṅga kings in this connection were the allied Nāgas, who, occupying the river settlements on the Yamunā and the Campā, seem to have begun, at this time, to take a prominent part in the political conflicts raging around them.

The Nāgas were a branch of the Asuras.¹ The Asuras—the Assyrians—in India had a remarkable history reaching back to the so-called pre-historic times. Their history, so eminently traced by Dr. Banerji Śāstri, gives us an idea of their conflicts with the advancing Āryans and their consequent spread from the North-West and west to the Eastern confines of India and still further East beyond the seas. “The *Vedic* struggle drove the Asura from the Indus valley; the epic conflict routed them in the *Madhyadeśa*, and the subsequent re-adjustment lost them the Gangetic valley and pushed them southwards. The Nāgas were the spearhead and backbone of the Asura people in India. With the downfall of the Nāgas ended the organised Asura supremacy in India. And the remnants of Nāgas who once ruled Gośṛṅga in Khotān, had to seek shelter in places still bearing their name *e.g.*, Nāgpur, Choṭā Nāgpur, and are completely absorbed and assimilated in the now firmly established Ārya-Asura-Dāsa body politic of India”.²

The Jātakas, as is well known,³ in common with the Hindu mythology, represent the Nāgas in their animal character, not unoften blended with the human. Concealed behind these avowedly mythological legends lies a faint reminiscence of the Ārya-Asura conflict of the remotest period. What else does the *Kulāvaka Jātaka*⁴ signify in describing the war between the Asuras and the Devas? It is interesting to note that this conflict is said to have taken place round about the Sumeru mountain in the Trans-Himālayan region where the *Asurabhavana*-Asura realm—was situated. The Devas (Āryans) hurled the Asuras down, so says the story. The Asuras rose again. “Sakka (Āryan Indra) went into the great deep (*samuddapitṭhe*) to give them battle”. But being worsted in the fight he turned back and fled away along crest after crest of ‘the southern deep’ reaching thence the Simbalivana (Śālmalidvīpa? Chaldia).⁵ He soon returned to his original place and the two camps were again ready:—

“Impregnable both cities stand between
In five-fold guard, watch Nāgas and Garulas
Kumbhāṇḍas, Goblins and the Four Great Kings”.⁶

1. Ananta Prasad Banerji Sastri, *Asura India*: The work was originally published in the form of a series of articles contributed to the J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XII. See also Fousböll, “*Indian Mythology*”, p. 1.

2. A. Banerji Śāstri, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-8; “The Dāsas were the earliest settlers, next the Asuras, the latest the Āryas.” *Ibid.*, p. 34.

3. Cf. J. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, pp. 132 ff.

4. J., I, pp. 202 ff; cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 45, 15-45; *MBH.*, I, 17 ff.

5. See J. Przyluski in *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 7-8; N. L. De, *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 535; A. Banerji Śāstri, *Asura India*, pp. 86-7.

6. J., I, p. 204-G. (?) The original *gāthā* has the mysterious names of the ‘guards’: *Uraga*, *Karoti*, *payassa ca hārī*, *madanayutā* and the *cature mahantā*, which have been explained by the commentator and followed by the translator as above. These five guards do not all seem to be on the side of Sakka, but were divided between the Devas and the Asuras, the first four being the Asura tribes, and the four great kings the Devas (or Āryas). For a really interesting parallelism, cf. *Pañcajanāḥ* of the *Rgveda* and later *Vedic* literature. *Ved. Ind.*, I, pp. 466-8.

How remarkably this conflict corresponds to the Ārya-Asura conflict on the Sindhu-waterways terminating in the Dāsarājña battle on the Paruṣṇī (Rāvi), as described by Dr. Banerji?¹ To notice further : The North-western outpost of the Nāgas is also known to the *Daddara Jātaka*,² which locates them in the Daddara mountains. These mountains are evidently connected with the present Dārdīstān, to the north of Kāśmīr.³ Then again Varuṇa, the *Vedic* Sea-god of the Asuras⁴—an Asura *par excellence*—is familiar to the *Jātakas*.⁵ The intimate connection of the Nāgas with water, whether in lakes, rivers, islands or seas, is known.⁶ “My children are of a watery nature,” says the Nāga mother in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*.⁷ Their repute as great builders is sung in many a *gāthā* of the *Jātakas*.⁸ At the same time their terrible nature is recognised.⁹ The names of individual Nāga kings are sometimes given : Canda, Maṇikaṇṭha, Saṅkhaṇḍa, and Dhataratṭha.¹⁰ Thus we see that the *Jātakas* preserve, in not a small degree, faint traces of a remarkable, though much-neglected, chapter of Ancient Indian annals.

Let us proceed with our narrative. We had stopped at a point where Kāśī was beginning to show signs of decline. It was most probably at this time, as we said, that the Nāga settlers on the Ganges-Jumna Valley—their eastern-most river settlement—must have again been roused to activity and tried to assert their erstwhile personality by interfering with the political conflicts of the time. The invasion of Benares by a Nāga king narrated in a story is in point. Dhataratṭha, the Nāga king, wanted to marry the Benares Princess Samuddajā. He marched with a great host towards the city and :

“Benares city prostrate lay
Before these wild invading bands
Rising their arms all begged
And prayed : give him the daughter he demands.”¹¹

The marriage was duly accomplished, and the two kings became intimate friends. It appears thus, that the Nāgas had as yet no direct aim at power, but wanted simply the alliance with other Royal powers. For, the same thing can be discerned from another incident, where the Nāga king Caṁpeyya intercedes in the Aṅga-Magadha conflict, sets the Magadhan king over both the kingdoms, and receives from him a tribute in return of his services.¹²

1. *Asura India*, pp. 38 ff.

2. J., III, pp. 16-17.

3. Cf. “The *Nilamata Purāṇa* records the occupation of Kāśmīr by the Nāgas.” *Asura India*, p. 92.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 76 ff.

5. J., VI, pp. 257 ff.

6. J., I, p. 472 ; II, p. 111 ; III, pp. 87-8 ; IV, pp. 454 ff ; VI, p. 164-G. 750

7. J., VI, p. 160.

8. J., IV, p. 464—GG, 244-7 ; VI, pp. 173-4 GG. 767-71, 269-GG. 1164-70 Cf. *Asura India*, pp. 20-1.

9. J., VI, p. 162.

10. J., I, p. 472 ; II, p. 283 ; V, p. 162 ,

11. J., VI, pp. 165-6-GG, 753-9.

12. J., IV, pp. 454-5.

We cannot however say with certainty as to whether we are to read here the rise of the Śīśunāgas—the so-called ‘first historical dynasty of Magadha, as there is a division of opinion among scholars regarding the origin of the Śīśunāgas.¹ It is not our business here to enter into the merits of the controversy. But what is of immediate importance for our present purpose is to recognise the fact that the *Jātakas* do preserve a record, though a dim one, of the period when Kāśī’s power was fast declining and the Nāgas were beginning to establish their influence on the Magadhan politics. This influence, it is possible, and even probable, might have later on terminated in the final occupation of Magadha by the Śīśunāgas. These findings, if proved correct, would seem to favour the view that makes the Śīśunāgas as coming after Bimbisāra, who was, according to that view, a scion of the *Haryāṅkakula*.² But the problem still remains unsolved.

THE FALL OF KĀSĪ AND THE RISE OF KOSALA

We may now revert to the Kāśī-Kosala relations and reach the logical, and also the Chronological, *finale*. Several successful invasions of Kāśī by the Kosalan monarchs are recorded. Thus two unnamed Kosala kings are said to have invaded and successfully captured the kingdom of Benares.³ The *Ghaṭa Jātaka*⁴ again informs us that, earred by the banished minister of Kāśī, the Kosala king Vaṅka seized the kingdom of Benares and took king Ghaṭa prisoner. He was however set free. The combined evidence of the *Mahāsīlava*⁵ and the *Ekarāja Jātakas*⁶ shows that the Kosalan king Dabbasena captured the ruler of Benares, Mahasīlava, while he was seated in the midst of his ministers, and subjected him to severe physical tortures as a punishment. Here also the Benares king, who is represented as a very pious and religious king with no desire of kingly power, is said to have regained his kingdom. In all these instances, as rightly judged by Dr. Sen,⁷ we can mark ‘a spirit of propagandism which deliberately seeks to protect the sanctity of specially favoured country like Kāśī, where the Master turned the Wheel of Law, even though the forces of history have already begun to operate in a reverse direction by proclaiming its political downfall.’ Other Kosala kings who can perhaps be located during this period may be mentioned here : Mallika, who was ‘rough to the rough and mild with mildness swayed’, mastered the good with goodness and paid the bad with badness, was an equal with the Kāśī king Brahmadatta ;⁸ Sabbamitta is said to have abolished wine-drinking from his king-

1. Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., I, pp. 67 ff; J. A. S. B., 1913, accepts the *Paurāṇic* accounts making the rise of the Śīśunāgas prior to Bimbisāra. His view is challenged by others who relying mainly on the Ceylonese accounts, take the Śīśunāgas as coming later than Bimbisāra, Bhandarkar, C. L., 1918, pp. 67 ff; Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 211 ff; Raychaudhury, P. H. A. I., pp. 81-2.

2. *Ibid.* Haryāṅka was a king of Aṅga : See A.B.O.R.I. xix, p. 82.

3. J., I, pp. 409-10 ; V, p. 430.

4. J., III, p. 168-GG. 29-30.

5. J., I, pp. 263 ff.

6. J., III, pp. 13-4-G. 10.

7. *op. cit.*, p. 9.

8. J., II, pp. 3, ff-G. 1.

dom ;¹ and Elakamāra² who is probably identical with Avimāraka of Bhāsa, the dramatist³, is reported to have been brought up by a goatherd and afterwards married Kuṇṅgavī, the Princess of Benares. The final conquest of Kāśī, however, was, probably, the work of Kaṁsa as the epithet '*Bārāṇasig-gaho*', i.e., conqueror of Benares, is a standing addition to his name.⁴ "The interval of time between Kaṁsa's conquest of Kāśī and the rise of Buddhism could not have been very long because the memory of Kāśī as an independent kingdom was still fresh in the minds of the people in Buddha's time and even later, when the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* was composed."⁵ And by the time of Mahākosala, in the sixth century B.C., Kāśī formed an integral part of the Kosalan monarchy.⁶ We have thus reached a stage which is chronologically the last in our *Jātakas*. The next age with its settled order, so transparently reflected in the early Buddhist literature, is dominated spiritually by Gotama Buddha and Mahāvīra and politically by Mahākosala and Pasenādī of Kosala, Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu of Magadha, Udayana of Kosambī and Caṇḍapajjota of Ujjenī. As regards this age, we may note finally, much valuable light is thrown by the Introductory episodes of our *Jātakas* which, though compiled much later, embody earlier tradition and have been ably analysed by B. C. Sen.⁷

ASSAKA AND KALIṄGA

Of the conflicts between neighbouring kingdoms, which were the predominant feature of this Mahājanapada Period, those of Kāśī and Kosala and Aṅga and Magadha have been already noticed. We have now finally to notice the relations between the Southern states of Assaka and Kaliṅga as recorded in the *Cullakālīṅga Jātaka*.⁸

The *gāthās* of this interesting *Jātaka* contain a bardic narration of the feud between those two prominent states in the South—once the vassal kings of Daṇḍaka. The Assaka king named in this *Jātaka* is Aruṇa,⁹ while no name of the Kaliṅga king is unfortunately mentioned. The Assaka king had his capital at Poṭali and the king of Kaliṅga ruled at Dantapura. The war was an aggressive one 'inflicted on the king of Assaka by the Kaliṅga king who suffered from the mania for war and love of conquests over the whole of India.' It was fought on the frontiers of the two kingdoms (*Ubhinnaṃ rajjūnaṃ antare*) The Kaliṅga king had come with a large army (*sampannbalavāhano, mahatī-senāya*) but the valuable direction of Nandisena,¹⁰ the Assaka com-

1. J., V, pp. 13 ff.-G. 59.

2. J., V, pp. 428-30.

3. Cf. A. Venkatasubbiah, *I. A.*, 1931, pp. 113-5..

4. J., II, p. 403-G. 96 ; V, p. 112-G. 2 ; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 25 ; Raychaudhury, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 110.

5. *Ibid.* See also Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5 ; *C. H. I.*, I, p. 180.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *op-cit.* pp. 21 ff.

8. J., III, pp. 3-8—GG. 1-4.

9. J., III, p. 3—G. 1 :—"Vivaratha imāsaṃ nagaraṃ pavisantu, Aruṇarājassa sihena susatthena surakkhitaṃ Nandisenena."

10. *Ibid.*

mander-in-chief, succeeded in gaining victory for his master and drove away the enemy from the battlefield. Peace was ultimately restored between the two kings, which probably lasted until the reign of Khāravēla who, in the 1st century B. C., according to some scholars, seems to have marched upon Assaka in his victorious career.¹

The very facts, if they are truly embodied, that Potāli and Dantapura are mentioned as the capitals of the Assaka and Kalinga kingdoms respectively, would seem to be enough to regard this episode of Assaka-Kalinga war as much earlier than the time of the Nanda kings,² but later than that of Manoja who had subdued Assaka as we have already seen³.

Our task has now practically ended. In final, we should note down other kingdoms mentioned in the *Jātakas* which must have flourished together during this period, but for which we have no historical matter in the *Jātakas* themselves. *Vamsa*, with its capital Kosambī ruled over by Kosambika kings,⁴ of whom Udena—the contemporary of the Buddha—is once⁵ mentioned; *Dasanṇa*, in the Madhyadeśa or Central India;⁶ *Sindhā* famous for its horses;⁷ *Sovīra*, with Rorua as its capital;⁸ and *Suratṭha Janapada*;⁹ *Avantī* with its capital Ujjenī;¹⁰ *Mahimsaka* on the Kaṇṇapennā,¹¹ *Seriva* and *Andha* separated by the river Telavāhā,¹² and *Damilaratṭha* with its seaport town Kavīrapatṭana.¹³

Thus in the preceding pages, let us say in conclusion, we have tried to link up the stray and detached and loose data of political history into a kind of continuity which is or should be the essence of all historical narratives. Our findings are bound to be dubious in character. Our sole resort has been the *Jātaka* stories from out of which we had to sift and separate historical ingredients from legendary and purely imaginary chaff. Recourse had to be taken to other literary sources to supplement the knowledge thus acquired. Unfortunately no archaeological or epigraphical records survive which, with their definite and certain character, can help us in our way through that dreary, labyrinth-like past from across which we have presently had a fluttering experience. We must await light from further research.

1. See Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 176.

2. The Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravēla informs us that the capital of Kalinga before the advent of king Nanda of Aṅga-Magadha was *Pithūdaga*. See Barua, *op cit.*, 21.

3. Dr. Barua, however, with his no doubt ingenious analysis of the facts embodied in the *Jātaka*, has tried to apply them to those mentioned in Khāravēla's Inscription, equating Kāliṅga king with Khāravēla and seeing in the *Jātaka* story only a later replica of the incidents of the life-story of Khāravēla. He regards the name of Aruṇa as a later addition and the verse itself as a later manipulation. Barua, *op cit.*, pp. 213-5. The evidence is not, however, conclusive and the similarities of incidents may as well be accidental only.

4. J., IV. pp. 28; 56;

5. J., III, p. 385;

6. J., III p. 338-G. 39; VI. p. 238-G. 1065.

7. J., I, pp. 178, 181; II, p. 166; V. p. 259-G. 46; VI, pp. 47-G. 170, 49-G. 201, 265.

8. J. III, p. 470;

9. J., III, p. 463.

10. J., IV, p. 390. As to Caṇḍapajjota being earlier than the Buddha, see Jyotirmoy Sen, *I. H. Q.*, VI, pp. 686-9.

11. J., V, p. 337; I, p. 356;

12. J., I, p. 111.

13. J., IV, p. 238.



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Name.	Reference.	Remarks.
Dalhadhamma	III, 385 <i>ff.</i>
Dhanañjaya	III, 97 <i>ff.</i>
Dhammapāla	III, 178	Son of Mahāpatāpa, the cruel.
Pādañjali	II, 264	Son of a Brahmadatta—a 'lazy loafer'—prevented from ascending to the throne.
Pāvāriya	V, 443-4	Contemporary with Baka, king of Benares— <i>Cf.</i> Pāvārikāmbavana near Nālandā.
Piliyakkha	VI, 75 <i>ff.</i>	Went on a hunting excursion on the banks of the Migasammata, fatally wounded a young boy Sāma, son of a hunter.
Baka	V, 440	Contemporary with Pāvāriya.
Bahuputtaka	IV, 424 <i>ff.</i>	Built a lake Khema named after his queen.
Bhojanasuddhi	II, 319 <i>ff.</i>	Dainty in eating.
Mādhava	III, 337 <i>ff.</i>	A Māgadha.
Mahāpatāpa	III, 178	Had his son, Dhammapāla, seven years old, executed for a slight offence on the part of his mother Candā.
Mahāpiṅgala	III, 240. <i>ff.</i>	Wicked and unjust-oppressed his people.
Yasapāṇi	II, 186 <i>ff.</i>	His <i>purohita</i> was Dhammaddhaja and commander-in-chief was Kālaka—Kālaka used to take bribes—Dhammaddhaja appointed to judgeship instead—Kālaka jealous—killed by angry people.
Yava	III, 215 <i>ff.</i>	Son of a Brahmadatta—had to guard himself against the attacks of his young son who grew impatient for the throne.
Vasavatti	VI, 131	Ruled at Pupphavati, another name of Benares—his son was Ekarāja.

Name.	Reference.	Remarks.
Sabbadatta	IV, 119	Ruled at Ramma, another name of Benares—had two sons Yuvañjaya and Yudhiṭṭhila
Samyama or Seyya	V, 354	Queen Khemā.
Sāmarājā	II, 98 <i>ff.</i>	
Susīma	II, 46 <i>ff.</i>
Senaka	III, 275	Had friendly relations with the Nāgas.



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INTRODUCTION

IN the preceding section we traversed the whole difficult field of Political History, *i.e.*, the story of some of the kings and their kingdoms, as viewed from the *Jātakas* : from across the dim past we slowly, but steadily, emerged into the clear and easy path of our journey. Until at last, when we arrived at the *Mahājanapada Period* (800-600 B. C. and after) we felt that our guide—the *Jātakas*—were growing more and more informative. It is this period, as we have pointed out before, which should claim the right of reflecting the political, economical, social and religious conditions of the country. Thus now if we leave the political history as it was and pass on to a deeper study of the administration of the country, we should for the most part keep our eyes to this period, *viz.*, the period just preceding the advent of the Buddha and, to a certain degree, contemporaneous with, and subsequent to him. In fact we should regard the period as circling round the luminous figure of the Buddha—two or three centuries before and two or three centuries after him.

The material for such a study, we mean of the Administrative Machinery, furnished by the *Jātakas*, though meagre in quantity is none-the-less very valuable in quality. The *Jātakas*, as we know, are not administrative manuals which can supply us with a full connected and systematic account of the various aspects of administration of the time like the *Arthaśāstra* or the *Dharma Sūtras*. Naturally therefore we shall be dismayed if we hoped to visualise a comprehensive picture of the administrative machinery with all its intricacies, either in practice or in theory. But what we may justifiably expect and delight in expecting is this. The stories, as they flow on, give us details here and there, quite in an off-hand manner, thus very simply reflecting the normal life of the day—life true and sincere. It is of course needless to state that with such great and powerful kingdoms as Kāśī and Kosala must have existed a machinery of administering the large kingdoms divided into villages and towns and cities : various activities of the state must have engaged a host of officers of whom only a few find the opportunity of appearing before us. Our attempt in the following pages will be to arrange this scrappy and isolated information in a systematic order, keeping our outlook broad so as to supplement the information whenever necessary from other sources.



CHAPTER I

POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

INDIA DURING the Mahājanapada period presents a number of well-formed independent states, normally at peace but occasionally at war with one another. Each kingdom was divided into villages, towns and capital cities (*gāma*, *nigama*, *rājadhānī*). At the head of each state was the king who resided at the metropolis (*rājadhānī*). He was the acknowledged head of the state, who watched and warded his kingdom from the seat of his government.

Ordinarily each state enjoyed peaceful independence. But very often this peace was disturbed by aggressive monarchs like Manoja, who aspired to universal sovereignty (*cakkavattirajjam*).¹ These aggressions, however, it should be noted, did not affect the deeper strata of the invaded kingdom but only gave an ephemeral disturbance over the surface particularly to the metropolis which was *de facto* entrance to victory over a kingdom.

The kings of those days often aspired to universal conquest (*Cāturanta*, *Ekarāja*),² as we have already seen. They were never satisfied with victories.³ But what their conquests meant to the general mass of the people is clearly shown by their remaining as unaffected as ever. Invasions and retreats or in some cases occupations of the throne were no doubt going on between individual kingdoms. No well-directed imperial policy as we are accustomed to see in Medieval times is to be seen in those days. Even in cases where subordination was present, as for instance under Manoja and Daṇḍaki, no permanent subordination was possible. As a matter of fact the defeated king was never pulled down from his throne but he was allowed to enjoy it if only he, as a vassal, could accept the overlordship of the victorious power. A characteristic instance is provided by the *Soṇananda Jātaka*.⁴ A Kosala king is invaded by a Kāśī monarch. A proposal is made by the minister of the latter king to the former—"Great king, be not dismayed. There is no danger threatening your kingdom; it shall still be yours. Only submit to King Manoja."

1. The term *cakkavatti* undoubtedly implied, as Jayaswal thinks, the idea of territorial sovereignty extending upto the natural frontiers—*I.H.Q.* I, p. 572.

2. The idea of "sole monarchy"—*Ekarāja*: *Cāturanta*—known as early as the *Rgveda*, viii, 37, 3 and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 15, (*Prthivyaḥ Samudraparyantāya Ekarāt*) and exhorted by Kauṭilya. *Arthaśāstra* IX, 1, is also known to the *Jātakas*, IV, p. 309-G 80; 310 G. 85, p. 476-G. 1670. For the meaning of the term "*Ekarāt*" see *Vedic Index*, I, p. 119; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, ch. xxxvii; its criticism *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 570 ff; Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 79-80 and note. The *Hāthigumphā Inscription* of Khāravela mentions this idea of "*Ekarāt*" Line I.

3. Cf. "*Rājā ca pathivīm sabbam sasamuddam sapabbatam ajjhavāsa vijinitva anantaratanocitam param samuddam pattheti unatā hi na pūreti*"—J. V, p. 450-G. 340.

4. J., V, p. 316 "*mā bhāyi mahārāja n'atthi te paripantho, tava rajjam tav'eva bhavissati, kevalam Manojarañño vasavatti hohi*"; cf. also J., VI, p. 391—"mahārāja tava yuddhena kiccam natthi kevalam amhākam santako hohi tava rajjam taveva bhavissati."



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“Matrimony was an effective bond of alliance between different ruling families. These alliances were not always free from political considerations.¹” Thus the *Asilakkhaṇa* and the *Mudupāṇi Jātakas*² present before us a king who thinks that it would be much more useful if he can enter into matrimonial alliances with two royal houses through the marriages of his daughter and nephew. Of such alliances we have already taken notice in the course of our tracing the history of those times.

Moreover, there arose other chances also of the intimate relations between kings. Their friendship might originate even in their youthful days while studying together under the same teacher at Takkasilā—the famous resort of Princes in those times.³ At times, even though the two had never known each other personally, a friendly feeling might grow up between them.⁴ “A common religious career might draw two or more kings together but such unions could possibly have no political significance in as much as these generally happened after they had ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the world.⁵”

We thus see that the political atmosphere, or the foreign affairs, whether in peace or in war, did not generally affect the peaceful and routine-like day-to-day administration of different states. It was carried on as usual.⁶

1. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

2. J., I, p. 456: “*mayham bhāgineyyo sabbathāpi yeva etassa aññam rājādhitarāmanetvā abhisekaṃ katvā dhītaraṃ aññassa rañño dassāmi*” *evam no nātakā bahū bhavissanti*” J., II, p. 324—“*mayham bhāgineyyassa aññassa dhītaraṃ ānesāma mayham dhītaraṃ pi aññasmin rājakule dassāma;*” etc.

3. J. IV, p. 315 ff.

4. J., III, p. 364 “*Te dvepi rājāno adiṭṭhasahāyāva hutvā aññamaññam thiravissāsā ahesum*”.

5. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

6. Notices of Foreigners like Megasthenes and Yuan Chwang also say the same thing. See Megasthenes, I; S. Visvanatha, *International Law in Ancient India*, pp. 16-9.

CHAPTER II

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

GENERAL PRINCIPLES ABOUT KINGSHIP

OF the four principal theories or conceptions about the origin of kingship, viz., Divine origin, origin in war, the theory of contract and the theory of elective kingship,¹ the last seems to have been more, in fact the only one, familiar to the *Jātakas*. In common with the united Hindu tradition—whether Brāhmaṇa, Buddhist or Jaina—, the *Jātakas*, as of course reflecting the general Buddhist thought, envisage a state of anarchy in the pre-State epoch when there was all disorder, the stronger devouring the weaker. This is characteristically exemplified in an anecdote contained in the *Mahāsutāsoma Jātaka*² which relates how the larger fish (*mahāmaccha*) used to devour the smaller ones. This story *inter alia* brings before us the popular notion of the anarchical state known as the *Mātsya Nyāya*,³ which in some respects corresponds to the Darwinian “Struggle for existence”, the Spencerian “Survival of the Fittest”, the Marxian “Class Struggle”, the Gobineau Cumplowicz’s “race-struggle”, and is based on the avowed principle of “Might is Right”. The *Ulūka Jātaka*,⁴ which is in more than one aspects a veritable embodiment of Constitutional procedure, preserves for us the then prevailing popular notion about the ‘Election of the King’ in the dawn of History (*pathama Kappa*). “Once upon a time,” says the *Jātaka*, “the people who lived in the first Cycle of the world gathered together, and took for their king a certain man, handsome, auspicious, commanding, altogether perfect.”⁵ This of course refers us to the fuller version of the famous discourse on Creation of Kingship contained in the *Ajjañña Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.⁶ There the elected king is called *Mahāsammata* or ‘chosen by general consent

1. See Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, II, pp. 3-13; U. Ghoshal, *A History of Hindu Political theories*; D. R. Bhandarkar, *C. L.* 1918, pp. 114-39; Beni Prasad, *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*; Ajit Kumar Sen, *Studies in Hindu Political thought*; B. K. Sarkar, *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, 1921, 1926; K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Economic Thought*; also Balkrishna, *The Evolution of the State*, in *I. H. Q.*, III, pp. 315-35.

2. J., V, pp. 462-4.

3. Cf. for fuller treatment of the same, Dikshitar. *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 19-24.

4. J., II, pp. 352-3.

5. *Ibid*, p. 352. “*Atite pathamakāppikā sannipatitvā ekaṃ abhirūpaṃ, sobhaggappattam, āñāsampannam sabbakāra-paripuṇṇam purisaṃ gahetvā rājāṇaṃ karimsu.*”

6. III. p. 92-3; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, pp. 88-9 Cf. *Mahāvastu* (Senart’s edition), I, pp. 347-8; The story in its elaborate form has travelled to Ceylon, Burma and Tibet; See Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 68; *Burmese Dhamatthā*, tr. Richardson, p. 7; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 1-9, referred to by Bhandarkar *C. L.* 1918, p. 122 n; Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, p. 118 n.

(the Great Elect) who is known to the *Jātakas*.¹ Thus the human and at the same time elective origin of kingship is remembered by the *Jātakas*. But as regards the conditions of contract (social and governmental) formed in this connection, so fully described in the above *Suttanta* and other works, nothing is said.² However the basic principle of protection underlying the contract can indeed be gleaned through the isolated utterances in the *Jātakas*, as will be seen.³

A king was absolutely necessary. He was an essential factor for the well-being of the people. This was not only a theory but in actual feelings of the people of those times. As we shall see later on, the throne could on no account go vacant for a long time. Immediate steps were taken to raise a new king on the vacant throne. Well might the utterances of the people in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*⁴ that 'the kingdom cannot be preserved without a king' echo the real feelings of the time. "A man needs king and warriors for protection" says a *gāthā* in the *Mahāukkusa Jātaka*.⁵ A condition of kinglessness (or more accurately statelessness) *arājatā* was always viewed with horror.⁶ The idea was so rampant in the minds of the people that not only human beings but "every species of animals—all bipeds and quadrupeds" were thought to have their own kings.⁷

The ten kingly duties (*Dasarājadhamme*) so often⁸ referred to and enumerated fully in a *gāthā* of the *Nandiyamiga Jātaka*⁹ have become a stock-phrase in the *Jātakas*. They are :

“*Dānaṃ Sīlaṃ Pariccāgaṃ Ajjavaṃ Maddavaṃ Tapaṃ*
Akkodhaṃ Avihimsā ca khanti ca Avirodhanam.”

“Alms, morals, charity, justice and penitence,”
Peace, mildness, mercy, meekness, patience.”

1. J., II, p. 311 ; III, p. 454.

2. Cf. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Economic Thought*, pp. 46-50 ; see Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 137, 273-278, where several attempts at establishing an analogy between the Hindu and the Western theories on this point are criticised ; counter-criticism by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 743-5 foot-note, and a reply and a counter-reply : *Ibid.*, II, p. 423 ; pp. 195-7- ; 643-4.

3. See for references to this point in other literature, Samaddar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI, pp. 487-490.

4. J., VI, p. 39. “*arājakaṃ nāma ratthaṃ pāletuṃ na sakkā*” Cf. “*appatissavāso nāma na vattati*”, J. II, p. 352. This was also the reason why we see people assembling together at the palace door and taking the king to ask for not having any issue. J., V, 279 ; IV, 317.

5. J., IV, p. 296-G. 59 “*Rājāvatā Surāvatā ca attho sampanna sakkhiso bhavanti h’ete.*” Cf. “As a matter of fact ancient Indian Economics starts with the fundamental assumption that the State is a necessity. If we separate the adventitious accretions made to this idea in later writings, by the substitution of ‘Monarch’ for the ‘State’ we shall find that from our earliest literature down almost to the threshold of our own times there runs through the stream of Indian thought the repeated affirmation of the need of the State, the political community and group organisations.” K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient Indian Economic Thought*, p. 44.

6. Cf. Manu, vii, 3 “*Arājake hi loke’smin sarvato vidrute bhayāt,*” and *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 67,8,31 also the vivid description of the misery of anarchy in the *Mahābhārata*, *Sānti Parva*, ch. 68—*J.A.O.S.*, XI, 255 ; XIII 135-6. Kautilya says “Protected by *Danḍa* the State prospers” *Arthasāstra*, I, 4 ; *Arājatā* King (State) lessness has up to this day come down to mean “anarchy.” See discussion over this term. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 & note, 24.

7. Monkeys, J., I, p. 282 ; Birds, J., II, 352 ; Fish, J. V, p. 462.

8. J., I, p. 260 ; II, p. 118, III, p. 470 ; IV, p. 153.

9. J., III, p. 274-G. 73 ; also J., V. p. 378-G.176.



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And whatever one has not, to gain (*aladdhassa cā yo lābho*).¹
 Take as counsellors men that are wise
 Thy interests clearly to see (*atthassa kovide*)²
 Not given to riots and waste,
 From gambling and drunkenness free.³
 Such an one as can guard thee aright
 And thy treasure with all proper zeal⁴
 As a charioteer guides his car,
 He with skill steers the realm's commonweal.
 Keep ever the folk (*antajano*) well in hand⁵
 And duly take stock of thy feef (*cittam*).⁶
 Ne'er trust to another a loan or deposit (*nidhim ca inadānam*.)
 But act for thyself. . . .
 What is done or undone to thy profit and loss (*āyavyaya*)
 It is well thou shouldst know.
 Ever blame the blameworthy,
 And favour on them that deserve it bestow.
 Thou thyself, O great king ! shouldst instruct
 Thy people in every good way
 Lest thy realm and thy substance
 Should fall to unrighteous officials (*adhammikā yutā*), a prey.

 See that nothing is done by thyself
 Or by others with overmuch speed.
 For the fool that so acts
 Without doubt will live to repent of the deed.
 To wrath (*Kodha*) one should never give way,
 For should it due bounds overflow,
 It will lead to the ruins of kings
 And the proudest of houses lay low.⁷
 Be sure that thou never as king
 Thy people misled to their cost.
 Lest all men and women alike
 In an ocean of trouble be lost. . . .”

How wonderfully these stanzas echo the clear voice of Kauṭilya and other Hindu Political Philosophers, can very well be seen from a comparison of these with *Arthaśāstra* works.⁸ Even the words and phrases *italicised* in the

1. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, I, 20, adds two more, viz., increasing what is protected and dispensing the wealth thus increased on meritorious purposes. Cf. also Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of Skandagupta, Fleet, *G. I* No. 14 (455-6 A. D.)

2. Persons versed in the *Arthaśāstra* or Politics. See *Arthaśāstra*, XIV. 1.

3. Cf. *Śukranītisāra*, I, 11, 215-29.

4. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 8 ; VII, 5.

5. Is it the inner apartment, the harem, which was to be guarded carefully according to Kauṭilya ?

6. The text has *cittam*, while the Commentary takes it as *vittam*.

7. Cf. *Prāyaśaḥ Kopavaśaḥ rājānaḥ prakṛtikopaiḥ hatāḥ śrūyante*. *Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 3.

8. Cf. specially *Arthaśāstra*, I, 19. Other references on the point may be pointed out ; J., I, 280-G. 56 ; III, 441-2, G. 27-32 ; V, 99-100-G. 305-315 ; VI, 94-G. 95 ; 375-6 G.

above citations, remarkably agree with those employed in the *Arthaśāstra* works with their technical significance.

Evils that attend to the slothful king are very aptly described in the *Gaṇḍatīṇḍu Jātaka*¹ which reflects a bold philosophy of action and does not preach passivity as is generally attributed to Buddhism. “*Appamādo amata-padam, pamādo maccuno padam*”.² “Zeal is the way to Eternal Bliss, but sloth leads to Death”—is the keystone, the essence, of this sturdy doctrine. A slothful king paves the way for the ruin of himself and his kingdom which falls a prey to robbers and spoilers. Whereas the man who arising betimes (*kālutthāyin*) unwearied and orderly is, his oxen and kine thrive apace, and riches increasing are his.

Says a *gāthā* of one *Jātaka*: “Right should never be violated.... If Right is destroyed, it destroys.”³ This *Dhamma* then was very comprehensive, embracing the whole bundle of laws that formed the basis of social, economic and political order. To abide by these laws was the supreme duty of a king. These are no abstract principles of righteousness as the citations quoted above will show. The significant, practical and positive character of these will also be seen from the oft-repeated passages in the *Jātakas*⁴ which mean by *Dhamma* the fulfilment and maintenance of the rights belonging to relations, subjects, communities and officials and servants: “*Dhammam cara mahārāja mātāpitusu . puttadāresu.... mittāmaccesu.... ratṭhe Janapade.... samanabrāhmaṇe.... migapakkhisu.*”

Ideals and thoughts, whether political, social or economic, are at once the source and the reflex of actual conditions. This may not be wholly true. However the fact remains that noble and sublime kings like Aśoka rose to be so from the *Dhamma* precepts and also created the actualities for later thoughts to grow upon. The reciprocal influence of man and environment must be recognised.

The guiding motive which impelled a king to cling to this ideal was chiefly the common belief in *Sagga* (*Svarga*) or heaven as the *Summum bonum* to be attained for leading a virtuous life on earth. Such is the oft-repeated precept for a king, as for instance given in the *Sāma Jātaka*.⁵

“*Dhammam cara Mahārāja mātāpitusu khattiya
Idha dhammam caritvāna
Raja saggam gamissati.*”

Again, why was Aśoka so earnest in his *Dhamma*? In his scheme of values, he considered the other world as of supreme consequence and as the objective of life (*paratrikameva Mahā-phala menāti Devānam piyo*).⁶

1 V, pp. 99-100 G. 305 ; 315 ; Cf. also J. III, 141-G. 175-6.

2 This is repeated in *Dhammapada*, V. 21.

3 J., III, p. 456-G. 45.

4 J., V, p. 123—GG. 38-47 ; 223—GG. 114-23 ; VI, p. 94-GG. 401-10.

5 VI, p. 94-GG. 401-10 ; also J., V, p. 123-GG. 38-47 ; 223-G. 123.

6 Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 75. *Rock Edict XIII*—Cf. *R. E. X.* where he plainly discloses ‘whatever exertions King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, puts forth are (all) with reference to the other world.’

With this guiding motive in view the king was constantly advised to look after the happiness of every being. The parable enunciated by the monkey in the *Mahākapi Jātaka*¹ before the king is significant in this connection. The last of the *Gāthās* is :—

“The happiness of kingdom and of army and of steed
And city must be dear to thee, if thou wouldst rule indeed.”²

—an ideal inculcated even by Kauṭilya³ and so earnestly followed by Aśoka.⁴ The paternal conception so eloquently advocated by Kauṭilya and Aśoka⁵ is considered also in the *Jātakas* as one of the basic principles of good government.⁶

As a leader and protector of his subjects, the king was entrusted with responsibilities which were of a grave nature. His was the
EVILS OF OPPRESSION duty to support law and order in this world. “But if he himself was unjust or wicked,” such was the idea, “how will law and order be supported?” In short, he was deemed personally responsible for all the sins and misfortunes of his subjects and even for seasonal vicissitudes.⁷ People follow the king. If the king is just, the people will be so ; if he is unjust, so will also be his followers as kine do after a bull ! This is the gist of the several illuminating *gāthās* of the *Rājovāda Jātaka*.⁸ “Yes, Your Excellency,” says the ascetic of the above *Jātaka*, “in the time of unjust kings, oil, honey, molasses and the like as well as the wild roots and fruits, lose their sweetness and flavour, and not these only, but the whole realm becomes bad and flavourless.”⁹ Everything is alright only when the kings are just. Even if there is no rainfall, it is king’s fault. All the people gather together before his palace and ask him to atone for his sins. He is asked to give alms, keep the holy day, make vows of virtue and to lie down for seven days in his chamber on a grass pallet as was used to be done by former monarchs.¹⁰

“For him no rain falls in the time of rain,
But out of season pours and pours amain.”¹¹

1. J., III, pp. 370-375-GG. 84-89.

2. *Ibid.* G. 89.

3. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 10.

4. As for instance in *R. E.*, VI, where he asserts the promotion of the good of all (*sarvalokahita*) as the most important duty of his and in *Pillar E.* II where he refers to his many and various kind and good deeds in respect of both men and beast, birds and aquatic creatures.

5. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 1 ; IV, 3 ; *Separate Kalinga Edicts*. See Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 36 ; Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 98-9.

6. J., III, p. 470.

7. Cf. K. V. R., Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 145.

8. J., III, p. 111—G. 133-136.

9. *Ibid.* p. 111.

10. J., II, p. 368.

11. J., II, p. 124—G. 84 ; Cf. also J. III, 458-G. 48 ; J., V, p. 193.



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If the king wanted to rule safely and peacefully, he must have the goodwill of the people at heart. To do this, he should put into practice the four elements of popularity (*catuhi saṅga-havatthūni*)¹ by which he could win the hearts of the people. Of all the five elements that go to constitute the strength of a king, that of wisdom (*paññā*) is considered to be the best, and the king is advised to attach the greatest importance to it which is the procurer of material interests (*atthamvindati*). The remaining four elements of power (*balam*) are *bāhubalam* (power of limb—physical strength), *bhogabalam* (power of possession—material strength), *amaccabalam* (power of counsel) and *abhijaccabalam* (power of high birth—aristocratic privileges.)²

II

THE KING AS A MAN

Up till now we had been considering the position of the king as seen through those general principles and concepts which, though mainly based on theoretical speculations, must have played a considerable part in forming and moulding the character of the king as a reality. Rules and duties and responsibilities that are enjoined on the king are here, as in other works on polity like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya or the *Dharmasūtras*, based on actual conditions and go a long way in guiding the king in his administration.³ Before actually taking up the administrative affairs we try to see the character of the king as he reveals himself in the stories themselves.

The birth of a prince was eagerly longed for by people of those times.⁴ Their keen anxiety for the perpetuation of royal line, as they considered failure of heir to be a great misfortune, led them to instal a particular kind of halo about the figure of a prince.

1. J., III, p. 470 ; IV, p. 176 ; V, p. 352 : cf *saṅgāhaka*, J. III, p. 262-GG. 53-4, IV, p. 110-G. 50 ; V, p. 362. Childers names these four *saṅgahavatthus* as largesse, affability, beneficent rule and impartiality : *Pāli Dictionary*, *syn. voc.* Such were the efforts of Aśoka, who spared not a moment from out of his zealous works of public welfare. So also did Khāravēla gain popularity by following these traditional methods, by constructing works of public utility (Line 3), remitting taxes and duties (L. 7) and entertaining his subjects (L. 4). *Hāthigumphā Inscription* ; Barua, *Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 257.

2. J., V, pp. 120-121, GG. 27-29. The same enumeration of the five elements of power with almost the same phrases, is given in the *MBH.* V, 37, 52-55 ; Cf. Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.* 13, p. 152 note.

3. What Hopkins says regarding the material of the Epic, may as well be applied to our *Jātaka* material: "To what extent we may use in our investigation of the didactic sections contained in the Epic, is a question open to several answers. These portions are of course of late origin. Yet in a land so conservative as India we must concede that the gist of such dogmatic discourses had probably been for a long time the result of assumed and common custom, especially when the formal law of the early period essentially corroborates it ; for law, as the Hindu is fond of saying, is based on custom ; and custom, by the same authority, is unchangeable family in class usage" *J.A.O.S.*, 13, p. 70.

4. See Hopkins's learned remarks : *ibid*, p. 138 and note.

At the conception by the queen, proper rites were performed (laddhagabbhaparihāro).¹ What ceremonies were gone through on this occasion, we are not told. Probably they included the ceremony known as “garbharakṣaṇa” or the protection of embryo in the womb, i.e., the prevention of miscarriage, which consisted mainly in reciting the particular hymns (garbhadrahaṇam) of the Atharvaveda²...When, after the expiry of the period of nearly ten months,³ the child was born, there was no limit to peoples’ joy and happiness⁴. In this happiness each dropped a kahāpaṇa as the boy’s milk-money (khīramūlam).⁵ That very day the happy father would order his chief general to find out how many young nobles had been born that day in the ministers’ houses (amaccakule). For, “a retinue must be prepared for my son”.⁶ On the name-day (nāmagahana-divasa)⁷ the new-born babe was given a name. The Brāhmaṇas who read the different marks of the babe (lakkhaṇapāṭhakānam brāhmaṇānam) were paid great honours. Inquiries were made of them whether there was any danger threatening him (antarāyabhāvam).⁸ From the moment of his birth, the prince was given away in charge of female nurses (dhātī) of the palace who carefully tended and brought him up.⁹ Special care was taken that the nurses were faultless.¹⁰ It was only occasionally that the queen herself would give her milk to the child.¹¹ Generally the child was sucked by the nurses. His childhood then passed away in merriment in company with his mates. They played and enjoyed in and out of the palace. Sometimes they strode off in the park to watch the elephants engaged in fight.¹² Nothing more is learnt about the activities of young princes. Their life at the palace was of course gay and prosperous, and, oftener than not, indolent. There does seem much of reality in the following description of the life of the Princes and Princesses, even allowing some margin for the stress that must be laid on the contrast that the king makes between the palace—and forest-life.

1. J., II, p. 2 ; IV, p. 323 ; VI, p. 2.

2. 6, 17 : 5, 1, 1, *Kaṣika-Sūtra*, 98-2 ; Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, in *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, I, B, p. 71 ; Cf. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, in the above, p. 152. Cf. Kāṭilya : “When the queen attains the age favourable for procreation, priests shall offer to Indra and Brhaspati the requisite oblations,” *Arthasāstra* I, 17:

3. J., IV, p. 323—“Dasamāsaccayena” VI, p. 485-G. 1699.

4. J., VI, p. 2 “Deva mayam pubbe anāthā, idāni sanāthā jātā sāmike no laddhi.”

5. J., IV., p. 323.

6. *Ibid.* “Mama puttassa parivāro laddhum vattati.” Cf. J., V, p. 210.

7. Cf. *Manu*, II, 30, who lays down that the name-rite (nāmakaraṇa) should be performed on the 10th or 12th day after birth ; Jolly, *op. & loc. cit.*

8. J., VI, p. 3.

9. J., II, 328 ; III, p. 31 ; IV, p. 492 ; V, p. 298 , VI, p. 3

10. The *Mugapakkha Jātaka*, VI, p. 3, notices the faults and merits of nurses. “If a child drinks milk, sitting on the hip of a nurse who is too tall, its neck will become too long ; if it sits on the hip of one too short, its shoulder bone will be compressed, if the nurse be too thin the baby’s thighs will ache: if too stout, the babe will become bow-legged ; the body of a very dark nurse is too cold, of one very white is too hot ; the children who drink the milk of a nurse with hanging breasts have the ends of their noses flattened, some nurses have their milk sour, others have it bitter.” Cf. also, J., VI, p. 488. All this shows at least some scientific knowledge, no doubt.

11. J., VI, p. 5.

12. J., V, p. 183.

“Fine rice has been their food and well-cooked viands hitherto ;
 If they must feed on wild-tree fruit, what will the children do !
 From silver dishes well-adorned or golden hitherto ;
 They ate : but with bare leaves instead, what will the children do ?
 Benares cloth has been their dress, or linen hitherto ;
 If they must dress in grass or bark, what will the children do ?
 In carriages or palanquins they’ve ridden hitherto ;
 When they must run about on foot, what..... ?
 In gabled chambers they would sleep safe-bolted hitherto ;
 Beneath the roots of trees to lie, what..... ?
 On cushions, rugs or brodered beds they rested hitherto :
 Reclining on a bed of grass, what..... ?
 They have been sprinkled with sweet scents and perfumes hitherto ;
 When covered all with dust and dirt, what..... ?
 When peacock’s feathers, yak’s tail fans have fanned them hitherto ;
 Bitten by insects and flies, what..... ?”¹

The prince was respected, very often petted by the people. They would not let him do any manual work even if he wished to do², because he was a “prince”. His life thus tended to be easy-going upto the 16th year, which was considered to be the age of discretion when generally he had to leave home and go abroad for purposes of higher education and training under “world-renowned teachers”.³ It is conceivable that the young prince up to this time had been instructed in his father’s house in the elementary sciences (the three Rs)’ and physical exercise, and it was only for higher studies both in arts and sciences that he went abroad.⁴ It is Takkasilā which is invariably mentioned as the place where these young princes go for their higher studies. Takkasilā had a long-standing fame as the seat and centre of Indian culture which exercised a kind of intellectual suzerainty over the wide world of letters in India. And there is nothing to be mistrusted in the words of the *Jātakas* which speak of this custom of sending princes to so far away a place as Takkasilā, as Fick seems to feel.⁵

This custom of sending princes to far-away places for their higher education seems to have been prevalent in many a State of those days. Court-life at home was necessarily felt baneful for the growing prince. All sorts of luxuries, pleasures and comforts only made a prince’s life easygoing and practically, as we might see even to-day, useless for heavy responsibilities that at-

1. J., VI, p. 510-GG. 1883-1890. For luxurious outer appearance of princes, see J., VI, pp. 144-5 GG. 647-54 ; 217-8 GG. 931-44, 485-6 ; of princesses, J., VI, p. 590 GG. 2443-2451 ; of course, we must give greater latitude to these apparently poetical fancies and exaggeration.

2. J., IV, p. 169.

3. J., I, pp. 259, 262, 273 ; II, pp. 2, 87, 277, 319, 323, 400 ; III, pp. 122, 158, 168, 415 ; IV, 315 ; V, pp. 161, 210.

4. According to Kautilya, *Arthaśāstra*, I, 5, the prince had to learn alphabet (*lipi*) and mathematics (*samkhyāna*) after the 3rd year. After the 11th he had to study the triple *vedas* *ānvīkṣikī* (philosophy) and *vārtā* (economics) and *danḍanīti* (politics). When these were completed, it is not expressly said. See Dikshit, *The Mauryan Polity*, p. 102.

5. *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.



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“My son, get you to Takkasilā, and study there.”

The boy obeyed, he bade his parents farewell, and in due course arrived at Takkasilā. There he enquired for the teacher's dwelling, and reached it at the time when the teacher had finished his lecture, and was walking up and down at the door of the house. When the lad set eyes upon the teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade, and with a respectful greeting stood still where he was. The teacher saw that he was weary and welcomed the new comer. The lad ate, and rested a little. Then he returned to the teacher and stood respectfully by him.

“Where have you come from ?” he asked.

“From Benares.”

“Whose son are you ?”

“I am the son of the king of Benares.”

“What brings you here ?”

“I come to learn,” replied the lad.

“Well, have you brought the teacher's fee or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you ?”

“I have brought a fee with me.” and with this he laid at the teacher's feet his purse of a thousand pieces.

The resident pupils attend on their teacher by day, and at night they learn of him : but they who bring a fee are treated like the eldest sons in his house, and thus they learn. And this teacher, like the rest, gave schooling to the prince on every light and lucky day. Thus the young prince was taught.

A long passage this, yet it brings before us practically all the principal features of the educational system of those times.

It would appear from the above passage that the prince left his home with a very modest equipment and lived at his teacher's house as an humble student. The system thus inevitably fostered healthy feelings of comradeship, with no recognition whatsoever of earthly distinctions. In fact, we may be forced to feel that “youths of all sorts and conditions of life, of different classes and castes, had all their divisions and distinctions merged in the democracy of learning.”¹ And yet, instances are not rare where we receive a strong impression, that with what of feelings of common pursuits and of the stringency of the moral code binding all into one compact whole, that instinctive class-consciousness, specially in the aristocratic blood,² was not possible to be effaced completely. The first and the basic distinction that the “world-renowned teacher” unfortunately makes, *viz.*, that of the paying and non-paying students receiving different treatment, must necessarily create a feeling of distinction and division.³ What must have the Prince, of course always coming with 1000 pieces as the teacher's fee (*ācāryabhāga*) and hence living there as an eldest son,

1. R. K. Mookerji in “*Buddhist Studies*”, p. 244.

2. The Khattiyas of the *Jātakas* are proud of their birth or status, what then to say of the Prince, the Khattiya *par excellence*?

3. In this case, it may be recalled that the older Brāhmanical system of ‘*Gurukulas*’ was

felt against other poor students undergoing 'daily a course of exacting and low kind of menial service for the school' should be easily imaginable. Reading of human psychology, particularly of the growing youth, would be erring if it tried to see harmonious relationships under such circumstances. Try hard as he would to make himself amenable to the stricter system of moral and intellectual discipline, the prince could not, possibly, forego his aristocratic consciousness. Of course it was the right and duty of the teacher to punish all defiance of rules and regulations, come from whatever corner it might. But unfortunately the proud *Khattiya* youth would at once consider this as an insult to, and an infringement upon, his high position. And the malicious spirit of revenge must have been lurking in his inner heart only to burst open when the opportunity presented itself, for instance, when he became the ruler of his kingdom. Such an instance is presented by the *Tilamutthi Jātaka* again.¹ In the beginning the prince behaves well. One day he goes for a bath along with his teacher. He sees an old woman sitting and watching some white seeds that she had prepared. The youth picks up a handful and eats away without paying anything. The same thing happens on the next and the third day, when the poor old woman cries out, "Master, I have been parching some seeds, and your pupil took a handful and ate them ! This he has done to-day, he did it yesterday and he did it the day before ! Surely he will eat me out of house and home !" The teacher consoles her and causing two lads to take the young fellow by his two hands, smites him thrice upon the back with a bamboo stick, bidding him take care not to do it again. The youth keeps silent at the moment though the "bloodshot glare" in his eyes is not concealed, and after finishing his courses, reverently invites the teacher to come to his kingdom when he becomes the ruler. The honest teacher, then, goes there and witnesses the revengeful mien of his pupil—now a king. The story, of course, then ends with a convincing speech of the teacher dwelling on the usefulness of discipline which ultimately quiets the king. Instances of this kind can be found in other places also. The prince of the *Dhoṇasākhā Jātaka*² is forced to hear the advice of his teacher 'to suppress his cruel, harsh and violent nature, as, says the teacher, power that is attained by a man of violence is shortlived, and when it is gone from him, he is like a ship that is wrecked at sea.'³

What were the Courses of Study that the prince could and would go through at the world-famous university of Takkasilā ? The COURSE OF STUDY three *Vedas* and the eighteen or all the arts (*tayo vede aṭṭhārasa vijjhātṭhānāni* or *sippāni*) is the conventional list of the subjects of study taught at Takkasilā.⁴ The three *Vedas*, of course, refer to the older Brāhmanic threefold knowledge—*trayī vidyā*—that of the *Rk*,

perhaps more sounder as under that system it was the more usual practice for the *brahmacāri* to pay fees to his teacher only when he became a *snātaka* and ended his studentship—thus placing all students on equal level : Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 240. Cf. also his paper on *Ancient Hindu Education* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III, p. 1 pp. 229-230.

1. J., II, pp. 279-282, GG. 4-5.

2. J., III, pp. 158-9.

3. *Ibid.* G. 14.

4. J., I, pp. 259, 356 ; II, p. 87 ; III, pp. 115, 122 etc.

the *Yajus* and the *Sāman*, thus showing that the *Atharva Veda* was not included in this curriculum.¹ We have, unfortunately, no mention of individual subjects under the sciences and arts (*Sippāni*),² though there are stray passages which name some subjects under 'scientific and technical education,' which may or may not come under the 'Eighteen *Sippas* or *Vijjhātṭhānāni*'. Of these, we may particularly note the following: Elephant Lore (*Haṭṭhisutta*),³ Magic Charms (*mante*),⁴ Hunting by bow (*dhanu-koṭim nissāya luddakammam*),⁵ Spell for understanding all animals' cries (*Sabbarāvajānanamantam*)⁶ and Archery (*Issāpasippa*).⁷ These were perhaps some of the Arts and Sciences which specially attracted the prince more than the study of the *Vedas* which was the birthright of the Brāhmaṇas, though we are not specifically told so.⁸ It is rather difficult to conceive that the young prince should be prattling over the huge collection of hymns which were, presumably, not of much practical value in the governance of the kingdom. We may, therefore, without much fear of ill-imagination, dismiss the stock phrase as only conventional and take it that the general education of the prince, as Hopkins⁹ has carefully tried to show regarding the Epic prince, consisted in learning the aphorisms on horses, on elephants, on chariots, and practical uses of military machines like archery, and fine arts and a general knowledge of philosophy economics and politics—the *Anvīkṣikī*, *Vārttā* and *Daṇḍanīti* of the *Dharmasūtras* and of Kaṭilya.

As regards his general mode of life at the University, there is nothing more to be said, as it was the same as that of any other student excepting the distinction which we noticed before, viz., that he, being one of the group of *ācariyabhāgadāyakās*, lived a somewhat privileged life, being treated as the eldest son of the teacher. We have no knowledge as to the manner in which these princes

STUDY OF POLITICS

1. Kaṭilya, also has the triple *vedas*, together with *ānvīkṣikī* (philosophy) *vārtā* (economics) and *daṇḍanīti* (politics) as the courses of study for a prince: See *Arthasāstra*, I, 5; Cf. *Manu*, VII, 43.

2. The *Milindapañho*, VI, II, gives the individual names of the 19 *sippas*, then current. For the names of the various subjects of study in the older *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*, see Mookerji, *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Memorial Volume*, III, pt. I, pp. 237-42. *Kṣatradityā* must have been a special subject for a prince.

3. J., II, p. 47.

4. *Ibid*, p. 100.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

6. J., III, p. 415.

7. J., I, p. 356; II, p. 87; III, p. 219; V, p. 128.

8. The following references seem to indicate that the princes generally learnt only the *Sippas*, no mention of the *Vedas* being made: J., III, p. 238; V, pp. 161, 177, 247, 426.

9. *J.A.O.S.*, 13, pp. 108-112. Some pertinent remarks of the erudite scholar are worth noticing: "The active young knight and busy trader must have performed the duties toward the *Veda* in a very perfunctory manner, if at all. The more reasonable supposition seems to me to be that, while in the early age there was no let to the desire of a young warrior if he wished to be *Veda*-learned, the convenient practices of his caste nevertheless constrained most of his attention to arms... and he probably did nothing more than go over the text of the *Veda*. The memorizing of even one *Vedic* collection, it is absurd to believe, could have been attempted by such young warriors as those the Epic depicts. The practice must have been peculiar to the man of leisure, the priest."



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ing and various accomplishments and impress upon his father.¹ He is then fit to be appointed to the post of *Uparāja* or Viceroy.² It is not difficult to imagine that the return of the prince was something more than an ordinary occurrence, and was attended by festivities both in the palace and in the city. A king of Benares, thus, orders a general amnesty for all prisoners on the return of his son from Takkasīlā.³

It was probably usual for the princes to get married after their return from Takkasīlā and before their assuming the post and charge of Viceroyalty. We cannot form any definite idea as to how these royal marriages were accomplished.⁴ Marriages between nephews and nieces were in vogue.⁵ Even those between brothers and sisters are known,⁶ where they afterwards succeed as kings and queens. But these seem to be very rare cases. The more usual custom was probably to get a bride from other royal families. Instances of this kind we have already noticed in connection with Political History. But who chose the bride? The prince himself? Most probably he did not. Looking to the general custom in vogue in other grades of society of the times, it seems the parents—the king and the queen—found out a wife for their son. The *Kusa Jātaka*⁷ is an instance in point. If we wish to rely on this single *Jātaka*, we may derive some interesting information. Counsellors were despatched to find out a suitable princess. They would approach the father of a worthy princess and say ‘Our king desires to contract a marriage (*āvāha*) with your daughter.’ If decided, the parents with a great retinue, went on an appointed day to bring the princess. On their return the city was decorated, prisoners released and festivities indulged in. This was the proper marriage. But, as we shall see, a king was free in having as many wives as he liked. He dwelt in a separate palace of his own.⁸

It goes on all well if the prince is the only son of his father. Nothing unusual happens and the prince, without any hindrance, marries, becomes the Viceroy and, after his father’s death, ascends to the throne.⁹ But in many cases he has at least one brother, if not more, who turns out to be a stumbling block in the way of his succession to the throne, and suddenly on the death of the aged

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1. J., III, p. 159 ; IV, pp. 96, 402 ; Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 17.
 2. J., I, p. 259 ; II, p. 212, III, pp. 123, 159, 407 ; IV, pp. 96, 168, 176, 402 ; V, p. 22 ; VI, p. 30. It is only very rarely that princes obtain power immediately after return from the University, J., IV, pp. 96, 316 ; V, pp. 177, 458.
 3. J., IV, p. 176—“*assa... āgatakāle rājā sabbāṇi bandhanāgārāṇi sodhāpetvā.*”
 4. See for Royal Marriages in the Great Epic, Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.*, 13, pp. 167-70.
 5. J., I, p. 457.
 6. J., IV, p. 105.
 7. J., V, pp. 281-5.
 8. J., II, p. 374 ; IV, p. 191 ; VI, pp. 491, 498, 502 ; III, p. 415.
 9. This seems to be the normal course of the life of the prince as the following passages occurring often, will show: “*So vayappatto Takkasīlam gantvā uggahitasippo āgantvā pitu sippam dassetva uparajjāṃ labhitvā aparabhāge pitu accayena rājā hutvā... dhammena rajjāṃ kārento...*” J., III, pp. 159, 407 ; IV, pp. 176, 402 ; also J., I, p. 135 ; II, p. 113, 349 ; V, 22.

father there is an outburst of jealousies, which soon develops into a bitter fratricidal war.¹ In the ordinary course of affairs, the elder of the two brothers becomes *Uparāja* on the completion of his education and the younger is given the post of Commander-in-chief (*senāpati*). And, if nothing untoward happens, when the father dies, the elder ascends to the throne as a king and the younger is appointed as *Uparāja*.² In the event of a king having more than two sons, the usual practice followed was perhaps this, that they married and settled down and either lived as the king's companions³ or the king gave them each a province and let them go.⁴

CONFLICTS
BETWEEN
BROTHERS. The real conflict, however, arises in case the younger brother begins to cherish an idea of getting hold of the kingdom putting aside his elder, whose was the hereditary claim to the throne. We have sufficient evidence to get an idea of these conflicts. The youngest prince of a king of Benares consults some *Pacceka Buddhas* regarding his prospects of succession and finding that he has none, he leaves the country and on the advice of his consultants goes straight-away to Gandhāra where he succeeds in securing the throne.⁵ In some cases, even after the elder has already succeeded to the throne, the younger does not leave the idea and carries on his secret plannings. A report is made by a slave to the king of such plottings of his brother. The king becomes suspicious and interns his brother in a certain house near the palace. The man somehow manages to escape and returns with a vast army and invites his brother either to surrender the throne to him or give battle. In a fight that ensues the elder is killed and the younger easily gets to the throne.⁶ Elsewhere⁷ the elder brother is serving as the *Uparāja* and the younger as Commander-in-Chief during the life time of their father. After the death of the King, the courtiers, as was usual, want to make the elder son king, but he is overtaken by a feeling of disgust for the kingdom which is then offered to his younger brother. But shortly afterwards he gets rid of his erstwhile feeling and is tempted to seize the kingdom. He proceeds to the capital with a host of his followers, invites the king to give battle or surrender, who, out of discretion, abdicates the throne and gets himself appointed as *Uparāja* under his elder brother.

1. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

2. J., I, 133 ; II, 367 ; IV, p. 168 ; VI, p. 30 ; also J., II, p. 212.

3. J., II, p. 116 "...te satta pi janā anupubbena vayappattā gharāvāsam gahetvā rañño sahāyā viya vicaranti."

4. J., IV, p. 131—"Rājā tesam janapadam datvā uyyojesi :'" VI, p. 294-G. 1284—

"Puttam va bhātaram sam va
Sampaggaṇhati Khattiyo
Gāmehi nigamehi vā
Raṭṭhe janapadehi vā."

We have the evidence of the *Edicts* of Aśoka where we find that *Kumāras* were appointed as heads of provinces. Bhandarkar *Aśoka*, pp. 325-9.

5. J., I, pp. 395-399.

6. J. VI, pp. 30-31.

7. J. IV, pp. 168-9.

A somewhat similar incident occurs in another place also.¹ The king on his death-bed recommends to the courtiers that his elder son should succeed to the throne and the younger should be heir-apparent. The elder, however, has no liking for kingship but lives in all royal state and the younger is consecrated as king. Here again ear-poisoning is at work against the elder brother who is about to be taken prisoner, when out of disgust he goes away to a foreign country where he earns his living by archery that he had learnt at Takasilā.

RELATIONS BETWEEN FATHER & SON. Hindu political literature lays down a great principle viz., “*rājyaṃ rakṣati rakṣitaḥ*”,² meaning that he who is protected protects the realm.³ That is, the king should protect himself. This personal safety must be from his own sons, thieves and enemies. Kauṭilya devotes a whole chapter on “protection of princes”⁴ wherein he, with his usual masterly insight into human nature and current conditions, shows what a danger the prince is likely to be to a father, and lays down what steps should be taken by the latter to protect himself against the former. He quotes the opinions of some of his predecessors in this connection which, at times⁵ go to horrible extremes. One of these, that of Bhāradvāja, is that “princes like crabs have a notorious tendency of eating up their begetter”.⁶ The retort must have been an outcome of long experience with actualities, and not a commonplace theoretical speculation. The *Jātakas* place before us a good many instances of the tendency described above.

A prince of 16 years of age becomes greedy of his father's splendour (*sirivibhavam*) and is tired of waiting for his death. He resolves to kill him and in this he is bestirred by his followers (*upaṭṭhākā*), who are of the opinion that it is no good getting kingdom when one is old. He tries four expedients one after another viz., (a) administering poison to his father's food (*visaṃ khādāpetvā*), (b) taking his stand amongst his father's councillors at the time of the great levee (*mahāupaṭṭhānam*) and striking him a blow with his sword when off his guard, (c) stabbing him at the top of the stairs in the royal closet and (d) hiding himself beneath the bedstead in the king's chamber on the floor of the palace intending to kill him as soon as he enters the room. But everytime the impatient prince fails to carry out his plans and he finally begs his father's pardon. The father, however, has apparently no faith in his son. So the prince is bound in chains, placed into prison house and well guarded.⁷ A similar thing happens in another *Jātaka*.⁸ The prince, greedy of the throne

1. J., II, p. 87

2. Cf. *Arthaśāstra* I, 17.

3. Dikṣitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 98.

4. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 17.

5. For instance those of the Āmbhīyas and of Vātavyādhi: *Ibid*; Cf. Ghoshal, *Hindu Political Theories*, p. 152.

6. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 17.

7. J., III, pp. 123-5, GG. 149-152.

8. J., III, pp. 216-8.



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is helped by his attendants, while the priestly friend flies away to the Himalayas on hearing about this plot.

We have now reached a stage in the course of our narration, when the king begins to play his part in the administration of the kingdom as a prince,¹ when, of course, the cases just before described were absent, and all was normal.

The *Jātakas* unfortunately do not give us any clear idea about the duties and functions of the Viceroy. As a matter of fact, there is not much said about his person or his office, as he is oftener than not described as only assuming the throne after his father's death. What they sometimes speak is confined only to superficial things. Thus we see that on ceremonial occasions the *Uparāja* sits behind the king on the back of the elephant,² a seat which is otherwise occupied by the *purohita*.³ He probably used to pay his *devoirs* (*rājupaṭ-thānam*) to the king at evening.⁴ The *Kurudhamma Jātaka*⁵ has an interesting thing to say in this connection: "and when they came to the palace courtyard in his car," thus runs the description about the Viceroy's visit to the palace, "if he wished to eat with the king, and spend the night there, he would throw his reins and goad upon the yoke; and that was a sign for the people to depart; and next morning early they would come again and stand awaiting the Viceroy's departure. And the charioteer (too) would attend the car and come again with it early in the morning and wait by the King's door. But if the Viceroy would depart at the same time, he left the reins and goad there in the chariot (*antorathe*), and went in to wait upon the king. Then the people, taking it for a sign that he would presently depart, stood waiting there at the palace door." There is nothing that may sound incredible in this account and it really gives a welcome sidelight on Court-life of those days.

It is very likely that the Viceroy sometimes took part in the administration of justice and had higher authority than the *Senāpati* or the priest who also, not infrequently, are seen acting as judges. A man who had lost his suit at the hand of the then judge, a priest who took bribes, approaches the Viceroy and appeals for justice. The Viceroy comes to the Court and overrides the judgment of the former judge and makes the man the owner of his disputed property.⁶

1. The Crown Prince or *Yuvarāja* is always mentioned as one among the eighteen '*virṭhas*' or the heads of departments of the state of ancient Indian historical literature. For the names of these, See Nag, *Les Theories Diplomatiques De L'Inde Ancienne*, pp. 38 ff; also Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, II, pp. 133-4. See *Arthaśāstra* I, 12. Under Mauryan administration he was a regular officer of the state drawing a handsome allowance of 48,000 *paṇas* yearly, the highest remuneration equal to that of the *purohita*, Commander-in-Chief, King's mother and queen: Cf. *ibid.* V. 3. See Also Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.

2. J., II, p. 374.

3. For he was a constant companion of the king whenever he went outside. See J., IV, p. 232; V, p. 101.

4. J., II, pp. 374; VI, p. 131.

5. J., II, pp. 374-5.

6. J., VI, p. 131. That the Viceroy had a share in the administration of justice is also clear from the Commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, wherein we find that "the process of law from the institution of a suit to its final decision was a considerably complicated affair". Cf. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 107 and note.

The *Uparāja* was considered as a "sub-king," a vice-regent. He however did not necessarily act for the king during the latter's absence. Once a king entrusts the kingdom to the care of his mother.¹ Another king who sets out on a long journey to discover his faults, hands over the charge of the realm to the ministers as a whole.² Sometimes he is seen acting as a mediator between the king and the ministers.³

More than these vague indications of the Viceroy's functions, we are not told anything about him.⁴

Just a few moments before we saw how the whole problem of succession to the throne was complicated by premature jealousies on the part of the princes. We also notice, *inter alia*, that kingship was generally hereditary in character (*Kulasantakam*),⁵ and the kingdom descended directly to the king's eldest son,⁶ as were the conditions from the *Vedic* times.⁷ This was the general custom: Abnormal circumstances of course arose when this custom was, or rather had to be, set aside. That Kingship was hereditary is also clear from the stories where we witness people's anxiety for the perpetuation of the royal line. Thus for instance in the *Suruci Jātaka*⁸, we observe a vast gathering of town-folk in the palace courtyard with upbraidings. "What is it?" asks the king. "Fault we have no other to find," reply the people, "but this, that you have no son to keep your line. You have but one queen, yet a royal prince should have sixteen thousand at the least. Choose a company of women, my lord: some worthy wife will bring you a son." The monogamous king, however, refuses to flinch from his previous promise. Then the virtuous queen herself, playing the part of mother and wife to the king, presents to him a company of women. It is again the same anxious and assailing feelings of the people that drive the poor, helpless king of the *Kusa Jātaka*⁹ to agree to the barbarous proposal of exposing all the women of the harem, including even the chief queen, for promiscuous intercourse with his own subjects in order to obtain a son to succeed to the throne.

As a rule, only the sons of the eldest queen (*aggamahesī*) who must be, as Fick surmises,¹⁰ of the same caste as the king and thus a *Khattiyā*, seem legitimate heirs to the Crown.

1. J., VI, p. 95.

2. J., IV, p. 370.

3. J., II, p. 316.

4. In a drama ascribed to Bhāsa, we find that one duty of his was to keep a record of the public proceedings—*Pañcarātra*, Act II, 41: S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, II, p. 106.

5. J., I, p. 395; II, pp. 116, 118, 203, 231, 264, 323; III, pp. 67, 125, 149, 159, 216, 407, 439; IV, p. 124; VI pp. 34, 158: Cf. Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacaritam*, I, śl, 22.

6. J., I, pp. 127, 137; II, pp. 39, 87, 212; VI, pp. 30, 96; Cf. *Arthśāstra* I, 17.

7. For the *Vedic* period see Zimmer, *Altindische Leben*, pp. 162, 172; views of different scholars on the point: *Ved. Ind.* II, p. 211; for the epic period, See Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, pp. 317 ff.

8. J., IV, pp. 317 ff.

9. J., V, pp. 279 ff. cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, p. 138 n.

10. *op. cit.*, p. 123. That the eldest should always be a *Khattiyā* was not, and could not be the *conditio sine qua non* of succession for we have instances where women others than of the *Khattiyā* caste are made chief queens whose sons must succeed.

Exceptions to the general rule given above, *viz.*, that of *heredity* and **EXCEPTIONS.** *primogeniture*, did naturally arise. With regard to the first, we may note the following : If a king was without a son, his brother, if any he had, could ascend the throne¹. If he left a nephew and a daughter surviving him, he would nominate his nephew to the throne and marry his daughter to him, in which case the continuity of the direct line alone was broken but the dynasty did not end. Such are the two instances furnished by the *Asilakkhaṇa* and the *Mudapāṇi Jāraḥas*.²

As regards the latter, it is sufficient to remember, that the custom usually in vogue was to confer the crown upon the first born as the numerous references show. And if we find youngers occupying the throne, it is always clearly in contravention to the long-standing principle. The cases we noticed before, where the eldest sons in their temporary fits leave the throne and the youngers occupy it, are, no doubt, exceptions to the general rule. When a Benares king on his death-bed instructs his courtiers that "all my sons have a right to the white umbrella : but you may give it to him that pleases your mind,"³ he speaks something that is obviously unusual. If the youngest prince is recognised in this case by his elder brothers as king, it is due to his extraordinary virtues. In the same way the youngest prince of the *Talapatta Jātaka*,⁴ does consult some *paccekabuddhas* regarding his prospects of succession, but he is disappointed.

If there was neither a male heir nor a kinsman who could succeed, the successor was, most probably, chosen by the ministers and the **WOMEN AND SUCCESSION.** citizens combined. In no circumstance was the crown formally placed on the head of a woman. However, an incidental statement would seem to indicate that such cases, though exceptional, did occur. Thus says a *gāthā* of the *Kaṇḍina Jātaka*⁵

"Cursed by the dart of love that works men pain,
Cursed by the land where women rule supreme,
And cursed the fool that bows to woman's sway."⁶

There is also a real instance where the throne is handed over to a woman. On the death of king Udaya no king was set up, but the commands of his wife. Udayabhaddā were promulgated and the ministers carried on the administration of the kingdom.⁷ In another story,⁸ a brother gives his own share of the kingdom to his sister, but it is not clear whether the latter was duly crowned. We learn from another story⁹ that when the throne of Benares was left vacant

1. J., VI, p. 40 ; also V, p. 185.

2. J., I, pp. 455 ff ; II, pp. 323 ff.

3. J., IV, pp. 131 ff.

4. J., I, p. 395.

5. J., I, p. 155 G. 12 "*dhiratthu taṃ janapadaṃ yattha itthi pariṇāyikā*."

6. The same thing is told more clearly in the prose portion of the same *Jātaka* "*yaṃ janapadaṃ mātugāmo vicāreti anusāsati so itthi-pariṇāyako janapado garahito va*."

7. J., IV, p. 105 "*Añño rājā nahosi, udayabhaddāya eva aññā pavatti, amaccā rajjāṃ anusāsimsu*."

8. J., IV, p. 84.

9. J., IV, p. 487-G. 314.



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consecrated to the throne after he had satisfied their tests pertaining to the administration of justice. In another *Jātaka*,¹ a king of Benares leaves behind a stupid son, an idle lazy loafer. The Courtiers (*amacce*) hold a trial to test his worth before consecrating him to the throne. At the end they find that the prince was a blind fool :

“Not right from wrong, nor bad from good he knows ;
He curls his lip but no more sense he shows.”²

Here again, it is worth our notice, the nature of the test proposed clearly shows that the king must above all be qualified to administer proper justice. The prince here fails in the test and is not allowed to succeed. In his stead is installed as king, Bodhisatta, the adviser in things spiritual and temporal of the former king. Elsewhere³ we find the courtiers choosing as the king an elephant-trainer (*hatthācariya*), after the decease of the king whom he had served valiantly during an invasion from a hostile king.

From the above instances it appears that sometimes if not always, the prince was refused the right of succeeding to the throne if he was found deficient intellectually or otherwise.⁴ Heredity, then, was not the sole qualification, if it be so called, by which a prince could claim his right to the throne. The hereditary principle was to be qualified by that of capacity. Another thing that must be observed in this connection is, that as far as they did not vitally affect the people in general, such cases of succession as noticed above were settled by the ministers.⁵

We have now to examine a peculiar custom reflected in the *Jātakas*, that of choosing a successor to the vacant throne. We mean
PHUSSA- that of choosing a successor to the vacant throne. We mean
RATHA the choice by the festal car—the *Phussaratha*.⁶ The
CEREMONY. ceremony is described in not less than four *Jātakas*⁷ with more or less details, the fullest description being given in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*.⁸

1. J., II, p. 264.

2. *Ibid.* G. 193.

3. J., II, p. 413.

4. We have an instance in the *Ulūka Jātaka*, II, pp. 352-3, where we find that the original election of Mr. Owl was set aside mainly on the ground of his defective appearance. Similarly in another place, J., IV, pp. 407 ff., in spite of protests, a king gives away his eyes to a Brāhmaṇa and then he thinks : “What has a blind man to do with ruling ? I will hand over my kingdom to the courtiers and go into my park and become an ascetic and live as a holy man.” Elsewhere, a prince struck with leprosy departs into the forest : J., V, p. 88 : it seems from all this that physical defects were considered to be a serious bar to succession to the throne, morally if not legally. See Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 115-6 ; but see Hopkins, J. A. O. S., 13, p. 144 “no such bar was felt to be infrangible in the early period.” Cf. Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 69.

5. Here, as in the *phussaratha* ceremony, the ministers who choose and anoint a king may well correspond to the Vedic *Rājakartr* and the Buddhist *Rājakattāro*—king makers : See *Ved Ind.*, II, p. 210 ; *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 233. The *Jātakas* also know these *Rājakattāras*. J., V, p. 220-G. 88 ; 258-G. 36 ; VI, pp. 259- ; 268-G. 1159 ; 283-G. 1234 ; 313-G. 1373.

6. ‘*Phussa*’ is not ‘*puṣpa*’—flower, but it corresponds to the Sanskrit *puṣya* : Fick’s conjecture is meaningless : *op. cit.*, p. 125 n. *puṣya* is a name for the ‘*tiṣyā*’ *nakṣatra* in the *Atharvaveda*, xix, 7, 2, meaning auspicious : See Edgerton, J. A. O. S. 33, p. 160. “*puṣyaratha*” is mentioned by Kautilya, *Arthasāstra*, II, 33, together with other kinds of chariots.

7. J, III, pp. 238-9 ; IV, p. 39-40 ; V, p. 248 ; VI, p. 39. It is also referred to at J. VI, p. 160.

8. J., VI, p. 39 ff.

On the seventh day after the demise of the heirless king, which was the usual day for Royal Consecration,¹ the funeral obsequies being over, the *purohita* prepares the festal car as it is previously announced in the city by beat of drums. The city is decorated. Four lotus-coloured horses are yoked to the car with coverlets spread over them. Five insignias of royalty (*rāja-kakudāni*),² are placed on the chariot. The chariot is then attended by a complete fourfold army and by musical instruments going behind it because it contains no ruler. The house priest (*purohita*) of the late king sprinkles the strap (*rathanandī*) of the car and the goad (*patodaṁ*) with water from a golden vessel (*suvaṇṇabhinkāreṇa*) (as if in coronation) and sends it forth to him who has sufficient merit to rule the kingdom. The car goes solemnly round the palace and proceeds up the kettle-drum road (*bherīvīthim*). The General and the other officers of the state each think that the car is coming up to him, but it passes by the houses of them all, and having gone solemnly round the city it goes out by the eastern gate and remains standing at the gate of the park outside. The future king is soon found out resting on the usual ceremonial seat in the park and bearing 'the marks of royalty upon his person.' And since upon being awakened he conducts himself in a manner suitable to such a position, he is made king by the housepriest who consecrates him and leads him to the city.

We fully associate ourselves with Dr. Fick,³ in his doubts and conjectures on this particular point: "Have we to see in these legends the mythical form of an actual event, namely, the selection of a king by the *purohita*, or is the *phussaratha* nothing but a product of the rich imagination of the story-teller? To this no definite answer can be given, so long as our knowledge of *phussaratha* is confined to the *Jātakas*,⁴ but we do not consider the possibility excluded, that when the king died without an heir and the ministers chose a successor from among themselves or from another royal house, the latter was conveyed to his residence in a manner similar to the ceremony described in the stories, and that people spread rumours about him that he was discovered as the right man by a miracle introduced by the gods".⁵ At least, it

1. J., II, p. 297 ; III, p. 238 ; IV pp 39 ; 132 ; V, p. 248 ; VI, p. 160.

2. These are : sword, parasol, crown, shoes and fan. For an interesting analogy between 'kakudha' and *Kakkā* of the Sikhs, see Barua in *Indian Culture*, I, p. 281.

3. *op. cit.*, p. 126.

4. Why ? This custom in more or less the same form is constantly described in Hindu and Jain literatures. Instances of this have been collected by Tawney, J. A. S. B., November, 1891 pp. 135 ff ; J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 131 ; *Daśakumāracharita* p. 94 ; Edgerton, J.A.O.S., 33, pp. 158 ff.

5. On this particular point it is difficult for us to see eye to eye with Prof. W. Norman Brown, the learned folk-lorist who remarks, "There is nothing more common in Hindu folk tales than the election of a king, when the throne is vacant, by either some or all of the '*pañcadivyaṇi*' (five divinely guided instruments, state elephant, etc ; See Edgerton, J.A.O.S., 33 155 ff.) And yet this was certainly never a Hindu custom in historical times, nor, I think we may safely say, in times prehistorical. . . . These and many other incidents of constant occurrence in fiction are of purely imaginary existence as far as concerns real life." J.A.O.S., 39, p. 3, note 6" This seems to be a hasty conclusion. The very fact of its constant occurrence in literature is for us a tangible support for maintaining that there was some such custom of selecting a king in Ancient India,

does not sound incredible that the people of those times should have been 'guided by the belief that the judgment of God would fall upon the most deserving.'¹

When the election of the successor took place in the way described above or in some other form, the new king was not necessarily a *Khattiya* or a scion of a royal family. Sometimes, he was the son of a poor man, born in the street;² at other times he was the elephant trainer.³ The instance of a Brāhmaṇa having been anointed king is furnished by the *Saccaṃkīra Jātaka*.⁴ We have already referred to an instance⁵ where a deceased king's temporal and spiritual adviser, a Brāhmaṇa, is installed on the throne. Again, in the *Padakula-mānava Jātaka*,⁶ it is a Brāhmaṇa who after instigating a revolt against a thievish king and thus bringing about his death is placed on the throne by people. It is quite apparent from all these instances that, non-*Khattiya* kingship was not unknown in those days. Fick observes: "The legendary character of this narrative does not allow this to be taken as a proof that Kingship did not lie always in the hands of the *Khattiyas* but that persons belonging to other castes might occasionally be in possession of it. There are however some passages which seem to support such a theory. Even the lawbooks speak of kings who do not belong to the *Kṣatriya* caste and understand by these kings of low origin who have usurped the throne."⁷

Before closing our discussion on succession and election, it would be interesting to notice a story which presents some illuminating details as regards election. We refer to the *Ulūka Jātaka*⁸ already mentioned above. The story runs, that once all birds in the Himalayas assembled upon a flat rock for electing a king from amongst themselves. They searched about for a worthy bird, and chose the Owl; "Here is the bird we like," said they. And a bird made proclamation three times to all that there would be a vote taken on this matter (...*sabbesaṃ ajjhāsayagahaṇatthaṃ tikkhattuṃ sāvesī*). After patiently hearing this announcement twice, on the third time up rose (*utthāya*) a crow and cried out to oppose the motion, "Stay now! If that is what he looks like when he is being consecrated king, what will he look like when he is angry? If he only looks at us in anger, we shall be scattered like sesame seeds thrown on a hot plate. I don't want to make this fellow king." And enlarging upon this he uttered:

1. Sivanatha Basu, *J.B.O.R.S.*, VII, p. 102.

2. IV., pp. 38-40.

3. J., II, p. 413

4. J., I, pp. 324-6.

5. J., II, p. 264.

6. J., III, pp. 313-4. One more instance may be added here. A son of a woodgatherer (*kaṭṭhahārī*) is made a king in the *Kaṭṭhahārī*, J. I, pp. 134-6.

7. *op. cit.*, pp. 126-7. Instances of such usurpations are not wanting in history. Leaving aside the questionable origin of Chandragupta Maurya Mahāpadma who was a Śūdra did occupy the throne of Magadha: Cf. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 25.

8. J., II, pp. 352-3.



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(*abhisiñcati*) from a golden vessel (*suvaṇṇabhīṅkāra*).¹ The usual custom in vogue was this. The king was seated on a fine chair of fig-wood (*udumbara-bhaddapīṭhaka*),² and then was sprinkled with auspicious water from a conch with spirals turned right-wise (*dakkhiṇāvattasamkharatana*).³ Sometimes he was seated on a heap of jewels (*ratnarāsī*).⁴ The *purohita* would teach the prince ten ceremonies which an universal monarch had to perform.⁵ With the prince his wife also was consecrated by the ceremonial sprinkling and made his chief queen (*aggamahesī*).⁶ Then the ceremony of spreading the royal white umbrella (*seta chattamaṅgalaṃ*) was gone through.⁷ On the installation, the rule of the new king was proclaimed throughout the city by beat of drum.⁸ A graphic description is given in the *Ayoghara Jātaka*⁹ of the consecration and its pomp :

The city is decorated, the state-elephant decked in magnificent caparison is taken out. The richly-dressed prince sits on it. They make a ride round the city and return to the palace where the prince salutes his father. He is placed on a pile of jewels and sprinkled from the three conches and then the white umbrella with its festoons of gold is uplifted. Especially on the accession of a wise, righteous and popular king, there was no end to peoples' joy and festivities. They raised flags and banners and decked all the city. At every door was set up a pavilion, and scattering parched corn and flowers (*lājakusuma*) they sat upon the decorated platforms and ate and drank.¹⁰ People came from different parts of the city with presents (*paṇṇākārā*) to honour him. The palace-walls were covered with plastered impressions of hands (*hatthattharā-dīhi*).¹¹ The festivities and rejoicings were often signalled by a release of prisoners.¹² No definite age-limit to the anointing ceremonies can be gathered from the *Jātakas*. If the 16th year was the usual age for princes to go to Tak-kasilā, and if we allow for four or five years to the studies, we may take the 24th or 25th as the age of coronation.¹³

The prince has now become the king, the supreme head of the state, exercising a considerable amount of authority and influence over every kind of activity—social, economic, political and even religious. As we, in our present course of narration, practically have kept ourselves aloof from the discussion of the actual administrative work, it is but consistent to follow up this course and notice the king's life when he is free from state affairs. It would be thought,

1. J., VI, p. 39 ; cf. the Epic (Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, p. 145)

2. Cf. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 8.

3. J., II, p. 409 , IV, p. 350.

4. J., IV, pp. 40, 492.

5. J., IV, p. 232 ; *dasa Cakkavattivattāni*.

6. J., IV, p. 407 ; V, pp. 95, 285 ; VI, p. 588. See Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 16-7.

7. J., IV, pp. 323, 393.

8. J., V, p. 285 "*Kusarājassa āñā' ti bheriṇ carāpesi* : VI, p. 10.

9. J., IV, pp. 492-3.

10. J., II, pp. 240-1 ; VI, pp. 42-3.

11. J., VI, p. 42. Cf. Cowell and Thomas, *Harṣacarita*, p. 45 & note.

12. J., V, p. 285—"sabbabandhanāgārāṇi mocāpetvā," etc.

13. Cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 52-3 ; Khāravēla was consecrated in his 24th year. *Hāthigumphā Inscriptions*, Line I; so also Aśoka, Cf. *J.B.O.R.S.*, I, p. 93 ; III, p. 438.

we know, as irrelevant and even disproportionate to dwell so long on the life of one single personage out of the various individuals connected with the big administrative machine. But our source of information itself forces us to adopt such a procedure. The king was undoubtedly the most important person of those days to be reckoned with. What then to speak of these stories, where he is so constantly to be met with ?

It is therefore necessary for us to notice whatever information can be had from the *Jātakas*. Various and numerous are the references to the character, hobbies, habits, sports, luxuries and pomp and the environments of the king which we may not let pass unnoticed, if we want to have a comprehensive picture of those times. It would moreover be helpful to study the mind and temperament of those ancient rulers, their whims and caprices—their legacies devolved upon their successors.

There is certainly no gainsaying the fact that most of the descriptions about the palace, the court and luxuries, are characterised by exaggeration. But creeping through these exaggerations is an element of truth and actuality.

The palace of the king was generally situated in the centre of the city.¹

RESIDENCE: These palaces are described as seven-storeyed² adorned with
PALACE AND towers and pinnacles³ and supported by many columns⁴ made
SURROUND- of wood.⁵ Great stair-cases,⁶ generally constructed of wood,⁷
INGS. led to the various storeys. The palace had always a spacious
courtyard (*rājāṅgaṇa*)⁸ opening into which were the cowpen,
the granaries, the treasureroom and other apartments.⁹ The royal courtyard
was often the place where people gathered in large numbers, either to
witness some interesting performance or to address a complaint to the king
or to hear something from him.¹⁰ Through the windows on the terrace of
the palace (*sīhapiñjara:vātāpa*), which overlooked the yard and the streets,
the king often surveyed the varied activities of the city and was often attract-
ed by the sight of many an interesting object.¹¹ The gabled chamber
(*kūṭāgāra*), high with pinnacles (*kucchi*)¹² sprinkled with sandal-juice and
filled with fragrance¹³ and wrought of gold, was the place where the king often
stayed and enjoyed in the company of his kinsfolk (*ñātisaṅgha*) or with many
a lady fair (*itthāgārehi*).¹⁴ The great hall of the palace (*mahātala*) on the top

1. For instance, J., III, p. 9. A Benares king's palace was very near to the lower bank of the river : J., V, p. 429.

2. J., IV, pp. 105, 323 ; V, pp. 42, 187, 426 ; VI, p. 289.

3. J., III, p. 429—'Kaṇṇikā' Cf. Achārya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, According to A. Coomaraswamy the word means "Central roof" ;

4. J., IV, p. 153.

5. J., I, p. 442; also III, pp. 317-8.

6. J., I, p. 351 ; II, p. 275. III, p. 122.

7. J., VI, p. 428.

8. J., I, pp. 175, 421 ; II, pp. 48, 116, 316 ; III, pp. 21, 379 ; IV, p. 368 ; VI, p. 53.

9. J., III, p. 379 (*vaja*) ; II, p. 96 ; V, p. 286.

10. J., IV, pp. 177, 182, 458 ; V, p. 426.

11. J., I, p. 421 ; II, pp. 273, 316 ; III, pp. 21, 59, 305, 379 ; V, p. 230.

12. J., VI, p. 420 ; *Kucchi*—*Kukṣi* See Acārya, *op. cit.*, p. 133 (tabernacle.)

13. J., VI, p. 347—GG. 161-4.

14. J., V, p. 188-GG, 225-6 "*Kūṭāgāra*, a small room at the top of a building" Acārya, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

is frequently referred to,¹ where the king sat on a magnificent throne, surrounded by bands of his ministers and mime-dancers². It was perhaps the same place, the top-storey (*uparimatala*), where the king held private consultations with his ministers.³ The royal bed chamber (*sirigabbha*) with its gorgeous bedding was situated on the upper storey.⁴

There was a long walk (*dīghantara*) in the palace precincts where the king used to stroll up and down after his meals⁵. A feature of interest was the gambling-hall (*jūtamaṇḍalam*) which was furnished with silver tables, and golden dice.⁶ Nearby was the Hall of Justice (*vinicchayasālā*) the Court of the king where cases were heard and settled.⁷ The palace itself was surrounded by a great wall (*mahābhitti*).⁸ A reference is made to a trough at the palace door (*rājanivesanadvāre ekassa bhattammaṇassa*),⁹ which could be lifted up, thus indicating the existence of underground passages. The royal harem, consisting of 16,000 dancing girls (?), must have had a separate palace while the chief queen possessed a separate room (*sirigabbha*) for herself in the palace itself;¹⁰ and there were separate palaces for princes and princesses.¹¹ At night the palace-doors were fast closed and guarded carefully.¹²

Royal food was of course prepared by a special cook (*rañño sūda*) in the royal kitchen (*mahānasa*).¹³ Fish and meat were used besides rice and gruel.¹⁴ When the meals were ready the cook took them to the king and family in the palace.¹⁵ The dinners of a king, according to a *Jātaka*¹⁶ cost 100,000 every time and consisted of a hundred different dishes.

The king had his special barber (*maṅgalanahāpita*) who dressed his hair with golden tongs and tweezers and bathed and perfumed him.¹⁷ His position in the palace was not insignificant.¹⁸ Kings wore turbans with crests (*saveṭhanacūlā*) adorned with jewels,¹⁹ had golden and pearl necklaces round their necks,²⁰ and were

1. J., I, p. 470 ; II, p. 273 ; IV, p. 105 ; V, pp. 230, 249, 370 ; VI, pp. 53, 103.
2. J., V, p. 249 ; “*alaṅkatamahātale rājapallaṅke nisinno gandhabbanatanaccakāḍipairvato.*”
3. J., VI, pp. 392, 410.
4. J., II, p. 326 ; V, pp. 214, 506-G. 477 ; VI, p. 47-G. 165.
5. J., VI, pp. 349, 352.
6. J., I, pp. 289-90 ; III, p. 187 ; VI, pp. 280., 281.
7. J., I, p. 176 ; II, pp. 2, 186 ; III, p. 505, IV, p. 120 ; VI, p. 284.
8. J., VI, pp. 349, 350.
9. J., VI, pp. 381, 384.
10. J., II, p. 394 ; IV, p. 319 ; V, pp. 284, 301.
11. J., II, p. 374, III, p. 415 ; IV, p. 191 ; VI, pp. 491, 498, 502 ; V, p. 306. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 20.
12. J., IV, p. 105.
13. J., I, p. 242 ; II, p. 434 ; V, pp. 230, 292, 297, 458 ; VI, p. 349.
14. J. I. P., 242 V. pp. 292, 458 ; V. p. 297.
15. J., II, p. 434 ; V, p. 292.
16. J., II, p. 319 ; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 288. See for the occupation of the royal cook, J. V, p. 297. As to his position in the royal household, cf. Fick's remarks, *op. & l. c.*
17. J. I pp. 137, 138 ; III p. 451 ; IV p. 365 ; V pp. 177, 187 ; VI p. 144.
18. Cf. Fick *op. cit.* pp. 287-88.
19. J. V p. 187 ; VI p. 368.
20. J. VI pp. 345-368.



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crowd of citizens, and resolves to kill it by casting it over a precipice.’¹ A king ‘of a somewhat covetous nature’ possessing ‘a brute of a horse is very much prone to mischief.’ Some horse-dealers from the North Country arrive with five hundred horses to sell them to the king. The king, this time, devises an ingenuous plan to get the horses at a smaller price and so says to one of his ministers: ‘Friend, make the men name their price; then let loose Big Chestnut so that he goes amongst them; make him bite them, and when they are weak and wounded, get the men to reduce the price.’² Another king—Dadhivāhana—is fond of casting a net into a river. One day when the net is hauled out, a mango is found sticking to it. The king does not know its name. The foresters name it ‘Mango’. He eats, and is delighted with its delicious taste. The stone is planted in his park and watered with milk-water. In course of time the tree begins to bear fruit. “Great was the worship paid to this tree, milk-water was poured about it; perfumed garlands with five sprays were hung upon it, wreaths were festooned about it; a lamp was kept burning and fed with scented oil; and all round it was a screen of cloth.” The king sends presents of these fruits to other kings, just to arouse the desire of these princes to grow the precious tree in their own kingdoms taking at the same time sufficient care that the reputation of his country may not be shared by any other. For he “used to prick with a thorn that place in the stone where the sprout would come from, for fear of their growing the like by planting it.”³ A curious, but at the same time cruel, method of realising a vow, adopted by a certain king is described in a *Jātaka*. “All such as are addicted to the Five sins,” so runs the royal proclamation, “to wit the slaughter of living creatures and so forth, and all such as walk in the Ten Paths of Unrighteousness, them will I slay, and with their flesh and their blood, with their entrails and their vitals, I will make my offering”⁴ This is cruelty to the extreme, though there are some kings who stand shoulder to shoulder with Aśoka in their enthusiasm for proclaiming nonslaughter of animals and other righteous deeds (*Māghātabherī* and *Dhammabherī*).⁵ Many kings have great power of appreciation; they are attracted by anything peculiar or extraordinary and are unstinted in their admiration.⁶ Talkative (*bahubhāsī*) kings figure in the stories and their ministers have to check them with suitable parables. One king is so talkative that “when he talked there was no chance for any other to get in a word.” His minister, wishing to stop this, looks out for an opportunity. And he succeeds in convincing the king of the necessity of ‘speaking wisely and speaking in reason’ by giving the parable of the tortoise and the geese.⁷ Similarly in

1. J. I, p. 444.

2. J. II, pp. 30-2.

3. J. II, pp. 104-5. Dr. Sen remarks “This protective measure is on the face of it inspired by a certain amount of narrowness, but since the dawn of history has not narrowness been at once the shame and pride of patriotism even in the most refined souls?” *op. cit.* p. 89.

4. J. I, p. 260.

5. J. III, p. 434; IV, p. 269. Cf. Aśoka “*Bherighoso aho Dhammaghoso*” *Rock Edict IV*.

6. J. I, p. 506; II p. 273; II p. 290; III p. 229 etc.

7. J. II, pp. 175-7.

another instance, 'a minister advises his garrulous master to avoid prolixity, to be thorough, discreet and well-restrained in speech, after relating the parable of the young cuckoo. And he utters this *gāthā* :

“The sage his measured words discreetly guides,
Nor rashly to his second self confides :
Before he speaks will prudent counsel take,
His foes to trap, as Garuḍa the snake.”¹

An indolent (*alasiyajātiko*) king is corrected by his minister while taking a walk in the royal garden.² A certain king of Benares is so fastidiously extravagant and dainty as regards his meals that 'when he ate, he ate not within doors, but as he wished to confer merit upon many people by showing them the costly array of his meals, he caused a pavilion adorned with jewels to be set up at the door, and at the time of eating, he had this decorated, and there he sat upon a royal dais made all of gold, under a white parasol with princesses all around him, and ate the food of an hundred delicate flavours from a dish which cost a hundred thousand pieces of money.”³ A king is about to be initiated into the habit of drinking wine, from which he is prevented by divine intervention of 'Sakka' : “If he shall drink strong drink, all India will perish : I will see that he shall not drink it”.⁴ Some kings are very courteous and sympathetic to ascetics. A Benares king gives a band of 500 hermits who are his guests 'a large supply of the best spirits knowing that such things rarely come on the way of those who renounce the world and its vanities.”⁵ A king sends a drum beating about the city, with this proclamation : “I give protection to all creatures.” From that time onwards no one durst so much as raise hand against beast or bird”.⁶ Some kings are awfully anxious not to waste a single moment on worldly matters after the advent of old age. Barbers are, therefore, directed to report the appearance of the first grey hair on their heads—“a sure symptom of the decline of youth and the approach of physical infirmities”.⁷ An interesting figure of a king who loves his wife dearly is supplied in a *Jātaka*. After her death he is overwhelmed with grief. He has the body laid in a coffin, and embalmed with oil and ointment, and laid beneath his bed: and there he lies without food, weeping and wailing.⁸ “This picture is somewhat unique,” as Sen rightly remarks,⁹ “as in the *Jātaka* literature no other kings love their wives so dearly and so single-mindedly.” Kings greedy of money and riches are seen.¹⁰ A figure of a king

1. J. III, pp. 102-4 GG. 123-4.

2. J. III, pp. 140-1.

3. J. II, p. 319.

4. J. V, pp. 13-4.

5. J. I. pp. 361-2.

6. J. IV, pp. 262-3.

7. J. V, pp. 177 ff; I, pp. 137ff; VI, pp. 95-6 128-9.

8. J., II, pp. 155-6.

9. *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

10. J., II, pp. 171 ff; pp. 212 ff.

who is infatuated in love flits across the *Ummadantī Jātaka*.¹ A king is thoroughly angry with ascetics, when he discovers an ascetic misbehaving in his own harem. "These men go about by day in ascetic's garb and misbehave themselves at night," and being angry, he adopts heretical views and drives away the whole community of mendicants from his kingdom.² A prince is stricken with leprosy, physicians cannot cure it, but his chaste wife, by the performance of 'an act of truth' (*saccakiriya*), cures him of this foul disease.³ Some kings, far from being fearless and courageous, on hearing an unnatural sound or perceiving an ominous phenomenon or dreaming a bad dream, get completely unnerved and at once invite astrologers to explain these occurrences fully.⁴ An interesting whim of a king is to do something special or novel so as to attract the attention of the world. He wants to build a palace supported by only one column, thinking that other monarchs, who are accustomed to live in palaces supported by many columns, will regard this as a unique achievement of art, and thus he will easily come to be recognised as the chiefest king in the whole of India."⁵ A certain king is defeated in a battle on account of his showing favours to new-comers. He is curious to have some illustrations from the treasure house of past history, and he asks his adviser: "Am I the only king who has ever been defeated through favour shown to new-comers, or have others had the same fate before?"⁶

Let us now proceed to have an idea of the pleasures, games and amusements in which the *Jātaka* kings are found to be indulging. As all other ancient rulers, these also are fond of hunting, dice-play and women. The various places where the king used to enjoy himself (*paribhogatṭhānāni*) are given out in the very pathetic utterances of the people who run to all these places to find the king who has turned a hermit. These included the palace, gabled-chambers, *Asoka* garden, *Kaṇṇikā*-garden, *Pāṭali* garden, Mango garden, the royal tank and the pleasuance.⁷ Another *Jātaka* enumerates and describes, both in the *gāthās* and in the prose, five enjoyable things (*upabhogarasam*), whereby a king, forgetful of his former glory, is appealed to. These are: *bhojana*—food, *kilesa*—sexual joy, *sayana*—bed, *naccagītavādita*—musical entertainment, and *Uyyāna-nagara*—a guarded garden-house.⁸ These correspond to the five occasions when Aśoka, as he says in his *Rock Edict VI*, was supposed to be attending to his personal comforts and enjoyments.⁹

Hunting seems to have been the most favourite out-door sport and amusement. The king went out ahunting in a chariot, followed by a great retinue

1. J., V, pp. 211 ff.

2. J., III, pp. 303-4.

3. J., V, pp. 88 ff.

4. J., III, p. 45; III, pp. 428-9: I, pp. 343-4; VI, p. 330.

5. J. IV, p. 153.

6. J. IV, pp. 400-1.

7. J., V, pp. 188-90-GG. 223-238.

8. J., V, pp. 505-7-GG. 475, 479.

9. R. E. VI—"Bhuñjamanasi-orodhanamhi—vacamhi-vinitamhi-uyyānesu" Barua, *I.H.Q.* II, p. 127,



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with high arches (*torāṇa*).¹ Besides other playing grounds, there must be the lake wherein the king sported with his queens and concubines (*udakakīlām*).² There used to be a special seat for the king in the park (*maṅgalasilā*),³ as he had every thing special. There he rested in the lap of his favourite, and gaily witnessed the skilful girls singing, playing on instruments and dancing (*gītavāditanacchehi*)⁴ and indulged in all sorts of merriments, affecting very badly, we may imagine, the moral equipment of the high personage. What could have been his abilities for, and an active part in, the actual governance of the state, when and if the 'head' spent away his time in such pastimes, may well be left to the imagination of the reader.⁵ About the harem of the king, which was unlimited, we shall presently see.

With gambling, the royal amusements completed the fourfold vices which went on undermining through the ages the character and personality of the kings, and made them utterly unworthy of the high position they were holding—merely through an accident of birth. Dice-play—an old Vedic amusement—⁶ was the favourite game of the *Jātaka* kings also.⁷ A gambling scene is vividly described in the *Vidhura paṇḍita J.*,⁸ which shows some technical knowledge of the game—the throwing of dice on the dice board, the twenty-four throws some of which are called *mālikam*, *sāvataṁ*, *bahulam*, *santi*, *bhadra*—.⁹ "Let us conquer by fair dealing, and by the absence of violence, and when thou art conquered pay down thy stake"—this is the preliminary talk of the players.¹⁰ Gambling is nowhere depreciated in the *Jātakas*, as far as we can see. As a matter of fact, the *Jātaka* kings play dice without any fear of reprehension at the hands of super-moralists.¹¹

Thus the four main amusements of the king turn out in reality to be vices which Kaṭilya¹² discusses at length quite in keeping with his political farsightedness and psychological insight.

We may still go deeper into the royal splendour and paraphernalia. The jewelled throne and the white umbrella are the two majestic symbols of kingship.¹³ Descriptions of the court occurring frequently, besides being interest-

1. J., III, p. 356.

2. J., I, pp. 175, 384 ; II, pp. 38, 227 ; V, p. 476 ; VI, p. 420.

3. J., I, p. 441 ; III, p. 40.

4. J., I, p. 384 ; II, pp. 227, 350 ; III, p. 40 ; VI, p. 348

5. See discussions on addiction to women in *Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 3. Hopkins says, "The military caste was not corrupt or, perhaps, especially given to sensuality ; but it knew nothing of the practices of chastity except as a student's discipline," *op. cit.*, 13, p. 118.

6. *Rgveda*, x, 34 ; See *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 2-5; 382. Cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, IV, 1. 4.

7. J., I, p. 289 ; III, pp. 91, 187 ff.

8. J., VI, pp. 280-2.

9. For the names of Vedic dice-throws, see *Ved. Ind.* I, p. 3.

10. J., VI, p. 280—G. 1227 "*dhammena jīyāma asāhasena*."

11. Cf. for Epic kings at diceplay, Hopkins : "That same gambling hall that ruined him survived through all periods of the Hindu's growth. Tales are told, precepts are given in vain...In the Epic the kings always play dice as a matter of course." *op. cit.*, 13, p. 122. See also Kaṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, VIII, 3.

12. *Ibid.*

13. J., I, pp. 177, 470 ; III, p. 32 ; IV, pp. 40, 125, 402 ; V, p. 264 ; VI, p. 217.

ing from the political standpoint, give us an idea of the royal splendour—not quite exaggerated. We read: “Entering the city the Bodhisatta passed into the spacious hall of the palace and then seated himself in all his godlike beauty on his jewelled throne beneath the white umbrella of his kingship. Round him in glittering splendour stood his ministers and Brahmins and nobles, whilst sixteen thousand nautch girls, fair as the nymphs of heaven, sang and danced and made music, till the palace was loud with sounds like the ocean when the storm bursts in thunder on its water.”¹ And in another place² we find him “seated in majesty and splendour beneath a white canopy of sovereignty upon a throne of gold with legs as of a gazelle....” His solemn processions round the city, specially on occasions like his return from expeditions, are awe-inspiring.³

But there are brighter sides of the picture also. If the sports and amusements noted above tended to make the kingly persons slothful, indolent, simply spectacular and unfit for any constructive work, there were certain others, occasional though, which made them more energetic, more alert, athletic and aesthetic and brought them in closer contact with the people at large.

A scene of a great wrestling match at the king’s door: “The wrestling ring was prepared; there was an enclosure for the games, the ring was decked out gaily, the flags of victory were readily tied. The whole city was in a whirl, line over line rose the seats, tier above tier.”⁴

A vivid representation of a stirring musical competition between two masters, Musila and Guṭṭilā at Benāres: “At the palace door a pavilion was set up, and a throne was set apart for the king. He came down from the palace, and took his seat upon the divan in the gay pavilion. All round him were thousands of slaves, women beauteously apparelled, courtiers, Brahmins, citizens. All the people of the town had come together. In the courtyard they were fixing the seats circle on circle, tier above tier... and lute in hand he (Guṭṭilā) sat waiting on his appointed place... Musila too was there and sat in his own seat. All round was a great concourse of people”.⁵ The two musicians display their wits and skill. All the people, the king not excluded, watch them keenly and with pin-drop silence. And when one shows triumph over the other, the multitude in thousands wave and wave their kerchiefs in the air, in thousands they shout applause.” In “the chorus of condemnation that is started against the vanquished, the king takes active part and makes a sign to the multitude which thereupon rises up crying and belabours the man to death.”

One more instance: The king has summoned all the archers in his dominion to assemble in the palace yard. He invites by beat of drums the people

1. J., I, p. 470.

2. J., I, p. 267.

3. J., I, pp. 325, 444; II, pp. 39, 122, 275; III, p. 183; IV, pp. 190, 403; V, pp. 290, 304.

4. J., IV, p. 81.

5. J., II, pp. 253, ff.

“all that dwell in the city” to come and witness the skill of the master-archer Jotipāla. Followed by a great crowd he comes to the yard and takes his seat on a splendid throne. The hero of the day, Jotipāla, performs many an intricate and amazing feat of archery and is acclaimed with unbounded enthusiasm and wild excitement. “The people make a great uproar, shouting and dancing about and clapping their hands, and they throw off their garments and ornaments so that there is a treasure lying in a heap to the amount of eighteen crores.”¹

Sometimes the king directly interests himself in the propagation of *dharma* and culture among his subjects. He proclaims by beat of drum his intention to address the citizens, including his harem, on some great topic of moral uplift and regeneration, “thus affording himself and the people a direct opportunity for an intimate association and mutual understanding that may alone lead to the realization of the highest purpose of government”.² The genuineness of his feelings—almsgiving, showing respect to Brāhmanas and Samanas, parents and *ācariyas*, non-injury to animals—can very well be appreciated if we remind ourselves of the most glowing figure of Aśoka, the great Mauryan Emperor who by his piety and sincerity of purpose set on foot the *Dhamma* propaganda “based on a direct appeal to the masses.”³

All these instances⁴ would be sufficient to show that the kings, no matter how and to what extent they indulged in personal pleasures and splendour, did, sometimes, come into close contact with the people and, with their frank and intimate behaviour, succeeded in winning their hearts. The crowd that gathers at these royal gatherings has no distinction whatever of caste or creed or class. Everything there is perfectly democratic. These gatherings seem to have had remarkable influence in contributing their quota to our cultural evolution. Our literary traditions show how kings of those times were great patrons of the arts and literature. The *Jātaka* kings are no exceptions. They get their education at Takkasilā. They travel far and wide receiving practical experience and a “direct knowledge of the glories and achievements of other countries.” They must try to emulate them. They did. Learned *Paṇḍits* came to the king with poetical pieces (*gāthās*) and he rewarded them.⁵ Sometimes he himself tried his hand at a verse ‘so beautiful and appealing, that within a short time the whole people will take it up and commit it to memory’.⁶

1. J., V, pp. 128-30.

2. J., IV, pp. 176: “*ambho nagaravāsino, tumhākaṃ tapanīye ca atapanīye ca dhamme desessāmi, appamattā hutvā ohitasotā sakkaṃ sunothāti vatvā dhammam desesi.*” Cf. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

3. Cf. for instance his *Rock Edict XI*: “*etaṃ dāsabhatakānam samma-paṭipati mātāpitusu suśruṣā mitra-sa-mstuta-ñātikānam samanabrāhmaṇānam dāna prāṇanam anārambho.... sadha.*” Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 231. Aśoka himself admits that his predecessors had wished to undertake such measures for the *Dhamma* propagation. Cf. *Pillar Edict, VII*: “*...ye atikāntam āntalam lājāne husu hevaṃ icchisu katham jane dhammavaḍhiyā vaḍheyā no chu jane amulupāyā dhammavaḍhiyā vaḍhithā.*” Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

4. e.g., J., II, p. 222; III, pp. 338, 342.

5. J., II, p. 166; III, p. 194; IV, pp. 393-4; V, p. 23.

6. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 97; J., II, p. 174; IV, p. 393; VI, p. 414-G. 1464.



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sidered was, that "she must be unmarried (*avāvatā*)."¹ He dared not take any who had her husband living.¹ The post of the Chief Queen does not seem to be permanently reserved for one and the same only. It must depend on the fancy of the king.² The rivalries and jealousies of co-wives in the harem did exist.³

The harem was, necessarily, a great source of danger to the king and was therefore carefully guarded, of course by eunuchs and hunch-backed old men.⁴ The women themselves were often corrupt and immoral to a degree. The inner affairs were not only an unhappy strain on the mind of the king, but had serious repercussions on the affairs of the state, resulting in outspoken enmity between neighbouring kingdoms. A king starts to quell a disturbance on the frontiers of his kingdom, and at the request of his chief queen sends one messenger at the end of every league to let the queen know how he is and to find out how she fares. The queen, out of her insatiate passion, 'sins' with every one of the messengers and then tries to allure the royal chaplain who is sufficiently "strong" to check her temptation. The chaplain tells the whole story to the king and discloses the wickedness of the queen. The king orders all the messengers to be beheaded. But the chaplain comes forward with a passionate appeal in their behalf: "Nay, Sire, the men are not to blame; for they were constrained by the Queen. Wherefore pardon them. And as for the queen she is not to blame, for the passions of women are insatiate, and she does but act according to her inborn nature. Wherefore, pardon her also."⁵ Once a courtier intrigues in the harem, but the king is placed in a dilemma: "He is a most useful servant...and the woman is dear to me. I cannot destroy these two." He consults his *paṇḍita-amacca* describing the courtier as a jackal, himself as a lion, and the woman in the harem as a happy lake...sheltered at the foot of a lonely hill'.⁶ The Counsellor gives this advice:

"Out of the mighty river all creatures drink at will:

If she is dear, have patience—the river's a river still."⁷

Elsewhere⁸ a courtier, himself guilty of such an offence, reports to the king about the mischievous behaviour of his servant:

"There is a man within my house, a zealous servant too:

He has betrayed my trust, O King, say what am I to do?"

The king replies:

"I too a zealous servant have: and here he stands indeed.

Good men, I trow, are rare enow: so patience is my reed."⁹

1. J., II, p. 122; V, p. 213.

2. e.g., J., V, pp. 95, 44, 443-4.

3. J., V, pp. 21.

4. J., IV, p. 105, VI, pp. 435, 502-G. 1828.

5. J., I, pp. 437-40.

6. J., II, p. 126-G. 85.

7. *Ibid.* G. 86.

8. J., II, pp. 206-7.

9. *Ibid.* GG. 148-9.

The king had under such circumstances to pocket the affront of the intriguers.

The lovely queen Kinnarā misbehaves herself daily with a crippled, loathsome “ghost of a man” lying in the shade of the rose-apple tree down near the palace itself. The king—Kandari—comes to know about this, and orders her to be beheaded. But the Chaplain, here also, comes with his worldly knowledge, saying “All women are just the same. If you are anxious to see how immoral women are, I will show you their wickedness and deceitfulness.” He does show it, and the king pardons her but throws her away out of the palace.¹

The *Kuṇāla Jātaka*² furnishes such other examples apparently historical—of queens misbehaving themselves—Kanhā,³ Kākāṭī,⁴ and the fairhaired Karuṅgavī.⁵ The woman of surpassing beauty—Sussonḍī—the chief queen of Benares, falls in love with a Garuḍa king who comes to play at dice with the Benares king and flies away with him.⁶ Even the son of a royal priest has illicit connections with the chief-queen. Here the king himself grants permission to the priestly youth to enjoy her for seven days, but then, both of them abscond. The king after great mental sickness is brought to reconcile himself to his fate. And so he says : “If she loved me she would not forsake her kingdom and flee away ; what have I to do with her when she has not loved me but fled away?”⁷ A bold utterance of a true champion of free love indeed ! A more pathetic and a ghastly scene, is portrayed in the *Parantapa Jātaka*.⁸ The king flees away from his kingdom with his queen, his household priest and a servant, Parantapa, when attacked by a hostile king. They make a hut of leaves on a river-bank in a wood and live there. The queen, taking advantage of loneliness, sins with the servant and to escape danger she asks him to do away with the king. “If the king knows, neither you nor I would live : kill him.” “In what way?” asks the guilty servant. Replies she : “He makes you carry his sword and bathing-dress when he goes to bathe : take him off his guard at the bathing-place, cut off his head and chop his body to pieces with the sword and then bury him in the ground.” The ghastly deed is accomplished. Another passionate queen seizes the hands of her stepson, when he comes to take her leave to go and receive his father returning from a frontier expedition, and invites him to enjoy the bliss of love. The prince is adamant. “Mother, my mother you are, and you have a husband living ; such a thing was never before heard of, that a woman, a matron, should break the moral law in the way of fleshly lust. How can I do such a

1. J., V, pp. 437-40 and *gāthā* 308. The pathetic episode of the Kandari-Kinnarā is seen represented on one of the railings of the great Barhut Stupa : See Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, p. 134, plates, xiv, 2, LIV, 37.

2. J., V, pp. 424-431.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 424-7, and G. 288.

4. Related in full in J., III, pp. 90-2, GG. 105-8.

5. J., V, pp. 428-31.

6. J., III, pp. 187-90.

7. J., III, pp. 337-41.

8. J., III, pp. 417-21.

deed of pollution with you?"¹ Even an *Uparāja* is seen intriguing in the harem of the king—his own brother—and fleeing away for fear of punishment.² These and such other instances seem to show that the "inner politics of the harem are often corrupt and polluted." As to their diabolical repercussions on the 'inter-state relations' we may only remind ourselves of several instances of the traditional rivalry of Kāśī and Kosala. There we saw how the guilty minister of the one went over to the side of the other and fomented bitter enmity between the two.

After all is said about the harem, we must not be too much obsessed with the idea that these pictures represent perfectly unbiassed and truthful accounts of the court-life of those days. There is, as Sen³ remarks, a definite propaganda behind some of these legends. We may still be permitted to hold that the standard of morality was decidedly low. The instances given above must have been developed from a kernel of truth.⁴

On the general position or status of the queens in the royal household or in society, there is not much to be said. Of the little that is here and there given out, we shall speak while dealing with the position of women in general.

We may now notice a somewhat pleasanter aspect of Court-life. It is

ROYAL CHARITIES. Royal Charity which was practised on a lavish scale. Numerous are the instances where we observe generous kings bestowing bountifuls to the poor, distressed and beggars. A king of Benares builds "six halls of Bounty, one at each of the four gates, one in the midst of the city and one before the palace; and everyday he distributes in gifts six hundred thousand pieces of money."⁵ So are other kings.⁶ Especially of interest is the royal reverence towards wandering ascetics, the *paribbājakas* who receive very warm welcome. The king sees a venerable ascetic from his window, comes down and leads him to a dais and seats him upon the throne under a white umbrella. His own food he gives him to eat and himself eats of it. He then takes him to the royal park, causes a covered walk and a dwelling to be made for him and furnishes him with all the necessaries of an ascetic during his stay there in the rainy season.⁷ These charitable activities of the king must have gone a long way to win the loyalty of the subjects and enhance his prestige. No wonder, that Aśoka, following his predecessors, was so enthusiastic over the distribution of bounties and appointed *Dhamma-Mahāmattas* to carry on the work of charity amid all sects and classes of men.⁸

1. J., IV, p. 190.

2. J., IV, p. 79. Cf. also J., III, p. 392, where even the queen mother falls in love with the *purohita*.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

4. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 20, where Kauṭilya cites some historical instances of the dangerous women queens murdering their husbands, presumably, through some intrigue: "He shall keep away," says he, "his wives from the society of ascetics with shaved head or braided hair, of buffoons and of outside prostitutes. Nor shall women of high birth have occasion to see his wives, except appointed midwives."

5. J., II, p. 118.

6. J., IV, pp. 176, 355, 361, 402; V, p. 162; VI, p. 42, etc.

7. J., II, p. 316; also II, pp. 273 ff; III, pp. 79 ff; IV, p. 444, etc.

8. See *Pillar, Edict*, VII. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-2.



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submissive, as their frequent risings will show.¹ The tyrant was not always tolerated.

IDEAL. The picture of an Ideal king we have already seen before. The ten royal duties and other moral virtues were there. But the typical king of the *Jātakas* does not appear to be prone to act according to them.² It is the other and opposite picture that we have frequently to see through the stories.

We do not think there is any misstatement, it may be overstatement, of facts, when a *Jātaka*³ speaks of a king thus : “With taxes and fines, and many mutilations and robberies, he crushed the folk as it were sugar-cane in a mill ; he was cruel, fierce, ferocious. For other people he had not a grain of pity ; at home he was harsh and implacable towards his wives, his sons and daughters, to his Brahmin courtiers and the householders of the country. He was like a speck of dust that falls in the eye, like gravel in the broth, like a thorn sticking in the heel.” Instances of such oppressive rulers are not rare. An oppressive king sucks the country dry of all wealth.⁴ By relying on the words of his wicked queen an arrogant monarch kills the prince by casting him down the precipice, heels head first, inspite of lamentations, entreaties and even moral arguments of the people, the courtiers and the women.⁵ He even dares to say :

“One side the whole world stands, my queen on the other all above ;

Yet her I cleave to : cast him down the hill, and get you gone.”

Another capricious tyrant takes a dislike for all old things and makes a cruel sport of old men and women who have therefore to leave his kingdom.⁶ A king falls in love with the wife of a hermit. “Well”, thinks he, “if I seize her by my sovereign power (*issariya balena*) what will he do ? I will take her then”. And he orders one of his suites to carry her away to the palace, inspite of her complaints and cries that lawlessness and wrong were the world’s way.⁷

POPULAR
OPINIONS These and similar instances leave no doubt as to the general autocracy prevailing among the kings. In this connection it would be interesting for our purpose to note some of the popular opinions about the King expressed in the stories. There is no one, so we hear, who does not feel afraid when he hears that it is a king.⁸ Amongst the two—the fowler and the bird Bodhisatta-

1. Cf. Dicey, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, p. 74 ; “....but in any State, however despotic the ruler, there is but limited readiness on the part of his subjects to obey his behests.” N. S. Subbarao, *Political and Economic Conditions as Described in the Jātakas*, p. 24.

2. Cf. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 100 : “....the king shows a double face in the *Jātakas*, which is to be traced to the Buddhist account of the original legends,

3. J. II, p. 240.

4. J., IV, p. 224.

5. J., IV, pp. 193-4-GG. 61-7.

6. J., II, pp. 142-3.

7. J., IV, pp. 23-4. “*adhammo loke vattati ayuttam*”.

8. J., VI, p. 85—“*Rājā’ti paṇa vutte abbāyento nāma natthi*.”

the former, an experienced man, saying that “Kings, verily are fickle-minded (*calaccittā*)” is to our mind, more correct than the latter, a protagonist of Law and Morality, who says that “Kings are wise and understand goodly words”.¹ Similarly the hunter of the *Rohantamiga Jātaka*² and the *Hamṣa Jātaka*,³ who sets a stag free, seems to pronounce a fact when he says that “Kings are cruel,” *rājāno nāma kakkhalā*. Is it an exaggeration—what a man utters in a *gāthā* in the *Sattigumbha Jātaka*⁴: “Kings are like blazing bonfires and most perilous to come near”? Elsewhere⁵ a sage warns his young novice against sovereign lords whom he compares with snakes which may stain holy men. The experienced old lion speaks out a simple truth that “Kings have many stratagems” *anekamāyā rājāno*.⁶ “Hard are the ways of kings: what will happen no one can tell,” these are the utterances of a learned minister of a king.⁷ The characteristically sound advice given by Vidhura to those who aspire to attain honour in the kings court⁸ we may doubt, and incline to dismiss it as ideological only, but some of the home-truths therein embodied are worth our consideration. For instance, when he says that “the king does not count as a common person: the king must not be paired with anyone else: kings are easily vexed as the eye is hurt if touched by a barley-awn,”⁹ does he not utter the truth as already shown above? “Win favour in the eyes of the Great (i.e., the king) for one day: it is enough for a life-time,” so remarks a learned scholar of the type of Uddālaka.¹⁰ What wonder, then, if the king should become so bold as to say, “I am king of Benares: there is nothing I cannot do.”¹¹

As a matter of fact, we cannot reconcile ourselves with the idea¹² that kings of the *Jātakas* are *not* arbitrary. But we do recognise the fact that the people of those days did not always tolerate, or acquiesce in, the arbitrary or autocratic and despotic deeds of the kings. We have several instances of the powerful risings of the whole people against wicked and unjust kings. Fierce and cruel and like grit in the eye to all folk in his princely days, a king has to suffer severe punishment at the hands of the people for his unjust deeds. “Filled with indignation,” says the story, “the nobles and brahmins and all classes (*Khattiya-Brāhmaṇādayo nagaravāsino*) with one accord cried out,

1. J. V. pp. 345, 365—“*Rājāno nāma Calacittā...*” and “*Rājāno nāma punṇavantā ca paññāvantā ca subhāsitaḍḍubbhāsitaññu.*” Cf. “....even as water is the refuge of the people, so also is it with kings. If danger arises from them, who shall avert that danger?”—J., III, p. 508.

2. J., IV, p. 419.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 427.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 432-G. 144. “*durāsada hi rājāno aggi pajjalito yathā.*”

5. J., IV, p. 223-G. 50.

6. J., III, p. 322.

7. J., VI, p. 381—“*rājakammāni nāma bhariyāṇi, na nāyati kiṃ bhavissati.*”

8. J., VI, pp. 292-98-GG. 1266-1309.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 294-G. 1281.

10. J., IV, p. 299. Similar are the words: “by once conciliating kings a man may live happily all the years of his life” put in Setaketu’s mouth at J., III, p. 235.

11. J., III, p. 325—Contrast the utterance of the Gandhāra king before the *Yakkha* lady, J., I, p. 398.

12. Cf. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

‘This ungrateful king does not recognise even the goodness of this good man who saved his majesty’s life. How can we have any profit from the king? Seize the tyrant.’ And in their anger they rush upon the king from every side, and slay him there and then, as he rides on his elephant, with arrows and javelins, stones and clubs and any weapons that come to hand. The corpse they drag by the heels to a ditch and fling it in and then anoint their chosen person to kingship.¹ In another place² an interesting scene is witnessed. A Brāhmaṇa youth has discovered that it is the king himself and his priest who have stolen and concealed a precious treasure. He declares the king a ‘thief’ and sounds a stirring appeal to the people assembled there :—

“Let town and country folk assembled all give ear,
Lo ! water is ablaze. From safety cometh fear.
The plundered realm may well of king and priest complain ;
Henceforth protect yourselves, your refuge proves your bane.”

The people realize that the king who should protect them is himself a thief and determine to kill him, ‘that he may not in future go on plundering any more.’ With sticks and hammers they go out and beat the king and the *purohita* till they are dead. The Brāhmaṇa youth is then proclaimed king. Elsewhere³ the people are seen putting the priest to death and then hurrying with sticks and stones to kill the tyrant king himself in a fit of frenzied glee. It is only with ‘divine’ intervention that the king’s life is spared. He is driven out of the city and thrown into an outcaste settlement. Similarly when the people of a country find that their king has developed cannibalistic tastes they at once stir in revolt. They approach the commander-in-chief and ask, “What do you propose to do ? How will you proceed now ? You have caught the man-eating rogue ? If he does not give it up, have him expelled from his kingdom.” Now they would not suffer the king to say a word. They expel him.⁴ Last, but not the least, we have an instance of a king having been slain under similar circumstances. The king is lustful, comes across a lovely maiden—Sujātā—the wife of a peaceful villager, and desires to catch hold of her. But on coming to know that the woman is not unmarried, and therefore not easy to get at, he indulges in a savage misuse of his royal power, has the husband arrested on a false charge of theft, and sentences him to capital punishment. Sakka, ‘the people’s god’ comes to their rescue. He drags the king to the place of execution. When the servants lift the axe and chop off a head—it is the king’s head. The *Bodhisatta* is consecrated king amidst the loud approval of the ministers, the Brāhmaṇas, the *gahapatis* and others.⁵

1. J., I, p. 326.

2. J., III, pp. 513-4.

3. J., VI, pp. 156. ff.

4. J., V, pp. 470. ff.

5. J., II, pp. 122-4. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 67, remarks : ‘The advent of Sakka is a mythical element in the story—... Sakka is only a name to conjure with, symbolising divine approval of the great revolution, which was the triumph of the people’s innate sense of justice and also indicating the profound religious basis underlying the duties of a sovereign.’



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to the contrary. Whether or not he was the lord and master of his subjects, we may not discuss, for that is all theory. But when the king denies his right of transferring the 'power and authority over his people to another, he may be reminded of many other princes who freely give away that power without any sense of hesitation or any fear of inflicting a blow on the rights of the people'.¹ The king in the *Brahmadatta Jātaka*,² for instance, is prepared to make over his kingdom to an ascetic. In another *Jātaka*³ the king gives away the half of his kingdom to a horse-dealer. Elsewhere⁴ we find the king giving away his kingship to the *purohita* with whom the queenmother was in love. Another king lays his kingdom at the feet of a Bodhisatta⁵ who however refuses it. In another story the king actually divides the kingdom with a jolly poor fellow and the two rule in harmony and friendship.⁶ These instances are sufficient to show that there was nothing, moral or otherwise, that could come in the way of the king transferring his power to anybody he liked. In fact the rule of a country by two kings—*Dvairājya*—did exist as Kaṭilya shows.⁷ So that the above statement cannot be taken as pointing to the real state of affairs, and we demur in attaching so great an importance to this passage as scholars⁸ have done. As a matter of fact, the evidence is inconclusive. The situation is rather anomalous. From what we saw above, it would be, more or less, nearer the truth if we conclude that the king was, as a general rule, autocratic, having no substantial constitutional checks whatsoever,⁹ and that this autocracy varied according to individual kings. This is the impression that lasts on our mind after everything is considered.¹⁰

THE KING
AND ADMIN-
ISTRATION.

The foremost duty with which the king was enjoined by the 'Law' was the protection of the people. We see him frequently engaged in wars and frontier-rebellions.¹¹ There he is the leader of the host. The Commander-in-Chief was, of course, there. But in times of grave disturbance he yielded the command to the king.¹²

1. This is recognised by Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-2.

2. J., III, p. 80 ; also *ibid.*, p. 353.

3. J., II, p. 291.

4. J., III, p. 392.

5. J., I, p. 486.

6. J., III, pp. 448-9—"*Rājā rajjam dvidhā bhinditvā tassa upaddharajjam dāpesi*," also *ibid.*, p. 11, which, by the way, gives us to know that on such occasions the king would gather the councillors and throw a thread of a pure vermilion across the white umbrella and then hand over the charge of the half of the kingdom to the person concerned.

7. *Arthasāstra* VIII 2—"Dvairājyavairājyayoḥ dvairājyamanyopakṣa-dveṣānurāgābhyām parasparasamgharṣeṇa vā vinaśyati." See for other instances of this rule by two, Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, I, pp. 96-7. The exact interpretation of the term *dvairājya* is however open to doubt : N. N. Law, *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 394-5.

8. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 184-5 ; Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

9. Sometimes, though, the merits of the *purohita* or other ministers could triumph over the wickedness of the rulers and stop their arbitrary actions, as for instance in J., III, pp. 317 ff.

10. Dikshitar puts a strong case for the limited or constitutional monarchy in Mauryan days in his two works : *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 71-7 ; *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 90-101 ; but on the whole it seems that he has been led away more by sentiment than by unfettered search after truth.

11. J., I, pp. 304, 313, 317, 437 ; II, pp. 74, 96, 208, 274, 315 ; III, pp. 8, 400, 497 ; IV, pp. 189, 446 ; V, p. 135.

12. J., II, p. 413 ; VI, p. 393.

In times of peace the most prominent work for him was the *administration of justice*. When we shall come to discuss this aspect of administrative machinery, we shall learn that it was not quite a separate department of the state as we understand it to-day. The king is often an original tribunal, and cases directly come before him for decision. He conducted these cases in his court not only as the highest and ultimate judicial authority, as it may seem to us at first sight, but as a direct court of appeal and the nearest legal authority without any intermediate institution. This was the usual custom,¹ though we may well see that he could not have been the whole and the sole judicial authority when the number of cases increased to the extent which we notice in the stories. A regular post of a justice called the *Vinicchaya-amacca* did exist.² And besides him, other judges were also appointed by the king.³ Very often the king is prompted to *summary justice*. An innocent ascetic is arrested, on a false suspicion of theft, and brought before the king, and the latter pronounces the sentence at once without examining the case: "Off with him, impale him upon the stake!"⁴ Similarly another innocent man is summarily sentenced to execution by the king.⁵ Sometimes it happens, however, that a protest is made from the side of the minister of justice against an unjust judgment of the king.⁶ But this had very little influence on the normal royal authority. No exact demarcation can be made as to the cases which must go to the king and which must be decided by the judges. But as a general rule criminal jurisdiction seems, as Fick⁷ has rightly observed, to be exclusively exercised by the king. That any person other than the king can pronounce a sentence of death seems to be nowhere mentioned in the *Jātakas*. Serious crimes such as theft, adultery or bodily injury were punished by *rājaññā*, i.e., by the order of the king.⁸ To what extent the person of the king is attached to the administration of justice is beautifully expressed by the following verses :

"The warrior prince takes careful thought, and well-weighed judgment
gives:

When kings their judgment ponder well, their fame for ever lives."⁹
and again

"Kings should give punishment with careful measure."¹⁰

The villagers, though they had their headman to settle disputes, were free to approach the king directly, if they chose to do so.¹¹

1. J., I, pp. 176, 371 ; II, pp. 2, 187 ; III, pp. 105, 232 ; IV, p. 29 ; VI, pp. 31-2 ; contrast Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 155-6 : "The practice of the king hearing original cases must have been given up very early as there is scanty evidence showing that it was ever done in post-Vedic times." His way of reasoning is, nevertheless, worth consideration.

2. J., II, pp. 181 ; III, 105.

3. J., V, p. 229 ; VI, p. 131.

4. J., IV, p. 29.

5. J., I, p. 371.

6. J., III, pp. 104 ff.

7. *op. cit.*, p. 112.

8. *Ibid.* and note.

9. J., III, pp. 106-G. 128, 154-G. 5 ; IV, p. 451-G. 210.

10. J., IV, p. 451-G. 211.

11. J., II, p. 301, for instance.

We are not told what other works of administration the king actually took part in. It appears that he did not take any active part in other branches of administration, as they were independently looked after by the officers nominated for the purpose.

It may, however, be interesting to note here some of the privileges and PRIVILEGES. powers of the king that devolved upon him through time-old customs—the Common Law of the Land.

One of the powers that he enjoyed was the granting of rewards in the GRANTS. form of villages or towns to persons with whom he was pleased.¹ Sometimes these recipients were the Brāhmaṇas,² but more often, they were the officers of the state³ whose was the greater APPOINTMENT. right, politically speaking. This grant of a village (or villages) meant, of course, the right of the revenue thereof. He had the power of appointing⁴ and deposing⁵ the officers of the state, though their posts were generally hereditary.⁶ It was also in his power to increase or decrease the salaries (*vetana*) of the officials of the state.⁷

All unclaimed property, whether lost or stolen, movable or immovable, lapsed to the king. A *purohita* and his wife renounce their TREASURE worldly possessions and turn ascetics. The king is informed TROVES. about this, and sends men to fetch the money, for “masterless money comes to me,” says he.⁸ The Gandhāra king sees a lovely lady—a *Yakkhiṇī*—and is enamoured of her. On finding that she has no real husband, he tries to capture her, because “treasure trove is a royal perquisite.”⁹ Similarly another king, who finds a girl abandoned by her husband, rejoices to get her, because “treasure trove belongs to the crown.”¹⁰ However, the rule about the treasure troves is not clear. Contrary to the above instances, we see a farmer appropriating the whole treasure, a bar of gold, which he discovers in the field.¹¹ Perhaps the law was not so strictly observed, though this royal privilege with conditions is also to be found in the *Dharmasūtras*,¹² and in an elaborate form in Kauṭilya’s *Arthaśāstra*.¹³ There is a remarkable statement in a *Jātaka*¹⁴ that “horses are king’s property,” which may only mean, however, that only the kings could keep horses.

1. J., I, p. 420 ; VI, p. 344. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 210 ; For restrictions on this privilege in other evidences see Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 119-20.

2. J., II, pp. 166, 310 (*brahmadeyam*), 429-G. 117 ; III, p. 229 ; IV, p. 99-G. 24 ; at J., V, p. 350, a fowler is the recipient.

3. J., I, p. 138 ; II, p. 429, G. 117 ; III, p. 105 ; IV, p. 80 ; VI, p. 462-G. 1630 ; at VI, p. 344 it is a merchant’s son, a would-be counsellor of the king.

4. J., I, p. 354 ; III, p. 206 ; V, p. 229 ; VI, p. 131.

5. J., II, pp. 30, 187, 427 ; V, p. 134 ; VI, 131.

6. J., I, pp. 231, 248, 437 ; II, p. 46 ; III, pp. 385, 392, 455 ; V, pp. 210, 383.

7. J., VI, p. 295—G. 1285.

8. J., IV, p. 485—“*assāmikadhanam amhākaṃ pāpuṇāti.*” Cf. J. VI, 581.

9. J., I, p. 398—“*assāmika bhaṇḍam nāma rājasantakam hoti.*”

10. J. VI, p. 348—“*assāmikabhaṇḍam nāma rañño pāpuṇāti.*”

11. J., I, p. 277.

12. *Gautama*, X, 43 ; cf. *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 246-7.

13. *Arthaśāstra*, III, 5 ; 16 ; IV, 1.

14. J., III, p. 322—“*assā nāma rājabhogā.*”



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IV

THE PUROHITA

Next to the king stood the *Uparāja*—the Viceroy—in the sphere of administration. As however the *Jātakas* do not give us much that is of special importance as regards his position and functions, and whatever is said by them has already been noticed before, we pass over to another and very important official, viz., the *Purohita*.

Fortunately for us, this 'formidable personage' of Ancient India, as Prof. Hopkins¹ has characterised him, has been subjected to a searching examination at the hands of eminent scholars. The institution of the *purohita*, being as old as the Vedic times, if not pre-Vedic, had naturally roused a lively interest in it, sufficient to engage the best talents of scholars to trace its origin and development. Readers are only directed to the eminent summary of these valuable researches given by the learned authors of the *Vedic Index*,² and as regards the Epic, to the masterly contribution of Prof. Hopkins on '*The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India*.'³ Our task, here, is to present the *Jātaka* evidence on the point which, though, has been more or less fully examined by that talented scholar, Richard Fick,⁴ whose inspiring lead has left us under a deep debt of gratitude.

Looking at the general position of the *purohita*, we notice that he was an indispensable companion of the king. His post was often, though not always, hereditary and remained with the same family for generations together.⁵ Once the Brāhmaṇas protest against the installation of a young son of the late *Purohita*. "For seven generations," so complains the mother of the boy, "we have managed the elephant festivals from father to son. The old custom will pass from us, and our wealth will all melt away."⁶ Sometimes of course new men, who found favour in the eyes of the king, were appointed to the post, presumably removing the old ones.⁷

The *purohita* is a Brāhmaṇa, *par excellence*.⁸ Once a king⁹ addresses his *purohita* as 'Brāhmaṇa'. The *purohita* headed the Brāhmaṇas on all ceremonious occasions as the *Senāpati* did the courtiers.¹⁰ He was the highly-respected leader of other Brāhmaṇas. When a *purohita* is about to renounce the world, he summons the Brāhmaṇas before him. He asks them, "What will

1. J., A. O. S., 13, p. 161.

2. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 5-8. See also Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Inst.*, pp. 114 ff.

3. *op. cit.*, pp. 151-62.

4. *op. cit.*, pp. 164 ff. Here also, as in all other aspects of the subject treated by him, the learned scholar has kept the Brāhmaṇic or priestly individual constantly before him which at times, unknowingly though, debars him from an impartial judgment.

5. J., I, p. 437 ; II, p. 47 ; III, pp. 392, 400, 455 ; IV, p. 200—*purohita kulam*.

6. J., II, p. 47.

7. J., III, pp. 194, 337 ; but a king has four counsellors of *Dhamma* at J., VI, p. 330. Perhaps they were distinct from the *purohita*.

8. J., I, pp. 370 ; 484 ; II, pp. 46 ; 113, III, p. 513-G. 60. Cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 20 : "He symbolises the Brāhmaṇa."

9. J., IV, p. 272 ; VI, p. 475-G. 1667.

10. J., V, p. 178.

you do?" They reply, "You are our teacher," and they follow him.¹ Even his wife, who must of course be a 'Brāhmaṇī'² was also a respected personality amongst the Brāhmaṇa ladies.³

From the origin of his post, the *purohita* has remained a teacher of the king. The *Jātaka purohita* is always the teacher, the *ācariya*, of the king.⁴ It often happens that the *purohita* or the preceptor is the teacher of the king in his youthful days, and is appointed to the post when the latter ascends to the throne.⁵ But as a rule the post being hereditary as we stated before, the king accepted the old *purohita* or, as it sometimes happened,⁶ his son who was his fellow-mate at the University, as his *Ācariya*. The intimacy thus contracted in early days remained also later on, and the two became inseparable companions, both in private and public activities.⁷

Looking now to the varied functions of the *purohita* we at once notice that he is the spiritual and temporal adviser of the king—*atthadhammānusāsako*.⁸ The latter is never different from the *purohita* as Fick⁹ seems to make out. We have clear references to show that the office of the *purohita* meant that of the 'spiritual and temporal adviser' of the king. "*Sucīrato nāma Brāhmaṇo Purohito Atthadhammānusāsako ahosi*," so begins a *Jātaka*.¹⁰ Similarly another 'born in the *purohita kula*' became *purohita*, and therefore the spiritual and temporal adviser of the king.¹¹

He was one, probably the foremost, of the ministers (*amaccā*).¹² What were his functions is not clearly stated. Sometimes¹³ he is styled '*Sabbatt-haka*' or do-all-minister, meaning thereby, perhaps, that he advised the king in all matters—spiritual or temporal. And that is why he is a constant companion of the king.¹⁴ Even in travelling he is with the king.¹⁵ The *purohita* was of course a past master in the Vedic lore,¹⁶ and other sciences.¹⁷ The following *gāthās*¹⁸ give a glimpse of this master-scientist :

1. J., IV, pp. 483-4.
2. J., II, p. 46, 113 ; IV, p. 484 ; V. p. 127.
3. J., IV, pp. 484-5 ; he had also more than one wife J. III, p. 391. Once a *purohita* falls in love with a courtesan whom he leaves big with child (IV, p. 298.)
4. J., II, 29, 376 ; IV, pp. 270, 371 ; V, pp. 1, 127.
5. J., II, p. 282.
6. J., I, p. 289 ; IV, p. 473. also III, pp. 31, 392.
7. J., II, 75 ; III, p. 320.
8. J., I, p. 184 ; II, pp. 30, 74, 96, 126, 264 ; III, pp. 317, 342, 400 ; V, p. 57 ; VI, p. 131.
9. *Op. cit.*, pp. 144-5 ; 174.
10. J., V, p. 57 ; also VI, p. 131.
11. J., III, p. 400—"purohitakule nibbattitvā . . . purohitatthānam labhitvā rañño atthadhammānusāsako ahosi."
12. J., II, pp. 96 (*amaccakule*), 127 (*paṇḍitaamacca*) 264 ; III, p. 317.
13. J., II, pp. 30, 74 ; Thomas, J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 389 ; "*Sarvārthacintakaḥ*" of the Epic: J. A. O. S., 13, p. 85.
14. J., IV, p. 272 ; V, pp. 101-2.
15. J., IV, p. 232.
16. J., II, p. 243 ; IV, pp. 245-6 ; Cf. *Matsya* p., 230, 9 "*Śrutivettā Purohitah*."
17. J., II, pp. 46, 243 ; VI, p. 475.
18. J., VI, pp. 475-6-GG. 1666.7 ; Cf. Kautilya, *Arthasāstra*, I, p. 9, who places the *purohita* in the front rank of the state officials, demands of him the knowledge of the *Vedas* and the *Vedāṅgas*, and skill in reading portents, providential or accidental among other things : see also a verse from Śukra quoted by Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

“He is clever, knows all omens and sounds.

Skilled in signs and dreams, goings out

and comings in (of the *nakkhattas*) understands

All tokens in earth and air and stars.”

Leaving aside these advisory functions and coming to the practical side, we notice that the *purohita* sometimes, and not usually, took part in the administration of justice. In one *Jātaka*¹ he is represented as a ‘backbiter greedy of bribes and a giver of unrighteous judgments (*Kūṭavinicchayiko kutattakārako*).’ Here we are told that the study of the Holy lore was the rightful and delightful duty of the *purohita*, but that to sit on the seat of judgment was an unusual task handed to him by the king. So he utters at the end :

“Once in holy lore delighting I in sinful toils was cast,

Working evil for my neighbour, through the lengthening years
I passed.”²

Elsewhere³ also his appointment as a judge is only due to the fact that the king has a high opinion of his wisdom (*paṇḍito ti vinicchaye misīdāpesi*.) Here again his character as fond of bribes is revealed. He is used to dispossess the real owners and put the wrong owners in possession, thus thwarting the high ideal of justice so frequently preached in the *Jātakas*. This *purohita*-judge once gives a wrong judgment and the defeated man approaches the prince-viceroy who rectifies it, upon which the king dismisses the *purohita* from his office and places the *Kumāra* on it instead.⁴ In another instance⁵ he is represented in a better light. Here it is the *Senāpati* who conducts cases and is a bad judge, and a defeated man approaches the *purohita*, who reverses the judgment and the king being pleased with him appoints him to judgeship to try all law-suits from that time so that “it will be a joy for my ears and prosperity for the world.” These instances, stray though they are, would be sufficient to indicate the nature of his function as a judge. The *purohita* becoming a judge, was not a usual affair.⁶

For other functions of the *purohita*, we have no clear proof. Guarding of the king’s treasures seems to have been one of his duties, if we can believe

1. J., V, pp. 1, 2, 10.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 10—G. 31.

3. J., VI, p. 131.

4. J., VI, “*vinicchayaṃ kumārassa adāsi*.”

5. J., II, pp. 186 ff.

6. Contrast Javaswal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 153. “In the *Jātakas* we have the *Purohita* politician and Brahmin ministers as embodiments of political wisdom and moral rectitude. To this class belonged the judges.... The Brahmin for the *Dharma* administration was thus absolutely necessary. We find this jurisdiction being exercised by the *Purohita* in the *Jātakas*. He at the same time heard and decided, sitting along with other officers (probably non-Brāhmaṇas) cases of secular law. Law proper and law ecclesiastical in administration tended to unite into one and unite in the hand of the Brahmin judge. And the Brahmin was fairly above the influence of the king.” How these remarks fall wide of the mark as far as the *purohita*-judge of the *Jātakas* is concerned, can well be judged from the above discussion. The difference is self-evident.



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As if all these presents were not enough, the *purohita* seems to have enjoyed a *Bhogagāma*, the revenue of a village.¹ Land may also be given to him, as to priests in general, as sacrificial fee.²

It appears from all this, that the functions and the powers of the *purohita* were never so political in nature as advisory and spiritual. Wealth, and not power, seems to have been his innermost desire, and the ultimate goal.

Before we close the discussion on the advisory element of the king, the *purohita*, we may take notice, *en passant*, of another individual named *Kulū-pakatāpaso*, who was a hermit and a wanderer and whom the king respected with all earnestness and sincerity in order to receive instruction from him, and thus acquire the merit which leads to heaven (*saggasaṁvattanikaṁ puññam*).³

V

THE MINISTERS

The next element of the Central administration was constituted by the ministers and the Council. It is rather disappointing to learn that the *Jātakas* do not give us any clear idea about the ministers, the Councillors, the assembly or the Court,—institutions which have played, since the dawn of history, a considerable part in the actual working of the administration of the State. There have been plenty of discussions and arguments, views and counter-views, as to the meaning and real significance of the *sabhā* and *samiti* of the Vedic times, or the *mantri pariṣad* of later days, and of the words *amātya mantrin* and *saciva* and even the so-called *Paurajānapada* bodies.⁴ All these leave not a shadow of doubt in our mind that howsoever it may have been in its real nature in different periods, there was some form of a State-Assembly whose members were called the ministers—variously termed according to their functions and portfolios which are, unfortunately, never so clearly stated.

However, let us see what the *Jātakas* have to give us on the point.⁵

First of all, there is no clear evidence in the stories as to the composition and constitution of the administrative council or assembly—
ASSEMBLY corresponding to the *mantripariṣad* of Kaṭīlyā, let alone the Vedic *samiti*; that a council did exist during this period, there cannot and should not be any doubt in the face of overwhelming

1. J., III, p. 105; IV, p. 473.

2. J., III, p. 516.

3. J., I, p. 506; II, p. 273. Cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 109-14, on the influence of hermits and recluses on politics.

4. For the views of Vedic scholars see *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 426-428; 430-1; also Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 11-21; II, pp. 21-2; 60 ff; 121; N. N. Law, *I.H.Q.*, II, pp. 385 ff; 638 ff. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 117 ff. 132 ff. 134, 151 ff. 216. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 193 ff. Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 135-62; for the Epic period, Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, 13 ff. 99 ff; 148 ff.

5. We should always keep in mind, while dealing with these stories that they are particularly meant for the simple folk of India of those days for whom it was not possible to dive deep in the grand and multifarious working of the state organisation. If therefore we don't get any clear idea about the various offices, it is because of this popular character of the stories.

evidence gleaned from the *Dharma Sūtras* and other literary works dealing with politics, the *Arthaśāstra*, the Aśoka Inscriptions and the notices of Megasthenes and other foreign writers—all covering a period not very far from that which is covered by the stories.

There are references here and there in our stories to an assembly—*parisā*. No doubt can be entertained on this point. But how far do they go in attaching a constitutional meaning is not quite clear. Scholars¹ have tried to attach this technical meaning to it, and equated it with the *pariṣad* of Kauṭilya² and the *parisā* of Aśokan *Edicts*,³ which clearly mean a 'body of Ministers'. It must be stated that among the several references to *parisā* that we have been able to trace in the *Jātakas*,⁴ there is not a single instance where the technical administrative meaning cannot be applied. But the fact of the matter is that, we cannot be too much certain on the point. It may not be unreasonable to infer that the 'council of ministers' of the *Arthaśāstra*⁵ was a later development of, and a smaller body than, the *parisā* of the *Jātakas* which seems to be a larger body of ministers.⁶ The *Jātaka parisā* was probably an intermediate stage between the *Vedic samiti* and the *Arthaśāstra pariṣad*.⁷

Nothing can be obtained from the stories, even indirectly, as to the constitution or composition of the *parisā* or about the real nature of the business it was entrusted to carry out.⁸

There is no clear indication of the existence of an inner cabinet like that of the *Arthaśāstra*⁹ though there is reference in a *gāthā*¹⁰ to *mantino*, the *mantrins* (spoken as distinct from the *Mahāmattas*) who according to Jayaswal¹¹ formed the inner cabinet of the *Arthaśāstra*. Anyway, the exact interpretation of *parisā* is open to question. It is however not improbable that there should have been a smaller advisory board consisting of such ministers, ex-officers, as the *uparājan*, *Senāpati*, *Seṭṭhi* and the *Purohita*.

We may now turn to the general body of ministers—*amaccas*—whose constitutional significance is again never clear.

1. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 115 ff; Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff.

2. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 15. He cites opinions of his predecessors—Brhaspati, Manu and Uśanas, on the composition of the council.

3. *R. E.*, III; VI. See Mookerji, *Aśoka*, pp. 224, 227.

4. J., II, p. 186 (*atthakāraka parisā*) referring to the council of the judge; III, p. 513; IV, pp. 225 (*rāja parisā*) distinguished from the 'amaccas' in general, thus indicating the real smaller nature of the body; 394 (*rājaparisā*); 400 G. 51; 414 (*parisā*); 449 (*Kumārassa parisā*) referring to the council of the prince; VI, p. 151 GG. 703-5 (*rājaparisā*).

5. I, 15.

6. Cf. Jayaswal, "The tradition of a large *Pariṣad*, e.g., of 1000 members, is preserved both in Kauṭilya, and in the *Rāmāyana*. Probably this is a reminiscence of the *Vedic Pariṣad*: *op. cit.* II, pp. 132-3; cf. Basak, *I. H. Q.*, I, p. 524.

7. Cf. Dikshitar, "The institution of *samiti* was not a longlived one. It became practically extinct with the commencement of the period of the *Jātakas* (600 B. C.)": *op. cit.*, p. 156.

8. See for this Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 130 ff. Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 133-4. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 148.

9. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 128-30

10. J., IV, p. 134 G. 101 "*Mahāmattā ca me atthi mantino paricārakā*."

11. *Hindu Polity*, I, p. 128.

The ministers formed a class by themselves. In the court of the king they are always distinguished from other classes—the *Khattiyas* and *Brāhmaṇas*, *gahapatis* and others,¹ This does not mean that no *Khattiya* or a *Brāhmaṇa* could be an *amacca*. It only means that the ministers did not belong to any particular caste. It means that the *amaccakula* was a separate group of people as against the *Brāhmaṇas* and the commoners (*gahapatis*).

It is very probable that these ministers, more or less, corresponded to the nobility or the knightly class around the king. These ministers were, as we are told,² “the thousand gallant warriors who would face the charge even of a rut elephant, whom the launched thunderbolt of Indra could not terrify, a matchless band of invincible heroes ready at the king’s command to reduce all India to his sway.” In the same way the five hundred gallant warriors (*pañcasatamattā mahāyodhā*) of king Seyya were his *amaccas*.³ The 60,000 noble-looking warriors of King Sañjaya are his ministers, whose sons, again, are the birthmates and would-be ministers of Prince Vessantara.⁴ A king, intending to have a retinue for his son, calls the commander-in-chief (*mahā-senagutto*) who seems to be the leader of the ministers,⁵ and orders him to find out how many young nobles were born in the ministers’ houses on the same day as the prince. 500 young nobles are thus found and nurses are appointed to take care of them⁶. “These nobles,” to apply Hopkins’s remarks,⁷ regarding the epic nobility, “for the most part native and well-born, took part in council, conducted the assemblies, led the army and were the king’s vice-regents in all military affairs.... They are the real advisers of the king in all matters not purely judicial or spiritual.⁸ For the *Mantrins* or cabinet councillors consist chiefly of these nobles.... All the *sacivas* (comites) may be, and often are, purely military. These are officials of the highest rank, to whom in the king’s absence, for instance, all the royal business is left.”⁹

The posts of ministers seem to have been generally hereditary, as the term *amaccakulam*, frequently used in the stories,¹⁰ suggests. But exceptions

1. J., I, pp. 260, 470 ; II, pp. 98, 125 ; III, pp. 376, 408 ; IV, pp. 335, 414 ; VI, p. 43.

2. J., I, pp. 263, 264 “*Samatthā sāhasamattā abhejjavārasūrā mahāyadhā.... amacca-ashassā*” ; also III, pp. 5, 6.

3. J., II, p. 401.

4. J., VI, pp. 579-G. 2373 “*Tato saṭṭhisahassāṇi yudhirocārudassanā* ; *Ibid.*, p. 588 *Sahajātā saṭṭhisahassā amaccā* ; and G. 2335. *Bhāradvāja*, as quoted by Kauṭilya, is of the opinion that the king should employ his classmates as his ministers “for they can be trusted by him in as much as he has personal knowledge of their honesty and capacity. Other pre-Kauṭilya political thinkers differ. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 8.

5. Cf. J., V, p. 178 “*Senāpatipamukhāṇi asīti amaccasahassāṇi*.”

6. J., VI, p. 2 “*Mama puttassa parivārā.... amaccakulesu jātadārakā*”

7. J. A. O. S., 13, p. 101 The epic nobility comprised royal allies, family connections, subject kings used to a lesser degree, the priests : *Mittāmacca* is of constant occurrence in the *Jātakas*, as for instance, V, p. 123-G. 40, 178-G. 191, 223 G. 116. VI, p. 94-G. 403.

8. Cf. for instance J. IV, p. 335, where the ministers, when asked to interpret a dream, frankly refer the king to the *Brāhmaṇas* for its solution for they themselves do not know anything about such spiritual things: “The *Brāhmaṇas* know it, O great king.”

9. J., IV, pp. 283, 370, 408, 437.

10. J., I, p. 248 ; II, pp. 98, 125. Fick remarks on this hereditary character of the ministers, “...and in consequence of this hereditary character to which probably, as in the case of the *Khattiyas*, a specially developed class consciousness is joined.” *op. cit.*, p. 143.



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Qualities and ideals essential on the part of a minister are, here and there, spoken out. A minister must above all be fertile in expedients (*upāyakusalo*).¹ Some of the practical precepts for a king, given in the *Tesakuna Jātaka* and already quoted by us in *extenso* while dealing with kingly duties,² may here be recalled, in so far as they appertain to the duties and qualities of ministers. The counsellors must be wise and such as would see the king's interests clearly (*atthassa kovide*), not given to riot and waste and free from gambling and drunkenness.³ A king hears slanders, without any base, about one of his ministers. He is perplexed how to find out whether a man is friend or foe. Then he is told by his *Paṇḍitāmacca* the sixteen signs by which a 'bad intriguing minister could be easily distinguished from an honest one:'

“He smiles not when you see him, no welcome will he show,
He will not turn his eyes that way, and answers you with ‘No.’
Your enemies he honours, he cares not for your friends,
Those who would praise your worth, he stays, your slanderers commends,
No secret tells he to you, your secret he betrays,
Speaks never well of what you do, your wisdom will not praise.
He joys not at your welfare, but at your evil fame,
Should he receive some dainty, he thinks not of your name,
Nor pities you, nor cries aloud—“O, had my friend the same”
These are the sixteen tokens by which a foe you see,
These, if a wise man sees or hears, he knows his enemy.”

The opposite signs were to be found in a righteous and steadfast minister.⁴

The *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*⁵ embodies in many a *gāthā* a remarkable exposition on the qualities and requisites essential for the attainment of success and pre-eminence in the King's Court (*rājavasati*). A grand and minute perception of the court life, with all its good and evil, is revealed here in a marked manner. We cannot resist the temptation of reproducing these maxims, even though in a summary form,—maxims which would be found as sound, practical and weighty as can be found in any other ancient authority such as, for instance, Kaṭilya. Here then is a practical advice for a man aspiring to the King's court:⁶

It is not the coward, nor the foolish man, nor the thoughtless, that can win honour in the King's Court. When a minister first enters the Court he is a stranger, when the king finds out his moral qualities (*sīla*) his wisdom (*paññā*) and his purity of heart, then he may gain confidence and a chance to push for-

1. J., III, p. 3.

2. *Supra*, pp. 81-2.

3. J., V, pp. 116—GG. 16-7.

4. J., IV, pp. 197, 8—GG. 77-87. Cf. the qualities and qualifications of persons who were eligible for consultation by a king, *MHB. Śānti Parva*, 83,35-40 and 41-7; also *Manu* vii-54; See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Instt.* pp. 149-50.

5. J., VI, pp. 292-98 GG. 1264-1309.

6. A summary of this is also given by Dr. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-1.

ward. If he is really trustworthy, the king will not hide any secrets from him. He must be alert and balanced. When he is asked to carry out some business, like a well-fixed balance, with a level beam, and evenly poised, he must not hesitate ; if like the balance, he is ready to undertake every burden, he may dwell in a king's court. He should be ready to undertake any business, whether by day or by night. He should not imitate the king. 'He who sees a path made for the king and carefully put in order for him and refrains from entering himself therein, though advised to do so, he is the one who may dwell in a king's court. He may not enjoy the same pleasures as the king ! He may not put on a garment like the King's, nor garlands, nor ointments or ornaments like his. He should not practice a tone of voice like his.' If the king sports with his ministers or is surrounded by his wives, let not the minister make any allusion to the royal ladies. Not arrogant, nor fickle, prudent and possessed of insight and resolution and control over his senses. 'Let him not sport with the king's wives nor talk with them privately ; let him not think too much of sleep, nor drink strong drink to excess, nor kill the deer in the king's forest. He should not hastily think of himself a privileged man and an intimate person with the king.' Let him prudently keep not too far from the king, nor yet too near to him. The king is not a common person, is easily vexed. He should not be hasty in his speech. Look for an opportunity. But the king should never be trusted—he is a fire. Be on guard, never criticise his deeds. Do not entertain doubts. The wise man will keep his belly small like the bow, but he will bend easily, like the bamboo. 'Trained, educated, self-controlled, experienced in business, temperate, gentle, careful pure, skilful, such an one may dwell in a king's court.' Let him keep at a distance from a spy sent by a foreign king to intermediate ; let him look to his own lord alone, and own no other king. One who is energetic in business, careful and skilful and able to conduct his affairs successfully—such an one may dwell in a king's court. He should not employ or promote a son or a brother who is not steadfast in virtue. "Let him employ in offices of authority (*ādhipaccam*) servants and agents who are established in virtue and are skilful in business and can rise to an emergency." "Let him know the king's wish, and hold fast to his thoughts and let his action be never contrary to him." "He will rub him with perfumes and bathe him, he will bend his head low when washing his feet ; when smitten he will not be angry ; and outside the court "he will make his salutation to a jar full of water, offer his reverential greetings to a crow, yea, he will give to all petitioners. . he will give away his bed, his garment, his carriage, his house, his home and shower down blessings like a cloud on all beings."

This is the practical wisdom of a man of court, whosoever he may have been, probably of the pre-Christian era. The complete surrender, humility—or humiliation!—and submission that are inculcated in the above words can never be comprehended in all their implications by those who are brought up in this twentieth century civilization. But the mentality is not at all unfamiliar to those who have had a chance to know the inns and outs of some of the Native States of India of the present day.

CHAPTER III

FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

I

SOURCES OF REVENUE

WHILE WE CANNOT have any clear grasp of the actual working machinery of administration in general, it seems proper to divide it into its main parts *i.e.*, the departments, and notice whatever information can be had with regard to each. With this end in view, we take up in this chapter Fiscal Administration, dealing with sources of revenue, assessment of revenue, tithes and taxes, other sources of income, and expenditure.

Revenue and taxation were, as they are now, the mainstay of the State. From the earliest times this principle, which reflects practice, must have been firmly established. "The legitimate functions of Government," to employ the economic language of Fawcett,¹ "...cannot be performed without incurring a considerable expense. To meet this expense taxation is necessary." Similarly, 'revenue is the condition of the existence of governments'.² These are no modern specialities. If Kautilya thinks and preaches that "finance is the basis of all activity of the state."³ and if other Hindu political thinkers of those ancient times agree with him,⁴ the condition must be as much true with the period traversed by the *Jātaka* stories, even though there may not be any such clear-cut principles and theories of taxation. As a matter of fact, the *Jātakas* do recognise the utmost importance of the treasury (*Kosa*) and the store-houses (*Koṭṭhāgāra*).⁵

Revenue from land was the chief contribution to the income of the state. Each state or dominion was divided, as we shall see, into three political or administrative units, *viz.*, *gāma nigama* and *jana-pada*.⁶ The general administration of the state was carried on, as will appear, on the lines of a perfectly decentralised state working on the 'devolution of powers.' So, as regards revenue administration also, the system seems to have been like this: As a rule the local official or officials of villages and towns and districts who carried on the civil, judicial and military administration, were also entrusted with the work of collecting the revenue. The central government may however maintain

LAND-
REVENUE

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1. *Political Economy*, p. 196.
 2. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 483.
 3. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 8, "kośapūrvāḥ sarvārambhāḥ"
 4. See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Instt.* pp. 167 ff. Ganguli, *I. H. Q.*, I, pp. 696 ff.
 5. J., V, p. 184—GG. 212; also VI, p. 27-G. 112.
 6. J., III, pp. 3, 61; IV, p. 169; VI, p. 294-G. 1284; "It cannot be said with any definiteness that the government of the provinces was an innovation of the Mauryas." *Mauryan Polity*, p. 109.



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Dharmasūtras,¹ can be seen in the stories which seem to represent much simpler methods. They nevertheless give us very interesting details of the work which are difficult to be obtained from other 'serious' works.

As far as the revenue administration was concerned, the afore-mentioned distinction between *gāma* and *nigama* was, it seems, not taken into consideration. And we might, for the present, forget that. Let us only imagine the land as a whole divided, leaving out other portions of land, into separate farm-holdings² in possession of individual farmers or villagers. From the produce of each farm-holding the king was to be given his share,—his *bhāga*. Now let us turn to the method of assessment. The details are given out by the *Kāma Jātaka*.³ In the story we read that a Prince renounces his claim to the throne in favour of his younger brother, and goes away to a village and lives with a merchant's (*Seṭṭhi*'s) family. The Royal officers (*rājakammikā*) come to the village to measure the fields (*khettappamāṇagahaṇatthāya*) including that of the *Seṭṭhi*. The *Seṭṭhi* asks the Prince to write to the king for remission of the *bali* which the latter accordingly grants. On this instance other villagers also approach the Prince and request him to get the *bali* reduced, and it is done. We see here how the measurement of land by the State Officials is immediately associated with the assessment of *bali*. This implies the existence of a standard or average rate of the Government demand for a known unit area, which could be applied for the assessment of the individual holdings.⁴ That is to say, the land was surveyed and the field was measured to determine its area, which, when calculated by the known standard,⁵ would give the quantity of the produce of the field and thus settle the kings' share, whatever it was.

We turn to another *Jātaka*.⁶ Here the details are more informative. We are introduced to three important personalities. With the remaining eight of the list we are not at present concerned... These are: the *Rajjuggāhaka amacca* (shortened in the *gāthā*⁷ into *Rajjuko*), the *Seṭṭhi* and the *Doṇamāpaka Mahāmatta* (or briefly, as in the *gāthā*, *Doṇa*). The *Rajjuggāhaka amacca*, whose title literally means the rope-holding minister, is seen measuring a *Jana-pada* field by holding one end of the rope tied to a stick, the other end being

1. See Gupta, *The Land System in South India*, pp. 268-9.

2. These were, in the times of the Earlier Guptas, known as *pratyayas*. See Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 38, dated 571 A. D.

3. J. IV, p. 169.

4. See Ghoshal, *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, pp. 25-6. This corresponds to the method prevalent in Moslem India and called Measurement. *Ibid.*; Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 7.

5. What exact measurements in connection with land-survey were in vogue, we do not know. But we have reason to believe that they were measured in *karisas* as some references show: See J., III, p. 293; IV, p. 276. A *Karisa*, according to Childres, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *ammanam*, is equal to 8 acres. If however the *rajju* of the *Rajjuggāhaka Amacca* had the technical meaning of a measure of length, it might then correspond to that of Kaṭilya which was equal to 10 *daṇḍas* or about 40 yards: *Arthasāstra*, III, 20; Cf. *I. H. Q.*, III, pp. 817-8. In the copperplate grants of the 6th century A. D. we have "*pādāvarta*" (a square foot) as a measure of length and also *Kulyāvāpa* as that of land area, See Fleet, *G. I.*, p. 170; Pargiter, *I. A.*, 1910, pp. 214-5; Pran Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Dikshitar, *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 365-6.

6. J., II, pp. 366 ff.

7. J., II, p. 367 G-?

held by the owner of the field (*khettasāmika*). He sees a crab's lurk-hole at the spot where he wants to pitch the stick and the thought comes to him: "If I put the stick in the hole, the crab in the hole will be hurt; if I put it on the other side (*purato*), the king's property (*rañño santakam*) will lose; and if I put it on this side (*orato*), the farmer will lose."¹ This again is sufficient to show that the official measurement of land was connected with the assessment of the land revenue.

The *Setthi* again is described as carelessly plucking a handful of paddy (*sālisīsamutthim*) from his own field from which the king's share has yet to be paid.² "This doubtless points to the method of Appraisal of the standing crops."³

How was the *bali* collected? For this we turn to the third personality, an important one, viz. the *Doṇamāpaka Mahāmatta*, the measurer with the *drona* measure.⁴ The story describes him as sitting at the door of the royal granary and causing the king's share of the produce to be measured.⁵ He takes a grain out of the unmeasured heap of rice and employs it as a marker (*lakkham*). Owing to a sudden rainfall, he hastily rushes indoors after counting the markers and then sweeping them all together. He, standing on the doorway, is filled with doubt whether he has thrown the grains used as markers over the measured or the unmeasured heap. And he reflects that if he has placed the markers, over the measured heap, he has improperly increased the king's share and diminished that of the cultivator (*gahapatika*). "This evidently points to the method of Division of the crop at the king's granary."⁶ This moreover shows that the *Doṇamāpaka*, significantly styled *Mahāmatta*, was in this case the chief collector of land-revenue, probably, corresponding to the *Koṣṭhā-gārādhyaṅkṣa* of Kauṭilya,⁷ who was a subordinate officer to the *Sannidhātā*,⁸ Finance Minister, who looked after the Treasury and the store-house.⁹

So far it is fairly clear. Lands were surveyed¹⁰ and divided into separate holdings (*pratyayas*) marked by definite boundaries.¹¹ These holdings were measured by the *Rajjuggāhaka amacca* or by the *Rājakammikas*,¹² who also assessed the land-produce and settled the king's share. The crop could not be gathered in before the king's portion was assessed. And finally, this kingly

1. *Ibid.* p. 376.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 378, Fick remarks, "By such considerations however characteristic they may be of thinking influenced by Buddhist morality, an officer can hardly be guided." *op. cit.*, p. 151.

3. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

4. For the different varieties of this *drona* measure see Pran Nath, *A Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, pp. 75, ff. A *drona* is approximately equal to 26 lbs. *Ibid.*

5. J., II, p. 378. "So ekadivasam koṭṭhāgārādvāre nisīditvā rājabhāge vīhim mināpentō."

6. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

7. *Arthasāstra*, II 15; or was he the forerunner of the officer who was the head of the *dronamukha*, headquarters in the centre of four hundred villages? *Arthasāstra*, II, 1; III, 1.

8. *Ibid.*, II, 5.

9. Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Institutions*, p. 202.

10. "The earliest references to land-survey are probably in the *Jātakas*" K. M. Gupta, *The Land System in S. India*, p. 288.

11. See also J., IV, p. 281.

12. J., III, p. 293, IV, p. 276; Cf. *Karmikas* of Kauṭilya, *Arthasāstra*, II, 7.

due in kind was collected under the supervision of the *Doṇamāpaka Mahāmatta* at the king's granary.

Now a word about these two officers connected with the land-survey and revenue-collection *viz.* *Rajjuggāhaka* and *Doṇamāpaka*.

It was Bühler who in 1893 first¹ pointed out the identity between our *rajjuggāhaka* or *rajju*ko and the *rājuka* of Aśoka's *Edicts*.² He also equated these with the *rajju*ya of the Jaina *Kalpasūtra* where Jacobi translated it simply by a clerk or an accountant.³ His identification has been accepted by the majority of scholars⁴ while some⁵ would connect the word '*rājuka*' with the Pāli '*rāju*' meaning 'king' and not with '*rajju*', rope. However the question must now be considered as finally decided after the elucidated discussion, on sound philological grounds, by Ghoshal and S. K. Chatterji⁶ in favour of Prof. Bühler. Our *Jātaka* does not give any thing more about the duties and functions of this officer than that he was connected with land measurement and survey. The *Rājukas* of Aśoka, on the other hand, are High Officers having a great responsible administrative status. It is again not improbable that these officials were the same as *Corarajjukas* of Kaṭilya⁷ and those of whom Megasthenes⁸ speaks thus: "Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches so that every one may have an equal supply of it."⁹ It appears from all this that originally, and in the *Jātaka* period, the *Rajjukas* were very likely the chief provincial revenue officers connected mainly with survey, land settlement and irrigation.¹⁰ With time their powers must have increased as seen from Megasthenes' statement given above. And Aśoka, with his truly administrative zeal, invested them with more extensive powers "over hundreds of thousands of souls" granting them independence in their administration of Law and justice so that they may perform their duties confidently and fearlessly, distribute the good and happiness of the people of the country (*Janasa janapadasa*) and also bestow favours upon them.¹¹

The *Doṇamāpaka Mahāmattas* seem also to have been important and influential district-officials, probably connected with direct collection of revenue. These were subordinate officers to the *Rajjukas* who may well be compared

1. Z. D. M. G., 47, pp. 466 ff; cf. E I., II, p. 466 n.

2. R. E. III, P. E., IV.

3. Bühler, E. I., II, p. 369.

4. Cf. Hutzsch, Inscriptions of Aśoka, p. xli; Lüders, *op. cit.*, l. c. Thomas, C. H. I., I, p. 487. Fick *op. cit.*, pp. 148. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, p. 53; Dikshitar, M. P., pp. 365-6.

5. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 129-30. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, 133-4.

6. I. H. Q., VI, pp. 424-31; 628. The Epigraphic evidence, too, is clearly in support of this. See Lüder, A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, No. 1195. We think moreover that No. 281 of his list, *Bhadata rājukasa* should also be included here.

7. Arthasāstra, IV, 13.

8. Fragment 34.

9. McCrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 86, See Dikshitar, Mauryan Polity, pp. 216-7; 364-6.

10. Thomas, C. H. I., I, pp. 487, 508. Cf. "The office of the *Rājukas* had been in existence before Aśoka but Aśoka invested them with greater authority." Mookerji, *op. cit.*, 53. But see Mitra, Indian culture, I, 2, pp. 309-10.

11. P. E. VI; See Dikshitar, Mauryan Polity, pp. 218-9.



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We may conclude this by noticing some of the instances of oppressive measures employed in connection with revenue or tax-collection.

Whatever the methods employed in collecting the taxes, the Collectors were certainly oppressing the poor folk to a very great extent. *Balisādhakas*,¹ *Balipatiggāhakas*,² *Niggāhakas*,³ *Tundiyas*⁴ and *Akāsiyas*⁵ are the terms used for these tax-collectors. Never is a word said in praise or sympathy or favour of these officers. On the contrary, bitterest feelings and piteous cries of the oppressed are heard. We repeat what we have said before that it was on sound grounds that the name of these collectors passed into a synonym for importunate demand⁶ or hungry robbers-like⁷ draining the poor earnings of the cultivator.

“*Akāsiyā rājuhi vānusiṭṭhā*
tad assa ādāya dhanam haranti.”

“His subjects being oppressed by taxation,” so says a story, “took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts ; where once stood villages, there now were none, and the people through the fear of the king’s men (*Rājapurisā*) by day did not venture to dwell in their houses but fencing them about with thorn branches, as soon as the day broke, they disappeared into the forest.”⁸

“By night to thieves a prey are we, to publicans by day,
Lewd folk abound within the realm....”⁹

By taxes and fines the folk was crushed as it were sugar-cane in a mill,¹⁰ so much so that they could not lift up their heads.¹¹ These descriptions, with simple yet appropriate similes, are too vivid not to have a realistic background. And even to-day the cultivators’ plight is the same, if not worse.

Other sources of state-income are not very definitely stated in the stories
TRADE. It seems that trade and commerce were a source of income. Such is at least the implication which the following *gātha* conveys :

“So should he spoil his citizens—
So apt by trade to gain,
A failing source of revenue
Will his exchequer drain.”¹²

1. J., V, p. 106.

2. J., II, p. 17.

3. J., IV, p. 362-G. 235.

4. J., V, pp. 102—G. 319 ; 104-G. 324 ; 328 ; 105-G. 333 ; 106-G. 338.

5. J., VI, p. 212—G. 913.

6. J., IV, p. 362—G. 235 “*Nādinne vutthahissāma gāmaṃhi ca vanaṃhica niggāhakasamā rāja, te pi vuccanti brāhmaṇā.*” Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 218 n., remarks, “As the tax-collectors sit down in front of the gates of the tax-payers and do not leave until the tax is collected, so the Brāhmaṇas do not cease begging till they are paid.”

7. J., VI, p. 212—G. 913.

8. J., V, pp. 98-9

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 102 G. 319 ; 104-G. 324, 328 ; 105-G. 303 ; 106-G. 338.

10. J., II, p. 240 “*Ucchuyante ucchum viya janam pilesi.*”

11. J., III, p. 9 “*Mayam balinā piliyamānā sisam ukkhipitum na sakkoma.*”

12. J., V, p. 248-G. 177.

That taxes were imposed by the king on merchants and fixed by his officials is also seen from another story, where a prince is described as having gained the merchant-folk and traders on his side, among other conciliatory measures, by fixing just and equitable taxes upon them.¹

Another important source was that from the city-gates as we know from the *Mahāummagga Jātaka*,² where the king, being pleased with his wise minister, is stated to have given over to him the income, accruing from all the four city-gates (*catusu dvāresu sunkam dāpesi*). This corresponds to the *dvāradeya* of Kauṭilya,³ which was the tax on goods entering and leaving a town or a city, amounting to one-fifth of toll dues which again varied according to commodities imported or exported.

Numerous references to *daṇḍa* and *kara*⁴ are found in the stories, but no definite conclusions can be formed from them. It appears, however, that litigation in courts of justice brought a considerable amount of income in the form of fines. Says a *gāthā*:

“Even so when strife arises among men,
They seek an arbiter : his leader then
Their wealth decays, and the king’s coffers gain.”⁵

Fines were also extracted from those who transgressed or disobeyed the orders of the king publicly proclaimed by beat of drum.⁶

Various taxes which are termed ‘*sunikam*’ or ‘*sunkam*’⁷ must have been in vogue in those times, if Kauṭilya, a few centuries later, enumerates them minutely.⁸

It seems probable that the produce arising from the forests, waste-lands and such other, presumably, state-owned properties went to the king’s store-house.⁹

Among other sources of income to the state must be mentioned those prerogative-rights of the king, treasure-trove, unclaimed property and voluntary contributions (*paṇṇākārā*) like the milk-money—all referred to before.¹⁰

1. J., IV, p. 132 *Vāṇijānam sumkāni* (*sulkāni*?)

2. J., VI, p. 347.

3. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 6 ; 21 ; 22 ; the *Sāmanta-pāśādikā*, I, 52, says that Aśoka’s income from the four gates of Pāṭaliputra was 400,000 *kakāpanas* daily. Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, pp. 213-4.

4. J., I, p. 199 ; II, p. 240 ; VI, p. 431 ‘*Kara*’ of Kauṭilya has been taken to mean the share of produce from fruit and flower-gardens ; See Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

5. J., III, p. 336—G. 38 “*rājakoso vadḍhati*”

6. VI, p. 431 “*Yo ito nikkhamitvā Mahosaddha paṇḍitassa nagaramāpitatṭhānam gacchati sahasam daṇḍo.*”

7. Cf. J., IV, p. 84.

8. See Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-7.

9. J., III, p. 150 ; N. S. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 32. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 17. There is a reference to a king owning a herd of goats.” J., I, p. 240.

10. *Supra*, pp. 128-9.

There is no trace of forced labour (*rājakāriya*) *viṣṭi* of Kauṭilya¹ and *Veṭh* of modern times—having been utilised by the king of the *Jātaka* stories though it is not improbable.

II

EXPENDITURE

It will have been seen from the above discussion, that the income of the king was sufficiently large to leave a fair surplus. Let us see now what were the items of royal expenditure.

Nothing is said in the stories directly about the way in which the king's expenses were met. There was no 'Civil List' as in the *Arthaśāstra*.² The revenues and taxes, however, were mainly used to maintain the royal establishment. Of course various officials of the state, though not so large in number as we find them in Kauṭilya's time and later, had to be paid. Some of them were paid in cash (*vetana*),³ as we have seen, while all the important state-officers, such as the *purohita* and the *Senāpati*, were endowed with revenue-villages (*bhogagāmas*).⁴ A considerable amount was spent in charity⁵ towards the aged, the disabled and the starving, and above all to the Brāhmaṇas and the ascetics (*samaṇabrāhmaṇā*).

Of other items of expenditure by the state or by the king in person, we have no knowledge. It may be presumed, however, that some of the economic and social functions of the state, of which no direct information is available, must have come in for a large item of expenditure. Works of public utility, comparatively limited in those days, must have entailed an appreciable expenditure.⁶ We have instances, moreover, of the state bearing the cost of, or awarding scholarships to, students who went to far-off universities like Takkaśilā for purposes of education.⁷

The *Jātaka* kings who, not rarely, are found to have indulged in gorgeous luxuries, had obviously a rich treasury at their command. Did we not observe, while discussing the splendour and luxuries of kings,⁸ what a great amount of wealth they possessed in the form of valuable articles like perfumes, cloths and various kinds of pearls and jewels? There were officers employed to guard

THE TREA-
SURY

1. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 1 ; See Pran Nath, *op cit.*, p. 155 ; Rhys Davids, B. I. p. 49.

2. V, 3 ; Cf. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-1.

3. J., III, p. 505 ; IV, pp. 132, 134-G. 100 ; V, p. 128 ; VI, p. 295-G. 1285.

4. J., I, pp. 138, 365 ; II, p. 429-G. 117 ; III, p. 105 ; IV, pp. 80 ; 473 ; VI. pp. 344 ; 462-G. 1630 ; Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 1.

5. J., II, pp. 118, 273, 316 ; III, p. 79 ; IV, pp. 176, 355, 361, 402, 444 ; V, p. 162 ; VI, p. 42.

6. Benches (*pīṭhake*) on the roads for the travellers to rest are referred to : J., I, p. 348 ; The *sālās* of the city and village gates : J., II, p. 211 ; IV, pp. 315-6.

7. J., III, p. 238 ; V, pp. 127, 310, 247, 263.

8. *Supra*, pp. 108-9.



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CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

I

JUDICIARY AND JUSTICE

ONE OF THE PRIMARY functions of the State, as we saw before while dealing with the King as an administrator, was the administration of justice. To settle disputes between man and man, and between man and society, must have been the first and foremost duty of those who were chosen to be the heads of society during the earlier stages of its progress. Election or regular succession of a king as the case may be, was preceded by a thoughtful consideration by the people whether, firstly, the man on whom the mantle of sovereignty was to be offered was endowed with the necessary physical fitness and qualities of a leader, and secondly, whether he had the qualifications and the mentality of a careful and competent judge.¹ If he had not these, he was set aside.

IDEALS OF JUSTICE. The *Jātakas* abound in thoughtful instructions and well considered reflections over the importance and necessity of a conscientious discharge of legal duties. Repeated emphasis laid on impartial judgment free of any prejudices shows the high standard of justice set up in those ancient days. Judgment and punishment must not be hasty but full and calm consideration must be given to different sides of the case. The king, who was the fountain of justice, was repeatedly warned to have no regard whatever to his own will or whim in administering justice.² It is wrong for one who bears rule to act without trying the case.³ Let us hear these verses which bear eloquent testimony to the high standard of justice prevailing in those days :

“No king should punish an offence, and hear no pleas at all,
Not thoroughly sifting it himself in all points, great and small.⁴
The warrior chief who punishes a fault before he tries,
Is like a man born blind, who eats his food all bones and flies ;
Who punishes the guiltless, and lets go the guilty, knows
No more than one who, blind, upon a rugged highway goes ;
He who all this examines well, in things both great and small,

1. *Supra*, pp. 101 ff.

2. J., II, p. 2.

3. J., III, p. 105—“*tasmā avinicchitvā kātum na yuttam rajjam kārentena.*”

4. Cf. *Dhammapada*, p. 341.

And so administers, deserves to be the head of all.

He that would set himself on high must not all-gentle be,

Nor all-severe : but both these things practise in company.

Contempt the all-gentle wins, and he that's all-severe, has wrath :

So of the pair be well aware, and keep a middle path."¹

The beam of balance (*tulā*) was even then, as it is today, regarded as a symbol of equal and unbiassed justice.² Amongst others, circumspection is an essential quality demanded of a judge (*nisammakāriṇā bhavitabbam*).³ Another sound maxim is that

“A thoughtful act, wherein is careful policy pursued,

Like a successful medicine, the issue must be good.”⁴

Punishment should be awarded with “careful measure” (*nisamma*) proportionate to the nature and degree of the offence committed.

“The warrior prince takes careful thought and well-weighed
judgment gives :

When kings their judgment ponder well, their fame for
ever lives.”⁵

All these are, no doubt, sound maxims and wise instructions imparted to the kings. They are Ideals preached to be translated into practice.⁶ And ideals, as we have often stated, are both the cause and the effect of actualities. Therefore, neither shall we attach too much importance to these, in considering the real state of affairs, nor shall we wholly pass them off as useless or unnecessary for our purpose. Nevertheless it should be stated here that the general impression that one gets after noticing the various stories connected with this question is, that the judicial arrangements were not sound and efficient, but corrupted and exploited to a degree.

The king, as will appear, was regarded as the head of justice. In fact the legends would have us understand, that all the cases were
**THE KING AS
THE HEAD
OF JUSTICE.** heard and decided by the king in person, as it is always to the king or the *Khattiya* that the sound maxims quoted above are addressed. This could hardly have been the real state of affairs. Of course, as a rule the king used to hear cases, and we may assume that the king “actually went each morning to the Court house” as in

1. J., IV, p. 192—GG. 61-7 : Cf. Aśoka's instructions to his Governors : *Separate Kalinga. Edict I* ; Mookerji, *Aśoka*, pp. 218-20.

2. J., I, p. 176—“*Raṇṇo nāma kāraṇagavesakena tulāsadisena bhavitum vaṭṭati.*”

3. J., III, p. 105; IV, p. 30.

4. J., IV, p. 451-G. 208.

5. J., III, pp. 105-G, 128; 154-G. 5 ; IV, p. 451-G. 210 ; also *ibid.*, GG. 211-2.

6. And Aśoka did try his best to establish equal and impartial justice within his Empire. See *Pillar Edict IV*. “*Viyohālasamatā, daṇḍa-samatā*” : Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

the Epic¹ and heard cases. When not himself, some one or more of his ministers decided the cases, as we see the *purohita*, the *Senāpati* and even the Prince acting as judges² in addition to their normal duties in their respective spheres of action. The post of a judge was named that of a '*Vinichhayāmacca*',³ and that there were more than one justice can be assumed from the term '*Vinichhayamahāmatā*'s sometimes used in the stories.⁴ One *Jātaka* gives the definite number of five.⁵

JUDGES The Hall of Judgment is frequently mentioned⁶ where the judges, appointed by the king,⁷ sat and attended to their daily duties. There is no reference to a definite Code of Law by which the judges were to be guided in deciding the cases, but we come across such passages as these: "he said, 'execute justice in this way' and he had righteous judgment inscribed on a golden plate"⁸ or "then he caused a book of judgments to be written and said 'by observing this book ye should settle suits.'"⁹ The question of the authorship of such books "is immaterial here, and there is no reason why the existence of such useful works should be doubted, when one of the foremost duties of a government was to administer justice in the strictest sense of the term."¹⁰ It is also possible that a body of precedents had grown up by that time.¹¹ Still, with all this, the question of deciding cases depended largely upon the personal characteristics of a judge, his nature, whim, temperament and even prejudices. For in the stories, judgment is often almost invariably associated with bribery.¹² It is rather strange to see that there was no orderly or systematic course in which the cases were decided, and the frequent mention of the upsetting of a bad judgment of one by others—like the *senāpati*, the princes the *purohita* and even an ascetic, who happened to come upon the scene and to whom the party who had lost his cause appealed for redress—is, to say the least, surprising.¹³ The one who judged rightly was applauded by the people, and then he would be formally appointed by the king as a judge. In one of such instances the king, while appointing the man to judgeship, gives the following directions as to the time and the way in which he should spend his daily routine: "It will be to the advantage of the people if you decide cases: henceforth you are to sit in judgment.... You need not judge the whole day, but....go at early dawn to the place of judgment and decide

1. Hopkins J. A. O. S., 13, p. 132.

2. J., II, pp. 2 "*amaccāpi dhammen 'eva vohāram vinicchiniṃsu ;'*" 186-7; V, p. 1; VI, p. 131.

3. J., II, p. 181; III, p. 105.

4. J., II, p. 380; VI, p. 45.

5. J., V, p. 228 "*Tassa paṇa rañño paṇca amaccā....vinicchaye niyuttā.*"

6. J., I, p. 176; II, pp. 2, 186, 297; III, p. 505; IV, p. 120.

7. J., V, p. 229; VI, pp. 131-2.

8. J., V, p. 125—"evam vinicchayam pavatteyyāthā ti vinichhayadhammam suvaṇṇapaṭṭhe likhāpetvā...."

9. J., III, p. 292—"Vinicchaye piṭṭhakam likhāpetvā imam poṭṭhakam oloketā attam tireyyātha."

10. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9.

11. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 37, Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, p. 132.

12. J., II, p. 186; V, pp. 1228; VI, p. 131.

13. J., II, p. 187; V, p. 229; VI, p. 131.



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the five prisoners were however found innocent and released. Another very interesting case¹ is that in which Gāmanicaṇḍa, a retired Government servant, 'the most innocent man that ever was born in the world,' stood charged of four offences, viz.,

1. Non-return of oxen taken on loan.²
2. Miscarriage.
3. Murder, and
4. Injury to a horse.

He is brought before the king together with the plaintiffs. In a perfectly judicial manner the proceedings are related in the story. The plaintiff in each case sets forth his complaint. The king questions Gāmaṇi, the accused, about its correctness. The latter on every occasion replies in the affirmative, but he also places his own story by way of justification of the case without making any secret of it. The king cross-examines the complainants and finds them guilty of 'wilful suppression or denial of truth.' Hence both the parties are found guilty, and deserve to be punished. "The decisions contained such conditions as ever took the breath of a Shylock away."³ The judgment on the first charge runs thus: "You failed to return the oxen, and therefore you are his debtor for them. But this man, in saying that he had not seen them, told a direct lie. Therefore you with your own hands shall pluck his eyes out, and you shall yourself pay him 24 pieces of money as the price of the oxen." On the second charge the judgment was: "Caṇḍa, you take the man's wife to your house; and when a son shall be born to you, hand him over to the husband"; on the third: "Caṇḍa, this man must have a father. But you cannot bring him back from the dead. Then take his mother to your house, and do you be a father to him"; and on the fourth: "This man has told a direct lie in saying that he did not tell you to hand back the horse. You may tear out his tongue, and then pay him a thousand pieces for the horse's price." All the complainants were however dumbfounded and departed.

As to the judgments and punishments awarded in these cases, prejudiced as they are, we may safely pass them off as not reliable, but there is absolutely no reason of doubting the existence of such charges and their coming before the Court for decision. From an untoward and natural utterance of Gāmanicaṇḍa we learn, that one was to pay fine for causing an untimely birth or compensation for any loss for which one might be liable.⁴

In another instance,⁵ we have a still more interesting case. Here some village boys stand charged of the murder of a doctor. It happened that the boys were playing at the foot of a banyan tree at the entrance of the village.

1. J., II, pp. 300-7.

2. Cf. *R̥ṇadānam* of *Arthaśāstra* list of cases, III, 11; N. N. Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 119.

3. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

4. J., I p. 302: "...ime maṁ rañño dassessanti, ahaṁ goṇamūlaṁ pi dātum na sak-komi, paḍ eva gabbhapātanaḍaṇḍaṁ, assamūlaṁ paṇa kuto lacchāmi."

5. J., III, pp. 202-6.

A poor old doctor, who had no practice at that time, strayed out of the village to this spot, and saw a snake asleep in the fork of a tree with its head tucked in. He thought, "there is nothing to be got in the village. I will cajole these boys and make the snake bite them, and then I shall get somewhat for curing them." So he said to one of the boys, "If you were to see a young hedgehog, would you seize it?" "Yes, I would," the boy answered. "See, here is one lying in the fork of this tree." The boy climbed up the tree and seized it by the neck and, when he found it was a snake, he did not allow it to turn upon him, but getting a good grip of it, he hastily flung it from him. It fell on the neck of the old doctor, and he fell down dead on the spot. The boys were arrested and placed before the king for trial. The whole matter was carefully investigated, and when their innocence was proved, the boys were set free. How the investigation took place we are not told, but *purisās* must have been sent and ascertained the true facts.

Elsewhere¹ we witness a curious suit between a villager and a townsman being decided by a judge. The townsman stood guilty of wrongful possession of some ploughshares belonging to the villager who, again, was charged for kidnapping the former's son. The townsman had produced this cause, that the ploughshares were devoured by the mice while the villager, an equal genius, had said that a falcon had carried the child off. The judge presses the townsman to tell the truth and, realising the mischief committed by both, he gives out the judgment:

"Give back the plough, and after that,
Perhaps, the man who lost the plough
May give your son back to you now."²

In all these instances,³ we notice that there is nothing like cross-examination as we may understand to have been prevalent at that time. Only the judge himself questions the parties and decides accordingly.

Among other cases, those of disputed ownership seem to be of common occurrence, in almost all of which justice is thrown to the winds and bribery succeeds. Several crying figures of rightful owners being defrauded and deprived of their property flit across the pages of these stories.⁴

Once a Courtezan came to the court to take advice as to whether in the eye of the law she was still bound by the terms of a contract entered three years previously with a man who had since not made his appearance.⁵ The judges

1. J., II, pp. 181-4. The two offences described in this story may correspond to debts and abduction, if we use the legal language.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 183-G. 135.

3. Cf. also J., II, pp. 51-2 (here one of the litigant parties is a vulture).

4. J., II, pp. 186 (*assāmike sāmike karoti*): V, p. 1, 229; VI, p. 131. Cf. Also J., II, p. 75. "*atte sahasam parājito*. Cf. *Arthasāstra*, III, 16 (*Svasvāmī sambandha*.)

5. J., II, p. 380; Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

advised her to return to her former profession. This makes us feel that such suits involving contractual rights and obligations must have been commonly tried in the law courts.

Much more valuable is the reference to a case where a father who does not wish his wicked son to succeed to his property goes to the Court and disinherits his son.¹ This must imply the existence of the necessary written records in possession of the family and also of the Court.

There is a vague reference to fire-ordeal for the sake of proving the chastity of a woman,² but it does not seem that it was a prevalent system employed and supported by the government, as even Kautilya, though conversant with that institution as recommended by the law-books,³ does not mention it, evidently because he regarded such ordeals as questionable expedients.⁴

In the instances of cases that we noticed before we nowhere see anything like legal proceedings, lawyers defending their clients and raising points against the opposite party. Nevertheless it does not seem proper to hold that there were absolutely no lawyers who could place and defend the cases of their clients before the Court, and earn their livelihood from that profession. For there are some references to '*Vohāra*' which, if consistent and correct in their application, would go to prove that some sort of legal practice was followed. Once⁵ we are told that a certain Brāhmaṇa earned his livelihood by following *Vohāra*. This of course does not give any definite meaning of the term *Vohāra*. Our hesitation lies only in this, that the meaning of this *Vohāra* is not always the same. In one place⁶ it clearly applies to trade, whereas in another⁷ it expressly goes with the administration of justice. That it went with the latter is also clear from the expression "*So dhammena rajjam kāresi, vinicchayam anusāsi... amaccāpi dhammena 'eva vohāram vinicchiniṃsu,*" occurring elsewhere.⁸ Thus the association of *Vohāra* and *Vinicchaya* here is unquestionable and unequivocal, and it makes us bolder therefore to state, that *vohāra* or *vyavahāra* as meant by the Law books and the *Arthaśāstra*⁹ was prevalent in the *Jātaka* times, though not as strictly as later.¹⁰ Though we have no details of hearing suits, the instances already cited at least show that the complainant stated his case, and the accused made his statement in return, probably on oath. The Court was attended by others than the parties to a suit, and applause was not suppressed, but, on the contrary, considered with respect

1. J., V, p. 468 "*Atha naṃ vinicchayam netvā aputtabhāvaṃ katvā niharāpesi.*"

2. J., I, p. 294.

3. See C. H. I., I, pp. 282 ff. P. N. Banerji, *Public Administration in Ancient India*, pp. 163-4.

4. See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Instt.*, pp. 236 ff; *Mauryan Polity*, 166.

5. J., II, p. 15 "*Tassa pitā vohāram katvā jivikam kappeti.*"

6. J., VI, p. 34 "*Vohāram katvā dhanam uppādetvā... suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ gatvā*"

7. J., IV, p. 192-G. 64 "*sudittṭham anusāseya sa ve vohātum arahati.*"

8. J., II, p. 2.

9. See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Instt.* pp. 255 ff. Cf. *Viyohālasamatā* of Pillar Edict IV.

10. This is doubted by Fick. *op. cit.*, p. 147 n.



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of elephants may have been in vogue.¹ But such cruel and harsh punishments were resorted to in the case of tried thieves and robbers. Some offenders were sometimes banished from their country in great humiliation, with all their property confiscated to the State or were ordered to live in the *Caṇḍāla* settlement.² Shaving the heads of criminals was regarded as a great punishment.³

Thefts and highway robberies were, as we said before, very common in those days. And it is not at all unnatural that the *Jātaka* kings very often deal very harshly with these criminals. It seems that no legal procedure, even of the kind of which we have noticed before, was gone through in such cases. Summary justice by the king seems to have been the ordinary course. Whenever a thief was found out,⁴ he was first of all belaboured by the people themselves, and then dragged before the king for punishment.⁵ At least sometimes thorough investigation is carried out to find out the criminal, such as shutting all the city-gates and searching the suspected places.⁶ Fetters for a thief were current.⁷ Though such statements in the summary justice by the king as "off with him, impale him on the stake"⁸ are parts of the fanciful stories, it is nevertheless certain that such inhuman punishments as impaling the criminal on a wooden stake⁹ and the execution by axe¹⁰ were not uncommon. This whole system of execution and the office of the Executioner (*Coraghātaka*) seems to present¹¹ a realistic picture through the description of the stories which we should note.

When a person was to be announced as to be executed, special execution-drum (*vajjabherī*) was beaten.¹² The condemned man was
EXECUTION. tightly bound, his hands behind his back, and a garland of red flowers (*kaṇṇavera vajjamālā*) was placed around his neck. He was sprinkled with brick-dust on his head and then, scourged with whips on every square (*catukka*), was led away through the South gates, to the place of execution (*āghāṭa*) to the music of harsh-sounding drum.¹³

1. J., I, p. 200.

2. J., VI, p. 156.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 135—G. 588. This and such other punishments to disgrace the man in the eye of the public have been resorted to throughout history. Megasthenes mentions cropping of the hair as a punishment. *Fragment*, xxvii. They are still practised. On these methods of punishment and disgrace, see Kalipada Mitra, *J.B.O.R.S.*, xx, pp. 80-6, who treats the subject from a folklorist's point of view. That such practices persist even to-day is proved by some incidents witnessed by the above writer.

4. *Corā dhanassa patthenti*—Thieves ever watch to steal our wealth—seems to have been a common cry of the people, J. VI, p. 28-G. 120.

5. J., II, p. 122.

6. J., II, pp. 122-3; III, p. 436, 461.

7. J., I, pp. 370, 500.

8. J., I, p. 371; IV, p. 29.

9. J., III, p. 34; IV, p. 29; VI, p. 3 (*Sūlāropanam*) Cf. *Manu*, VIII, 320.

10. J., II, p. 124; III, pp. 41, 178-9; V, p. 303.

11. The executioners are also known as *Kāsāviyā*; J. III, p. 41; IV, p. 447.—GG. 193, 197.

12. J., I, p. 500; III, p. 59.

13. J., I, p. 500; II, p. 123; III, pp. 59, 436; IV, p. 191. Cf. the figure of this condemned man in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*.

The figure of the *Coraghātaka* is as distinct as it is cruel. A hatchet (*pharasu*) on his shoulder, and a thorny rope (*kanṭakakasan*) in his hand, dressed in a yellow robe (*Kāsāyanivāsano*) and adorned with a red garland (*rattlamālādharo*) he accompanied the horrible procession and prepared himself for his cruel task.¹ There in the place of execution (*āgāṭam*) the condemned person was placed within the fatal circle (*dhammagandhikam*) and the axe did its deed.² Such savage sentences were a prominent sign of those early days when society and government were not so well organised and well advanced as to deal with all such problems in a proper manner. They may have survived in the Middle Ages, but have greatly been lessened in their severity with the march of progress in modern times. The main force in giving such harsh and inhuman punishments in those days is set forth by Bertrand (now Lord) Russel while discussing the current movements towards the betterment of society. Says he: "Severity of punishment arose through vindictiveness and fear in an age when many criminals escaped justice altogether, and it was hoped that savage sentences would outweigh the chance of escape in the mind of the criminal."³

Let us now peep a little through the jail administration of those days. Regular prisons—*bandhanāgārāṇi*—did exist.⁴ But we do not know what kind of offenders were imprisoned or how the period of imprisonment was apportioned in accordance with the seriousness of the offence. Learned and trusted ministers are once thrown into prison for plotting against the life of an innocent man,⁵ for what term we are not told. As to the life of the prisoners, it was very hard indeed. They were bound in chains of iron (*San-khalikābandhanam*).⁶ The sad and miserable plight of a released prisoner is taken as a standard of comparison (*nikkahmaṇakālo viya*) for a person who has not bathed for days together, nor rinsed his mouth nor performed any bodily ablutions.⁷ The stories seem to suggest that the prisoners were wholly at the mercy of the king—their life and death were in his hands. A king, in order to save his own life from a *yakkha*, promised to send to him one man daily as his food. His ministers encouraged him by saying "Be not troubled, there are many men in the jail." The king at once began to send one prisoner daily, and after a time the jails became empty."⁸ In the same way in another place⁹ the prisoners are murdered.

1. J., III, pp. 41, 178.9; V, p. 303.

2. J., III, p. 41; IV, p. 176. A curious idea is embodied in a *gāthā*, no 1381 (repeated in no. 1407) of J., VI, p. 315 which says: "The victim should not address the executioner, nor should the latter ask the victim to address him."

3. *Roads to Freedom*, London, 1928, p. 135.

4. J., I, p. 385; III, pp. 326, 392; V, p. 459; VI, pp. 3, 387, 388, 427.

5. J., VI, p. 387-8.

6. J., VI, p. 427.

7. J., VI, p. 8. Cf. *Manu*, ix. 288.

8. J., III, p. 326 "*mā cintayithā, bahu bandhanāgāre manussā ti....aparabhāge bandhanāgārāṇi nimmanussāṇi jātāni.*"

9. J., V, p. 459.

In case of emergency, even the prisons were thrown open and the released thieves and robbers were employed as warriors and fighting-men against an enemy.¹

On certain special occasions also like the return of a prince from Takka-silā² or his marriage and coronation,³ or on festivals,⁴ general release of prisoners was declared by beat of drum (*bandhanamokkho ghosito*).⁵

Obviously, the hard and dehumanising treatment of the prisoners was, as is even now, intended to serve as a deterrent. To quote Bertrand Russel again : "the object of the prison administration is to save trouble, not to study the individual case. He is kept in captivity in a cell from which all sight of the earth is shut out : he is subjected to harshness by warders who have too often become brutalized by their occupation. He is solemnly denounced as an enemy to society. He is compelled to perform mechanical tasks, chosen for their wearisomeness. He is given no education and no incentive to self-improvement. Is it to be wondered at if, at the end of such a course of treatment, his feelings towards the community are no more friendly than they were at the beginning ?"⁶ This is the present day condition of prisons all over the world, excepting a few cases. There is no exaggeration in the above observation as many a political prisoner in India has personally witnessed during recent days.⁷ How far, then, this present civilization can be called advanced when practically the same prison-administration prevails after a period of not less than 2000 years ?

1. J., VI, p. 427.

2. J., IV, p. 176.

3. J., V, p. 285 ; VI, p. 156-G. 746.

4. J., VI, p. 327-G. 1444 "*ye keci baddhā mama atthi ratthe sabbe va te bandhanā mocay-antu.*" Also *ibid*, p. 592-G. 2467.

5. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 36 ; Aśoka's *P. E.* V.

6. *Roads to Freedom*, p. 135.

7. See, among others, K. J. Śridharāṇī, *Insān Mitā dūṅgā* (Guj.) J. K. Meghaṇī, *Jel officenī bāriethī* (Guj.)





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the other end. The yoke (*yugo*) was placed on the necks of the horses, one on each side of the pole. The fastenings of the yoke are termed *yottaka* (*yoktr.* modern *jotar*) which fastened the yoke and the pole in the middle and probably the two ends of the yoke with the neck of the horses. There were reins, *raśmi*, controlled by the *Sārathi* who goaded the horses with the *patoda*. The car-pole, held at one end by the yoke, was either regarded as divided at the heavy end into three parts, two of these being side braces that ran behind the horses and connected at each end with the axle-wood, and this was called the 'three-fold piece' *tidanḍa* (*tridanḍa* or *trivenu*) or this piece was a triangle of bamboo one side of which was parallel to the axle and the other two ran together to the pole.¹ There was a white *chattaka* (*chhatra*) or an umbrella above. Whether the sides (*pakkhara*) had railings or not we do not know.² The noiseless running of the car (*akūiana*) seems to be praised. The little, light and swift (*lahu-laghu*) car was desirable. The normal number of horses seems to have been two, but four are also often mentioned.³ "It is uncertain whether in these cases, the extra horse was attached in front or at the side; possibly both modes were in use."⁴ This is a typical description of a war—chariot :

"Lo ! Sixty thousand cars all yoked with banners flying free

With tiger skin and panther hide, a gorgeous sight to see,

Each driven by mailed charioteers, all armed with bow in hand."⁵

No reference is to be found in the stories as to the size and dimensions of the different parts of a chariot.⁶

The elephant was a new animal for the early *Vedic* Indians who recognized it as the animal with a hand (*mṛga-hastin*).⁷ But in course of time the people became acquainted with it and, as in the **ELEPHANTS.** Epics, so in the *Jātaka* stories, it had taken an honourable rank in the army and on other royal occasions. In the stories before us we find these war-animals clad in armour, mounted upon by mahauts (*gāmaṇis*) and armed warriors and causing a great havoc in battle. It seems, the king,

1. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-2. This reference to the *tidanḍa* in J., VI, p. 252-G. 1132 is obscure to the English translators, See J. VI, p. 125 n.

2. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13, p. 240.

3. J., I, p. 181—"Dve bhatikā sindhave rathe yojetvā . II, p. 39 "Sabbasetacatusindhavyuttarathavare ; VI, p. 223-G. 965 "Tatrāsum kumudā yuttā cattāro sindhavā hayā."

4. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 202. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-2: 250-1.

5. J., V, p. 259—GG. 49-50 ; VI, pp. 48-G. 172-3 ; 49-G. 205-6. On the standards and flags of the Epic war-car Hopkins remarks : "They bear an important part in battle, for they are the rallying points of either party, and the standard of a great knight is well spoken of as the upholder of his whole army. They are not however national, but individual." J. A. O. S., 13 p. 243. The best horses in the stories are always white Sindh horses and scarcely Kāmbojakas. See J., I, pp. 175, 181 ; II, pp. . . . 39, 428 ; VI, pp. 223—G. 965 ; *Kāmbojakā assatarā* : J. IV, p. 464 G. 242. The epithets applied to these horses are *setā*, *kunudavanṇā*, *ajāneyyā*, *samadantā*, *vāhi* ; cf. for all these, Hopkins, *op. cit.* pp. 255-7 For the equipment of the chariot of Poros see Curtius VIII, 14; for its representation on the bas-reliefs at Sāñchi and the Barhut Stupas. See Cunningham, *Stupa of Barhut*, plxii,

6. The *Vedic* car had 188 *anḡulis* (finger-breadths) for the pole, 104 for the axle, and 86 for the yoke : *Ved. Ind.*, II p. 203. The best chariot in the Mauryan period measured 10 *puruṣas* (i.e., 120 *anḡulas*) in height, and 12 *puruṣas* in width. Other kinds of chariots of different dimensions are also mentioned: *Arthaśāstra*, II, 23.

7. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 171-2.

when he led the army against his enemy, sat on his special elephant (*maṅgalahatthi*) and thence attacked the enemy's city.¹ Besides this state-elephant, there were of course a host of other elephants. Their value in fight was recognised. In fact, the battle-field was thought to be their home. Thus spurs a warrior :

“O Elephant, a hero thou, whose home is in the field,

There stands the gate before thee now : why dost thou
turn and yield !”²

The tremendous havoc that these sturdy beasts did in battles is described in many a story. ‘*Yuddhe vikkantacārīṇā*’,³ they really were. “Winding his trunk about the shafts of the pillars he tore them up like so many toad stools ; he beat against the gateway, broke down the bars, and forcing his way through entered the city and won it for its king.”⁴ In another scene the elephant is seen trampling and frightening away the host and breaking the camp and seizing the king by his topknot.⁵ The ideal war-elephant is strongly-tusked and best when sixty years old—‘a type of male vigour.’

“*Nāgā ca kappitā dantī balavantā satṭhihāyanā*”.⁶

These elephants were, as we said, clad in armour in girths and caparisons.⁷ And the mahauts—*gāmanis*—were armed with spikes and hooks (*tomaraṅkusā*) to urge and direct the beast. The warriors who sat on their backs (*nāgakhandhādhipatino*) were the brilliant princes, brilliant in their ornaments and dress, carrying swords, well-oiled, glittering, held fast, these mighty men who strike and strike again, and wave their banners.⁸ There were special elephant trainers (*hatthācariyās*) in the king's service.⁹ In times of peace the elephants were richly decorated and used for processions.¹⁰

The third part of the four-fold army consisted of horsemen. Horse-riding was well known even in *Vedic* times,¹¹ but its use in battle in those early days is not proved.¹² In the Epic, of course, cavalry is a separate part or body (*kulam*)¹³ though the mounted soldiers do not necessarily act together. “They appear,” says

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1. J., II, pp. 22, 94 ; III, p. 385.
 2. J., II, p. 95-G 61—“*Saṅgāmāvasaro sūro*” Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, VII, 2 ; and for Greek writers who praise this beast see McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian.*, pp. 93 ff ; 222.
 3. J., III, p. 386-G. 98.
 4. J., II, p. 95.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 22. These deeds of strength are included in Kauṭilya's enumeration : *Arthaśāstra*, x. 4.
 6. J., VI, pp. 449-G 1579 ; 581-G. 2392. Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 13 p. 268.
 7. J., V, p. 258-G. 43 “*Suvarṇakacchā mātaṅgā hemakappanavāsasā*” VI, pp. 21—G. 64 ; 47—G. 168 ; 49—G. 199 ; 581—G. 2392 “*Kacchāya baddhamānāya kuñcam nadati vāraṇo*.”
 8. J., VI, p. 449—GG. 1579-84.
 9. J., II, pp. 20-2 ; VI, p. 47.
 10. *Supra*, p. 109.
 11. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 42.
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 13, 262.

Hopkins, “as concomitants, dependent groups, but separate horsemen appear everywhere. Their employment was much influenced by that of the elephants.”¹

In our stories this cavalry-host is as firm and sturdy as the war-cars and the elephants. These war-horses were clad in iron-armour (*vammam*) and mail (*sannāham*).² The best thorough-breds were the Sindhava horses and were called *ajāniyā*: *Ajāniya ca jātiyā Sindhavā sīghavāhanā*,³ though Kamboja horses are also known.⁴ Thus are the thoroughbreds described:

“No matter when or where,
In weal or woe,
The thorough-bred fights on;
The hack (*valavā*) gives in,”⁵

and so in another place a noble horse fallen wounded on the battle-field is made to utter these brave words before his charger:

“Though prostrate now, and pierced with darts, I lie,
Yet still no hack can match the destrier.
So harness none but me.....”⁶

The cavalry-men were armed with swords and bows (*illiyācāpadhārī*),⁷ but not lances as Arrian is reported⁸ to have seen in the Mauryan cavalry.

Foot-soldiers constituted the main portion or force of the army. We have no information from these stories as to the various classes of these soldiers like the *maula*, *bhṛtaka*, *śrenibala*, *mitrabala*, or *aṭavika* of Kaṭilya.⁹ But it seems certain that they were recruited from the brave people of the *Kṣatriya* blood, faithful to the core.¹⁰ The foot-soldiers also were clad in mail-coats in order to protect themselves from the attacks of the sharp arrows and other dangerous missiles.¹¹ And in their hands they carried various weapons, noticeable among them being bows and swords and spears. They probably were dressed up in robes of different colours, some in blue some in brown and others

INFANTRY.

1. *Ibid.*

2. J., I, p. 179; V, p. 322-G. 123; VI, p. 139-G. 614. *Uracchado* occurs at *ibid.*, p. 265. G. 1161.

3. J., V, p. 259—G. 46; VI, pp. 47—G. 170; 49-G. 201, 579—G. 2380; other epithets *Jātarūpamayā kaṇṇā* and *kacambhamayā khurā*: J. VI p. 268-G. 1161.

4. J., IV, p. 464—G. 242; *Arthasāstra*, II, 30.

5. J., I, p. 181-G. 23. ‘*ajāñño* and *valavā* are distinguished here as in “*seyyo va valavā bhojjho*” in J. I. p. 180. *Valavā* perhaps represents the Vedic *Vadavā*, “mare”—of the Vedic *Index*, II, p. 237.

6. J., I, p. 180.

7. J., V, p. 259—G. 47; VI, pp. 47—G. 1711; 49-G. 202; 579-G. 2381.

8. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

9. *Arthasāstra*, IX, 2.

10. Cf. the perilous tests to which the soldiers were subjected in J., III, pp. 5-6.

11. J., VI, pp. 448—G. 1575 (*vammim*); 579-G. 2374 (*Sannaddha*); also V, p. 373-G. 140.



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elephants, 30,000 horses and 60,000 footmen, besides chariots,¹ while according to Strabo² his camp had 400,000 soldiers.

The whole of the army-organisation was thus divided into several divisions which were probably under different generals. But the whole army-administration was under the control of the Commander-in-chief—the *Senāpati*—who was one of the chief administrative heads. Though no clear picture of this officer is given by the stories, we can well imagine his position from some general statements made about him. Often, as we have seen,³ he belongs to the ruling family and, as such, occupies a prominent place among the ministers. In fact one *Jātaka*⁴ clearly suggests that he was the first among all ministers. As the title indicates, he was the leader of the army, and in wars occupied the next highest military post after the king. In times of peace, however, he is seen acting as a judge⁵ and looking after the due protection of life and property of the citizens.⁶ He resides in a well-guarded palace with gates and watch-towers in the city and lives in prosperity,⁷ conferring with other ministers on important matters.⁸ It seems to us that the *Mahāsenagutta*—protector of the army—twice mentioned in the stories,⁹ is the same as the *Senāpati*, and there is nothing to distinguish between the two as Fick¹⁰ seems to do.

II

WARFARE

Well-organised and well-constituted as the armies were in those days, it is but natural to see that the art of warfare, together with its various tactics, stratagems and practices, was well known. The unsafe condition of the frontiers due to the depredations of robbers and the aggressions of neighbouring kings or even the revolts of impatient princes, no doubt, kept the hands of the soldiers full. When the troops stationed on the borders (*paccantayodhe*) failed to cope with a situation, they sent letters to the king who immediately proceeded to the scene of operations, even though the season might not be favourable.¹¹

1. See Dikshitar, *The Mauryan Polity*, p. 190.

2. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 55. According to Arrian, Porus possessed cavalry 4000 strong, chariots 300, elephants 200, and 30,000 efficient infantry. For various other estimates see Date, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff., P. N. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-7.

3. *Supra*, p. 95.

4. J., V, p. 178—“*Senāpatipamukhāni asītiamaṇṇasahassāṇi*”

5. J., II, p. 186 ; V, p. 125.

6. J., V, pp. 212 ; 459.

7. *Ibid*, p. 213, 214-G. 60.

8. *Ibid*, p. 461.

9. *Ibid*, pp. 115, 184.

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 146 n.

11. J., I, pp. 304, 313, 437 ; II, pp. 74, 96, 208 ; 274 ; 315 ; III, pp. 8, 400, 497 ; IV, pp. 189, 446 ; V, p. 135.

When a fight was to ensue, the whole army was warned to assemble for the purpose by beats of martial drum.¹ One might infer from this that, "there were either no fixed quarters for the troops or that they lived in different barracks in different parts of the city, and were therefore required to be collected together by some convenient means. Or was it calling a citizen-militia to arms?"² The latter seems to be the more primitive stage and, from the nature of references to warriors, the inference is that there were regular troops, though there was no caste-restriction in the recruits. As to the real war-life of these soldiers we know next to nothing from these stories. How they were supported, what they did in peace, what did they get from the king as salary, if they at all got it, are questions which cannot be satisfied with answers. Inference makes us say, however, that the pay of the soldier was a part of the booty in war: that the older stage when he was a fraction of the common folk, carrying on ordinary activities of tending cattle, offering sacrifices *etc.* had gone, and now he had become a regular officer of the king.³

We have no very detailed description of the march of the army. As the most common feature of warfare is around the city—the capital city—and not in open battle-fields, it is natural that we do not find any such description. One interesting thing we know. The army during its march set up camps (*khandhāvāram*).⁴ Some specific time of the year must have been regarded as proper and seasonable (*kāle*) for starting on a campaign.⁵ The army marched in regular bands (*vaggavaggā*).⁶ The army took a suitable position, not far from the city on which the attack was to be made. An aspiring king of Benares once comes to capture the Gandhāra capital, and stations his different forces in this manner: "Here be the elephants, here the horses, the chariots here, and here the footmen: thus do ye charge and hurl with your weapons; as the clouds pour forth rain, so pour ye forth a rain of arrows;" and he stirs up his soldiers with an exhortation.⁷ The arrangement of the different

1. J., I, p. 358; III, p. 160; IV, p. 170 "*nagare bheriṇ carāpetvā balakāyaṁ sannipātetthā*".

2. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

3. Able remarks of Hopkins on the Epic soldier can be applied here: "As to the primitive Hindu soldier of the pre-Epic period, how he was supported, what he did in peace *etc.*, we know next to nothing save by inference and by works too late to be considered as valid for the Epic period. We judge that his pay was a part of the booty; that at first he was a fraction of the common folk, and in peace was not different from his neighbours, tending cattle, offering sacrifices, repelling assaults, making forays as times and wishes twirled his inclination. But gradually the cattle were left to others that preferred a quiet life; agriculture arose and caste gratings separated thenceforth and forever the hired soldiers from the ranchman and the farmer. Now he belonged wholly to the king, and drew his pay from his valour, or later still, from a regular stipend, plus what his individual bravery enabled him to seize as private booty on the field of wars. In the Epic period he lives a life in part beautifully resembling that of the German soldier; in war he fights as he is bid. In peace he amuses himself, and does nothing else"—J. A. O. S., 13, p. 190. Both Megasthenes and Arrian support our inference. See McCrindle, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 211.

4. J., II, p. 208, V, p. 195; VI, p. 528.

5. J., II, p. 208—G. 150. Cf. J. A. O. S., 13, p. 191; Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm., Inst.*, p. 297.

6. J., III, p. 6; IV, p. 346. Cf. *Arthasāstra*, X. 2.

7. J., II, p. 217 and GG. 156-7; also *Ibid.*, pp. 219-21; VI, p. 405. Kautilya gives valued consideration on the choice of a suitable ground for encamping the forces which must be favourable to the invading monarch and unfavourable to the enemy: *Arthasāstra*, X, 4.

orders of the army in the above instance must have been in accordance with some one of the arrays '*Vyūhas*' known in those days. Three such orders of battle are known to the *Jātakas*, viz., the Lotus array, the Wheel array and the Waggon array.¹ Amongst these, the Lotus order as arranged by the leader of the boars against a tiger is described in a legendary manner as follows: "In the midst he placed the suckling pigs, and around them their mothers, next to these the barren sows, next a circle of young porkers, next the young ones with tusks just a-budding, next the big tuskers, and the old Boars outside all. Then he posted smaller squares of ten, twenty, thirty a-piece here and there (*dasavaggaṃ visativaggaṃ*). He made them dig a pit for himself, and for the tiger to fall into a hole of the shape of a winnowing basket: between the two holes was left a spit of ground for himself to stand on. Then he, with the stout fighting boars, went around everywhere encouraging the Boars."²

Legendary though this account is, it no doubt, brings out the underlying idea behind such an arrangement of army—forces in actual warfare. "The order was a concentric one, based on a careful adjustment and assortment of the varying degrees of strength of the different elements of the army, and the posting of the different grades of the fighting material in such a fashion, that the strongest and the most efficient of the members always occupied the outermost circle."³

Before the actual start of the war (*saṅgāme paccupaṭṭhite*) the *purohita* and other wise sages who accompanied the army or the leader or the king himself made a short but passionate speech to inspire and encourage the soldiers to fight to the finish and never fly from the field.⁴ *Saṅgāme apalāyinaṃ* is the epithet of a true hero.⁵ And everything should be at the foot of Honour.

"Where shafts and spears in battle's van are hurtling fast and free,
And in the rout when comrades fall or turn them round and flee,
At Honour's voice they check their flight even at the cost of life,
And panic-stricken as they were once more renew the strife."⁶

It is very rarely, if at all, that we witness an open fighting between two hostile armies. The Assaka-Kalinga conflict may be taken as typical. The

1. J., II, pp. 405-6 "*Yuddham nāma padumavyūhacakkavyūhasakatavyūhavasena tividham hoti*," IV p 345—"Yuddham nāma sakatavyūhādivasena tividham hoti." Details of various other arrangements are found scattered in the *Dharmasūtras*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Purāṇas* the Epics and later works on '*Nīti*'. Even if we disregard other later works like the *Agni Purāṇa*, which give codes of war in accordance with Prof. Hopkins' strict and cautious criticism against using them for more antique period, we cannot possibly ignore Kautilya who is so precise and combines in himself practical knowledge with theory. See Hopkins, J. A. O. S., 13, p. 194, note. Not to speak of other works, Kautilya mentions details of various battle-arrays which include our *Sakata* and *Cakka vyūhas*; See *Arthaśāstra*, X, 6. For the detailed descriptions and maps of these, see Date, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff; 94. 105.

2. J., II, pp. 405-6; p. 345.

3. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

4. See J., II, pp. 217-GG. 156-7; 219-G. 158.

5. J., VI, p. 449-G. 1577. Cf. J., III, p. 5 "*anivattino hutvā yujjathā*."

6. J., V, p. 410-G. 283.



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First, the trenches were so deep and filled with water or mud, with snakes and crocodiles, that it was not a very easy task to cross them.¹ Even if they could, the walls and gate-towers afforded a stronger resistance. For it was from there that the mighty warriors belonging to the other party, roused up and, armed with all manner of weapons, marched up to the gate and red-hot missiles, showers of mud and stones, were thrown upon the invaders. When the latter were in the ditch, attempting to destroy the wall, the men in the gate-towers dealt havoc with arrows, javelins and spears, with the result that the attempt of the invaders ignominiously failed.²

When such attempts at storming and attacking failed, other means to cause the other party to surrender were thought of. Here it was that stratagies and diplomacy came to play an important part. Men of shrewd commonsense and profound wisdom, being at the helm of military affairs, brought into play their endless manoeuvres and novel tactics, thus lending a considerable interest to martial operations.³ Stoppage of supplies of necessary provisions, by means of blockade, seems to have been a very familiar device by which obstinate resistance could be forced into surrender.⁴ In order to avert the calamity consequent upon such a blockade, elaborate and comprehensive measures were taken before-hand for storing up food, water, wood and other necessities of life by far-sighted ministers and advisers of the king. The city was thoroughly guarded. Poor people residing in the city were removed outside, where they could be free to get food and water, and instead rich families from outside were brought and settled in the city, and great quantities of corn and water stored up.⁵

A regular system of espionage was another feature of such siege-warfare. Spies (*upanikkhittapurisā*) were regularly employed to watch the activities and preparations going on in the enemy's camp, and secret reports were received which greatly helped to determine lines of actions to be taken against the enemy.⁶ The postern gate (*Cūladvāra*) of the city was the usual way through which the ingress or egress of these men was possible. Ingenuous efforts were made through these spies who mixed up with the enemy's people to know the secrets, and spread internal dissensions and disaffection by "so representing the facts (*mūsāvādam*) as to produce an impression, that the whole army had been corrupted by taking bribes from the other party." In this way

1. J., VI, p. 407-8. "*parikhāyam kumbhilādīnam galakumbhila*" Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 3.

2. J., VI, p. 400 "*....tam sutvā sūrayodhā nānāvidha āvudhahatthā dvārasamīpam gantvā....puresehi pakkamāla-kalalasiñcanapāsānapātanādihi upaddutā patikkamanti, pākāram bhindissāmā' ti parikham otinṇe pi antarattālesu thitā usu-satti-tomarādīhi mahāvināsam pāpentī.*"

3. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-3.

4. J., I, p. 409 "*Sabbadisāsu sañcaram pacchinditvā nagaram rundhi....tato dārūda-kabbhattaparikkhayena kilantamanussam nagaram vinā yuddhena jantussati.*" VI, pp. 400, 401, 402, 406.

5. J., VI, pp. 390, 393 ; 400-2.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-G. 1293. "*Ārakā parivajjeya sahitum pahitam janam ;*" 389-90 ; 401-2: These spies, both in peace and war, being away from their families, had the right of allowance and maintenance for their families from the State.

the forces were disrupted and plans failed.¹ Sending and receiving of messages were mostly effected by fastening letters to the arrows and throwing them in the desired direction.² Flight of the king or the leader from the field was an unfailing signal for his party to retreat.³

There remain now a few observations to be made as regards warfare. It was realized that "a small army with counsel could conquer a large army that has none, one king could conquer many, even as the rising sun conquers the darkness."⁴ There is nothing more to be said with regard to the ethical side of war. The long-standing custom of not hurting a messenger or ambassador was followed.⁵ It is moreover probable that wounded soldiers in war were carried away on stretchers (*phalakā*) and properly treated.⁶ When a king was invited by another king, the expenses (*paribbayam*) of his army were borne by the latter.⁷ The victorious king while returning to the city, went round it in a solemn procession,⁸ and the warriors feasted on dainties.⁹

Various kinds of weapons were in use for offensive and defensive purposes. It is not necessary to go into detailed descriptions of each.¹⁰ Bow (*dhanu*, *cāpa*), quiver (*kaṇḍa*) and arrow (*sara*) were familiar. There were three parts of an arrow: *tāla* handle, *daṇḍaka* stock, and *vaja*-feathers.¹¹ Poisoned arrows were also in use.¹² *Nārāca* was perhaps an iron arrow.¹³ *Vāsī*, *pharasu* or *kuṭhāri* representing axe, and *mugara*, a kind of club, were ordinary weapons.¹⁴ *Sūla* was a trident spit.¹⁵ Sword and spear were more familiarly used; *Sarasatti* is a frequent compound;¹⁶ *tomara* was a kind of javelin.¹⁷ Sword (*khagga* : *asi*) reigns supreme. The common type was about 33 *aṅgulas* long,¹⁸ "of the colour of sheat-fish, well-oiled, glittering, well-finished, very sharp, made of tempered steel and strong."¹⁹ Sheath and hilt of the sword—*tharu* : *thala* are known.²⁰ *Vajira-vajra* or the thunderbolt is mentioned.²¹ Of

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 399, 401, 403.

2. J., II, p. 90; VI, p. 400 "*pañnam likhivā kaṇḍe bandhitvā tam pavattim pesesum.*"

3. J., II, p. 21.—"*Niññāyakattā saṅgāmassa mahantam pi balam yujjhamānam thokatho-kam osakkati.*" VI, pp. 405, 409, 446—G. 1563.

4. J., VI, p. 448—G. 1566 "*Appāseno pi ce mantī mahāsenam amantinam jināti rāja-rājāno adicco v'udayan tamam.*"

5. J., II, p. 319—"dūto smīti vadantam na vārenti;" VI, p. 528 "*tasmā dūtam na hananti esa dhammo sanantano.*" Cf. S. V. Viśvanātha, *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 29.

6. J., VI, p. 55. "*laddhappahāre phalake nippajjāpetvā vuyhanti.*"

7. *Ibid.*, p. 428.

8. J., I, p. 438.

9. J., III, p. 522—G. 75.

10. For this one may be directed to Prof. Hopkins' learned treatment in *J. A. O. S.*, 13; pp. 269 ff. and Date, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff.

11. J., V, p. 130: feathers of heron: II, p. 89; V, p. 475—G. 390. *nāli* should be quiver III, p. 220; *dhanutuhnīra*, V, p. 129.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 49; *J. A. O. S.*, 13, pp. 277-8.

13. J., IV, p. 182; V, p. 129; *J. A. O. S.*, 13, pp. 275, 279.

14. J., I, p. 273; II, p. 102; IV, p. 208.

15. J., V, pp. 163, 488.

16. J., I, p. 173; III, p. 6; V, pp. 410, 481; VI, p. 400; *Kaṇaya* in I, p. 273.

17. J., VI, p. 400.

18. J., I, p. 273; III, p. 338.

19. J., VI, p. 449—GG. 1581-3; *nettimsa-nistrimśa*: *Ibid.*, p. 188; 449—G. 1581.

20. J., III, pp. 220-1.

21. J., IV, p. 182. See Date, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

defensive armour and weapons, we have both *cammam* and *vammam*. The leather-shield (*cammam*) is described as of a hundred layers carefully wrought by leather-workers and a strong defence against arrows.¹ And coat-of-mail or armour was also very well known, and used, as the word *vammīno*, so frequently occurs. It was worn underneath the undergarment (*nivāsānantare*).² *Kīṭa*, *Karoṭi* and *Uñhīsa* representing the diadem worn on the head are known.³

Before closing up this chapter, we would like to notice the police arrangements of those times, as this should come under the head of military-organisation.

As we are, all this time, speaking about central administration, we may leave the local police-system which, however, rested with the village-headman himself.

For the city and towns, there was an official variously called chief-constable, city-governor and Lord Protector—the *nagaraguṭṭika*. As the title signifies, he was the city governor, his duties being to guard the city, especially during the night, to arrest thieves and questionable personalities and to carry out sentences of punishment.⁴ At night-fall, the gates of the city were closed by the gate-keepers who called out three times before doing so,⁵ and the city-guards petrolled the streets.⁶ Probably, a drum was sounded to the night-watches⁷, which were three.⁸ The *nagaraguṭṭika* wore round his neck, as a badge of his office, a wreath of red flowers⁹. He was “king by night.”¹⁰ The police however was not above corruption.¹¹ Our *nagaraguṭṭika*, perhaps, corresponds to the *nagala-viyohālaka* of Aśoka,¹² and the *nāgaraka* or the *pauravyavahārika* of Kauṭilya.¹³

There is an indication of the presence of a sort of ‘Volunteer Police’ (*aṭavirakkhikā*) who, dwelling at the entrance of woods and forests, hired themselves out to guide travellers through those forests which were frequently infested with robbers.¹⁴ It seems from the relations of these ‘*vanacarakas*’ with the king, that they had some official position and probably correspond to the Kauṭilyan *araṇyacaras*.¹⁵

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1. J., VI, p. 454-G. 1610 *Yodhaphalaka* : V, p. 389.
 2. J., VI, p. 296 (*nivatthakojo*) ; V, p. 129 ; *Sannāhakaṇcukam* : *ibid*.
 3. J., V, pp. 128-9 ; 373—G. 140 ; VI, p. 592-G. 2464.
 4. J., III, pp. 30, 59, 436.
 5. J., II, p. 379 “*nagaradvāraṃ pidhanavelāya tikkhattum saddaṃ anusāvesi*.”
 6. J., I, p. 457 ; II, p. 140 ; III, pp. 59, 436.
 7. J., V, p. 459—“*yāmabherivelā*”
 8. J., I, p. 103 “*tiyāmaratti*”
 9. J., III, p. 30 “*nagaraguṭṭikānaṃ kaṇṭhe rattapupphadāma*”
 10. *Ibid*.
 11. J., III, pp. 59, 436.
 12. *Separate Kalinga Edict I*.
 13. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 13 ; II, 36 ; IV, 5.
 14. J., I, p. 283 ; II, p. 335 ; III, pp. 98, 150, 249, 371 ; V, pp. 22, 471.
 15. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 1, 34.



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A village (*gāma*) consisted of closely-situated habitations in the midst of cultivated fields and jungles. Beyond the fields lay the waste and the woodland, where the village-cattle were grazed,¹ and the villagers went to gather firewood and leaves of trees.² Most of the villages were protected with simple bamboo-palisades with gates.³

The population of a village extended from thirty to a thousand families⁴ or, approximately, from 150 to 5000 souls. It is not necessary at present to go into economic details. But it is quite essential here to state some of those facts in order to get an idea of this administrative unit—the village.

There were different orders of villages, *viz.*, *nigamagāma*, *janapadagāma*, *dvārgāma* and *paccantagāma* and villages occupied with different guilds varying in importance and population. People could live in these villages a simple and inornate life, pursuing their trade and commerce, agriculture, and various other avocations in peace and security.

Though, so far as the internal administration of a village was concerned, it enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy, the central government did not follow a strictly non-interfering policy, as we shall see.

Every village was under the control of its headman called the *gāmabhōjaka*⁵ or the *gāmaṇi*.⁶ The literal meaning of the title *gāmabhōjaka* would be “one who enjoys a village”, *i.e.*, a village given in reward by the king. Now, as has already been hinted at before,⁷ there seem to have been two types of villages, *viz.*, (a) those, the revenues yielded by which were enjoyed by an individual and (b) others, the revenues of which were enjoyed by the State. In either case there must be a headman. Whether this headman was the rewarded person himself or not, is not at all clear. It may be easily supposed, however, that the higher officers like the *purohita*, who were the recipients of such grants, could not possibly act as the headmen of the villages. In that case, they only had concern with the annual income to fetch which they would proceed to their respective villages and leave every other item of administration in the hands of a person who was really the headman. In some other cases, where the recipients were just ordinary persons like a merchant or a Brāhmaṇa, the headman may have been the same as the recipient. Anyhow, since the distinction cannot be more comprehensive, we may proceed with our task of observing the actual administration of a village, taking the *gāmabhōjaka* of the stories as the headman proper.

1. J., I, pp. 193-4.

2. J., V, p. 103.

3. J., I, p. 239 ; II, p. 76 “*nalaparikkhitto*” ; 135 ; III, p. 9 ; IV, 370.

4. J., I, p. 199. “*Tasmiñ ca gāme tiṃsa eva kulāni honti ;*” V, p. 71—“*ekekaṣmīn pañca pañca kulasaṭāni vasantī ;*” III, p. 281 “*Tesaṃ gāmato avidūre añño sahaṣṣakūṭiko gāmo*” also III, p. 8 “*Tattha tiṃsa janā rājasevakā vasantī.*” where ‘thirty men’ must of course mean thirty men with their families.’

5. J., I, pp. 199, 354, 483 ; II, pp. 136, 300—G. (?) ; IV, pp. 115, 326.

6. J., IV, p. 310—G. 84. *Grāmaṇi* is a Vedic title for the village-headman : *Vedic Index* I, p. 247. . see now Atindranath Bose, *I.H.Q.*, Dec. 1937, pp. 610 ff.

7. *Supra*, p. 145.

The functions and powers of the *gāmabhojaka* were wide and important. He exercised judicial powers and also executive authority, so far as his civil and, to a certain extent, criminal jurisdiction extended. Thus one *gāmabhojaka* issued prohibitions against the slaughter of animals within his jurisdiction,¹ and another stopped the sale of wine.² Elsewhere³ a *gāmabhojaka* fined a fisherman's wife for stirring up a quarrel and she was tied up and beaten to make her pay the fine. Once, when crops failed in a village due to famine, the headman distributed food to the famine-stricken villagers on promise of receiving a share of their next crops.⁴ These instances sufficiently indicate that the headman had substantial powers at his command. But his powers were not unlimited, nor completely transferred. He could not become a tyrant in his own village.

Firstly, he was not without any control from above *i.e.*, the king. Once a *gāmabhojaka* spoke ill of the villagers to the king, but on their innocence being proved, the slanderer's (*pesuññakāraḥassa*) possessions were given over to them and he was made their slave and finally turned out of the village.⁵ Another headman was properly punished by the king, as he, with his own people, went away to the forest, deliberately leaving the villagers at the mercy of robbers.⁶ That his judicial powers also were restricted in character is seen from the fact, that he could not deal with complicated law-suits arising in his village,⁷ nor could he inflict graver punishments. We see from the *Gāmaṇicaṇḍa Jātaka*,⁸ that in judicial matters the final authority largely rested with the king or his Court. It also proves that the administration of justice was one of the essential links⁹ that bound the villages to the Central Government. If one of the litigant parties in a village wanted redress at the hands of the king or his Court, inspite of suitable arrangements in the village itself, he could do so, and the case had to be decided accordingly. If the other party refused to agree to such a course he was liable to punishment. "Now this people," so we are told, "have a custom that they pick up a bit of stone or a potsherd, and say, 'Here's the king's officer: come along'. If any man refused to go, he is punished."¹⁰

Secondly, the villagers themselves, perhaps through their committee, exercised not a little amount of influence on the activities of the headman. In both the instances cited above, *viz.*, of prohibitions against animal-slaughter and sale of intoxicating liquors, the villagers make a representation in a body to their headman to suspend or annul the prohibitions, for those were their

1. J., IV, p. 115—"....*gāmabhojako māghātāṃ kārāpesi.*"
2. *Ibid.*, "....*gāmabhojako majjavikkayaṃ vāretvā.*"
3. J., I, p. 483.
4. J., II, p. 135.
5. J., I, pp. 199-200.
6. J., I, p. 355—"ayaṃ dutṭhabhojako corehi ekato hutvā gāmaṃ vilum̐pāpetvā coresu palāyitvā....*taṃ kammaṃ pākataṃ jātāṃ. Ath 'assa rājā dosānurūpaṃ niggaḥaṃ akāsi.*"
7. J., III, p. 204.
8. J., II, p. 301.
9. Another essential link was the revenue-collection.
10. *Ibid.* "*Tesu pi janēsu yaṃ kiñci sakkharaṃ va kapālakhaṇḍaṃ va ukkhipitvā ayaṃ te-rājadūto, ehīti vutte yo na gacchati tassa rājāṇaṃ karonti.*"

time-honoured practices. The headman had to yield and say: "Do as you have always done aforetime."¹ The village-committee must have been a potent force in the carrying out of the affairs affecting the common interests of the villagers in general. Although it is not possible to say anything definitely regarding the constitution of such committees, indications are not wanting to point out the fact that the heads of the houses in a village carried on their common affairs in remarkable harmony and co-operation. It is necessary to point out in this connection, that though the majority of villages very likely contained a heterogeneous population, there were others, inhabited exclusively or mainly by members of a single class or followers of a single occupation, thus making a homogeneous whole.² In this latter case, the guild or corporation (*seni*), which was, as we shall see later on, already a powerful factor in the economic and social life of the people, shared with the headman the responsibility of carrying on the management of rural affairs. And if the village consisted of men following more than one profession, the village-committee might have comprised a representative of each family in the village. Thus we see in the hamlet of Macala in the kingdom of Magadha, heads of thirty families of which its population was composed, assembling together in the middle of the village, and carrying on the business of the village.³ Similarly in another place⁴ we find the same number of men transacting the village-affairs. This is significant. And as has been well observed,⁵ "it may not also be improbable that, irrespective of the total population of a village, the committee usually consisted of thirty members or thereabouts."

The meetings of the village-committee must have been held in a hall (*sālā*) in the midst of the village, provided with boards, seats and a jar of water.⁶ As to the nature of work generally performed at these meetings (*gāmakammaṃ* or *gāmakiccaṃ*) the same Macala hamlet provides us with an interesting example. The members of this corporate body are found to be in complete agreement with their leader, who is credited with much initiative (*te tiṃsa janā Bodhisattena samānacchandā ahesum*).⁷ Here the leader is said to have established the members of his committee in the Five Commandments and thenceforth to have gone about with them doing good works. Then the people too "doing good works always in the Bodhisatta's company used to get up early and sally forth with razors and axes and clubs in their hands. With their

1. J., IV, p. 115.—"*....mahājano sannipatitvā āha-Sāmi mayam migasūkarādayo māretvā yakkhānam balikammaṃ karissāmā.... pubbe imasmin kāle surāchano nāma hoti.... Tumhākaṃ pubbekaraṇaniyamen eva karoṭhā*".

2. This will be discussed in detail while speaking of economic conditions in the following section of this work.

3. J., I, p. 199—"*Tasmiñ ca gāme tiṃs 'eva kulāni honti, te ca tiṃsa kulamanussā ekadivasaṃ gāma majjhe thatvā gāmakammaṃ karonti*."

4. J., III, p. 8 "*Tattha tiṃsā janā rājasevakā vasantī. Te pāto va gāmamajjhe sannipatitvā gāmakiccaṃ karonti*."

5. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

6. J., I, p. 199 "*....gāmamajjhe....sālam kāresi, tattha phalakāsanāni santharitvā pāniyacātīm thapesi*." The *santhāgāra*, or the mote-hall, was a feature of the town. J., IV, p. 74; *gāmassa kammantaṭṭhānam* at J., IV, p. 306.

7. J., I, p. 199.



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dragged into the courtyard and thrown down as he cried, "I am the head-man." He was thrashed till he fainted and made to remember the lesson.¹ If he was congenial, he could be left free, surrounded by comrades enjoying in dances and music and favoured by the king.² On the whole it would seem that the village was a self-governing unit.

1. J., II, p. 136.

2. J., IV, p. 310—G. 84—"So *gāmaṇi hoti sahāyāmajjhe naccehi gitehi pamodamāno.*"

SECTION III

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

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Gaṅgā-Yamunā plain was rich and fertile with plenty of water, and hence the plentiful growth of rice and sugarcane which we notice in the stories. Kalinga or Orissa suffered most from want of rain. The Central-Indian stretch of land was covered over with dense forests—the Mahākantāra of a little later period—which brought heavy rainfall. The richness and variety of *flora* and *fauna* that are to be seen in the *Jātakas* show the large extent of area and a great variety in physical features and climate of the country even in those days. As for the facilities of communication, they were decidedly few and that too bad. Roads were not well constructed and were infested with thieves and robbers thus impeding free communication. Water transport was comparatively better. The coast was not developed, though natural and rough harbours did help the adventurous traders of Bharukaccha or Cāmpā or Kavirapattana. On the whole, the conditions were, as may be expected, simple and primitive. Nature was ready to respond, but where was the human being to call and question her? But, then, can we expect this at a time more than two thousand years earlier in the history of evolution?

As to the social background, we need not say much here, as we are going to have a separate chapter on this subject. But in order to understand its influence on the economic life, we may point to the existence of joint-family system, which preserved the status and condition of a man, system of hereditary occupations, which also helped to stabilise the industries, system of religious mendicancy which deprived labour of a much useful element, and the class-divisions into the well-off nobility (*issarā*) and the poor (*daliddā*) which to a certain extent marred the social harmony, as usual.

From the analysis of the modern conception of wealth, we find four characteristics, *viz.*, it is material, it is consummable, it is appropriable and it is transferable. Wealth of the *Jātaka* times consisted in gold and silver and such other precious metals, household gear, kine, oxen and horses, cattle (*pasu*), fields and stores of grain (*Koṭṭhāgārā*) and even slaves and hired labourers—mostly agricultural and commercial capital. And what industrial capital there was, was in the form of tools and implements of the various craftsmen. We may also add that the organisation of industry was based on private and not collective property of land and other means of production and distribution. Finally, there was, as we shall see, a considerable differentiation of occupations most of which again had become hereditary. This naturally necessitated facilities of exchange. And though we hear of a girl working for a garment and a dog being bought for a piece of money and a cloth, money economy had come into existence.



CHAPTER I

PRODUCTION

I

LAND

WE KNOW THAT in any investigation of Production, the determination of its primary factors is quite essential. As in modern times, so also in those days, the factors of production were land, labour, capital and organisation. These are the chief means of production. Let us, then, try to get whatever information we can, for each of these factors.

Agriculture was the main occupation of the masses as usual. This and other items such as cattle-breeding and dairy-farming constitute rural economics which we should first study.

Types of Villages. The whole country was filled with a net-work of villages and towns, the former occupying a much larger space. As already stated, there were different orders of villages such as *gāma*, *gāmaka*, *nigamagāma*, *dvāragāma* and *paccantagāma*. *Gāma* means an ordinary village, *gāmaka* a small village, or more appropriately, a hamlet. *Nigama* ordinarily meant a town, “though there was not....any such hard and fast line between *gāma* and *nigama* to warrant the exclusion....of some *gāmas* which may have amounted to *nigamas*.”¹ A *nigamagāma* thus means a village, astir with the bustle of a market town, as distinct from a *gāma* with its quieter life.² *Dvāragāma* obviously means a village near the gate of a city or a great town, that is, in other words, a suburb. The other order of villages was that of the *paccantagāmas* or border-villages. Economically speaking, all these orders can be classified into three main types which may be designated as : the mixed types, the special or the suburban types, and the border types.³ Under the first type, come those villages which were occupied by people of different castes and occupations. Perhaps these were in majority, and had the *gāmabhojaka* as their administrative head.

The special and the suburban types consisted of those villages which were occupied solely, or mainly, by particular communities, some of them specialising in some kinds of industry. Both the *nigamagāmas* and the *dvāragāmas* come under this head. We have instances of villages of Brāhmaṇas,⁴

1. C. H. I., p, 200.

2. J., II, pp 225, 232, for instance.

3. See Gupta, *Land System*, pp. 25 ff.

4. J., I p. 368 . III, p, 293, 342 ; IV, p. 276.

Caṇḍālas,¹ hunters,² robbers,³ carpenters,⁴ smiths,⁵ potters,⁶ and weavers.⁷ "These were either suburban to large cities, or rural, and constituting as such special markets for the whole country-side."⁸ The existence and growth of such suburban areas were due either to the policy of segregation adopted by the higher castes or the king with regard to the people of lower classes like the Caṇḍālas or to the natural tendency of localisation of particular kinds of handicraft or industry, in which case the villagers had of necessity to depend on a contiguous town or a self-contained village. In any case, the economic life in these *dvāragāmas* was very poor.⁹ These villages were under their headmen (*jeṭṭhakā*).

The third type, namely the Border villages (*paccantagāmas*) was also a very notable feature of those days. We have already seen, that these border-villages were in a very insecure condition owing to the organised depredations of robbers and marauders.¹⁰ It was for this reason that these *paccantagāmas*, where it was difficult to distinguish between a rebel and a loyalist,¹¹ could not reasonably flourish as much as the villages of the former types which were nearer to the heart of a kingdom or which enjoyed the privileges of a close proximity to towns and cities.¹² It is therefore not at all surprising that we read of some border villages deserted and in a ruined state (*purāṇagāmaṭṭhāna*).¹³ The economic life of the people on the borders was very largely in a primitive stage, as we see them making their settlement wherever they can best find their food, dwelling and shelter.¹⁴

As regards the size and population of an ordinary village, we have seen that it might consist of anything from a group of two or three houses to an indefinite number, and that the number of its inhabitants varied from 30 to 1000 families or 150 to 5000 souls. And if we take the number of the villages in the country as 60,000, then the total population would be 30 crores. But this is only a conjecture.¹⁵

1. J., IV, pp 200, 376, 390 ; VI, p. 156.

2. J., II, p. 36 IV, p. 413 ; V, p. 337 VI, p. 71. A *nisādagāma* is also mentioned in the *Lāṭyāyana Śruata Sūtra*, VIII, 2, 8. See *Ved. In*, I, 454.

3. J., IV, p. 430—"Both in North and South India there are still villages inhabited solely by criminal tribes"—Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

4. J., II, pp. 18, 405 ; IV, pp. 159, 207, 344.

5. J., III, p. 281.

6. J., III, p. 376.

7. J., I, p. 356

8. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 208 ; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 862 ff.

9. J., III, p. 162 . IV, p. 225 ; V, pp. 288, 442, 476 ; VI, p. 170, 180.

10. See specially J., IV, p. 220 "*Tadā paccantavāsino corā janapadam pavisitvā gāmmam paharivā karamare gahetvā bhaṇḍikā ukkhipāpetvā puna paccantam payesum.*"

11. J., III, p. 9 : "*tvam kosi, rājapuriso corapuriso ?*"

12. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

13. J., I, p. 478 . II, pp. 76, 102 ; Cf, *Mahāvagga*, III, 10.

14. J., IV, p. 289-90. "*paccantavāsino yattha yattha bahum mamsam labhanti tattha tattha gāmmam nivesetvā araṇṇe vicarivā migādayo māretvā mamsam āha ritvā puttadāram posenti.*"

15. *C. H. I.*, I, pp 200-1.



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Scarcity owing to drought or to floods is often referred to;¹ “In days of famine and drought,” says the *Vessantara Jātaka*,² “corn did not grow and so men being unable to live used robbery : tormented by want, poor people would gather at the king’s courtyard and upbraid him.” And the *gāthā*:

“In hope their fields the farmers plough and till,

Sow seeds and labour with their utmost skill ;

But should some plague, or drought afflict the soil,

No harvest will they reap for all their toil.”³

shows the intensity of this phenomenon, experienced even to this day in the form of the ‘Quake and the Cold wave and frost.

How was this agriculture actually carried on ? Ploughing was, as it even now is, done with ploughs drawn by an oxen-pair.⁴ The folk expressed the idea of ploughing as the “making two of one.”⁵ After ploughing, clods in the earth were broken,⁶ and soil was turned with spades.⁷ Nothing definite can be gathered from the stories as to how and wherefrom water was supplied to the fields. It is however presumed that, even though the artificial irrigation such as digging long canals was for all practical purposes unknown in those days,⁸ the presence of large rivers and tanks and wells must have been made use of much in the same way as to-day. Much of course depends on rains which were uncertain. Water was taken through conduits (*nikkham sukunḍalam*), ‘the green grass clothing it about.’⁹ Seed was sown at usual time,¹⁰ and to the grown-up crops, the proverb gave the title ‘*guhya*’ because they could cover the crow out of sight.¹¹ When ripe, the crops were cut and corn threshed on a prepared floor (*khala maṇḍala*)¹² and then taken to the granary.¹³ Beyond this, we do not know anything about agricultural methods, such as the use of fertilisers and the adjustments and rotation of crops, existence of which may however readily be conceded.

1. J., I, pp. 329, 450 ; II, pp. 135, 149, 367 ; V, pp. 183, 401 ; VI, p. 487.

2. J., VI, p. 487.

3. J., V, p. 401—G. 245.

4. J., I, p. 502 ; II, pp. 59 (*naṅgalisa*), 165, 300 (*dve goṇe*) ; V, p. 68.

5. J., VI, p. 364—“*Ekasā dvidhākaraṇam nāma kasaṇam*.”

6. J., II, p. 59.

7. J., V, p. 68.

8. The existence of dams across the rivers for irrigation purposes can be seen in the famous *Sākya-Koliya* episode given in the Introductory portion of J., V, pp. 412 ff.

9. J., V, p. 401—G. 245.

10. J., II, p. 135 ; V, p. 401—G. 245 “*Vapanti bijāni*”

11. J., II, p. 174—G. 126—“*jātaṃ yavaṃ yena ca guhyamāhu*.” For *kākaguhya* see Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, III, 2. 5.

12. J., II, p. 341 ; VI, p. 297—G. 1301.

13. J., I, p. 467 ; II, p. 135 ; IV, p. 240 ; VI, p. 297—G. 1301.

FIELD- CROPS. What then were the agricultural products in general? The predominant grain-harvest was that of rice of different varieties (*sāli: vihi: taṇḍula*).¹ The eastern portion of India, specially Bihar and Bengal, has always been famous for this rice-harvest which mainly depends upon the abundance of water-supply which could be got from the Ganges and its tributaries. Amongst other field grain-crops are mentioned barley (*yava*) and millet (*kaṇḍu*).² Among pulses, grams (*kalāye*) peas and beans (*muggamāsa*)³ and also perhaps sesame (*tila*)⁴ are mentioned. Oil-seeds like the castor (*eraṇḍa*) must have been grown and with these may be mentioned the cocoanut trees.⁵ Of the spices, we have mention of pepper (*marica*), moist and dry ginger (*addasingivera*), white mustard (*siddhatṭhaka*) and cumin (*jīraka*).⁶ Salt and vinegar (*lona-aṁbila*) are frequently mentioned as necessary ingredients in food.⁷

Sugar-cane (*ucchu*) seems to have been a very common crop and its sweet juice was used in plenty.⁸ Sugar (*sakkara*) was most probably obtained from sugar-cane.⁹

Of the fibre-crops, cotton (*kappāsa*) was of course the most important.¹⁰ Other kinds of fabrics, viz., silk (*koseyya*), wool (*kambala*) and linen (*khoma*)¹¹ are also mentioned, but we do not know as to the extent to which these articles were produced. It is also probable that the aloe-fibre was grown and utilised.¹² The *śālmali* or *simbali* or the *simul* (silk-cotton) trees which yield a silky fibre, were known.¹³ But no information is at hand as to whether these fibres were converted into fine silk or not.

We cannot clearly ascertain whether indigo or such other chemical dyes were produced or known, though the mention of a variety of colours¹⁴ may lead us to believe in their existence and cognisance.

Betel (*tambulam*) and arecca-nut (*pūga*) appear to have been extensively grown.¹⁵

Of vegetables, a large variety is to be found. Among others pot-herbs, pumpkins, gourds, cucumbers and convolvulus (*sākaṁ eva alābu-kumbhaṇḍī-*

1. J., I, pp. 429, 484; II, pp. 135, 378; III p. 383; IV, p. 276; V, p. 405-G. 262; VI, p. 530—G, 2030.

2. J., II, p. 110; III, p. 216; VI, p. 580.

3. J., II, p. 74; I, pp. 429, 484; V, p. 37; VI, pp. 355, 580.

4. J., VI, p. 335 (?).

5. J., I, p. 423; II, p. 440; V, pp. 354, 417; VI, p. 529 G. 2023.

6. J., I, p. 244; II, p. 363; III, p. 225; V, p. 12; VI, p. 536—G, 2083 (*sasāpo*); 539—G, 2113.

7. J., I, pp. 244, 304; II, p. 263; III, p. 225.

8. J., II, p. 240; IV, p. 160-1; VI, p. 539—G. 2113.

9. J., III, p. 110; IV, pp. 214, 379; V, p. 384.

10. J., III, p. 286; V, 343; VI, pp. 47—G. 160; 336; p. 537—G. 2087.

11. J., IV, p. 138; V, p. 282; VI, pp. 47; 456-G. 1617; 500-GG, 1796-1801; 534-G. 2065.

12. J., VI, p. 530—G. 2024. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

13. J., I, pp. 202, 203; III, p. 39; V, p. 269-G 120.

14. J., VI, p. 279—G, 1223-5; meaning of *nīliya* as indigo in VI, p. 537-G. 2086, is not quite clear.

15. J., I, pp. 266, 291; II, p. 320; V, p. 37; VI, p. 367.

elālukādini tipusā) were grown.¹ Cultivation of garlic (*nāḍī*) is also known.²

HORTI-
CULTURE. Horticulture was in a very high state of efficiency. The *Jātaka* stories are replete with descriptions of gardens and parks and we have a very large variety of garden-produce—both fruits and flowers.³ Among the flowers, to mention only a few more important ones, we have *kiṃsuka*, *pāṭali*, *kaṇṇikāra*, *Jayasumana*, *kadam̐ba*, *sirisa*, *bakula*, *sāla*, *ketaka* and so on :⁴

“Festoons of flowers garlanded

As when the banners fly,

Blossoms of every hue and tint

Like stars that dot the sky.”⁵

“Always the many-coloured flowers,

Blow fragrant on the breeze.”⁶

Of the fruits, again, not to go into details, we may mention mango, rose-apple jackfruit, fig, grape, plantain, date and so on :⁷

“A man may stand beneath the trees and pluck them as they grow

The choicest flavour, taste, both ripe and unripe show.”⁸

Mango-groves were evidently a common feature.⁹

For vegetables and fruits there were the green-grocers or fruit-sellers (*paṇṇikā*) who specialised in them and bought from the growers to sell to the customers, and it was a very flourishing industry.¹⁰ And so also with the flowers, which were grown and used in sufficiently large quantity to give rise to the specialised occupations of the florist and the garland-makers (*mālā-kārās*).¹¹ This fruit and flower culture must have been highly advanced; for forcing flowers and fruits out of season was known.¹²

1. J., I, p. 312 ; IV, p. 445 ; V, p. 37.

2. J., VI, p. 536—G. 2083.

3. Innumerable are the trees and plants, flowers and fruits mentioned and described with a keen sense of observation mainly in the *gāthās* of the stories. See specially J., II, pp. 105-6; IV, p. 92—G. 1-2 ; V, pp. 37-8, 100—G. 19-21, 405, 420; VI, pp. 269—G. 1166-8; 528—38 GG. 2012-2100. Cf. G. P. Majumdar's *Upavana Vinoda*, a *Sam̐skṛta* treatise on Arbori-Horticulture, Calcutta, 1935, esp. informative Introduction.

4. J., VI, pp. 530-39—GG. 2024-2115.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 529-30—G. 2023 ; 2034.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 534—G. 2067.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 529—GG. 2017 ff ; 534 GG. 2060 ff. etc.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 529—G. 2021—*vaṇṇagandharasuttame*.’

9. J., I, p. 139. The variety and plenty of flowers and fruits excited the wonder of the Greeks : see *Diodorus*, II, 36.

10. J., I, p. 412 ; II, 179 ; III, p. 21-2 ; IV, pp. 445 ; 448—G. 119 ; 449. The word *par-ṇaka* occurring in the *Vājasaneyi Sam̐hitā*, xxx, 16, has been variously interpreted by Vedic commentators. To our mind the term is quite equivalent to our *paṇṇika* and therefore should mean a green-grocer...” See *Ved. Ind.*, II, p. 501.

11. J., I, p. 120 ; IV, p. 82 ; VI, p. 276—G. 1197.

12. J., II, p. 105 ; IV, pp. 200-1.



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Together with cattle, flocks of sheep and goats also were usual, as we saw above, and even kings are said to have possessed them.¹ We do not know as to how far these were utilised for wool-production. Here may also be mentioned the breeding of horses for quality,² which made considerable traffic and dealing in them possible.³ Kings, as we saw, were fond of hunting with dogs which led to the breeding of a good strain.⁴

Vast stretches of land, otherwise waste, yielded a large quantity of grass and such other useful herbs. And grass-cutting was a quasi-agricultural industry followed by the poorer strata of workers (*tiṇahārakā*).⁵

Let us now turn to forest-lands (*vanapacārā*).⁶ India of those days seems to have been richly gifted with forest tracts. Almost the whole of the country was covered over with a large variety of trees. ARBORI- Arboriculture, as a science akin to agriculture, may CULTURE. not have been recognised to its fullest measure, but the beneficial influence of forests does not require any human agency. They were, as they always are, of much economic value. They provided the country with materials (*bhaṇḍam*) for the construction of houses, vehicles, shops and various kinds of implements and the like. Various kinds of timber, bamboo, creepers, fibrous plants like those mentioned before, leaves like those of betel, wild flowers, medicinal herbs and roots were to be found in plenty. And for these the *Vanacarakas*, or the foresters, roamed about⁷ and the wood-workers, the basket-makers, workers in bamboos, and the carpenters sallied forth far and wide from their abodes.⁸ Above all, the forest-trees were an unfailing source of fuel for the community,⁹ and of a living to the wood-gatherers (*kaṭṭhahārakas*).¹⁰ A *Jātaka*,¹¹ moreover, informs us that self-sown paddy (*sayañjāto sālī*) was to be found in the forest regions of the Himalayas. Similarly honey, of which we read frequently as eaten with rice, was most probably obtained in the forests from the wild beehives.¹²

But, apart from their valuable uses for food, fodder, fibre and timber, trees are highly useful for their influence on the climate and rainfall, as is well-known. Thus, in spite of a failure of agricultural produce due to drought or inundation which sometimes visited the country, people could support themselves on forest trees which yielded starch, oil, sugar, vegetables, fruits and fibres.

In connection with forest lands it would be well, by the way, to speak of a few more aspects connected with them, *viz.*, hunting and its economic value.

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1. J., I, p. 240 ; IV, p. 363-G. 247-*posayanti ajelake*.
 2. , I, p. 181-G. 23 ; II, p. 254, 428 ; *etc.*, See *Supra* p. 164
 3. , I, p. 124 ; II, pp. 31, 287.
 4. ., I, p. 176 : IV, p. 437.
 5. ., I, p. 121 ; III, pp. 129-30 ; V, p. 417.
 6. , IV, p. 359—G. 217.
 7. , V, pp. 12, 417.
 8. , II, pp. 18 ; 302 ; IV, pp. 29, 207-8 ; 251 ; V., pp. 291-2.
 9. ., I, p. 317 ; V, p. 103.
 10. *bid.* pp. 103, 417.
 11. J., V, p. 12. See Gupta, *Land System*, p. 248.
 12. J., II, p. 308 ; III, p. 200.

Hunting was by no means an unimportant occupation in those days:

HUNTING. Flesh-eating was a very common practice as we shall see later on.¹ Venison was highly esteemed. Not to speak of the king going on a hunting merely to experience the delicacies and pleasure of eating venison 'broiled on charcoal';² it is important to note that there were regular hunters—the *luddakas* and the *nisādas*, whose sole occupation was to capture or kill the animals and earn their living by selling them.³ Not only that, there were special villages of these hunters, as we have already seen.⁴

Equipped with staffs, bows and snares, they would roam far and wide on and among the mountains and forests in search of prey.⁵ They laid a snare of twisted cord of leather-thongs set with a pole, in the deer-drives.⁶ They knew the time for deer to come down from the hills and would post themselves 'in ambush by the road.'⁷ Some of them would form themselves in a circle with weapons in their hands and then rouse the doomed creatures by their shouts, and capture them.⁸ Others used to build platforms on the boughs of the trees at the foot of which "they found the track of deer and watch aloft for their coming to eat the fruits," and when come, "they brought them down with a javelin."⁹ Thus they obtained hide, claws, teeth and fat,¹⁰ all economically useful products. From elephants, whether deliberately killed or otherwise, was obtained ivory which was the raw material of a very important industry.¹¹ Panther's skin was also a useful material.¹²

POULTRY. Similar was the occupation of bird-catching and fowling. Birds were, no doubt, caught and sold for pets,¹³ but, as was more usually the case, they were meant for consumption.

"What fate for one caught in a snare
Except the cruel spit?"

1. See for instance J. IV, p. 370 ; V, p. 489-G. 424, etc.

2. J., IV, p. 437 *Āṅgārappakkam magamaṃsam*.

3. J., II, p. 184 ; IV, pp. 252, 334, 337, 341 ; V, p. 41.

4. Cf. "Their industry was certainly a very important one. The large stretches of forest open to all, separating most of the settlements ; the absence of any custom of breeding cattle for the meat-market ; the large demand for ivory, fur, sinews, creepers and all the other produce of the woods ; and the congeniality of the occupation, all tended to encourage these hunters." Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 94. The hunters had already been cut off from the rest of the society, as in Greece : see Zimmern ; "The mighty hunters of old days, once the pride of their small communities, were cut off from the society of the growing city, and became recognized outcasts"—*The Greek Commonwealth*, p. 236.

5. J., IV, pp. 413, 425 ; VI, pp. 170 ; 582.

6. J., I, p. 388 ; II, p. 154 ; III, p. 184 ; IV, p. 414.

7. J., I, p. 154.

8. J., III, p. 325 . IV, p. 258 . VI, p. 582,

9. J., I, p. 173 ; also J., I, pp. 160 ; 164 ; IV, p. 49 ; IV, p. 392. Two other artifices consisted in (1) laying *Vālusarighaṭayanta* (*Vṛṣabha Jātaka*, *Mahāvastu*, for Barhut illustration, see Barua, *Barhut Jātaka Scenes*,) and (2) Setting dogs from two sides (*Kokasunakkhavatthu*, *Dhammapada. Commentaries*, for illustration see Barua, *Barhut Jātaka Scenes*).

10. J., I, p. 388—"Camma-nakha-dāṭhā c'eva vasaṇ ca."

11. J., I, p. 321 ; II, p. 197 ; V, pp. 45, 49 ; VI, p. 61-G. 269.

12. J., VI, p. 61-G. 269—"ajinamhi haññate dipi." For hunting in the Vedic period, cf. *Ved. Ind.*, II, pp. 172-4.

13. J., I, pp. 140, 175 ; II, p. 132 ; III, p. 97, 429 ; IV, pp. 279, 418 ; V, pp. 110, 228, 45, 365, 458 ; VI, pp. 419-20.

thus cries out a captured bird.¹ In either case the fowler got his living.² These fowlers were sometimes numerous enough to have a village all to themselves as we have seen.³ They caught the birds with snares and traps. The snare, made usually of stout horse-hair (*vālapāsa*) and fixed to a stick (*yaṭṭhi*) was strewn on the ground. As soon as the birds descended on the ground they were caught fast into it.⁴ Sometimes they used a decoy-bird (*dīpakak-kara* or *tittira*) which, by its cry, gathered its kinsfolk,⁵ or they themselves imitated the note of a bird to gather its kind together, and when the birds were drawn together, they flung the net over them, and whipped the sides of the net together so as to get them all huddled up in a heap. Then they crammed them into their basket and carried them away.⁶ Thus they sold them away, sometimes fattening them before sale.⁷ Among the birds thus sought after, were parrots and peacocks (for pets) and quails, partridges and ospreys.⁸ Beautiful feathers of the mallards were sold and brought a nice sum.⁹

Fishing of course formed a very important occupation and fisheries an important addition to the national wealth of those days.

FISHERIES. Fish was largely consumed. Besides being the usual food of those living near the river and sea-tracts,¹⁰ it was sold and consumed by others.¹¹ Both the net and the line (*jāla* : *bālisa*) were used to catch fish.¹² Basket-traps (*kumināni*) were also set in pits and holes of the rivers to capture them.¹³ Line and net fisher-men were differentiated.¹⁴ Fish of various kinds were known.¹⁵

Coming now to mining, we feel that it must have been undertaken quite extensively, though on primitive lines. India has always been famous for its mineral wealth. The oft-quoted passage from Megasthenes is no exaggeration: "And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals which are employed in making articles of use and ornament as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."¹⁶ And the most

1. J., V, p. 339—"Kā nu pāsena baddhassa gatiraññā mahānasā!"

2. J., I, pp. 208, 434, 475; II, p. 132; III, pp. 64, 97; V, p. 337.

3. *Supra*, p. 184.

4. J., III, p. 97; IV, p. 278. V, pp. 337, 346, 358.

5. J., II, p. 161. III, pp. 64, 357-G 64,

6. J., I, p. 208,

7. J., I, p. 434.

8. J., I, p. 434; II, p. 132; IV, p. 392.

9. J., I, p. 475; for bird-catching in Vedic Period see *Vedic Index*, II, p. 173.

10. J., II, pp. 178, 230

11. J., I, p. 211; II, pp. 362, 434; III, p. 429. VI, pp. 72, 580,

12. J., I, pp. 210, 482; II, p. 178. III, p. 370; V, p. 389-GG. 202-3.

13. J., I, p. 427; II, p. 238.

14. J., I, p. 482 (*bālīsika*): for the Vedic fishing, cf. *Ved. Ind*, II, pp. 173-4.

15. J., V, p. 405—G. 264.

16. *Fragment 1*, McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 31. A modern geologist Mr. V. Ball in his introduction to the *Economic Geology of India*, p. xv, quotes this statement and regards it as absolutely true.



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with all this, we must say that agriculture was practised on a small scale. Cultivation was almost always extensive, not intensive, though the methods varied slightly according to different nature of the soil—swampy, black, dry, and so on. The peasant toiled on with the help of practice and inherited experience, with little of scientific knowledge. The implements were simple. Still, the peasant does not seem to have been inefficient. But, as in all ages, capital was wanting. Perhaps there was no need of it. The average peasant, excepting a smaller section of *kutumbikas* or well-off peasants, corresponding to the Russian *koolaks*, was poor, though not to the extent to which he is fallen to-day. Agriculture is important not only in itself, but on it depend mainly the manufacturing industries. It is clear that the raw materials of every industry must come ultimately from the land. And so also with allied industries of cattle-breeding, arboriculture, pisciculture and mining of which we spoke before. We shall now deal with various manufacturing industries prevalent in the days of the *Jātakas*.

We shall presently see that India of those days had a great variety of flourishing industries. Industrial production, depending as it does on agriculture and raw materials, was never poor—
 MANUFACTURES. either in quality or in quantity. Most of the industries were worked by hand-labour. It seems India was far ahead, in comparison with other countries of those times, in dexterity, and skill, swiftness and delicacy of touch of her artisans. The metal industries and textiles had particularly attained eminence. This traditional prosperity of India, in so far as it concerned Industries, began to be vanished only at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution in the West which, with machines and the capitalist *régime* all the world over, sounded the deathknell of handicrafts and small industries. India now needs not the quiet reversion to old and simple crafts, which is only an outcome of despair to reform the present system of production and distribution, but an organised, planned and well-thought-out Industrial development to the mass-benefit. With all the sneering, curses and anti-propaganda, Russia has shown the path by which an exclusively agricultural country can be converted into a full-fledged Industrial country, devoid of the evils and conflicts of a capitalistic system.

But perhaps this was out of place here. Our eyes should again revert to that far-off age when things were comparatively simple.

India has always been noted for its silks. In the *Jātaka* times, Benares
 TEXTILES had already acquired great fame for the special excellence
 SPINNING & of its wares—"Fine *Kāsī* cloth, worth ten thousand pieces"
 WEAVING. had already become a proverbial phrase.¹ Besides this finer stuff, Gandhāra and Kodumbara were known to be producing woollen

1. J., II, 443-G. 141 (*Kāsikañ ca muduvattham*); III, p. 10 (*satasahassaggahanikam*); V, p. 78-G. 230. VI, pp. 49-G. 194, 50-G. 225 (*kāsikuttama*), 144-GG. 647-9; 403; Cf. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 2 where Buddhagosa explains *Kāsī* as one thousand. *Vinaya Texts* pt. II, p. 196 n. Cf. G. P. Majumdar, *I. C.*, I, pp. 191, ff.

cloths of great value.¹ The silk cloth (*Koseyya*) was most probably embroidered with gold²; kings wore turbans of gold.³ The state-elephants also had golden cloths.⁴ Thus, while silk was a portion of royalty and wealth, the garments of the large majority of the people were made of cotton.⁵ Hemp might have been in use, but to a very limited extent. Thus, besides the ordinary dress of the people, costly and dainty fabrics of silk cloth and fur were worked out into rugs, blankets, cushion cloths, coverlets and carpets,⁶ sufficiently enough to have a foreign market. Ascetics are said to have worn 'robes of bark' probably made from aloe-fibre.⁷

Thus we see that weaving was the most important industry of the country next to agriculture. It was, of course, hand-loom weaving which reached a perfection in the production of a variety of fine and coarse cloths.

The preliminary processes of ginning, cleaning, pressing, carding and spinning were also important industries by themselves. We have unfortunately no reference to *carkhā* or the spinning wheel here. But about its existence there can be no doubt.⁸ All these were, and to some extent still are, the domestic industries—the chief occupation of women as the references from the stories show. "*Itthīnam kappāsapotthanadhanukā*"—women's bows for carding cotton—must have been common and familiar household articles.⁹ Of weaving we have a graphic scene herein :

"As when the lady at her loom

Sits weaving all the day....

Her task ever goes less and less."¹⁰

Weavers probably got on nicely with their profession,¹¹ but the profession itself was considered to be a miserable and low work. At present of course handloom weaving can hardly stand against mill-competition. The cloth merchants are termed as *dussīkas*.¹²

1. J., VI, pp. 500-GG. 1796, 1801.

2. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

3. J., V, p. 322-G. 119-*Kaṇṇanapattā*.

4. J., IV, p. 404-G. 60 "*nāge hemakappanavāsase*" also V. p. 258-G. 43.

5. J., III, p. 286; VI, p. 41.

6. J., I, pp. 149, 304; II, pp. 63, 274; p. 138 (*kambala*); 187, 458 (*cittatthara*); VI, pp. 186, 191, 280 (*varapottthakattharaṇam*).

7. I, pp. 149, 221, 319; III, pp. 183, 274, 284; IV, pp. 256 356; V, p. 187; VI, 500.

8. See J., VI, p. 336. Amongst the findings at Mohenjo Dāro were numerous spindle whirls in the houses; and that it (spinning and weaving) was practised by the well-to-do and the poor alike is indicated by the fact that the whirls are made of the more expensive facinse as well as of the cheaper pottery and shell." *Mohenjo Dāro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 32.

9. J., VI, p. 41.

10. J., VI, p. 26-G. 105—'*Yathāpi tante vitate
Yam yam devyupavīyati
Apakkam hoti vetabbam.*'

Cf. *Rg Veda*, 2, 38, 4 "The weaver rolls her growing web together."

11. J., I, p. 356 (*tantavāya lāmakakamma*); IV, p. 475 (*pesakārā*).

12. J., VI, p. 276—G. 1197.

Allied to weaving is dyeing. Although no direct information can be gathered as to this undoubtedly an important industry, the variety of colours known to the *Jātakas*¹ and the mention of garments, rugs and curtains as dyed scarlet, orange and yellow and red, among others, should be sufficient to establish the fact.² Even an umbrella is said to have been red-coloured.³ Moreover the word “*Caṅgavāra*” occurring in a couple of *gāthās*⁴ and meaning dyer’s straining cloth⁵ should dispel any doubt that may be lurking in our minds as to this fact. The word *rajaka*, ordinarily meaning a washerman and occurring in a *gāthā*,⁶ should also include a dyer. One *Jātaka* actually indicates the existence of coloured clothes in the dyers’ street—*rajaka-vīthi*.⁷

Together with this we may mention the tailoring industry which must have existed, and that in quite a flourishing state, as the use of clothes is no where scanty;⁸ tailors were called the *tunnakāras*.

We may well believe, then, that for clothing India was self-sufficient and had not to depend on the sweet will of other countries. Not only this, but the production from the weaving industry of the country was probably such as could supply a commodity for the export trade of India in those days.

The country, being predominantly an agricultural one, as we saw, FOOD AND we may, as a matter of course, expect her to supply her PASTRY AND BREWING. sons with all the necessary food-stuffs.

The production of salt was very important, in as much as it could be produced in any quantity from the water of the sea. And there were salt makers—*lonakāras*—who also prepared salt by boiling the salt-water.⁹

Fish and meat (*macchamamsa*) were obtained in abundance and had a flourishing market¹⁰ as we have already seen. Meat was also dried and preserved.¹¹ Slaughter-houses (*sūnā*) were common.

The manufacturing industries connected with food-grains are rice-hulling, wheat and millet-milling and bakeries. There were indeed no flour mills, but the flour must have been prepared at home by means of grinding-stones which can be seen even now in almost all the villages.

1. J., VI, p. 279-GG. 1223-6. The colours named are white (*seta*) dark-blue (*nīla*), brown (*piṅgala*) yellow (*halidda*), golden (*sovaṇṇa*), silvery, (*rajatamaya*), red (*ratta*, *indagopa*), black (*kāli*) madder-like (*mañjetṭha*) etc.

2. J., I, p. 449; IV, p. 258—G. 119. 340; V, p. 211.

3. J., VI, p. 218-G. 934—‘*Jambonadam chattam*’.

4. J., V, p. 186-GG. 219-20.

5. See Rhys Davids, *Questions of King Milinda*, II, p. 278.

6. J., VI, p. 276-G. 1197.

7. J., IV, p. 81.

8. J., IV, pp. 24, 38; VI, p. 364.

9. J., VI, p. 206-G. 889.

10. J., I, p. 478, II, p. 362; III, 49; V, p. 458; VI, pp. 62, 72.

11. J., III, 100, 378; VI, p. 62, 111—G. 469; 276-G 1196; 334.



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produce, as has already been pointed out.¹ Washen rubies are known.² Cucumbers of gold are said to have been sold.³ Gold ornaments were set with gems, the art of cutting and polishing of which was known.⁴ Bead and gem necklaces are mentioned.⁵

Among a large variety of golden and other precious ornaments prepared and worn were bracelets, (*hatthaththaraṇa*), rings (*muddikā*) necklaces (*mālā*), earrings (*Kuṇḍala*), waistbands (*mekhalā*) anklets (*kāyūra*), hair-pins, frontlet pieces, zones (*bandhanam*) crests for the turbans (*cūlāmaṇi*).⁶

Trade in ornaments was extensive enough to permit of specialisation of particular kinds of ornaments. For instance, we read of a man who made ornaments for the head.⁷ Ornaments were made not only for men but also for animals, as we often notice kings fond of adoring their elephants and horses with finery, such as gold, trappings, girths and network of gold.⁸

The rich and the kings used golden vessels for eating and drinking “though not so exclusively, perhaps, as the stories suggest.”⁹

The art of inlaying must have been known; chairs and bed-steads and thrones used by kings were inlaid with gold, as were also the royal cars.¹⁰

The description of a celestial car would make the inference tenable that relief-work was also practised.¹¹ Another interesting feature of gold industry was the preparation of mirrors (*ādāsa*) by giving fine polish to the surface of the metal.¹² Golden plates were used for inscriptions of messages or sayings of importance.¹³

Silver (*rajata*) is also frequently mentioned. Silver dishes were used for eating.¹⁴

OTHER METALS. The word *Kammāra*, though it may mean a worker in any metal thus corresponding to the English word “Smith,” should properly refer to “Blacksmith,” so far as our stories are concerned. For we have distinct mention of *Suvaṇṇakāras* and *Maṇikāras*.¹⁵ These workers in metal supplied agriculture with ploughshares, spades and

1. On this see *Arthaśāstra*, II, 11.

2. J., I, p. 331.

3. J., I, p. 205.

4. J., IV, pp. 233, 256 (*sumajjitamaṇi*). V, p. 453.

5. J., I, p. 385; VI, p. 340.

6. J., I, p. 134; II, pp. 122, 373. III, pp. 153-G, 1; 377-G.(?); IV, pp. 60-GG. 99; 298; 422; 493; V, pp. 202-G. 29-32; 215-GG. 64, 66, 69; 259-G, 54; 297-G. 14-8; 302-G. 41; 400-G. 241; 438; VI, p. 164; pp. 144-G. 647 217-G. 932. 238-G. 1068; 283-G. 1232; 456-G. 1616; 510-G. 1889; 590-GG. 2443-7. Cf *Acārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 2, 1, 11.

7. J., II, p. 191.

8. J., II, pp. 48, -G 25; 143; IV, pp. 393, 403-4; V, pp. 258-G. 43; VI, pp. 487-8.

9. J., I, pp. 111, 266; II, pp. 90, 371; III, pp. 10, 277; IV, pp. 384; VI p. 39, 510.

10. J., I, p. 486; III, pp. 375, (*suvaṇṇakhacitam*) V, p. 204; IV, p. 422; VI, pp. 231-G. 1020 (*suvaṇṇavikate*) 580-G. 2382.

11. J., V, pp. 204; 408.

12. J., II, p. 297; IV, pp. 7, 270, 335, 448; V, pp. 59, 66.

13. J., V, p. 125; VI, pp. 305, 308, 403.

14. J., IV, pp. 107-8; VI, p. 510-G. 1884.

15. J., VI, p. 276-G 1197.

similar implements.¹ Iron posts and chains are also mentioned.² Household materials such as pots, pans, and bowls were prepared of copper and brass (*tamba : kaṇṣa*) and bronze³ so that amalgamation of metals was known and practised. Indeed there is a distinct reference to copper rust washed in some acid (*ambiladhotam viya tamba malam*).⁴ Iron was converted into steel and made into tools of various crafts such as axes, spades, hangers, hammers, saws and chisels, pegs, forks, iron-staffs, barber's tongs, and so on.⁵ Various weapons of war and coats of mail were also prepared on a large scale.⁶ But they also did finer and delicate work, for instance in the shape of fine needles (*sūci*) of great lightness and sharpness⁷ and strings of musical instruments (*tanti*).⁸ There is a fine description—and a minute one—of an *usukāra* or the maker of arrows who heats a piece of steel in a pan of coals (*aṅgārakapalle*) and wets it with some sour rice-gruel (*Kaṇṇjikenā*) and then, closing one eye and looking with the other sideways, makes the arrow straight.⁹

The anvil (*adhikaraṇiya*) and the pincers of the smith are mentioned.¹⁰ And thus the furnace of a smith (*ukkā*) is described :

“As the smith's fire burns inwardly

And is not seen inside....”¹¹

The smith's trade was quite an extensive one, as we find special villages of smiths (*kammāragāmas*).¹² The *Aṅgārikas* were probably the same as the metal-workers or smiths.¹³

Ivory-work was, as it still is, a very important industry. There used to be special quarters in a city (*Dantakāravīthi*), where the ivory-workers lived and carried on their industry or rather handicraft.¹⁴ They made a number of small articles of “diverse form and shapes, bangles and all manner of trinkets,”¹⁵ and they also prepared costly carvings and ornaments, handles for mirrors and inlayings in royal chariots.¹⁶ Elephants were slain for their tusks, but a living elephant's tusk was

1. J., I, pp. 247, 312, 464 ; II, pp. 59, 241, 405 ; III, pp. 224, 281, 285.

2. J., IV, p. 83 (*ayanāṅgala : ayasaṅkhalikā*).

3. J., I, pp. 111, 247, 464 ; III, pp. 281, 285 ; IV, p. 107-G. 42 ; V, pp. 45.

4. J., V, p. 95.

5. J., V, p. 45 : *Vāsipharasu-kuddāla-nikhādāna-muṭṭhika-velugumbhachedana-satthi-tiṇalāyana-asi-lohadanda-khānuka-ayasiṃaghātaka*.

6. *Supra*, pp. 171-2.

7. J., I, p. 111 ; III, p. 282, and G. 84-5 :

“Quickly threaded, smooth and straight. Polished with emery sharp of point and delicate....”

8. J., II, p. 249.

9. J., I, p. 66. The scene is represented on a Barhut railing.

10. J., I, p. 223, II, p. 342.

11. J., VI, pp. 189-G. 825 ; 437-G. 1511 ; “*kammārāṇaṃ yathā ukkā anto jhāyanti no bahim*.”

12. J., III, pp. 281 ff. GG. 86-88.

13. J., VI, p. 206-G. 889.

14. J., I, p. 320 ; II, p. 197.

15. *Ibid*.

16. J., V, p. 302-G. 37 ; VI, p. 223, G. 964.

considered worth a great deal more than a dead one's.¹ The ivory-workman prepared things by means of a kind of saw (*kharakakaca*).²

POTTERY. The potters (*Kumbhakāras*) made various kinds of bowls, jars and vessels, small and big, used even in palaces.³ They lived, for the most part outside the city or village,⁴ but their wares were sold in the bazar.⁵ The potter used to bring cow-dung and clay.⁶ The usual way of his work was this: Lumps of clay (*mattikā*) were kneaded with water and then mixed with ashes and dung (*gomaya*), the mixture was placed on a wheel (*cakka*) which was constantly turned (*avijjhi*), and various vessels were moulded by the skilful hands. The wet vessels were then dried and baked (*sukkhāpetvā: pacitvā*) and made ready for consumption.⁷ Some carried their craft to a higher crafts-manship and skill, for we read of figured pottery (*nānārūpāṇi samutthāpesi*).⁸ The potter's art still is a matter of pride for India.⁹

BUILDING INDUSTRIES: MASONRY. *Vaḍḍhaki* is a word which is used in these stories both for a wood-worker and a stone-worker. It should, therefore, mean a builder, either in wood or stone. Similarly, the *pāsāṇakottaka* or the stone-cutter,¹⁰ the *iṭṭhakavaḍḍhaki* or the worker in bricks¹¹ and the *gahapatisippakāra* or the clod-hopper¹² probably refer to one and the same worker, namely the mason.

The workers in stone were probably employed to lay foundations of buildings and parks and to build bathing ghats and flights of steps to rivers and tanks.¹³ The ordinary stone-cutter is seen building houses with the ruined material of a former *gāma*, and also hollowing a cavity in a crystal as a cage for a mouse.¹⁴ The master-builders—*mahāvaḍḍhakis*—worked more elaborately. They levelled the ground and cut posts and spread out the measuring line.¹⁵ Here the two works—in stone and in wood—probably combined in one. The more durable buildings were built of bricks and mud (*iṭṭhaka*:

1. J., I, p. 32. II, p. 197; V, pp. 45, 49; VI, pp. 61-G. 269 (*nāgo dantehi haññate*) I, p. 321.

2. J., I, p. 321; VI, p. 261.

3. J., I, pp. 205; II, p. 89; III, pp. 368, 376, 385, 508; V, p. 291; VI, p. 52.

4. J., II, p. 80; III, p. 376; Cf. *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 106.

5. J., VI, p. 52.

6. J., II, p. 80; III, pp. 385, 508.

7. J., V, p. 291. See for a similar description *Uvāsagadasāo*, pp. 115 ff.

8. J., V, p. 291; perhaps they also made toys of various figures; See J., VI, pp. 6, 12, 550-3.

9. Sir George Birdwood, after an illuminating and a detailed description of the Indian village Potter, says in conclusion: "...and there, at his daily work, has sat the hereditary village potter amid all these shocks and changes, steadfast and unchangeable for 3000 years, Macedonian, Mongal, Maratha, Portuguese, English, French, and Dane of no more account to him than the broken pot shreds lying round his wheel."—*Industrial Arts of India*, quoted by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Indian Craftsman*; p. 100.

10. J., I, p. 478.

11. J., VI, p. 333.

12. J., VI, p. 438.

13. J., I, pp. 343, 478; III, pp. 257; 283, 416. IV, pp. 323, 492; V, pp. 233; 284; VI, pp. 161; 213-G. 921; 332-4; 344-5; 429.

14. J., I, p. 470.

15. J., VI, p. 332; "*bhūmiṇ samam kārāpetvā khānūke kottetvā suttam pasāresi; kālasut-tam* J., IV, p. 344.



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As to fuel, we find that dung, mostly cowdung, and wood gathered from the forests, were used for fuel almost everywhere.¹

The rush-workers (*Nalakāras* : *Velakāras*) often went and worked in the forest, where they could find their raw-material, bamboo among others.² They cut the bamboos with their knives (*satti*) and made bundles of them.³ With this branch of industry were also associated lute-making, basket-making, rope-weaving and mat-weaving.⁴ Other products of the same industry were palm-leaf-fans (*tālavantam* : *vālavījanam*) and leaf sunshades (*pañnachattakam*).⁵ Their skill and workmanship are seen in a description of a palm-leaf-fan, on which a white umbrella was depicted and, with a banquet-hall as the subject (*vatthu*), among a variety of other forms, was represented a standing figure of a beautiful queen.⁶

Among the miscellaneous industries, may be mentioned the dye-producing work. This was probably done from leaves like those of *haritāla* and from vermillion (*hiṅgulaka*).⁷ Preparation of lac-juice (*lakkhārasa*) was also an important industry,⁸ as it was largely consumed by the ladies in adorning their hands and feet.⁹ Various kinds of drugs must also have been prepared, of course from vegetables and such other ingredients, and the science of medicine was highly developed.¹⁰ An instance of a dead body laid in a coffin (*ḍaṇḍi*) and embalmed with oil and ointment (*telakalale pakkhipāpetvā*) and preserved safely,¹¹ gives us an idea of the existence of some kind of chemicals.

Leather-industry was evidently progressive. The *Rathakāra*¹² or the cobbler manufactured quite a large variety of things. He prepared shoes of various qualities,¹³ shields of a hundred layers, leather-bags and sacks, ropes and straps and also parachutes (*chatta*).¹⁴ He could supply royalty with shoes richly wrought with varied thread.¹⁵

Flowers were grown in large quantity, as we saw, and were gathered and brought to the garland-makers (*mālākāras*) who made beautiful garlands and bouquets with them.¹⁵ Perfumes and essential oils were also prepared. Sandal-wood, specially the *kāsikacandana*, was the chief raw material and also a finished product

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1. J., V, p. 246. VI, p. 508.
 2. J., II, p. 302.
 3. J., IV, p. 251.
 4. J., I, pp. 290-1, 338 ; II, p. 302 ; IV, pp. 251, 318 . VI, pp. 341, 370.
 5. J., III, pp. 79, 283 ; V, p. 291 ; VI, p. 218-G. 935.
 6. J., V, pp. 291-2 “*tālavantam katvā tattheva setacchattam āpānabhūmiṇ ca vatthum gahetvā thitam Pabhāvatīṇ ca, ti nānārūpāṇi dasseti.*”
 7. J., V, p. 416.
 8. J., I, pp. 179, 319; III, p. 41 ; 183 ; IV, p. 256 . VI, p. 53.
 9. J., III, p. 183 ; IV, p. 256; VI, p. 218. G. 941.
 10. J., I, pp. 272-G. 53; Cf. *Infra*. Chapter on Arts and Sciences.
 11. J., II, p. 155.
 12. J., VI, p. 142-G. 636; Cf. Fick. *op. cit.* pp. 86, n. ; 326.
 13. J., I, p. 175 ; II, p. 153. III, pp. 79 116; IV p. 172. V, pp. 45, 47, 106, 375-G. 140 ; VI, pp. 51, 431, 454.
 14. J., IV, p. 379 ; VI, pp. 218-G 944—*citrā sukatā citrasibbanā* ; 368.
 15. J., I, pp. 95, 120 (*pupphārāmas*); II, p. 321, IV, p. 82. VI. p. 276-G. 1197.

in itself.¹ Sandal-wood-powder (*cunṇa*) and oil were manufactured.² There were several kinds of perfumes,³ the prominent among them being that prepared from the *piyaṅgu* flowers.⁴ There used to be manufactured a rich perfume called the *Sabbasaṃhāraka*, compounded of many different scents.⁵ *Agaru* and *tagara* were commonly used for scenting purposes.⁶ Perfumes and various other scented articles were sold in the market, and the seller, the *gandhika* as he is called, was an expert in his profession, could make out what perfume a particular thing scented of.⁷ India has always been famous for its scents—*attars*.

The foregoing discussion has shown that people used to live by the OTHER plough, by herds, and by merchandise,⁸ and usury is also OCCUPATIONS. added to the list.⁹

The various crafts and manufacturing-works which we have hitherto noticed and discussed, were such in which the utilities produced by labour were fixed and embodied in outward or material objects. A substantial portion of labour was, however, spent in occupations where the utilities were fixed and embodied in human beings (or animals) or consisted in a mere service rendered.¹⁰ These latter, though perhaps out of place here, must be studied, in order to have a complete grasp of the subject.

There were, first of all, the teachers (*ācariyas*) who gave lessons in the three *Vedas* and other sciences (*tayo vedā sippāni ca*).¹¹ The Physicians (*tikicchakā*) carried sacks upon their backs, root-filled and fastened tight, whose stock-in-trade were healing herbs and magic spells.¹² Surgeons (*vejje*) there were also, who could fit a man, who might need it, with a false tip to his nose, which was cunningly painted for all the world like a real nose¹³ or who could, with a masterly skill, take out eyes from the sockets of a person.¹⁴ The *vatthuvijjācariyas* were men 'who were skilled in the lore which tells what are good sites for a building.'¹⁵ The *lakṣhaṇapāṭhakas* were those who were well-versed in *aṅgavijjā* or the science of prognostication from marks on the body, chiromantics, palmistry etc.;¹⁶ and there were others, the fortune-tellers—*nemittā*—who read future from the study of the constellations and the move-

1. J., I, p. 331; V, p. 302-G. 40.

2. J., I, pp. 129, 238; II, p. 373. IV, p. 82; VI, p. 336.

3. J., VI, pp. 265, 290.

4. J., VI, p. 336.

5. *Ibid.* G. (?).

6. J., VI, pp. 530-G. 2025. 535-G. 2074; 537-G. 2091.

7. J., I, p. 290—*Gandha-dhūpa-Cunṇa-kappurādini*; IV, p. 82; VI, p. 336.

8. J., II, p. 347-G-?; V, p. 156-G. 116.

9. J., IV, p. 422-G, 112—'*Kasi vāṇijja inadānam uñchācariyā....*' Kaṭṭiya has also a similar list—'*Kṛṣi paśupālye vāṇijye ca vārttā*'. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 4; *Kusīda* or usury is added later on e.g., by *Śukra*, I, 311; *Gautama*, xi, 21; for the fifteen ways of living—*karmādāna*—see *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 20.

10. Cf. Mill, quoted by Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Rangaswami, *op. cit.*, 86.

11. J., II, p. 137 etc., See *infra*, chapter on Education.

12. J., IV, p. 361—G. 227.

13. J., I, p. 455; also II, p. 213; III, p. 202.

14. J., IV, p. 407.

15. J., II, p. 297; IV, p. 323.

16. J., I, pp. 272-290; II, pp. 21, 194; 200; 250; III; pp. 122, 158, 215; IV, p. 335; V, 211, 458.

ments of the astral bodies.¹ Some plied their trade of doctoring for the devil-stricken people (*bhūtavejjā*)² and others, with the help of *cintāmaṇivijjā*, successfully traced out the foot-steps of the absconders.³ The *paṇḍitas* and the poets (*kabbakārā*) composed and recited their poetry (*gītā*) and were richly paid for it.⁴ The snake-charmers (*ahigunṭhikā*), who were clever in catching snakes, specially with the help of a tricky monkey,⁵ earned their livelihood by exhibiting their power and command over the snakes.⁶ Similar, and equally servile, occupations were those of a mongoose-tamer (*koṇḍadamako*)⁷ and others who lived on various charms and incantations.⁸

There were musicians (*gandhabbā*) who lived by practice of their art;⁹ so, also the drummers (*bherīvādakā*) and the conch-blowers (*saṅkhaḍhamakā*) earned their living by playing on their respective instruments at public festivities—to the crowds of holiday-makers.¹⁰ Then there were the actors and dancers (*naṭanattakā*) who, by the performance of their respective arts, somehow, gained their bread.¹¹ And the itinerant jugglers and acrobats (*māyākārās*) who knew the 'javelin dance'¹² and exhibited a wooden puppet worked by hand,¹³ would roll about and play on the ground¹⁴ and, by such other slight performances, catered for the amusements of the crowd and got their living thereby.¹⁵ All those who were occupied in these, more or less parasitic, arts, formed what Fick would like to call a "multiform and chaotic society which resists more or less every attempt at classification and about which there can be no talk of an organization according to castes in that age."¹⁶

II

LABOUR

During the foregoing discussion on the production of wealth, we have already dealt with one of its factors, *viz.*, land. Let us now speak something about the remaining ones.

We take up labour. While considering this aspect of production we have to deal with a variety of details, as for instance, the extent, efficiency, and the nature of labour.

1. J., II, p. 427 ; IV, pp. 79, 230-1 ; V, p. 476.

2. J., III, p. 511.

3. J., III, p. 504.

4. J., III, p. 216 ; VI, pp. 353, 410 ; 484: 5 ; III, p. 349-G. 53.

5. J., III, p. 198 and G. 75 "our living to thy tricks we owe." Cf. J., IV, p. 310-G. 89.

6. J., I, p. 370 ; II, p. 429 ; III, p. 348 ; IV, p. 457 ; VI, pp. 184-6.

7. J., IV, p. 389.

8. Besides those mentioned before, we have notice of other charms—*mantras*—which gained livelihood for their possessors ; see J., I, pp. 211, 253, 334, 371, 455 ; II, p. 243.

9. J., I, pp. 384 ; II, p. 250.

10. J., I, pp. 283-4.

11. J., II, p. 167 ; III, pp. 62 ; 507 ; IV, p. 324. VI, p. 91.

12. J., I, 430.

13. J., V, p. 16.

14. J., II, p. 142.

15. J., I, p. 430 ; II, p. 431 ; IV, p. 495.

16. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 286.



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parable friend of a rich young *seṭṭhi*.¹ A pious farmer and his son, without much ado, turned to rush-weaving.² Similarly a young man of good family, but of reduced circumstances (*duggata kulaputta*), starting on his career by selling a dead mouse for cat's meat at a farthing, then turning his capital and labour to every variety of job, finally bought up a ship's cargo with his signet-ring pledged as security, and won both a profit of 200 per cent and the hand of the *Seṭṭhi*'s daughter.³ We have also an instance of the whole village of wood-workers being removed and located in another place,⁴ without even a hint of social barriers. Thus the mobility of labour, both from place to place and occupation to occupation, was rendered largely independent of status.⁵ Still we cannot forget that hereditary tendency was a prominent factor in the economic life of those days.

It is questionable whether, in spite of that hereditary skill in the workmanship, the people ever applied themselves to work seriously and with a view to improve their craft. It cannot be said with any certainty that the workman had the incentive, the impetus and enthusiasm for his work. Perhaps the few who were in the service of the ruling princes and the great lords, like the *rājakumbhakāra*,⁶ the *rāja-mālākāra*,⁷ the *rājupatṭhāka nalakāra*,⁸ or the tailor in the employ of a merchant, had some incentive to develop their craft.⁹ But Fick says: "the designation of these as court-purveyors seems to me to refer to a special position which raises them above their otherwise low or even despised rank."¹⁰ This low appreciation of the dignity of labour, of which we have many instances in the class of *hīnasippas* or the despised arts,¹¹ must have been a great drawback in the output of a good and efficient work, if it were not for the organizations which some of them were fortunate enough to possess.

It is of course needless for us to dwell on the character of labour as productive or unproductive. The large number of parasitical professions which existed in our *Jātaka*-society, as discussed above, show that a considerable portion of labour was clearly unproductive, though there is no such condemnation of labour in the stories themselves. But still the distinction between "high" (*Ukkatṭha*) and "low" (*hīna*) labour was recognized. All these workers,

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1. J., III, p. 48, ff.
 2. J., IV, p. 318.
 3. J., I, pp. 120 ff.
 4. J., IV, p. 150.
 5. See J., VI, p. 214-G. 929-30. "As householders (*ibbhā*), to gain livelihood, count all pursuits legitimate and good."
 6. J., I, p. 121; V, p. 290.
 7. J., V, p. 292.
 8. J., V, p. 291.
 9. J., IV, p. 24.
 10. *op. cit.*, p. 287. Individual craftsmen depending upon rich employers is a feudal trait. Cf. Marshall—"In Palermo there is a semi-feudal connection between artisans and their patrons, each carpenter or tailor has one or more large houses to which he looks for employment. And so long as he behaves himself fairly well, he is practically secure from competition." *Principles of Economics*, I, p. 688, note.
 11. Cf. Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 315 ff.

the hunters and the fishermen, the wood-workers and the potters, the barbers and the Sweepers come under the category of "low" classes. Through their professional work they fell into contempt.¹

For the most part, it seems, each workman was a separate unit and had to find his own raw material and sell the finished product of his labour, thus combining the labourer and the trader in himself. Thus the workman, as in medieval Europe, "was primarily a trader, his success depended as much on his shrewdness in trade as on his skill in industry."² The class of middlemen was therefore not known, except in some towns and cities where inland and foreign trade was carried on an extensive scale.

But this was true only in the case of those ordinary agricultural people with a little piece of land at their disposal and in HIRED LA-BOURERS. the petty manufacturers or artisans, who did not require any added labour.

There was still, mostly in towns and cities, the regular serving class, composed of all possible elements of the population differing in point of race and professional work. To this class belonged the hired-labourers and the slaves (*Dāsa-kammakaras*) who laboured for others in return of some payment (*bhataka*), whether in kind or in money.³ Let us first take up the hirelings or the wage-earners (*kammakaras: bhatakas*).

The nature of the work is not always specified. We read of a poor *gahapati* who supports himself and his mother by working for hire (*bhatim katvā*).⁴ In another instance, a young man, similarly, worked as a hired labourer.⁵ Not only men, but women also, old and young, used to get their living by working for hire.⁶ Of the specified labourer, we have mention of the workers on the farms. Every big land-owner, like the one in the *Sālikedāra Jātaka*,⁷ kept a number of day-labourers in his service. These farm-workers laboured from morning till evening.⁸ Some other workers used to live by carrying water (*udakabhatim katvā*).⁹ Similarly there must have been labourers in the service of every rich tradesman or manufacturer. The *bhatakas* of the *Sālikedāra Jātaka* were held responsible for any damage caused by their neglect.¹⁰

The majority of the working class plied on their profession of a labourer without ever aspiring to a higher state. This profession of a hired labourer, as that of the slave, was as much hereditary as any other occupation. The

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1. Cf. Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 322 ff.
 2. Cf. Seligman, *Economics*, p. 78, quoted by Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
 3. J., II, p. 139; III, pp. 129, 257; 326; 444; IV, pp. 50, 320; V, pp. 212; 293; VI, p. 360. Cf. *Rock Edict, IX, Dāsa—bhatakasī samyapaṭipati*;" *Arthaśāstra*, III, 13, 14; *Dīgha. Nikāya*, III, 190.1; *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, I, 25, 1.
 4. J., III, p. 325.
 5. J., II, p. 139.
 6. J., I, pp. 111, 475 (*paresaṃ bhatim katvā kiccheva jīvanti*); III, p. 446.
 7. J., IV, p. 277.
 8. J., III, p. 445; IV, p. 114.
 9. J., III, p. 446; *takkabhatim*; curd—selling?
 10. J., IV, p. 277.

Bodhisatta, reborn in a poor family (*daliddakulam*), works, when he is grown up, for hire at a *Setṭhi*'s.¹

What was the position of these hired labourers? It was not at all enviable. The agricultural labourer received the customary wages and many times in kind²—an usual phenomenon even to this day. And as to an ordinary labourer, too, he could not earn more than a *māsaka* or even half a *māsaka*, and in almost all instances of a hired-labourer, it is invariably mentioned that the wages he got were hardly sufficient for his maintenance.³ With such a low wage, it was simply impossible for the ordinary worker to raise himself to a higher position. “Born and bred in poverty, he bore his sad lot as a nature-necessity in order to leave it to his children as a legacy.”⁴ Perhaps, the cause of this cheapness of labour and low wages is to be found in the proverbial poverty of the people and also, to a certain extent, in the want of efficient organization of labour in ordinary life. The ideal was that “a man should always work for his interest in whose house he is fed.”⁵

The day-labourers were, perhaps, taken care of in the house of their master, though they did not live there but returned to their own lodgings in the evening.⁶ These houses, like the residencies of the poor (*duggatā*), were, most probably, outside the town or the city. The water-carrier, for instance, of the *Gaṅgamāla Jātaka*,⁷ lived with a poor woman who likewise maintained herself by carrying water, at the northern gate of Benares.

Thus the position of the hired workers was anything but happy. But they still enjoyed a certain freedom, if not happy living, in comparison with the slaves (*dāsā*) about whom we now will speak something.

Slavery was quite common in those days. “The slave or servant was an adjunct in all households able to command domestic service.”⁸ Both male and female slaves—*dāsa* and *dāsī*—flitter across the pages of the *Jātaka* stories. They were, for the most part, household or domestic servants,⁹ who resided in the family of the master and performed all sorts of household duties.

Four kinds of slaves are specifically mentioned: “Some are slaves from their mothers (*āmāyadāsā*), others are slaves driven by fear (*bhayapaṇunnā*); some come of their own will as slaves (*sayam upayānti*), others are slaves bought for money (*dhanena kītā*).”¹⁰ All these and some more types of slaves

1. J., III, pp. 406, 444.

2. *Kālānurūpaṃ*, as Kautilya would say—“Wages being previously unsettled, a cultivator shall obtain 1/10th of the crops grown....” *Arthaśāstra*, III, 13.

3. J., I, p. 475; III, pp. 325, 446.

4. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

5. J., VI, pp. 426-G. 1485—“*Yasseva ghare bhuñjeyya bhogaṃ tasseva attham puriso careyya.*”

6. J., III, p. 445—“*sabbe attano attano vasaṇaṭṭhānāni gatā.*”

7. J., III, p. 446.

8. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 205. Kautilya has a whole chapter on slavery: *Dāsakalpa*: *Arthaśāstra*, III, 13.

9. J., I, pp. 200, 225, 350 etc.

10. J., VI, p. 285—G. 1238. The Law enumerates 7 kinds of slaves: See *Manu*, VIII, 415, all of which are represented in our stories. Cf. also *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, 2, 1.



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the master over his slave seems, according to the prevailing custom, to have been absolute (*ayiro hi dāsassa janinda issaro*).¹

About the family of a Brāhmaṇa agriculturist, the *Uraga Jātaka* says: "With a female slave they composed a household of six, the Bodhisatta (Brāhmaṇa) and his wife, the son and daughter, the daughter-in-law and the female slave. They lived happily and affectionately together."² Thus the female slave was not considered as a different or outside person but one of the members of the household. A similar familiar relationship between the master and his female slave is pointed out in another *Jātaka* also.³ There the family-priest, whom the king asks to demand a boon, consults, besides the members of his family, also the slave Puṇṇā, what her desire is. And the slave-girl, humble as she is, desires a mortar, a pestle and a sieve.⁴ Prince Sutasoma is courteous enough to accept the words of his slave with due honour.⁵ Sometimes the slaves were permitted to learn reading and writing and handicrafts along with the sons of their masters.⁶ We also find that the slaves often enjoyed their master's confidence, and sometimes were even appointed as store-keepers or guards of the property of their masters.⁷

But all these are instances which reflect the mentality of the master who gives better treatment to his slaves as if only in charity. We may not be justified in our inference from the above-cited examples that the position of the slaves was happy and favourable. Nor can we be fully certain about their real position. For there are other instances which clearly speak of the miserable lot of these classes. The happiness and sufferings of the slave were linked up with those of his master: his weal and woe depended upon him, as the learned *Pandita* Vidhura testifies himself.⁸ Kaṭāhaka, who was appointed a store-keeper could not command any confidence in himself. He is constantly in fear of losing his higher status. He reflects: "I shall not always be kept at this work. The slightest fault, and I shall be beaten, imprisoned, branded, and fed on slave's fare."⁹ In another place, a female slave is thrown down at the door of the house and beaten with rope-ends by her master and mistress, because she could not bring home her wages.¹⁰ The pretty little girl Kanhā laments her unfortunate condition before her father: "As though I were a home-born slave, this Brahmin thrashes me."¹¹ These similes do indeed reflect the reality. Such is also the simile "like slave before his lord," given to show that repetition of pitiful words is not dignified.¹²

1. J., VI, p. 300-G. 1317.

2. J., III, p. 162.

3. J., II, p. 428.

4. *Ibid.*

5. J., V, pp. 485-6 G. 415.

6. J., I, p. 451.

7. *Ibid.*, I, p. 225.

8. J., VI, p. 285—G. 1238.

9. J., I, p. 451.

10. J., I, p. 402.

11. J., VI, p. 554—G. 2199—"latṭhiyā paṭikoteti ghare gatam va dāsiyam".

12. J., V, p. 257—G. 34—*dāso ayirassa santike*; *Dāsiputta* is a word of reproach: J., I, p. 225; IV, p. 41.

Slaves could be rightfully given away to another.¹ We have two instances of run-away slaves who were seeking opportunity to free themselves from the clutches of their masters.² We cannot say with any certainty whether the master had any right over the person of a female slave, though it was not impossible in that age.³ Slaves could regain freedom on payment⁴ or through voluntary manumission by the master.⁵

The work which the slaves had to do was of course manifold. The slave was ordinarily engaged in cooking,⁶ fetching water,⁷ pounding and drying rice,⁸ carrying food to, and watching, the field,⁹ giving alms¹⁰ ministering to the master when he retired,¹¹ or handing the plates and dishes, bringing the spittoon and fetching the fans during meals,¹² sweeping the yards and stables¹³ and such other duties.

III

CAPITAL

Coming to Capital we find that it was practically negligible. The producers, as we saw, had to supply themselves with tools made of metals or wooden implements easily available. The fact that cattle-breeding was carefully attended to in those times, and that cattle were considered as the best form of wealth, shows, that almost every cultivator had a pair of oxen to till his land. Large-scale production was unknown, and there could not exist any idea of what is now called the co-operative movement. And even the ordinary manufacturer got the necessary raw material mostly through barter, there being no need of investing capital for his work. The State took away a pretty heavy share of the national wealth in the form of taxes, rents, fines, cesses, *etc.*, which was squandered away to maintain a great number of parasitical professions at the Court. There is no trace of state-Capital being invested in productive concerns. Then the only other minority of the people who possessed capital was that of the rich tradesmen, the *Setthis* or the rich *Brāhmanas*, who are described as possessing 80 *koṭis*.¹⁴ These people also either spent their surplus over luxuries and unproductive purposes like alms-giving or hoarded the wealth,¹⁵ perhaps through fear of State-extractions or with a wish to save

1. J., VI, pp. 285-G. 1239 ; 575—G. 2343.

2. J., I, pp. 452, 458.

3. See N. C. Banerji in *Calcutta Review*, Aug. 1930, pp. 254-5

4. J., VI, p. 547-G. '*Bhujissa*'—a freed slave.

5. J., V, p. 313.

6. J., V, p. 105.

7. J., V, pp. 284, 413.

8. J., I, P. 484 ; III, p. 356.

9. J., III, p. 163 ; VI, p. 336.

10. J., IV, p. 67.

11. J., III, p. 101.

12. J., I, p. 453.

13. J., VI, p. 138-G. 606.

14. *Asitikotivibhavo* : J. I, pp. 349, 466, 478 ; III, pp. 128, 300, 444 ; IV, pp. 1, 7, 28, 237, 255 ; V, pp. 382 ;

15. J., I, pp. 225, 277, 323, 375, 423 ; II, pp. 308, 431 ; III, pp. 25, 116, 356 ; IV, pp. 7, 237, 256. Cf. *Uvāsagadasāo* (*Nihānapaṭṭāo*) p. 3.

it for the family, rather than invest in production. Thus there was a great lack of fluid capital for purposes of industrial development. This state of things remained for centuries together without much change.

IV

ORGANIZATION

It is highly remarkable indeed that, in spite of a comparatively lower stage of trading enterprises and lack of fluid Capital for the investment in industrial purposes, the economic life of this period evinces a higher state of co-operative activity and commercial or trading organization. Of course, the associative spirit, lending itself into formation of various associations for mutual assistance, due to a natural growth of civilization, to the instinct of self-preservation, goes back to very early times.¹ Economic groupings of various kinds are already known from *Vedic* times.² "The existence of trade associations," says Fick,³ "which grew partly for economical reasons better employment of capital, facilities of intercourse, partly for protecting the legal interests of their class, is surely to be traced to an early period of Indian Culture." The Law-books⁴ and the *Kautilīya*⁵ present a much more developed stage of this remarkable feature of the economic life of India. The culture-stage of the *Jātakas*, falling as it does midway between the *Vedic* and the strictly—Buddhist periods, embodies in itself the first beginnings, the formation and the process of development of the Merchant and Craft Guilds which, in later times, reached a high water-mark of organization, efficiency and importance, with their own laws, usages and officers.

As far as economic organizations were concerned there was, it seems, a clear-cut and well-marked-out difference between the traders and the merchants on the one hand, and the craftsmen or the artisans on the other. So that it will be better for us to deal with the organisations, in whatever forms they may be, of these two types of workers.

Our texts frequently⁶ make mention of the *Seṇiyo* (*skr. Śreṇayah*)—a term which has been generally accepted as standing for Guilds.⁷ But unfortunately they do not give us any clear idea as regards their character, their constitution or organization. It will appear, however, from what follows that these *seṇis* or guilds were particularly, if not solely, restricted to the craftsmen or the

CRAFT-
GUILDS

1. *Dictionary of Political Economy*, II, p. 209.

2. See R. K. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, (2nd edition); See *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 140, 471 ff.

3. *op. cit.*, p. 267.

4. Cf. Mazumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 24 ff.

5. *Arthaśāstra*, III, 14.

6. J., I, pp. 267, 314; IV, pp. 43, 411; VI, pp. 22; 427.

7. See Rangaswami, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9; 183.6



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of the liquor-shops.¹ So were the florists'² and the perfumers' bazars.³ These instances alone however do not give us anything which may go to justify our inference that the crafts therein mentioned were organized in some form of a union.

Some trades and crafts were followed outside the towns or cities, although mostly in their proximity. Amongst these the potter's craft seems to have been the most important. The *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*⁴ mentions a suburban village (*dvāragāma*) in the vicinity of Benares, inhabited by the potters. Similarly, "not far from Benares" as the *Alīnacitta Jātaka* says,⁵ "lay a carpenter's village (*vaddhakigāma*) which, as we have already noticed, provided a splendid example of co-operative work.⁶ Further instances of such settlements, places occupied only with particular branches of industry, are also to be found in the stories.⁷ These craftsmen's villages or settlements, in the immediate neighbourhood of a big city, could find an easy market for their products and could also supply themselves with their ordinary needs, such as clothes, foodstuffs, implements and the like, from the city. About one of such villages, that of the carpenters, we learn moreover that it contained a thousand families. These were divided into two parts of five hundred families, each under a head or a leader (*jetthaka*).⁸ This may or may not be taken to show that at times there existed more than one union of the same class of craftsmen in the same locality. Another interesting sidelight thrown by the same story on the organization of such unions is that the carpenters living in that village, failing once to carry out the orders placed before them for which they had received large advances, were harassed and summoned to fulfil their contract. But, instead of doing that, they built a mighty ship secretly, emigrated *en masse*, with their families, "slipping down the Ganges by night and so out to sea, till they reached a fertile island" where they ultimately settled.⁹ Such a mobility of guilds is also witnessed in the inscriptions of a later period.¹⁰

The craft-villages, not to speak of other homogenous villages that lay in the middle of the flat country, were much more remarkable. They formed themselves, naturally, into special markets for the whole country-side. Thus we read in the *Suci Jātaka*¹¹ that there were two smiths-villages (*Kammāra gāmas*) situated very near to each other, one of which is said to have comprised a thousand huts (*sahāssakuṭiko*). From the villages round about, people came there to have razors, axes, ploughshares, spikes, needles and other

1. J., I, pp. 121, 252, 269, 350 ; II, pp. 427, 431 ; IV, pp. 115, 223-G. 53 ; V, p. 13 ; VI, pp. 276-G. 1196 ; 328.

2. J., IV, p. 82.

3. *Ibid.*

4. J., III, p. 376.

5. J., II, p. 18.

6. *Supra*, p. 201.

7. J., II, p. 405 ; IV, pp. 159, 207, 344.

8. J., IV, p. 161.—"*Tasmin paṇa kulasahassee pañcannam pañcannam kulasatānam jetthakā dve vaddhaki ahesum.*"

9. J., IV, p. 159.

10. For instance, *The Indore Copper-plate Inscription of Skandagupta*. (465. A. D.)—G. I., No. 16.

11. J., III, p. 281 ff.

implement made (*vāsipharasu-phalupacanādikārāpanattham*). Similarly, the hunters villages (*neṣādagāmas*) on the Ganges or further afield supplied skins, ivory and the like.¹ “When one reflects,” so runs the talented reflection of Fick, “what a difficulty such a local isolation creates in the economical relations, one will see in these manufacturing villages, not a phenomenon of secondary importance, but a highly important factor and one that is characteristic of the physiognomy of the social life of that time. The power of traditional customs, which suit the spirit of the Indian people inclined to schematism, has created and maintained here a new impetus which is stronger than the practical need which obviously points to a variety of professions within the same common life. However much the origin of professional communities may have to be traced, as we have to do in the case of the Russian village communities, to the close relationship of the villagers with one another and to the equal right of all in the common property,² on the Indian soil the maintenance of such a remarkable institution seems to have been due principally to the inborn tendency towards organization, classification, schematism in the minds of the Indians. As the Brāhmaṇas worked together in villages in which foreign, especially lower, elements were not tolerated so, following their example, social groups united by community of profession, separated themselves from one another and helped to create the manifoldness of modern caste-life.”³ We cannot wholly agree to the learned scholar’s view, specially with regard to the ‘impetus’ for such unions, and the creation of caste-system. We are inclined to believe that it was the practical need, the natural instinct, more than anything else, which went to create such isolated village-unions.

Lastly there was the institution of the presidents (*pāmukhā*) or aldermen (*jeṭṭhakā*), which indicates the presence of a certain form of organization. We have instances of such aldermen in the case of smiths (*kammārajeṭṭhaka*).⁴ garlandmakers (*mālākārajeṭṭhaka*)⁵ and carpenters (*vaḍḍhakijeṭṭhaka*).⁶ We are not told anything about the power or the functions of the aldermen. Their offices were probably hereditary as all others in that period, though not strictly so. These leaders of the guilds are sometimes described as quite important persons, wealthy of course, and favourites at the Court. “The principal smith,” says for instance the *Suci Jātaka*,⁷ “was a favourite of the king, rich, and of great substance.” Nothing is given out as to how these presidents of the guilds were inter-related. One *Jātaka*,⁸ however, mentions an officer, the *Bhaṇḍāgārika* to wit, who was the supreme head or the judge of all the guilds, besides being the ‘treasurer,’ literally the “houser of goods.” The institution of such a post must have been the result of some quarrelling

1. J., II, p. 36 ; IV, pp. 413 ; V, p. 337 ; VI, p. 71.

2. Cf. Senart, *Les Castes dans l'Inde*, pp. 197, 229.

3. Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-3.

4. J., III, p. 281 ; V, p. 282.

5. J., III, p. 405.

6. J., IV, p. 161 ; VI, p. 332.

7. J., III, p. 281.

8. J., IV, p. 43—“*Sabbaseṇṇanam vicāraṇāraham Bhaṇḍāgārikaṭṭhānam*.”

among the guilds, as Mrs. Rhys Davids has suggested.¹ About the office of this *Bhandāgārika*, also we know very little. "It was not confined to the custody of moneys.... it is possible that it referred to a supervision of the goods made or dealt with by a guild or guilds and not only to the king's exchequer."²

The learner or the apprentice (*Antevāsika*) also appears in the stories.³ But no terms or conditions of pupillage are given.

Thus it would seem that some of the crafts, at least, were organized in some form or other. What were the regulations of work, rules of apprenticeship, control of the craftsmen, we do not know. Fick compares these organizations with the guilds of the Middle Ages in Europe.⁴

While the craft-guilds, thus, seem to have enjoyed, more or less, a permanent form of organization, the other unions, those of
MERCHANT-LEAGUES. the merchants and tradesmen (*vāṇijā*) were less so. These latter only seem to have had a temporary character. Although two of the characteristics or factors of an organisation, viz. hereditariness⁵ and the institution of an elder (*jeṭṭhaka*)⁶ are present also in these unions or combines, their permanent character is nowhere revealed.

"In individual branches of the tradesmen's profession, their small stability may be the reason why we do not read anything of a close organization."⁷ The frequently-mentioned petty tradesmen (*vāṇijā*) who cry out their wares in the streets of the city cannot of course be imagined to have belonged to any organization. The pedlar dealing in pots and pans sells his goods with the cry "buy water pots, buy water pots."⁸ Similarly another merchant (*vāṇija*) went about hawking his goods, which were carried on a donkey.⁹ So also the corn-dealers (*dhaññavāṇijā*)¹⁰ the green grocers (*pañṇikā*),¹¹ and such other petty tradesmen who appear in the stories do not seem to have formed any organization of their own. They plied on their trade in their individual capacity, unbounded by conditions of a common union, and fixing their own price.¹²

There are, however, certain indications here and there which would appear to show that there existed some sort of concerted commercial action on the part of the traders who carried on their more extensive trade on land and sea, thus forming something like occasional combines.

1. See J. R. A. S., 1901, p. 865; C. H. I., I, p. 206.

2. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 206-7.

3. J., I, p. 252; V, pp. 290 ff. Cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 84, 89.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 284.

5. For instance, J., I, pp. 98, 107, 120, 122; 312; II, pp. 64, 236, 287; III, p. 198; IV, p. 62. Cf. "The trade of the trader, dealer or middleman (*vāṇija*) may well have been largely hereditary." C. H. I. I, p. 210.

6. J., I, p. 25; II, pp. 295, 335; IV, pp. 137, 351—G. 179.

7. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

8. J., I, p. 111.

9. J., II, p. 109.

10. J., III, p. 198.

11. J., I, p. 312.

12. Cf. J., I, pp. 111-2.



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informs us that two merchants entered into partnership and took five hundred waggons of merchandise from Benares to the country-districts. Similarly we read in the *Mahāvāṇija Jātaka*¹ that a number of merchants went into a temporary partnership. Another, the *Serivāṇija Jātaka*,² also relates the story of two merchants trading in partnership. The *Gutṭila Jātaka*³ again indicates concerted action, in work and play. Also the horse-dealers, of whom we read so frequently⁴ as coming from the North and selling their horses, apparently carried on their business jointly. It is likely that the trading in company may have been undertaken to prevent mutual under-selling or the cornering of any wares.⁵

We do not know as to how the agreements among partners, if any, were drawn up.⁶ But there is at least room for inferring that there were some elementary principles for the partners to abide by as the legendary story in the *Kūṭavāṇija Jātaka*,⁷ already referred to, shows. It is related that two merchants called respectively the "Wise" and the "Wisest" entered into partnership and took 500 waggons of merchandise from Benares to the country-side, where they disposed off their wares, returning afterwards with the proceeds to the city. When the time for dividing came, the Wisest said, "I must have a double share." "Why so?" asked the Wise. "Because while you are only wise, I am the wisest. And Wise ought to have only one share to the Wisest's two." "But we both had an equal interest in the stock-in-trade and in the oxen and waggons. Why should you have two shares?" "Because I am Wisest." And so they talked away till they fell to quarrelling, until at last they made an equal division. This may be taken to show⁸ that, while it was recognised as a general principle that profits should be proportionate to the share one contributes to the stock-in-trade, the idea of awarding special share for greater skill in business was not altogether unknown.

What then was the position of the *Seṭṭhi* (mod. *Seth*) who constantly figures in the stories? Certainly, it was very high and respectable both in the Court and outside.⁹ The title *seṭṭhi* (*Śreṣṭhin*: Best: Chief) itself, rendered as "Treasurer" without much justification, may possibly imply headship or a representative character over some class of industry or trading.¹⁰ Fick is probably right in alluding to him as a representative of the Commercial Community.¹¹ The

1. J., IV, p. 350—1—G. 179.

2. J., I, p. 111.

3. J., II, p. 248; Cf. also I, p. 122.

4. J., II, p. 31, 287.

5. See J., I, pp. 99, 121, 194, 270, 354, 368, 413; II, pp. 109, 335; III, pp. 200; IV, p. 15 ff; V, pp. 22, 164.

6. The Law-giver Nārada says "Loss, expenses and profit of each partner are proportioned to the amount contributed by him towards the joint stock company." III, 1-9; C. H. I., I, p. 286.

7. J., I, p. 404 ff.

8. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

9. J., V, p. 382—"Rājāpūjito nagarajanapadapūjito."

10. The well-known *Seṭṭhi* of Rājagaha, Anāthapiṇḍika, the millionaire lay-supporter of the Buddha, had clearly some authority over his fellow-traders—See *Mahāvagga*, VIII 1, 16 ff.

11. *op. cit.*, pp. 259 ff.

word surely implied an office (*thāna*) held during life: it was hereditary.¹ He appears to have a double role—that of an official and a rich trader. In his official capacity he attends to the king (*rājupatṭkāna*) daily.² He takes formal permission of the king when he wants to renounce the world³ or give away his wealth to charity.⁴

But his part as a rich and influential merchant prince is much more pronounced than his part as an official. A *Setṭhi* living in Benares engages in trade and drives a caravan of five hundred waggons;⁵ also we find mention of *setṭhis* living in the provinces and in the country side.⁶ There also their wealth and influence are great. Leaving aside the conventional statement of his wealth as eight hundred millions (*asītikoṭivibhavo*)⁷ we find that the *setṭhis* had, in their possession, nice houses with gorgeous coaches, servants and herdsmen.⁸ Sometimes they also possessed rice-fields.⁹ It follows from this that “we have to look upon the *setṭhis* not only as tradesmen but also as cattle-rearing and land-cultivating owners of the soil”¹⁰ There might be a chief (*mahā*) *setṭhi* and an *anusetṭhi* or subordinate officer.¹¹

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1. J., I, pp. 122, 231, 248, 348; III, p. 475; IV, p. 62, V, p. 382.
 2. J., I, pp. 120-; 269, 349; III, pp. 119, 299; 475; IV, p. 63; V, p. 384.
 3. J., II, p. 64.
 4. J., V, p. 383.
 5. J., I, p. 270.
 6. J., I, p. 451; IV, pp. 37, 169.
 7. J., I, pp. 349; 466; III, pp. 128, 300, 444.
 8. J., I, p. 351.
 9. J., II, p. 378.
 10. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
 11. J., V, p. 384; Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 9.

CHAPTER II

DISTRIBUTION

IT IS THE DISTRIBUTION of produced wealth which has been the main guiding factor in the struggle for existence among the different members of the society, from times immemorial.

The fundamental problems in the economics of Distribution are the division of accumulated wealth between the various members of the community and of the annual income between its different members.

Though the stories often speak of persons of colossal wealth like the *Setṭhis* or the rich Brāhmaṇas, we will not be justified in holding, in general, that there existed startling inequalities in private property as they exist to-day. The extraordinary opulence of the kings, the *Setṭhis* or the rich Brāhmaṇas, was, perhaps, an exception, if not an imaginary thing. Big fortunes could not arise owing to the much simpler conditions prevailing in the economic life in those days. Very often all the factors of production were controlled by the same person (or persons) and, in such cases, all the shares of the produce practically went to him. Both in the case of peasant-proprietors and the small-scaled handicraftsmen, they supplied the labour as well as the small capital required, and were themselves the organisers. So, on the whole, the question of distribution does not appear to have been so acute or embarrassing as it did become at a later stage of the evolution of society. Still, however, the study of the various questions involved would reveal something which would not be described as harmonious or satisfactory.

The fundamental principles which govern the distribution of “national dividend” are two, *viz.*, “that each sharer should be remunerated on the principle of productivity, *i.e.*, according to the services rendered or the amount of utility created by its services, and secondly by basing remuneration on the personal and human needs of every member of the community.”¹ Let us see how far and in what manner these principles are applicable to the conditions prevailing in the *Jātaka*-period, as regards rent, wages, interest or profit.

The question of the ownership of land in Ancient India is very much disputed,² of course owing to the apparently contradictory statements and views contained in the literature of Ancient India. Our *Jātakas* do not at all bother about this problem. What they reveal is, as has already been noticed, that the right of individual property in land, implying the powers of use and alienation by way of sale,

1. Rangaswami, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

2. See *I. H. Q.*, II, pp. 198 ff.



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Thus, excepting the general share of the king, probably one-sixth of the gross produce, and barring occasional extractions by the tax-collectors, the whole of the produce was available for distribution among the toilers of the soil themselves.¹

We have already become familiar with the two types of labourers, the hirelings or the wage-earners and the slaves (*dāsakammakaras*).
 WAGES. The craftsmen were, so to say, self-reliant and independent labourers. The wages of a craftsman were the price for the article sold, which included all elements of expenses of production with which modern economic analysis has made us familiar.² Similarly, in the large majority of cases of peasant proprietors where no added labour was required, the wages, as we understand the term today, did not exist. In both the cases, the instruments of labour, as already stated—land, agricultural implements, the workshop, the tools—were the instruments of labour of single individuals, small and circumscribed. The producer was the labourer himself *i.e.*, there was no need to appropriate the product. The worker's property in the product was based upon his own labour. This was no wage—labour. And even where external help was used, it was, as a rule, of little importance and very generally was compensated by something other than wages. The domestic servants, the *dāsas*, of course, boarded and lodged with their employers. The assistants or apprentices to craftsmen worked less for board and wages than for education and training, in order that they might become master-craftsmen themselves.

This was the general rule. But society had far advanced from the pure primitive stage. Wage-labour had come to be recognised.³ We have seen labourers (*kammakaras : bhatakas*) working for wage, for hire. The labourers were hired on the farm.⁴ They were generally paid their wages in kind.⁵ The country being mainly agricultural, demand for hired labour on the farm was necessarily little, and consequently wages were low and non-progressive. They were not at all in proportion to the work done.

In the case of those other labourers who worked for hire, we find that the wages they received were hardly sufficient for their bare subsistence. The *māsaka* or one-fourth of a copper *paṇa* that the hired labourer received⁶ could

1. In those days, when competition did not devitalise man's labour, such institutions as peasant-proprietorship had a beneficent effect upon mankind. Remarks Prof. P. N. Banerjea : "The economic and moral value of the system of peasant-proprietorship is immense, and there can be no surer means of improving the condition of the Indian cultivator than to confer on him at least limited rights of property."—*op. cit.*, p. 131. The best way, however, seems in collectivising the land, as Russia shows.

2. J., II, p. 18. Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

3. Cf. these remarks of Frederick Engels, one of the foremost twin-propounders of Scientific Socialism: "...Wage-labour, which contains the whole capitalistic mode of production in embryo, is very ancient; in a sporadic, scattered form it existed for centuries alongside of slave-labour. But the embryo could duly develop into the capitalistic mode of production only when the necessary historical pre-conditions had been furnished."—*Socialism : Scientific and Utopian*, p. 53 n.

4. J., III, p. 445 ; IV, pp. 144, 277.

5. J., III, p. 446 ; V, p. 212.

6. J., I, p. 475 ; III, pp. 325, 446.

not have been sufficient for his happy living, even if the purchasing power of a copper *pana* was high, as is sometimes suggested.¹ At the most, it could supply the worker with a good meal, or a little garland or some drink. It is expressly and often mentioned with regard to the day-labourers: "he (or she) lived a hard life on workman's wages—(*bhatim katvā kiccena jīvati*)"²

There was of course no question of any connection between prices and wages. Wages were, more or less, fixed by custom.

Loans and usury are as old as the *Vedic* times and perhaps much older. *Rnam* or debt is repeatedly mentioned, from the INTEREST. *Rgveda* onwards, having apparently been a normal condition among the *Vedic* Indians;³ the Law-Books⁴ and the *Kautilīya*⁵ are of course much more elaborate on the subject.

The *Jātakas* also show that loans were common.⁶ In one story,⁷ there is a tolerant tone concerning the money-lender (*iṇāyika*): "a patron, in enabling a huntsman to better himself, names money-lending (*iṇadānam*), together with tillage, trade and harvesting as four honest callings." But the character of the money-lender, as profit-mongering, evading any legal or customary rate of interest, is also recognised, in as much as hypocritical ascetics are accused of practising this profession.⁸

But this is all general. We do not know as to how and under what circumstances money was lent and what the interest on that money was.⁹ The term which appears in the Law Books as usury—*vrddhi*, *vaḍḍhi*—is found,¹⁰ meaning profit or interest. The practice of borrowing money (*iṇamādāya: iṇam gaḥetvā*) seems to have been almost universal. That the rates of interest were high or that the creditor (*iṇāyika*) was intent on profit-mongering may be inferred from this unmistakable fact that the familiar figure of the embarrassed, even desperate debtor (*dhāraṇako*) flits across the pages of the *Jātakas*.¹¹ A bankrupt invites his creditors to bring their debt sheets (*iṇapaṇṇāni*: mod. *khuts*) for settlement, only to drown himself before their very eyes.¹² Another flies away to a forest,¹³ Anxieties of a debtor were indeed many. Freedom

1. Pran Nath, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-9.

2. J., I, pp. 421, 475; II, p. 139; III, pp. 180; 325; 406, 444, 446. Even to-day, the wage-worker's plight is anything but satisfactory: the average wage cannot be more than 3 annas *per diem* for the able-bodied 'unskilled' labourer, leaving aside some large Industrial towns and cities.

3. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 109-110.

4. See *C. H. I.*, I, pp. 287 ff; *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI, pp. 117 ff.

5. *Arthasāstra*, III, 11; Rangaswami, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.

6. J., I, p. 321; IV, pp. 45, 184-G. 53; 256; 280-G. 7-8; V, p. 116-G. 18. VI, pp. 178; 193-G. 840.

7. J., IV, p. 432 ff. G-112. Cf. *Gautama*, X. 6; XI, 21.

8. J., IV, p. 184-G. 53.

9. See for the rates of interest in the Law Books, *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI, pp. 117 ff; Rangaswami *op. cit.*, pp. 107 ff; *Arthasāstra*, III, 11. The rate may have ranged from 15 to 60 per cent. N. N. Law, *Ancient Hindu Polity* pp. 170 ff. This would point to a relative scarcity of loan capital.

10. J., VI, p. 18.

11. J., IV, pp. 45, 256; VI, pp. 178, 245-G. 1097.

12. J., IV, p. 256; Cf. *Milindapañho*, p. 131; *C. H. I.*, I, p. 218.

13. J., VI, p. 178.

from debts (*inamokkho*) was not easy, though desired.¹ Only a debts-freed man was considered fit for renunciation,² and that was the reason why it was felt necessary to debar any candidate who was a debtor from admission to the Buddhist *Saṅgha*.³ Sometimes the poor borrower, perhaps the cultivator or the small artisan, becomes heavily indebted, and the debt often runs through the life of the borrower and is inherited by his heirs (*pettikam inam*⁴) much in the same way as today.

There is very little to be said on this part in the shares of the dividend.

Agriculture, as a money-making process, has never been a
PROFITS. profitable business. And as to the manufactures also, we

have seen that they were on a very small scale and therefore could not possibly secure anything like a good profit. It is very difficult to trace out exactly from the stories that class of middlemen whom the economists call the *entrepreneur*. These men stand between the producer and the trader. They purchase wholesale the surplus produce from the producers and sell it to the petty businessmen. Perhaps the only men from the *Jātakas* who can correspond to these middle-men were the rich *Setṭhis* and the rich traders who travelled from place to place, both on land and sea. The daring youth of the *Cullaka-Setṭhi Jātaka*,⁵ buying off the whole of the ship's cargo and selling it off to different merchants of the city might be regarded as a typical *entrepreneur*. He snatched a heavy profit, indeed; the *Setṭhis*, and the *Vāṇijas* should also belong to this class of middlemen.

We can well see that the problem of Distribution was not at all an intricate one as it is today. The industries of the country, including agriculture, were small-scaled. And the factors of production, being very often controlled by the same person, all the shares would naturally go to him.⁶

1. J., IV, p. 280-GG. 7-8.

2. J., VI, p. 18—G. 44 “*Anaṇassa hi pabajjā evaṃ isihi vaṇṇitam.*”

3. *Mahāvagga*, 1, 46; See *C. H. I.*, I, p. 218.

4. J., VI, p. 193-G. 840.

5. J., I, pp. 120 ff.

6. The present-day inequitable distribution of wealth and its effects are thus generalised: “The unduly large share of the national dividend, possessed by the rich, produces in them grave faults of character and purpose which make them indifferent administrators of the capital without which labour is powerless. The unduly small share of the national dividend possessed by the poor is the source of a stream of moral and physical evils which mingling with the waters of death which descend from the high levels of luxury produce effects whose causation is only obscure as long as we neglect the study of the *Error of Distribution*!” *Money, Riches and Poverty*. p. 152.



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have mention at least of a high way from Benares to Ceti.¹ On this side, the route branched off to Rājagaha.² From Videha to Gandhāra was a very brisk traffic.³ It was largely by river, and must have passed through Benares. To reach Kāmpilla or further still to Indapatta from Mithilā,⁴ one must have had to follow up this route upto Payāga, and then sail up the river Ganges, while the Yamunā might carry him up to Madhurā. Further westward the journey would again be overland to Sindha, whence came large imports in horses and asses⁵ and to Sovira and its ports. Northward (*uttarā-patha*) lay the great trade-route connecting India with central and western Asia, by way of Taxila (Takkasilā) in Gandhāra near Rawalpindi and presumably also of Sāgala in the Panjāb.⁶ Now this was the route which passed through the great desert (*marukantāra*)—60 leagues wide⁷—probably the sandy desert of Rājputānā—of which we read so often. Caravans crossed this desert day in and day out. “The tradesman,” says Fick,⁸ “who goes about the country with his caravan is in fact a typical figure in our narratives and, according to the statements in these, caravan traffic cannot have been small, either with regard to the distance traversed or with regard to wares carried.” Thus we see that big trade-routes, through rivers and deserts, crossed the land in all directions and carried on an exchange of goods (*bhaṇḍam*) between the several and widely different parts of India.

..... So much for the inland and overland trade.

As regards riverine traffic and sea-trade also, we have some notices. “The plentifulness of great navigable waterways in Northern India allows us to assume an early development of internal maritime trade.”⁹ Well-known sea-ports like Bharukaccha (Broach)¹⁰ and the sea-board of Sovira,¹¹ on the west and Kāvīrapaṭṭana,¹² and the less-known ones like Karambiya,¹³ Gambhīra¹⁴ and Seriva¹⁵ on the south and east are mentioned. Suppāraka might

1. J., I, pp. 253-4. Probably this route from Benares to Ujjenī met at Kosambī the great ‘North to South-West Road’ from Sāvattihī to Patitṭhāna, given in the *Sutta Nipāta* verses 1011-3—Sāvattihī, Sāketa, Kosambī Vedisā, Gonaddha, Ujjenī, Māhissatī and Patitṭhāna. See *Buddhist India*, p. 103. From Ujjenī to Rājagaha the way lay through Kosambī—*Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 27. From Māhissatī to Bharukaccha was an easy way along the Narmadā.

2. J., I, p. 466.

3. J., III, p. 365.

4. J., VI, p. 447.

5. J., I, pp. 124, 178, 181; II, pp. 31, 287; V, pp. 259-60; VI, p. 265.

6. C. H. I. I., p. 214. We cannot say by which route the 100 league distance between Sāgala and Kusāvati, if this be true, was traversed by Kusa, J., V, p. 290.

7. J., I, pp. 99, 108. (*Satthiyojanakam marukantaram*.)

8. *op. cit.*, p. 272. According to the *Tibetan Tales*, p. 99, Jivaka’s journey from Takkasilā to Rājagaha lay through Bhadrāmkara city, Udumbara city, Rohitaka land, Mathurā city, Yamunā river and Vaiśālī city, corresponding more or less to the outline drawn above.

9. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

10. J., III, pp. 126-7, 188, 190-G. 57; IV, pp. 137-42.

11. J., III, p. 470.

12. J., IV, p. 238. See Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 1800 years ago* quoted by Subbarao *op. cit.*, p. 81, ff.

13. J., V, p. 75.

14. J., I, p. 239.

15. J., I, p. 111. It is presumed that this *Seriva* is identical with the *Seriyāputa* mentioned in a votive label on the Barhut Stūpa, See Barua, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 32, 130.

also be added to the list.¹ The great rivers served as commercial routes and royal roads connected the important cities. Thus it was practicable to reach any of these ports, from inland towns like Campā and even Benares, as we have seen. A brisk coastal trade must also have been maintained between the sea-port towns themselves.²

And as to the sea-faring activities of the people of that age there cannot be a shadow of doubt.³ We have ample references, however meagre the details may be, to show that brisk trade was carried on between India and the neighbouring countries, on the west and the east.

In the *Valāhassa-Jātaka*,⁴ which reminds us of the sirens and other akin creatures, we are told the fate of five hundred ship-wrecked traders, who fall in the hands of she-goblins (*yakkhiṇīs*) in Tambapaṇṇi or Ceylon. Again in the *San̥kha Jātaka*⁵ we have a figure of a ship-wrecked man on a voyage from Benares to Suvāṇṇabhūmi or Lower Burma in search of wealth. In the *Silan̥samsa Jātaka*⁶ we see a sea-faring nymph as helmsman bringing ship-wrecked people from off the sea to Benares by river.

Similarly we hear, in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*,⁷ of merchants who sailed from Campā bound for Suvāṇṇabhūmi, the great trading centre, to which traders even from Bharukaccha⁸ went, doubtless putting in at a Ceylon (Tambapaṇṇi) port: for Ceylon was another bourne of oversea commerce, and one associated with ports around which Odyssean legends had grown up.⁹ The now well-known *Baveru-Jātaka*¹⁰ undoubtedly points out to the existence of commercial intercourse between India and Babylon through the Persian Gulf. But the most important of all these is the *Suppāraka Jātaka*¹¹ which records, though in the usual mystic manner, the perilous adventures on the high seas undergone by a company of traders who sailed from the seaport town of Bharukaccha, in a vessel under the pilotage of a blind but accomplished mariner. The story gives the names of some of the sea-points through which the traders passed. They were in succession as follows:

1. J., IV, pp. 138-42. Other references to unnamed *Paṭṭaṇagāmas* or sea-port towns are J., II, p. 103; IV, p. 16.

2. Cf. "The whole of the sea-board from Broach to Cape Comorin was studded with marts and emporia that served as warehouses for the products of the whole of India and poured from their ample stores commodities of various kinds into the markets of the west." P. V. Kane, in *Proceedings 1st Oriental Conference*, Poona, II, p. 365. The *Periplus* bears ample testimony to this.

3. See Kennedy, *The Early Commerce of India with Babylon*, (700-300 B.C.) J. R. A. S., 1898, pp. 241-88; Scoff, *The Periplus*, pp. 228 ff. Fick, also, doubts trading on the high seas, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

4. J., II, pp. 127 ff.

5. J., IV, pp. 15-7.

6. J., II, pp. 112-4.

7. J., VI, p. 34.

8. J., III, p. 188.

9. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 213.

10. J., III, p. 126 ff. On this *Jātaka*, see Bühler, *Origin of The Indian Alphabet*, p. 84.

11. J., IV, pp. 138-42. GG. 105-115.

(a) Khuramāla (b) Aggimāla (c) Dadhimāla (d) Nīlakṣamāla (e) Nalamāla and (f) Valābhāmukha. Now from the names and the description given in the *gāthās*, these are clearly identifiable respectively with (a) some portion of the Persian Gulf, perhaps touching the south-eastern end of Arabia (b) the Arabian coast near Aden or some portion of the Somali-land, (c) the Red Sea, (d) Nubia on the N. E. corner of Africa, (e) the canal joining the Red Sea with the Mediterranean and (f) the volcano-sea i.e., some portion of the Mediterranean Sea where volcanoes are still to be seen.¹ Thus it shows the whole sea-route from Broach up to the Mediterranean passing through the Persian, Arabian, and the Red Seas. The trade-relations of India with Babylon, Arabia, Egypt, Greece and South European countries on the Mediterranean are, thus, undeniable.²

What commodities were exported and imported³ or what exchanged inland we do not clearly know. Of the inland trade we are mostly told of five hundred waggons laden with valuable goods. Probably these loads (*bhaṇḍam*) contained cloths for which Benares was so famous. Once⁴ we read of rice, beams and other grains dropped by passing waggons. But, as pointed out by Subbarao,⁵ food-stuffs could hardly have entered in those days into the trade between distant places. The silken robes of Kāśī⁶ the woollen rugs of Gandhāra⁷ and the linen cloths of Koḍumbara (in the Punjab)⁸ must have been some of the exchangeable commodities. The needle-work and steelwork of Dasanṇa or the later Vidiśā (Bhilsa region in C. P.) was sufficiently famous to be distributed.⁹ Peacocks and birds must have been included.¹⁰ In general, "silks, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth and cutlery and armour, brocades, embroideries and rugs, perfumes and drugs, ivory and ivory-work, jewellery and gold" were no doubt "the main articles which the merchants dealt in."¹¹

It is essential, for the growth of trade and commerce especially, that there should be fairly developed means of rapid and cheap communication or transport. Of course, in those early days we cannot expect much more than carts drawn by animals on land, simple boats on rivers and well-constructed ships on the sea.

1. See Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., VI, p. 195; *Infra*. *Geographical Index* under corresponding Names.

2. See Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, pp. 82 ff.

3. On this and generally on the whole chapter, it would be worth while comparing Prof. Lassen's valuable treatise on the *History of Indian Commerce*: translated in J. B. O. R. S., X, pp. 229-316.

4. J., I, p. 429.

5. *op. cit.*, p. 80.

6. J., II, p. 443-G. 141; III, p. 10; V, p. 78-G. 230; VI, pp. 49-G. 194. 50-G, 225.

7. J., V, p. 500-G. 1796.

8. *Ibid* G. 1801.

9. J., III, p. 282 ff; p. 337 ff. G. 39.

10. J., III, p. 126 ff. *Cf. The Bible, Kings, X, 22.*

11. *Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India* pp. 98 ff; *cf. Mookerji, Indian shipping*, p. 82 ff. Lassen's *History*, *loc. cit.*



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to form a laager, with an awning spread overhead, and after an early meal used to sit in the shade all the day along. When the sun went down, they had their evening meal; and so soon as the ground became cool, they used to yoke their carts and move forward. Travelling on this desert was like voyaging over the sea: a desert-pilot (*thalaniyāmaka*) had to convey them over by knowledge of the stars.¹

And the way was often insecure. Organised bands of robbers, with shields on their shoulders and swords in hands, lay in wait for these tradesmen,² especially in the forest. And there were forest-people (*aṭavīmukhavāsi*) at the entrance who led the caravans through the dangerous places and were paid for.³

Indeed, the way was wearisome and the process slow. The carts were drawn by oxen and the broad rims of their wheels were protected by iron bands.⁴ These carts or waggon were the ordinary *Sakāṭas*.⁵ But there were cars of richer style, no doubt. The *ratha* or the *sukhayānaka* was drawn by horses. It had comfortable seats.⁶ Litters or *Sivikās* were used by the royalty and the wealthy.⁷

The great rivers did, no doubt, furnish means of communication and some facilities of transport. Of bridges we have no mention.⁸ There were fording places⁹ and the streams and water courses were crossed by means of boats.¹⁰ There were canoes (*ekadonīkanāvā*) also.¹¹ People made a living by conveying people and goods across the rivers.¹²

The maritime transport appears to have been greatly developed, though not devoid of its own dangers. As already noticed, sea-navigation was common. Voyages were mostly undertaken for purposes of trade by companies of merchants,¹³ though passengers were also taken up.¹⁴ The ships were built of wooden-planks (*dāruphalakāni*)¹⁵ and were dependent on wind (*eraka-vātayuttā*) for their onward journey.¹⁶ Shipbuilding was fairly advanced, as we have seen.¹⁷ As to the construction of the ships, we are told that besides the outer frame work, there used to be 3 masts (*kūpā*, mod. *Kuvāthambha*), cordage (*yottam*), sails (*sitam*), planks (*padarāni*) the oars and the rudders

1. J., I, pp. 107 ff.

2. J., IV, p. 185-G. 58, Cf. I, p. 283; II, p. 335, V, pp. 22, 422

3. J., V, pp. 22, 471.

4. J., IV, p. 210.

5. J., IV, pp. 207-8, 458.

6. J., I, pp. 175, 202; II, p. 339; III, p. 527; IV, pp. 207-8; 458; V, p. 164.

7. J., IV, p. 378; VI, pp. 500-G, 1797, 514-G. 1913.

8. But there was something like a causeway (*setu*) or raised dyke built over shoal water: *C. H. I.*, I, p. 214.

9. J., III, p. 230.

10. J., II, p. 423; III, p. 230; IV, pp. 234; 478.

11. J., IV, p. 456; V, p. 163; VI, p. 305; Cf. *Dhoni*.

12. J., I, p. 112; III, p. 230.

13. J., II, p. 129; IV, p. 142; V, p. 75.

14. J., II, p. 111; III, p. 188.

15. J., II, p. 111; IV, pp. 20-G. 32; VI, pp. 34, 427.

16. J., I, p. 239; II, p. 112; IV, p. 20-G. 32.

17. J., IV; p. 159; VI, p. 427.

(*phiyāritāni*) and anchors (*laṅkhāro*).¹ The pilot on board (*niyāmaka*) had the charge of the rudder and guided the ship.²

But there were serious dangers on the high seas. Does not the poor mother in one of our *Jātakas* say to her son, who is bent upon sailing to a far-off country, that "the sea has many dangers?"³ Our stories are full of shipwrecks, indeed. Sometimes the ship may be swallowed away by whirlpools (*voḥara*).⁴ But often the timber could not withstand the terrible force of their surging waves. There was a leakage. The men on board tried to bale the water clear.⁵ And still, when the planks gave way, water rose and the ship began to sink, the crew invoked the gods.⁶ The prayers unavailing, they had to catch hold of the planks to be carried wherever their fate liked, to unknown and dangerous places.⁷

It is interesting to notice, *en passant*, that the Indian mariners like the sea-faring Phoenicians and Babylonians of Ancient times, employed the shore-sighting birds (*disākāka*) for finding the direction of land during navigation.⁸

The conclusion is that transport, on the whole, was very slow, thus obstructing the easy exchange of goods.

The act of exchange between producer and consumer, or between either SYSTEMS OF and a middleman was done in different ways. Every village TRANSACTION. had its own resident traders. Here, for the most part buying and selling were done directly, *i.e.*, between the producer and the consumer, probably in individual shops, or open market-place. A portion of the village produce was sold in the village market for local consumption, and the surplus, if any, was handed over to the agents in the towns and thence despatched to trade-centres in other parts of the country, or exported out of it. Imported merchandise was distributed by the same machinery working in the opposite direction. In this process, trade passed through the hands of middlemen (*vānījā*), whose existence cannot be doubted.

Within the town as we have seen, there were special streets apportioned to different products.⁹ Food-stuffs,¹⁰ green groceries,¹¹ and flowers for the

1. J., II, p. 112; III, p. 126; IV, pp. 17, 21. Cf. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 3, 1, 13-21. See the sculptured figures reproduced in R. K. Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*.

2. J., II, p. 112; IV, p. 137; V, p. 326; VI, pp. 326, 443.

3. J., VI, p. 34—"samuddo nāma appasiddhiko, bahu antarāyiko."

4. J., V, p. 259.

5. J., IV, p. 16.

6. J., VI, p. 34 "*phalakāni bhinnāni, tato tato udakam uggatam, nāvāmajjhe samudde nimuggā mahājano rodati paridevati nānādevatā namassati*:"—the sea is still a god with the sailors in India.

7. J., I, p. 110; II, pp. 111, 128; III, p. 289; IV, pp. 2, 142; V, p. 75; VI, p. 34. An interesting thing to be noticed in this connection is the precautions taken just before the shipwreck; once when the ship was about to sink, the man on board ate sugar and ghee and then smeared his garments with oil (*mattasātaka telena makkhivā*) and put them tightly round him and stood leaning against the mast. J., VI, p. 34. The oil-soaked robe could resist the slow freezing of the body: "The competitors in swimming even today do not act otherwise:" S. Levi, *I. H. Q.*, VI, p. 606.

8. J., III, p. 126-7, 267. Cf. *Rgveda*, VI, 62-6.

9. *Supra*, pp. 213-4

10. See, for instance, J., I, p. 361.

11. J., I, p. 442; II, p. 179; III, pp. 21-2; IV, pp. 445, 448-G. 119; 449.

towns.¹ were apparently brought only to the gates. Probably near the gates or outside them were also the slaughter-houses (*sūnā*) and near them the poor man and the king's chef bought their meat.² And there were the taverns (*pānāgāra : surāpaṇa*) for the sale of strong liquors.³ "The workshop in the street was open to view, so that the *bhikkhu* coming into town or village for alms, could see fletcher and carriage-builder at work, no less than he could watch the peasant on the field."⁴ In all these shops (*āpaṇa*) forming the bazaar, articles of various kinds were displayed for sale⁵ or stored within (*antarāpaṇa*).⁶ In most of these cases buying and selling were direct (*i.e.*, between the producer and the consumer) : the two notable exceptions being those of the green-grocers and the corn-factors.

It is, indeed, curious that we do not find any mention or clear reference either to a market-place in the town or to seasonal market days, as the *Hāṭ* of the modern days, or fairs (*melās*)—the *samājas*⁷ or fetes do not appear to have included any kind of market.⁸

Another way in which the exchange of goods was carried out was by hawking, *i.e.*, the sellers going about looking out for the buyers. Hawkers roamed about in the streets with their wares just as at present⁹ and travelled from place to place¹⁰ with their goods on a donkey¹¹ or on a barrow.¹² Horses were taken for sale to kings by the sellers.¹³

It is also interesting to note in this connection that there grew up some market-towns (*nigamagāmas*)¹⁴ "which served as centres of trade in a locality as the name implies and were the natural corrolary of the specialized industries of the villages" noticed before.¹⁵ They sometimes grew up at the entrances of great cities like Mithiā.¹⁶

Trade with the border was another feature in the business transaction of the day.¹⁷ "The border merchant served as a sort of entrepot. Merchants in the capital cities established relations with the merchants on the border.¹⁸ They would load their carts with local produce and give orders to men in charge to go to their correspondents on the border and exchange it for the wares in

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1. J., I, p. 120; IV, p. 82; VI, p. 276-G. 1197.
 2. J., III, pp. 100, 378; V, p. 458; VI, pp. 62, 276-G. 1196 ; 334.
 3. J., I, pp. 121, 252, 269, 350; II, pp. 427, 431; IV, pp. 115, 223; V, p. 13; VI, p. 328.
 4. *C. H. I.*, I, 215.
 5. J., II, p. 267; III, pp. 198, 199-G. 77; IV, p. 488; VI, p. 29.
 6. J., I, p. 350; III, p. 406.
 7. See for instance J., I, p. 423; III, p. 442.
 8. *C. H. I.*, I, p. 215.
 9. J., I, pp. 111, 205; II, p. 424; III, pp. 21, 283.
 10. J., III, p. 54.
 11. J., II, pp. 109-110.
 12. J., IV, p. 333.
 13. J., I, p. 121; II, pp. 31, 287.
 14. J., I, p. 205; II, pp. 225, 232; III, pp. 21, 283. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 1. (*Paṇyapattana*)
 15. *Supra*, p. 214.
 16. J., VI, p. 330, Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
 17. J., I, pp. 121, 344-5; pp. 31, 287.
 18. J., I, p. 451.



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But it is not improbable that custom and fair-play-sense may have settled price to a great extent. Prices were fixed in terms of money, though references to goods exchanged between parties are not unknown.¹ Generally however barter was replaced by the use of a metal currency to which we are now coming.

Money, as a medium of exchange, was in use in India from very early times.² The *Jātakas* leave no doubt whatever as to the use of coins as currency in exchange. Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly observes: "The Buddhist literature reveals a society having the full use and enjoyment of plentiful coinage. The worth of every marketable commodity, from a dead mouse and a day at the festival, up to all kinds of fees, pensions, fixed loans, stored treasure and income, is stated in figures of a certain coin and its fraction and that is either explicitly stated or implied to be *Kahāpaṇa*."³

Several *Jātakas*⁴ mention a specific class of coins, viz., the *nikkhas* which were surely golden coins, as expressly stated in some of the *gāthās*;⁵ *nikkhas* were not the only class of gold coins known to the *Jātakas*. We frequently meet with an expression in which the words *hirañña* and *suvaṇṇa* are associated together.⁶ Dr. Bhandarkar rightly infers that *suvaṇṇa* in this, as in other places where it is associated with *hiraṇya*, must stand not for "gold" but a "type of gold coins."⁷ We also read, in the stories, of gold coins of a still smaller denomination, viz., the *Suvaṇṇa-māsakas*.⁸ As we shall see, *māsa* was a unit in the weight system of Indian coinage which differed in weight according as the coin was of gold, silver or copper. A *suvaṇṇa-māsaka* was therefore a gold coin equal to one *māsa* in weight according to the standard of gold coinage.⁹ Thus we see that in the days of the *Jātakas*, no less than three types of gold coins were current. Of the lowest value was the *māsaka*, of a higher denomination was the *Suvaṇṇa*, and of a still higher denomination, the *nikkha*.

The most frequent mention, however, is that of a class of coins called *kahāpaṇas* (*skt. Kārṣāpaṇas*).¹⁰ This *kahāpaṇa* appears to have been of three varieties, according as it was of gold, silver and copper,¹¹ though gold *kahā-*

1. J., I, pp. 103, 109, 377-8; II, p. 247; VI, p. 519.

2. See Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 167 ff.

3. J. R. E. S., 1901, p. 318; also J. R. A. S., 1901, p. 876.

4. J., I, pp. 375, 376-G. 88; IV, pp. 224, 227-GG. 63, 66; 460; G. 228. 461-G. 229-230; VI, pp. 462-G. 1630; 464—G. 1638; 546, 547.

5. J., IV, p. 227-G. 63, 66. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50. On the *niṣkas* of the *Rg Veda*, as being golden coins, see Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, in *Proceedings, 4th Oriental Conference* p.p. 711-22.

6. J., VI, pp. 69, 186; 462, 493-G. 1742.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 51, Cf. *Manu*, VIII, 137.

8. J., IV, pp. 106, 107; V, p. 164.

9. Cf. the remarks of Dr. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 53; *Arthaśāstra*, II, 19; 5 seeds of *Guñjā*=1 *Suvaṇṇamāsa*.

10. J., I, pp. 112, 195, 478, 483; II, pp. 20, 247, 305, 424; III pp. 448; IV, pp. 138. 378; 449; VI, pp. 343, 404.

11. Cf. *Sāmanta-pāsādikā* quoted by Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

pañā is very seldom referred to. Thus in the *Gāmaṇi-caṇḍa Jātaka*¹ where the pair of oxen and the horse are priced at 24 and 1000 *kaḥāpañas* respectively, they must be silver *kaḥāpañas* "as copper or gold *kaḥāpañas* would be too low or too high a price to pay for those animals."²

On the *Kaḥāpañā*, Prof. Rapson's remarks make everything clear: "To both of the standard coins in question, the silver *purāṇa* of 32 *ratis* and the copper *pañā* of 80 *ratis*, the same name *kārṣāpañā* was sometimes applied. This double use of the term was probably in ancient times only confusing whenever the currency of one district had to be compared with that of another. We may gather both directly from the statements of the Law Books, and more generally from the study of the coins, that in Ancient India silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and circulated in different districts. A copper currency was not necessarily regarded as merely auxiliary to the silver currency; but a copper standard prevailed in some districts just as a silver standard prevailed in others. The word *kārṣāpañā*, therefore, may in any particular district be supposed to mean the standard coin whether of silver or copper."³

The *Jātaka* stories also give us the various token coins of this standard. We have *kaḥāpañā*, *addha-kaḥāpañā*, *pāda-kaḥāpañā*, *māsaka*, *addha-māsaka*⁴ and *kākanikā*⁵—almost the lowest money-piece of the day.⁶ The *kaḥāpañā* (whether of silver or copper) and its smaller tokens mentioned above, were quite intimately connected not only with the commercial life but also with the daily intercourse of the period. Whether these instruments of exchange, constituting of course a currency of standard and token coins, were issued and regulated by any Central Authority or by private guilds we have no means to ascertain.

We must here note the purchasing power of money or in other words PURCHASING prices of ordinary commodities. A pair of oxen was POWER. worth 24 *kaḥāpañas*,⁷ a nice plump dog is bought for one *kaḥāpañā*;⁸ a decent ass is had for eight *kaḥāpañas*;⁹ a fish

1. J., II, pp. 305-6.

2. Cf. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Cf. Pran Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 109. The silver *kaḥāpañas* were later called *Purāṇas* and *dharāṇas*; *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 92.

3. *Catalogue of Indian coins: Āndhras and Kṣtrapas: Intro.* pp. clxxix-x. *Kārṣāpañā* appears to have been so called, because in weight it conformed to one *Karṣa*, or 80 *ratis* or 146.4 grains as computed by Cunningham. The *Kaḥāpañas* are also identified with the punch—marked coins found all over India in great abundance: Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 96. For example see *Buddhist India*, p. 106.

4. J., III, p. 448; Cf. also I, p. 340.

5. J., I, p. 120; VI, p. 346; Cf. *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, VII, 11. Cowryshells (*sippikāni*) are also mentioned once in a *gāthā*: J., I, p. 425-G. 109, but perhaps not as anything still having currency.

6. Kautilya has half-*kākinī* as the lowest copper coin: *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12. From the *Gaṅgamāla Jātaka*, J., III, p. 448, it appears that a *Pāda-kaḥāpañā* equalled something more than 4 *māsakas*; and curiously enough the commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, as pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar, tells us that in the time of Bimbisāra, five *māsakas* equalled one *Pāda*: *op. cit.*, pp. 111-2, Cf. also *C. H. I.*, I, p. 218.

7. J., II, pp. 305-6.

8. J., II, p. 247.

9. J., VI, p. 343.

is worth 7 *māsakas* only;¹ a bundle of grass, again, fetches one *māsaka*² and for the same small coin can be had a jar of liquor;³ two poor lovers buy a garland, perfume and strong drink with one *māsaka*;⁴ a piece of meat can be had for an *addhamāsaka* or even a *kākanikā*⁵ and dead mouse is also purchased for a *kākanikā*.⁶ Similarly a *māsaka* or an *addhamāsaka* is the daily wage of a day-labourer,⁷ as noticed before. To hire a carriage in Benares by the hour cost 8 *kahāpanas*.⁸ For the services of a young bull to pull 500 carts through a rough ford, a merchant pays 2 *kahāpanas* per cart⁹; a ferry's fare across the river is 8 *kahāpanas*¹⁰ and the same sum seems to have been the cost of a visit to a barber.¹¹ All these instances give a realistic picture of the various transactions of the day. Naturally, the ordinary people could not go beyond such little sums of *māsakas* and *kahāpanas*. The nobility and the rich people are almost always spoken of in terms of high expenditures. Horses were highly priced—the prices ranging from 1000 to 6000 *kahāpanas*.¹² The Kāsī cloth was worth 100000 *kahāpanas*—¹³ a sum undreamt of by the poor class. All these figures mentioned before are not, and cannot, however be taken as quite exact. For the references are only legendary and not in the way of statistical figures like those given in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

Credit must have been an almost indispensable factor in business even in those days. There was, of course, no bank-system. CREDIT. The rich people had their own strong boxes or rooms.¹⁴ A great deal of wealth was hoarded in the form of gold and jewellery or even money and these were stowed away in a pillow,¹⁵ or hidden (*nidahitvā*) in other convenient places.¹⁶ The nature and amount of the wealth thus hoarded was sometimes registered on gold or copper plates.¹⁷

People could also deposit money (*nidhi*) with their friends. But this course was not always safe, for the friend might spend away and then may offer his daughter in marriage instead.¹⁸

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1. J., II, pp. 424 and 425-G. 112.
 2. J., III, p. 130; Cf. IV, p. 449.
 3. J., I, p. 350.
 4. J., III, p. 446.
 5. J., VI, p. 346.
 6. J., I, p. 120.
 7. J., I, p. 475; III, p. 326; 446.
 8. J., I, p. 121.
 9. J., I, p. 195.
 10. J., I, p. 112.
 11. J., IV, p. 138.
 12. J., II, pp. 289, 305-6.
 13. *Supra*, p. 194.
 14. J., I, pp. 351, 466. III, pp. 129; IV, pp. 7, 237.
 15. J., II, p. 443-G. 141 "*Nikkham ussīsake kataṃ*."
 16. J., I, pp. 225, 277, 323, 375, 424; II, pp. 308, 431; III, pp. 25, 116, 350; IV, p. 256 Cf. *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 3, "*nihānapauttāo*."
 17. J., IV, pp. 237, 488; VI, p. 29; Cf. *Śukra*, III, 376-9.
 18. J., III, p. 342; V, pp. 116-G. 18; 521—Cf. *Therī gāthā*, 444.



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CHAPTER IV

CONSUMPTION

CONSUMPTION deals with the destination of wealth. It is, and must be, the aim and object of production. And, speaking in another way, production is made possible only by consumption. Therefore, also, the quality and quantity of production are only reflection of consumption.

Consumption of the produced wealth is determined by the standard of life which a particular person or society fixes for himself or itself at any given period of time. The standard, naturally, differs among individuals as well as from class to class. At the same time, this standard of life differs in kind. For the consumption of some commodities may give physical comforts, but may be detrimental to moral well-being. And the standard of life cannot of course be confined within the limits of physical needs. Marshall says rightly; "Let us take the term 'the Standard of Life' to mean the standard of Activities and Wants. Thus an increase in the standard of life implies an increase of intelligence, energy and self-respect, leading to more care and judgment in expenditure, and an avoidance of food and drink that gratify the appetite, but effect no strength, and of ways of living that are unwholesome physically and morally."¹ Thus a higher standard does not necessarily mean a high expenditure. The best consumption of wealth is, therefore, that which results in the greatest benefits to individual and to society.

The customs, the social institutions and the religious and moral ideas of the people of India, no doubt, have favoured a standard of living which is comparatively low. In the *Jātaka* days we find that the standard of living was much better than it is to-day. The social customs and circumstances like the family-system, marriage, and groupings, might have checked the astounding inequalities—on one side the multimillionaires, the poor and the starving on the other—and the people at large were more concerned with wealth than with the other-world. The religious and wise moral precepts there were in plenty, but material prosperity was, as it has always been, the primary concern of the masses. The "Question of Poor and Rich" (*Sirimāñ-dapañho*), discussed so minutely in the *gāthās* of the *Mahāummagga-Jātaka*² reveals the same thing. The Wise Mahosadha's high-sounding praises of Wisdom (*paññā*) as against Wealth (*sirimā*) have no connection with the Reality. It is Senaka who rightly reflects the mind and the life of the people: Elephants, kind, horses, jewelled earrings, women are found in rich families; wise and fools, educated and uneducated—all do service to the wealthy, although they may be high-born or low-born; (*bahujano bhajati atthahetu*); the world is devoted to wealth (*iddhiparo hi loko*) and even the Wise has to admit:

1. Marshall, quoted by Prof. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

2. J., VI, pp. 356-363-GG (?). Cf. Also III, p. 326: *jīvītāsāto dhanāsā balavattarā*; *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, 1, 2, 3-5.

wealth is beloved because men are devoted to enjoyment (*Kantā sirī bogarata manussā*). Thus, it appears that there was no disposition among the *Jātaka*-people to stint themselves of moderate wants and even luxuries.

Articles of consumption are divided into necessities and luxuries. Necessaries are, again, sub-divided into necessities for existence and those for efficiency. This of course is no hard and fast distinction.

It is naturally difficult for us to get a first-hand, or even a cursory knowledge of the average consumption by the *Jātaka* people. We have no statistics, no figures whatsoever. We may, however, get a glimpse of the average standard of life by reading between the lines of the stories.

The primary wants, the first necessities of life, are those of food, clothing and shelter. We have seen that there was ample supply of food. The country was largely agricultural. The peasant-proprietor and his family could not, possibly, suffer from want of good nutritious food in face of a large and fertile land and cattle in their possession. For there were no big landlords who could squeeze them out of their food. And the average hand-craftsman, also, was a well-to-do man, getting sufficient food in exchange of his craft. Of course, the food that the average man could have was not very rich, as already stated. Rice-gruel (*yāgu*), cakes (*pūva*), vegetables and milk and its products were common. While rice-porridge prepared with powdered sugar, milk and honey and cooked with fresh ghee was the food of the rich few.¹ Food was both hard and soft (*khādāna-bhojana*).² People took meals only twice in a day—one in the morning and another in the evening (*prātarāso : sāyamāso*).³

As for clothing, we may repeat that cotton clothes were commonly worn. Suit of clothes (*sāṭakyugam*) was the ordinary dress.⁴ Turbans were commonly worn.⁵ *Vatthālankāra* is the phrase which reveals a common taste for good clothing and ornaments.⁶ Remarking on the dress of the Mallas of Kusinārā, Prof. Rhys Davids says : “It consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth; and a suit of apparel of two or, at the outside, of 3 of these—one to wrap around the loins, one to throw over the shoulders and one to use as a turban.”⁷ One *Jātaka* informs us that people wore undergarments in the pockets of which they put money or such valuable things.⁸ The richer class could afford to indulge in little luxuries in the matter of dress. The *Kāsi-Kuṭṭama* was famous.

1. *Supra*, p. 205.

2. J., III, p. 439.

3. J., IV, p. 252 ; V, p. 230 ; VI, p. 366.

4. J., I, p. 373.

5. J., VI, pp. 369-70.

6. J., IV, p. 323.

7. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 180 n. Cf. G. P. Majumdar, *I. C.*, I, 3, article on food.

8. J., III, p. 416.

In the matter of housing, there is not much to be said. Ordinarily, houses were built of bricks with superstructure of wood.¹ HOUSING. There were windows, looking out into the streets.² The houses had generally two doors—one on the front and the other on the back side (*aggadvāra : culladvāra*).³ The doors had bolts from inside and outside.⁴ A corner-house, abutting on two streets was highly prized.⁵ And there were big and stately houses also, well-constructed and covered both internally and externally with fine plaster-work (*sudhālepana*) and brilliantly painted.⁶

These primary wants are necessities for existence. An insufficient supply of these may be detrimental to physical and even moral welfare of a person. We, probably, never hear of such a want in those days.

But the people of the *Jātaka* times were also fond of luxuries, as a number of references will show. Physical necessities are LUXURIES. not all in all. There must be higher wants also, like education, sanitation, leisure and recreation.

The people in those days kept themselves well-attired. Trimming of hair and beard was common in the case of men.⁷ Ladies were fond of ornaments, as they always are.⁸ Flowers and perfumes were largely consumed as we saw before. Apart from daily recreation, there were frequent festivals in which the poor and the rich alike took part.⁹

1. J., IV, p. 154; VI, p. 429.

2. J., V, p. 64.

3. J., V, pp. 132; 263; 298; VI, p. 366.

4. J., V, p. 294.

5. J., V, p. 350.

6. Cf. especially VI, p. 430 ff.

7. J., III, p. 11; V, pp. 131, 309, 510.

8. J., III, pp. 377, 416, 447; IV, pp. 60, 422; V, pp. 400, 438; VI, p. 64.

9. J., III, p. 446; IV, p. 255.





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INTRODUCTORY

SO FAR WE HAVE, more or less, easily discussed the various aspects of our study: political, administrative and economic. It is now, when we come to the Social side of the picture, that we are confronted with innumerable obstacles. It is here that we are faced with problems that are not so easy to solve. Theories abound here, and from that angle, the subject has been probed into by Fick in his valuable work and by many other scholars. Therefore we shall not go here into deep theoretical discussion but briefly notice some of the outstanding features of the social life of the *Jātaka* people, with a view to grasp the ordinary life and activities, and also the mind and thoughts prevailing in those days.



CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE of Ancient India was mainly based on caste-system. It was, in fact, the backbone of Ancient Indian society. Of course, we cannot expect as highly developed a system of caste from our stories as that in the Brāhmaṇical Law Books. There are two phases of the matter. In the ordinary circumstances we find no mention whatsoever of caste and everything that it implies. But when morality gains ground, and the story has to deal with Brāhmaṇa characters, caste-distinctions and allied matters do appear.

Let us first take the theoretical side of the picture. The theory had established itself, or at least was beginning to do so, that the Great Brahmā created the world.

THEORETICAL VIEW. And as regards the origin of the caste-system it is said :

*Ajjenam Ariyā paṭhavim janindā
Vessā kasim pāricariyañ ca Suddā
Upāgu paccekam yathā padesaṃ
Katāhu ete Vasinā ti āhu.*¹

“Brahmins he made for study, for command
He made the Khattiyas : Vessa’s plough the land ;
Suddas he servants made to obey the rest ;
Thus from the first went forth his high behest ;”
and then, “We see these rules enforced before our eyes”

No doubt the law of society evolved for the most part out of such conceptions of religion. The *Uddālaka-Jātaka*² is, of course, the most important on this point. The penetrating *gāthās*, there, first declare that ‘right conduct is the only way to bliss’ : (*sasaṃyamam caranam yeva saccam*) : a thousand *Vedas* will not safety bring (*sahassavedo pi na tam paṭicca*) : and then, who is a true Brāhmaṇa ? When Uddālaka puts forth the character of a Brāhmaṇa as he apparently sees in real life, i.e., as one who rejects all worldly thoughts, takes the fire with him, sprinkles water, offers sacrifices and sets up the sacrificial post,³ the *purohita*, his father, finds fault with this conception and replies in his own way, giving out the list of virtues that a Brāhmaṇa should possess,⁴ and then says :

1. J., VI, p. 207-G. 896.

2. J., IV, pp. 297-304-GG. 62-76.

3. J., IV, p. 302-G. 68.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 71.



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view to preserve the purity of blood and ceremonial cleanliness.¹ But this kind of exclusiveness of the Brāhmaṇa class existed only in idea. We see frequent departures from the fixed standard of life. Whether this was a degeneration set in among the descendants of the older Brāhmaṇa colonists of the east from the west and accelerated and completed by the mixture with non-Aryan Brāhmaṇas, we are not here to ascertain.² As Fick says, the great mass of Brāhmaṇas, spread over the whole of Northern India, does not constitute a well-organised body with a chief and a council.³ The Brāhmaṇa of the *Jātakas* is not very materially different from a member of any other class. He is to be found in all walks of life : “we see him now as a teacher asking the new scholar about the honorarium he has brought, now he meets us behind the plough, now in the court of the king interpreting signs and dreams or predicting from the constellation of the stars the future of the newly-born prince, now as a rich merchant in the midst of his accumulated treasures, now at the head of a big caravan.”⁴

It may be that some of the stories do commit the mistake of much over-drawing the picture, in as much as they give a prejudiced and contemptuous view of the Brāhmaṇas. In many cases, for instance, the Brāhmaṇas are represented as greedy, shameless and immoral and serve as a foil to the Khat-tiyas who play the part of the virtuous and noble humanity.⁵ The whole of the *Junha Jātaka*⁶ narrates the shameful behaviour of a Brāhmaṇa who pours out his wisdom only to fetch a handsome reward from the King. The greediness of the Brāhmaṇas is frequently brought out,⁷ even if we disallow the bitter remarks of the Bodhisatta of the *Bhūri datta Jātaka*.⁸ The sarcastic name *Odariyā* (fond of eating) given to them is interesting.⁹ The *purohita*'s greedy nature we have already seen. But, on the whole, it seems to us that the instances, though they are exaggerated no doubt, reflect perhaps one side of the actual conditions. For we can also see the figures of ‘true,’ *i.e.*, noble Brāhmaṇas, in the Brāhmaṇical sense.

Fick¹⁰ distinguishes, and rightly, between two kinds of Brāhmaṇas: one the “proper,” *i.e.*, those who corresponded closely to the ideal sketched in the older scriptures and the other “worldly” *i.e.*, those who did not much conform to the strict rules of their class, followed all sorts of occupations and represented the major

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1. See *e.g.*, J., IV, pp. 391-2.
 2. Cf. Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, I, p. 259.
 3. *Op. cit.*, p. 181.
 4. Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3.
 5. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
 6. J., IV, pp. 96 ff.
 7. J., I, pp. 343, 425 (*brāhmaṇā dhanalolā honti*) ; 455 ; II, p. 46. IV, pp. 373-GG. 287-8; VI, . 211-2 ; Cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 245.
 8. J., VI, pp. 206 ff. GG. 883-930.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 208-G. 898.
 10. *Op. cit.*, pp. 192 ff.

portion of their class. Let us notice a little further, with regard to these two types of Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇa of the first kind ordinarily passed through these stages in his life : when grown up, he goes to a teacher, studies the *Vedas*, then sets up a household, later renounces the worldly life and goes to the forest where he lives either as a hermit or surrounded by a host of pupils and ascetics and which he quits in course of time to take up the life of the ascetic and live by begging.¹

This seems to be the normal course of life of the Brāhmaṇa of the first type. Still there may be some differences and the different stages may overlap one another as we often notice.² This is but natural, for we cannot think of all the Brāhmaṇas as strictly observing the rules of the four *āśramas* of old.³

Our stories are quite explicit on the first stage of the Brāhmaṇas, viz, that of student—life (*ajjhenam*). But we shall better reserve this subject for a separate chapter on Education as a whole.

Regarding Sacrifice (*āhutaggi*), the stories do not enlighten us much. “They only mention it, in order to exhibit its worthlessness and illustrate the swindling ways of the greedy Brāhmaṇas in filling their pockets.” The *Bhūridatta Jātaka*, for instance, in so many piercing *gāthās*, hurls a scathing indictment upon the Brāhmaṇas of the times who caused the slaughter of dumb and harmless creatures “struggling to the last breath” and who “wore long frauds to beguile the simple and strip him bare at last.”⁴ One of the interesting references given out here in an off-hand manner is this :

“The priests a shoot of Butea (*palāsayatthi*) must hold,
As part o’ the rite sacred from days of old ;
Indra’s right arm ’tis called, but were it so,
Would Indra triumph o’er his demon foe ?”⁵

1. Cf. J., II, p. 85—“*Bodhisatto Kāsiraṭṭhe brāhmaṇakule nibbattitvā vayappatto Takka-sīlam gantvā sabbasippāni uggāṇhitvā ghārāvāsam pahāya isipabajjam pabbajitvā gaṇasatthā hutvā Himavantapadese ciraṃ vāsivā loṇambilasevanatthāya jānapadacārikam caramāno Bārāṇasim patvā rājuyyāne vāsivā punadivāse dvāragāme sapariso bhikkhācāram cari*”, also II, pp. 394, 411 ; III, pp. 147, 352.

2. For instance in J., I, pp. 333, 361, 373, 450 ; II, pp. 131, 232, 262, we may see the Brāhmaṇa renouncing the world immediately after he is grown up, apparently without fulfilling the duties of a scholar and a householder ; again in J., II, pp. 41, 145, 269, 437 ; III, p. 45, we may see him as an ascetic without any previous stage as scholar ; becoming ascetic immediately after the completion of the studies : J., II, p. 72 ; III, pp. 64, 79, 110, 119, 228, 248, 308 ; V, pp. 152, 193.

3. Cf. Senart, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

4. J., VI, pp. 206-214-GG. 883 ff ; cf. J., III, pp. 215, 238 ; IV, p. 373—G. 288 ; V, pp. 221-G. 93 ; 247 ; VI, p. 183.

5. J., VI, p. 212-G. 914 :

“*Indassa bāhā-asi dakkhiṇā ti
Yaññesu chindanti palāsayatthim
tañ ce pi saccam Maghavā Chinnabāhu
Ken’assa Indo asure jināti.*”

But the 'true' Brāhmaṇas, honestly performing their duties, did undoubtedly enjoy certain privileges.¹ Respect (*arcā*) they generally received from the people. Though the stories seem to make their position inferior to that of the Khattiyas, we cannot forget that they ordinarily were held in respect and honour by the people. Brahmins are men of upright life-*dhammikā honti Brāhmaṇā*²—may be taken as an utterance of these respectful people. And the privilege of *dāna* i.e., of receiving presents, the Brāhmaṇas of the *Jātakas* enjoy in a much greater measure. In this connection we may recall, what we have already noticed, the liberality of the kings which probably laid the foundation for the wealth of individual Brāhmaṇas³ as Fick suggests,⁴ and which was, if not a duty, at least a recognized virtue.⁵ Not only kings, the people in general used also to give gifts to the Brāhmaṇas whose services they required on various occasions. On certain occasions, for instance, they invited the Brāhmaṇas to meals (*Bāhmaṇa-vācanakam*);⁶ they came, bathed and washed their face; in the meantime the rice was taken from the fire and set to cool down: then the guest-water (*dakkhiṇodakam*) was given and the dishes placed before them. After finishing the meals they took the 'gifts' (*vācanakam*), uttered benediction (*maṅgalam*) and went away.

Whether the Brāhmaṇas also enjoyed immolestability (*ajyeyatā*) and immunity from execution (*avadhyatā*) cannot be determined with precision from our stories. Most probably they were free from taxes, for whenever the question is of taxes, the *gahapati* or the *kuṭumbika* is mentioned as the person who is taxed.⁷ And though immunity from execution (*avajjho bhavati brāhmaṇo*)⁸ was recognized, it was, for all practical purposes, a theoretical dictum, as in the eyes of the law we do not find anything like a favourable attitude shown towards them.⁹

But a large majority of the Brāhmaṇas was represented by those others whom Fick has liked to call 'proper' or 'worldly.'

The *Jātakas* seem to attach a certain superiority to the Brāhmaṇas belonging to the North (presumably, the older Kuru-Pañcāla land) i.e., the *Udicca Brāhmaṇas*.¹⁰ These *Udicca-Brāhmaṇas*, probably conscious of their high descent, tried to observe the rules and prescriptions of their class. In the *Satadhamma*

1. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, 5, 7, 1 ff., the prerogatives of the Brāhmaṇa are summed up as: *arcā*—honour; *dāna*—gifts, *ajyeyatā*—unmolestability and *avadhyatā*—freedom from being killed: See *Vedic Index*, II, p. 82 ff.

2. J., VI, pp. 554-G. 2200; 576-G. 2348.

3. J., I, pp. 303, 447; II, p. 272; III, p. 39; IV, pp. 15, 22, 28, 59, 237; V, p. 312.

4. *op. cit.*, p. 210.

5. Cf. *Brahmadeyam*, J., II, p. 166; VI, p. 486.

6. J., I, p. 318; III, p. 238; IV, p. 391; V, p. 247.

7. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

8. J., VI, p. 199-G. 866.

9. See e.g., J., I, pp. 371, 429.

10. J., I, pp. 140, 324, 343, 356, 361, 373, 406, 431, 436, 450, 474, 494, 505; II, p. 83; III p. 232; V, pp. 193, 227; VI, p. 32. The present day *Audicya Brāhmaṇas* are, probably, descended from these.



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7. Some chaplains fortunes tell, or gold and mark a beast for pay.
With proffered food the village-folk invite them oft to stay.
There kine and bullocks swine and goats are slaughtered many a day:
Like butchers (*Goghātakasamā*) base are these.....
8. Some Brahmins, armed with sword and shield, with battle-axe in hand,
Ready to guide a caravan before the merchants stand :
Like herdsmen these or bandits bold (*Samāgopanisādehi*).....
9. Some build them huts and lay them traps in any woodland place,
Catch fish and tortoises, the hare, wild-cat and lizard chase :
Hunters are these.....(*Luddakā*)
10. Others for love of gold lie down beneath the royal bed,
At Soma-sacrifice : the kings bathing above their head.¹
These are like barbers (*Malamajjanasamā*). ...

All these, in Viḍhura's eyes, though Brāhmaṇas by birth, are not worthy of being called Brāhmaṇas : "*apetā te Brāhmaṇā*—strayed have they." And even if the picture given by Viḍhura be a prejudiced and an exaggerated one, we cannot fail to see from other passages also "where a subjective colouring on the part of the narrator is out of the question," that the Brāhmaṇas did follow such professions and that they did form an extremely parti-coloured society, not a body solely confined to the study of the Vedas and the performance of sacrifices.

In the first place, the Brāhmaṇas were employed by the kings for sacrifice ; in the *Mahāsupina Jātaka*,² the King is frightened with evil dreams. He asks the Brāhmaṇas at once who readily advise him to preform a complete fourfold sacrifice (*sabbacatukkena*). In another story,³ also, the Brāhmaṇas are called upon by the king to avert the impending misfortune, and the Brāhmaṇas, here also, advise him to perform the fourfold sacrifice. The king orders a great crowd of victims which is brought and fastened to the stakes (*mahājano thūnūpanīto*). When however the king later learns the true cause of the moan, he causes the sacrificial pit (*yaññāṇvāṭam*) to be destroyed.

These and such other instances,⁴ no doubt, suggest the conclusion that the practice of sacrifice was still adhered to, though it seems to have begun to decline during the period of our narratives.

But the most prominent of the Brāhmaṇical professions presented in the *Jātakas* are those of dream-reading (*supinapāṭhakā*) and fortune-telling (*ṇemittā*), which enabled them to practice fraud and deception on a large scale.⁵

1. For this rite, cf. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 407ff.

2. J., I, pp. 343 ff.

3. J., III, p. 45 ff.

4. J., I, p. 272 ; IV, p. 79, 230, 335 ; V, p. 211.

5. On the modern astrologer see Nesfield, *Caste System*. 58 ff.

On the birth of a king's child, it seems to have been a standing custom to have been the future of the child predicted by the Brāhmaṇas, as we saw before. The Brāhmaṇas used to predict the future from the signs (*lakṣhaṇa*) on the body of the newborn babe. Also as versed in the power of Divination (*Āṅga-vijjāpāṭhakas*) they were in a position to judge from the signs on a man's body, not only his past and future but also his worth and character.¹ The *Ummadantī Jātaka*² describes, in the most charming manner, the behaviour of these Brāhmaṇas who have come to examine the extremely beautiful girl Ummadantī. After an honourable reception, they sit to partake some rice-porridge, when Ummadantī appears, magnificently attired. At her sight the Brāhmaṇas lose all self-control. Seized with passion, they forget that they have not yet finished their meal. Some put their food on their head, instead of into their mouth, others let it fall on their hips, others again throw it against the wall. Every one is beside himself. When the girl sees their conduct, she says: 'These should examine me for my signs! Seize them by the throat and drive them out.' Sorely annoyed, the Brāhmaṇas report to the king: 'O king, the woman is a witch, she is not suitable for you.'

Here the *Jātaka* is at its best in ridiculing and reading the psychology of the Brāhmaṇas of the day.³

Alongside with these, there was the kindred profession of magic and demon-worship. Once we find a Brāhmaṇa who, by fixed characteristics (for example, by scent) knows the goodness of a sword and says, "The sword has a lucky sign, it is luck-bringing."⁴ At another time we come in touch with a Brāhmaṇa who sees an unlucky omen in a cloth eaten by rats.⁵ Even the art of interpreting the stars (*nakṣhattayoga*)⁶ was practised by the Brāhmaṇas in such a manner that it deserved the name of "a swindling trade" (*nicchajīvā*).

Regarding magic and demon-worship we may, first, note the following verse of the *Junha Jātaka*, wherein king Junha questions the Brāhmaṇa who has come to ask for a reward:

"Hast thou a penance (*tapo*), Brahmin, dread to tell,
Or has thou many a charm (*mantā*) and many a spell,
Or goblins (*yakkhā*) ready your behests to do,
Or any claim for having served me well?"⁷

1. J., I, p. 290 : II, pp. 21, 200, 250 ; III, pp. 122, 158, 215 ; V, pp. 211, 458.

2. J., V, pp. 211 ff.

3. Fick observes: "To see in such things, as fortune-telling interpretations of dreams, etc., only lying and deception, shows that these stories are a product of their age and their land. Originating in the circles of the common people in whose religious thought superstition occupied a large place, they retain traces of their origin notwithstanding the complete rejection and deprecation of superstitious ideas." *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30.

4. J., I, p. 455 (*asilakkhanapāṭhako Brāhmaṇo*.)

5. J., I, p. 373 (*Sāṭakalakkhaṇa Brāhmaṇo*.)

6. J., I, p. 257 ; II, p. 427 ; IV, p. 231 ; V, p. 476.

7. J., IV, p. 98—G. 16.

Here we see that asceticism, magic and demon-worship are taken for granted as belonging to the Brāhmaṇas. Of some of these *mantas* or magic incantations and their employment we read in the stories. *Vedabbhamanta*¹ could bring about a rain of precious stones at a certain position of the stars. It was very valuable (*agghomahāraho*). *Paṭhavijayamanta*² was a charm with the help of which one conquered the earth. *Cintāmanivijjā*³ was a charm which enabled one to follow after the lapse of 12 years in the steps of those that have gone away.

Magic and demon-worship go together. As Fick says, "the ancient belief in an innumerable number of small superterrestrial beings, who as tree or snake gods endanger the life of man, frighten him as man-eating or child-robbing demons or torture him as disease-bringing spirits, occupies naturally, in our narratives which reflect the conceptual world of the lower people, an important place."⁴ And the art of making these beings harmless or useful through magic practices is known. This is called *Bhūtavijā*.⁵ This art of exorcism was mainly employed in freeing the "possessed" of the evil spirit dwelling in them (*amanussavidhassa*).⁶

Besides all these⁷ which were no doubt "crafts" which could bring livelihood,⁸ there were many other civil professions in which the Brāhmaṇas were to be seen engaged.

The medical profession (*Vejjakamma*) in general 'which among most MEDICAL people separated itself from the beginning from the spiritual,' PROFESSION. seems to have been principally a matter for the Brāhmaṇas, as many a reference will show.⁹

The land-cultivating and cattle rearing Brāhmaṇa, i.e., one engaged in agricultural pursuits (*kassaka-Brāhmaṇa*) is, in our stories, AGRICUL- a more permanently recurring figure, indeed. In the *Uraga* TURE. *Jātaka*,¹⁰ for instance, we read of a Brāhmaṇa who goes along with his son to the field and ploughs it, whilst the boy collects the weeds and burns them. In another story,¹¹ we see a poor Brāhmaṇa farmer complaining, as one of his oxen is dead, that he cannot any more drive the plough. Elsewhere a Brāhmaṇa peasant (*Kassaka Brāhmaṇo*) is seen unyoking his oxen after ploughing and beginning to work upon his land with a spade.¹² Sometimes these farmers were much more wealthy, possessing

1. J., I, p. 253.

2. J., II, p. 243.

3. J., III, p. 504.

4. *op. cit.*, p. 235.

5. J., III, p. 511.

6. J., II, p. 215-G. 155.

7. The *Brahmajāla-Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 15-9) and also the Jaina *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, xv, 7, and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 12, contain a long list of such professions.

8. J., III, p. 504: "manussaloke sippam ajānantā jīvītum na sakkonti."

9. For instance, J., II, p. 213 (*Vejja Brāhmaṇo*); VI, p. 181-G. 793 (*Vejjo mam Brāhmaṇam vidu*).

10. J., III, p. 163.

11. J., II, p. 165 (*kasikammaṃ napavattati*) G.?

12. J., V, p. 68 (*khettaṃ kasitvā goṇe vissajjetvā kuddāla kammaṃ kātum ārabhi*).



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nobles, i.e., "in a family the members of which both on their father's and their mother's side were recognized as Khattiyas." From this it more over appears clear that the Khattiyas too attached great importance to purity of blood and would not regard even the son of a Khattiya by a Brāhmaṇa wife as a true-born Khattiya.¹

And in the enumeration of the castes the Khattiyas are almost always mentioned first: *Khattiyā Brāhmaṇā Vessā Suddā Caṇḍāla-Pukkusā*.² This may be due partly to the fact, that the Buddhist writers were ill-disposed towards Brāhmaṇism, and partly, perhaps to a greater extent, to the actual superiority of the ruling class in general and the degraded condition of the Brāhmaṇas in the east.³

Also, the Khattiyas of the time seem to show as much zeal as the Brāhmaṇas in the study of the *Vedas* and other *Śāstras* and, as we have seen, many of them went to stay at the famous University of Takkaśilā. Hence the superiority of their class appears not only in the social and political domain which was assured to them through their material power itself, but even in spiritual field they were not inferior to the Brāhmaṇas.

Now, what constituted this Khattiya class? As in the Epic,⁴ and probably in a somewhat narrower sense, the *Jātakas* understand by a Khattiya a member of the ruling class which includes the king, his great lords and vassals, along with the higher portions of the army.⁵ As such the term *Khattiya* may well correspond to the Vedic *Rājanya*.⁶

The Khattiyas had perhaps the sole or main duty of defending the honour of their country and so far they could be looked upon as "warriors *par excellence*."⁷ But like the Brāhmaṇas, the Khattiya also could and did employ himself in any occupation he liked without any restriction of class-consciousness.⁸

The Khattiyas did not form a compact whole. They only represented the political power. As Fick⁹ says, "certain customs especially those relating to connubium and the prohibition of impurity may be noticed in certain ruling families which led to separation from the rest of the population, but these customs did not seem to have the authority of laws as in the Brāhmaṇical theory."

1. Cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 1, 24.

2. J., I, p. 326; III, p. 194; IV, pp. 205, 303.

3. Cf. Chalmers, *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 342.

4. Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.* 13, p. 73.

5. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

6. Cf. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 216. The expression *Kṣatriya* later normally takes the place of *rajanya* as a designation for the ruling class.

7. *Khattiya* is used as a synonym for *Rājan* at J., II, p. 166; III, pp. 106, 154; V, pp. 99, 112; for warriors in general *balakāye* (III, p. 319) and *yodhe* (I, p. 363; II, p. 401) are used. Cf. also J., IV, pp. 309-80.

8. See for instance J., II, p. 87; IV, pp. 84, 169; V, pp. 390-3.

9. *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Very seldom does the word *Vessa* (*Vaiśya*) occur in the *Jātakas*, and when it occurs it is used only in connection with theoretical discussions, and not to mean any existing social unit or group. "A caste, in the sense of the Brāhmanical theory, the Vaiśyas never became even in the western Brāhmanical lands," says Fick.¹ "Originally, in the oldest Vedic age, a name for the class of cattle-breeding, and land-cultivating Āryan settlers, it served later the purpose of the theorizing Brāhmanas to bind together the unlimited number of social groups."²

If any social division of our period corresponds to the traditional *Vaiśya* order, and has a similar meaning, it is that of the *Gahapati* (*Gṛhapati*) or the householder. The *Jātakas* make us quite familiar with these *Gahapatis*. In these *Gahapatis*, we can see the land-owning and mercantile class ranking just below the Khattiyas and the Brāhmanas. The *Gahapatis* had their own importance and played a significant part even in the court of the king. They appear permanently in the retinue of the king, along with the ministers and the Brāhmanas; (*Amaccā ca Brāhmaṇa-gahapatikādayo*.³)

Like the Khattiyas and the Brāhmanas, these *Gahapatis* also seem to have distinguished themselves from the great mass of the people by a certain consciousness of position and perhaps also by pride in their higher descent. There was also this custom, not a rigid rule, that the *Gahapati* parents should bring for their grown-up son a girl of good family, of their own class, as we shall notice hereafter.⁴ We shall also see that the *Gahapatis*, at least the richer section represented by the *Setṭhis*, devoted a part of their life to study, and sometimes in old age became homeless ascetics in common with the other classes of the people. Moreover, the *Jāti* or caste of a *Gahapati* seems to have been hereditary, for though ruined through the loss of fortune and compelled to maintain himself on ignoble professions, a *Gahapati* still remains a *Gahapati*. We have the instance of one such *Gahapati* who deals in vegetables and fruits (*pañṇikagahapati*).⁵ Another poor *Gahapati* maintains himself and his mother with difficulty by working as a hired labourer.⁶ Equally with the two higher classes, the *Gahapatis*, and the *Setṭhis*, had deep contempt for the low-caste people as will appear.⁷

1. *op. cit.*, p. 252.

2. *Ibid.*; Cf. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 333-5.

3. J., I, pp. 152, 470; II, pp. 124, 241; IV, pp. 227-G. 63; 317, 499, Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 22-3. The *Gahavai* of the Jaina *Uvāsagadasāo* is also a rich land-owner. pp. 45-6; Cf. J., VI, p. 297-G. 1301.

4. See for instance, J., II, p. 121 (*Bodhisatto Bārāṇasito avidūre gāmake gahapatikule nibbatti. Athāssa vāyappattassa Bārāṇasito kuladhītaram ānesum*).

5. J., III, pp. 21; also IV, p. 446.

6. J., II, p. 139; also III, p. 325.

7. e.g., J., IV, p. 378.

The *Gahapati* engages himself in whatever occupation he likes. And even as the term denotes, the *Gahapati* class embraces in its fold all those traders and businessmen, the craftsmen and the artisans whom we noticed in the course of our investigation of the Economic life of the day,¹ in fact the large mass, a conglomeration of differing groups of people following different professions and different rules of life. Though not forming anything like a closed rank, with a social exclusiveness about them or with rigid caste rules binding them all, the *Gahapatis* can be differentiated from the Khattiyas and the Brāhmaṇas on the one hand, and the Suddas and other lower strata of the people on the other. A distinctive atmosphere does, no doubt, surround this class of the *Gahapatis*.

It is interesting to note in this connection that these *Gahapatis* are also known as *Ibbhas* (*Ibhyas*) in our *Jātakas*. This term, *Ibbha*, THE *IBBHAS*. meaning wealthy, occurs also in one of the *Upaniṣads*² and in one of the *Rock Edicts* of Aśoka;³ by it is, no doubt, designated the rich upper and middle class of the society of the times.

Of these *Ibbhas*, one of the *gāthās* in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*⁴ says,

“*Yathāpi Ibbhā dhanandhaññahetu*

Kammāṇi kārenti puthū paṭhavyā ...”

The most important and aristocratic representative of the *Gahapati* class is, of course, the *Setthi* whom we have already known before and therefore we need not repeat here what we have already said about his position, status and functions.

Almost synonymous with the word *Gahapati* is the word *Kuṭumbika* in the *Jātakas*.⁵ It also denotes members of the citizen class, as a rule like the *Gahapatis*, wealthy citizens at the head of a household. The *Kuṭumbikats* lived in towns and villages, but mostly in villages: a leading citizen (*nagaravāsi kulaputta*) seeks for his son the daughter of a *Kuṭumbika* living in a village. The *Kuṭumbikas* living in the town, engage in some business or the other, like that of a cornselling (*dhaññavikkaya*).⁵ Sometimes they are very rich carrying on extensive trade.⁶ The *Kuṭumbikas* in the village are well-to-do peasant-proprietors.

1. Cf. Senart's remarks: The Vaiśyas are, in Brāhmaṇic tradition, chiefly regarded as cultivators and merchants, but Buddhist literature in calling them generally *Gahapatis* or 'householders' brings them strictly into line with the interpretation of the Iranian category (*Vas-trya-Fshuyants*), *op. cit.*, pp. 117-8.

2. See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 80.

3. *R. E.*, V, See Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 183.

4. *J.*, VI, p. 214-G. 929: "As householders to gain a livelihood Count all pursuits legitimate and good."

5. *J.*, II, p. 267.

6. *J.*, IV, p. 370 (*asitikotivibhavo*).



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the town, where he gets money through dancing and singing.¹ Elsewhere² a dancing family (*naṭakakūlaṃ*) maintains itself by begging. Other acrobats, showing the javeline dance³ and exhibiting a wooden puppet worked by hand,⁴ the tumblers rolling about and playing on the ground⁵ and the jugglers (*māyākārā*) deceiving the people's sight with their sleight performing on the stage⁶ are some of the representatives of this class of 'tramps.'

In the same category of wandering jugglers, are to be placed the snake-charmers (*ahigunṭhikā*). They are seen roaming about from village to village exhibiting their charms and powers over the snakes.⁷ One such snake-charmer trains a monkey (*makkato*), gives him an antidote (*osadham gāhāpetvā*) and then allows to play with a snake and in this way earns his livelihood.⁸ Another also has trained an ape; when a festival is announced (*ussave ghutṭhe*), he keeps it with a grain merchant, travels seven days and then lets his snake play (*ahim kilāpento*).⁹ These snake-charmers were clever in their business of catching the snakes. The *Bhūridatta Jātaka*¹⁰ describes in minute details how the snake-charmer Ālambāyana first anoints his body with some drug, eats a little of it, seizes the snake by the tail, and holding him fast, opens his mouth and spits into it the drug that he himself has eaten, then presses him like a pillow and then at last throws him into a basket of creepers (*Vallīpelam*). The story also describes the various appearances the snake has to make at the order of his master. The snake charmer was of course a pastmaster in curing snake-bites.¹¹

We have also mention of a mongoose-tamer (*koṇḍadamako*) of whom it is said that his was a servile occupation (*paratantiyuttabhāva*).¹²

Then there were the musicians (*Gandhabbā*) and their co-artists. Occasions were not rare in those days when festivities (*samajjā*) were held and people enjoyed music and dance. The above-mentioned dancers themselves very often made singing and playing on musical instruments accompany their dances. And there were professional musicians also who came to the festivals and earned their livelihood by their music. A drummer (*bherivādaka*) living in a village, goes with his son to the city when a festival is announced, plays on the drum in the midst of the gathering of the people and gets a good deal of money.¹³ Elsewhere we meet with a conch-blower (*saṅkhaḍhamaka*) who in

1. J., III, p. 507.

2. J., II, p. 167; also III, p. 61.

3. J., I, p. 430.

4. J., V, p. 16-G. 40.

5. J., II, p. 142.

6. J., IV, p. 495-G. 337 "*Māyākārā raṅgamajjhe karontā Mohenti Cakkhūṇi janassa tāvade.*"

7. J., I, p. 370; II, p. 429.

8. J., II, p. 267.

9. J., III, p. 198.

10. J., VI, pp. 181-5, Cf. III, p. 348.

11. "The snake charmers chew some narcotic like tobacco and stupefy the snake with their breath. The docile snake then dances to the tune of music." *Q. J. M. S.*, XXII, p. 429.

12. J., IV, p. 389.

13. J., I, p. 283.

the same way earns money by blowing on his conch.¹ And there were master-musicians also like Gutṭila² and Sagga³ employed in courts and by private persons.

All these artists, as described before, were a disorganized mass. Yet by reason of a common profession they tended, gradually, to form a sort of combination, which eventually marked them off as a separate class by itself. We even notice some of the characteristics of an organization. Some of these professions were hereditary.⁴ To this may be added the fact that these professions were very little respectable and that, consequently, these men were forced to live in isolation. Still, however, the *Jātakas* do not make us feel that they in anyway formed a strict caste; nor was there in them the feeling of race-community, a factor which, according to Fick,⁵ is of great importance in the formation of the despised castes.

In the concluding *gāthās* of the *Tittira Jātaka*⁶ we witness an admirable picture of the life of one of such itinerant people and of the sphere in which their destiny unfolded itself:

“As pedlar thro’ Kalinga land
 Rough roads he travelled, staff in hand;
 With acrobats he has been found,
 And harmless beast in toils has bound;
 With dicers too has often played,
 And snares for little birds he laid;
 In crowds with cudgel-sticks has fought,
 And gain by measuring corn has sought;
 False to his vows in midnight fray
 Wounded, he washed the blood away;
 His hands he burned thro’ being bold
 To snatch at food too hot to hold.”

More settled than these wandering and restless people were the herdsmen, the huntsmen, the fishermen and the foresters. On account of their work, they inclined more to lead a solitary life away from towns, cities and even villages. We observe such people in the *Kunāla Jātaka*:⁷ cowherds (*gopālakā*), netherds (*pasupālakā*), grass-cutters (*tiṇaḥārakā*), stick-gatherers (*kaṭṭhahārakā*) and the foresters (*vanakammikā*). These people no doubt had to visit now and then villages and towns nearby to sell the forest-produce and get their livelihood. But in general they led an isolated life. Sometimes

1. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

2. J., II, p. 249 ff.

3. J., III, pp. 188, 189—G. 56.

4. J., I, pp. 283 (*bherivāḍakakula*); 284 (*saṅkhadhamakakula*); II, pp. 167 (*naṭakakula*); 249 (*gandhabhakula*).

5. *op. cit.* p. 299.

6. J., III, pp. 541-2-GG. 110-4.

7. J., V, p. 417.

however they were in a sufficiently great number to unite into a village community and then they might have formed an organization similar, for example, to that of the artisans.¹

It is interesting to find that among fishermen there were different designations which appear to coincide with the names of modern fishermen castes. Thus the fishermen with nets and baskets (*jālakumināni*) were called *Kerāṭṭas*² and *Kewāṭi* is to-day a name of a class of fishermen.³ The fishermen with the poles were called *bālisikā*.⁴

Turning our eyes again to the busy society of the villages and towns, we cast a glance over another class of people, that of the serving men. We see them 'composed of all possible elements of the population differing in point of race and professional work.'

And though we meet with men of higher and aristocratic castes engaged as day-labourers (*bhataḥkā*) in times of distress as is the fate of the poor *gahapati* of the *Sutano Jātaka*⁵ and of the three Brāhmaṇa girls of the *Suvannahamsa Jātaka*,⁶ they formed a small fragment of the serving classes: the majority of these serving people came from families in which the profession was hereditary, as we find in the *Kummāsapiṇḍa Jātaka*.⁷ However ill-paid and ill-treated the day-labourers might have been, their lot was better than that of the slaves, as we have already seen. And as regards slaves (*dāsā*), with whom we have already become familiar, we may repeat here only this, that they were drawn from all classes under various circumstances; their lot was miserable: their status low; but in spite of their low status, they occupied in society a position in some respects different from that of the despised classes to be noticed shortly. They could not be regarded as impure, like the latter, for they had to work for their masters in manifold household duties like helping their masters in dressing and undressing, assisting in the care of their bodies, preparing and serving their food, and cleansing the house. Moreover, as they lived together in their masters' family, they lacked the local isolation and external combination of the despised castes; consequently, they were not bound up into a caste.⁸

We now come to the lowest strata of the social structure of the day. Speaking of the *Vaiśya* caste in the Epics Hopkins says, "It is probable that at all times the third caste was an elastic term for every Āryan not priest or warrior; but it connoted pure blood and hence excluded those 'mixed castes' which were sometimes higher, but more often lower, than the houseslave. A great mass of these people were the hill-tribes reduced to servitude or to low pursuits,

THE DESPISED
AND THE UN-
TOUCHABLES.

-
1. See, for instance, J., IV, pp. 137 ff.
 2. J., II, p. 178.
 3. Cf. Nesfield, *Caste System*, p. 9; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 302 n.
 4. J., I, p. 482; III, p. 52.
 5. J., III, p. 325.
 6. J., I, p. 475.
 7. J., III, p. 406; also III, p. 444.
 8. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 313.



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how sixteen thousand Brāhmaṇas lost their caste (*abrāhmaṇe kārimsu*) because they, unknowingly though, took food which had been polluted by contact with the leavings of a Caṇḍāla's meal (*Caṇḍālucchiṭṭhabhatta*). And in the *Satadhamma Jātaka*,¹ a Brāhmaṇa commits suicide because he has eaten the leavings from a Caṇḍāla's dish. The fear of pollution is not confined to the Brāhmaṇas alone. A Caṇḍāla is on his way to the gate of the town, but encounters the daughter of the Setṭhi and, attracted by her beauty, stands gazing. The girl, peeping through the curtain of her palanquin, sees him and asks: "Who is that?" and as the answer comes: "A Caṇḍāla, my lady," she cries out: "Bah! I have seen something which brings bad luck!" and washing her eyes with scented water she turns back. Her escorts strike the Caṇḍāla and make him senseless, and go away.² Similarly do we find in the *Citta-Sambhūta Jātaka*³ the two girls polluted by the sight of a Caṇḍāla. Both the girls—one a Setṭhi's daughter and the other a *purohita*'s daughter—come to the city gates and see the two Caṇḍāla boys: "This is an evil omen to see" (*apassitabbayuttakam*), they cry out and wash their eyes with perfumed water and return home. The multitude crying, "O vile outcastes, you have made us lose food and strong drink, which would have cost us nothing," belabour the two Caṇḍāla boys so much that they become senseless. When they recover their sense, one says to the other: "all the misery has come upon us because of our birth. We cannot do this Caṇḍāla-work."⁴ They conceal their birth and go away to Takkaṣilā. "Contemptuous as a Caṇḍāla" has become a proverbial expression, as it is even to-day. In the *Sigāla Jātaka*,⁵ a young lioness, to whom a jackal has made a proposal of marriage, says, "This jackal is consideered low and wretched amongst the beasts, and like a man of low caste (*Caṇḍālasadiso*)."⁶ Elsewhere also we hear this contempt: A Brāhmaṇa designates his adulterous wife as '*Pāpacāṇḍālī*.'⁶

The Caṇḍālas were not only despised and kept isolated from the rest of the society but were distinguished by their outward appearance
 THEIR DRESS. also. Their dress is thus described: clad in a bad red under-garment (*rattadupaṭṭam*) having a belt around him (*kāyabandhanam*), above this a dirty upper-garment (*paṃsukūlasaṃghāṭim*), and an earthen pot in hand.⁷

The Caṇḍālas had probably their own dialect, and by this also they were distinguished from the rest of the population, and preserved
 CANDĀLA- their racial individuality. The two Caṇḍāla boys Citta and
 DIALECT. Sambhūta mentioned before, go to Takkaṣilā, dressed as Brāhmaṇas, and study there. Once, on the occasion of a *Brāhmaṇavācanakam*

1. J., II, p. 82 ff.

2. J., IV, p. 376.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 390-1.

4. *Ibid.*, "Imam amhākam jātim nissāya dukkham uppannam, caṇḍālakammam kām na sakkhissāmā." The idea of a pollution by touch seems to be present even in the *Upaniṣads* Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 6, 4, 113.

5. J., II, p. 6.

6. J., IV, p. 246.

7. J., IV, p. 379, 380-G.1: cf. VI, p. 156—"wore a yellow dress (*kāsavam*) and put a yellow cloth on his head (*haliddapi lotikāya sīsam vethetvā*).

(invitation to the Brāhmaṇas); the students are having a feast at a villager's house. One of the two brothers takes up a ball of hot rice and burns his mouth and asks the other in the Caṇḍāla dialect (*Caṇḍālabhāsā*): "Hot, isn't it? The other too replies in the same dialect and both are thus detected and driven out from the University.¹

As regards the professional work of the Caṇḍālas, the stories tell us very little. Excepting the mention of the two flute-players,² of the OCCUPATION. mander of the old rubbish *jinnapaṭisaṃkhārako*³ and of one who burns corpses,⁴ they do not say anything on the point. It should be doubtful, indeed, that their sphere of activity was so circumscribed, though their low stage of culture prevented them from taking to higher professions, even that of an artisan. Their low position is thus summed up:

"The lowest race that go upon two feet.

Are the Caṇḍālas, meanest men on earth."⁵

Almost equally despised, and mentioned along with the Caṇḍālas, are the *Pukkusas*,⁶ the Brāhmaṇical *Paulkasas*.⁷ These *Pukkusas* PUKKUSAS: were also most probably a non-Āryan race occupying a very low position in society. The *Jātakas* give us very little account of these people. Probably one occupation of theirs was that of removing dead flowers from the temples (*pupphachaddakā*).⁸

Another non-Āryan race standing at a low stage of culture was that of the *Nisādas*, the hunters in general, whom we saw in the beginning of our survey of the Economic life in those days. These NISĀDAS. *Nisādas* are, of course, the *Naiśādas* of the Brāhmaṇical Caste theory, which regards them as descendants of a Brāhmaṇa by a Sūdra woman⁹ and assigns them the work of killing fish and the like.¹⁰ The *Jātakas*, as we know, also give them the work of hunting and fowling.¹¹ "Though this was their professional work," says Fick; "they fell into contempt, for the occupation of a fisherman or hunter which represents in itself the earliest and lowest stage of evolution of human culture, could not in India come to be held in respect, for this reason, that it necessarily presupposed the killing of a living being."¹²

Their low and despised position in society is indicated in various ways in our stories. In the *Culla-Nandiya Jātaka*¹³ it is said that a Brāhmaṇa

1. J., IV, pp. 391-2.

2. J., IV, p. 388.

3. J., V, p. 429: Cf. *Manu*, X, 52.

4. J., V, p. 449-G. 335—*chavadāhakaṃ*: cf. *Manu*, l.c.

5. J., IV, p. 397-G. 39: *Jāti narāṇaṃ adhamā janinda, Caṇḍālayonī dipadākanitthā*...

6. J., III, pp. 194-5 —GG. 65-9; IV, pp. 205-G. 7-9; 303-G. 72; VI, p. 142-G. 636.

7. Cf. *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, 6, 4. 13. According to the Law Books, a *Pukkusa* is a son begotten by a *Niśāda* by a Sūdra woman: *Manu*, X, 18.

8. J., V, p. 449 G. 335: Cf. *Theragāthā*, V, p. 620, where Thera Sunīta sings: "Of low family am I, I was poor and needy. Low was the work which I did, namely, that of removing faded flowers (from temples and palaces). I was despised by men, held in low esteem and reproved." Cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 159.

9. Cf. *Manu*, X, 8.

10. *Ibid.*, X, 48.

11. See, for instance, J., II, p. 132; III, p. 97; IV, pp. 364, 413; V, pp. 110, 337.

12. *op. cit.*, p. 322: Cf. for Greek hunters, Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, p. 236 ff.

13. J., II, p. 200.

youth, coming straight from Takkasila, takes to the occupation of a hunter as he cannot earn his livelihood by any other art. Similarly, the words of the king in the *Rohantamiga Jātaka*¹ asking the hunter to give up his sinful occupation (*pāpaṃ*) and advising other means of livelihood, such as agriculture, trade, lending money, indicate the low estimate in which this profession was held at that time. Elsewhere the son of a Setṭhi makes his friend-hunter to give up his profession.² The Nisādas also, like their fellow-men the Caṇḍālas, live outside villages and towns, in a village by themselves (*nagarato avidūre ekasmin nesādagāmake*).³

In the same category of despised classes come the *Sapākas*, the *Śvapā-*
ṢAPĀKAS. *kas* of the Brāhmanical theory whom Mānu⁴ calls as the descendants of a Kṣatriya by an Ugra woman. A verse in the *Mātanga Jātaka*⁵ says :

“You know we live on what we chance to get
 Rise ! let the low-caste churl enjoy a bit.”

Besides these despised people whom Fick likes to call “ethnical castes”⁶
 as they were held together by a common race, we meet with
 LOW-PRO- other groups of people who, by their mean word, were also
 FESSIO- despised and isolated from the ‘civilized’ castes of the
 NAL CASTES. people. These are characterized by Fick as ‘low professional castes.’ These also were non-Āryan races carrying on manual work and, therefore, low and then despised in the eyes of the more refined and leisure-seeking Āryan conquerors. Senart says : “Nowhere in antiquity have the Indo-Europeans shown any great taste for manual professions. The Greeks and Romans left them to slaves or intermediate classes, freed men and members of the household. The Āryans settled in villages and at first completely pastoral in occupation, had even less need to follow them in India than elsewhere. Manual labour was destined in general to remain the lot of either the aborigines or of the peoples whose hybrid or doubtful origin relegated them to the same level. . . . the fear of defilement closed a number of professions to the Āryans ; . . . the aborigines, too numerous to sink individuality to the condition of domestic slaves, and driven by circumstances into the blind alley of manual trade, were led both by their own traditions and by the influence the Āryans to form themselves into new groups in which the profession seemed to be the connecting link.”⁷

1. J., IV, p. 422-G. 112.

2. J., III, p. 51.

3. J., II, p. 36 ; IV, p. 422.

4. X. 19, 38 ; 51.

5. J., IV, p. 380-G.2 : *Jānāsi tvam paradattūpaṇivim uttitha pinḍam labhataṃ sapāko.*

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 324. The Brāhmaṇical Caste theory considered all these into mixed castes. See *Manu*, X, I, 45. Among these are also the *Ambatṭhas* in J., IV, p. 363-G. 248, and the *Uggas* in J., VI, pp. 353-G.(?) and 490-G. 1714, who are called by Mānu as descendants of a Brāhmaṇa by a Vaiśya woman and of a Kṣatriya by a Śūdra woman respectively. *Manu*, X, 8.9 : Senart remarks : “the explanation of ‘mixed castes’ can never have deceived anyone ; flagrant impossibilities condemn it at sight.” *op. cit.*, p. 101.

7. *op. cit.*, pp. 202-3 ; Cf. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 325 and n.



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CHAPTER .II

KUTUMBA OR THE FAMILY

The unit of society was, as it has been till the present day, the *Kutumba* or the family which comprised a patriarch, his wife (or wives), *KUTUMBA.* his unmarried daughters, and his sons with their wives and children. Marriage in this period was usually monogamic, though polygamy was not unknown but limited mainly to the richer class and the nobility. In the household, the patriarch was the head and master with absolute authority; the wife was the mistress but dependent on, and obedient to, the master. Of the position of women *per se* we shall shortly try to get a clear idea.

Children were naturally the happy corner of the household. Prayers for getting children were not uncommon.¹ On the birth of a *CHILDREN.* child, neighbours and relatives came with offerings (*khiramūlam*) to the parents of the new-born child.² There was a day fixed for naming the child (*nāmagahanādivasa*).³ Names were usually formed after those of the ancestors or from the mother's or the father's side.⁴ Probably in the case of a girl a sacrifice called the *navamiya* was performed nine days after the birth.⁵ It seems that a feeling of difference was maintained between a girl and a boy as the following utterances of the king in the *Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka*⁶ and of the *purohita* in the *Uddālaka Jātaka*⁷ suggest: "If it be a girl, spend this ring on her nurture; but if it be a boy, bring ring and child to me." Children were carried on hips (*aṅkenādāya*),⁸ as is well-known. As play, mirth, merry-making and enjoyment have been the very life-breath of children in all countries and in all ages (*Ānando ca pamādo ca sadā hasitakīlitaṃ*),⁹ we see them here in our stories, making hills from the dustheaps,¹⁰ the girls shaking sand in a small winnowing basket (nice training for their later life),¹¹ the urchins playing at the foot of the banyan tree at the entrance of the village¹² or having a ride on young bulls of the village¹³ or else harassing the poor mother by refusing to go to the field.¹⁴ Ideal children were recognized as "nobly-bred, quick-witted and easy men to please whatever thing be sped."¹⁵

1. J., II, p. 328; V, p. 312.

2. J., V, p. 127.

3. J., I, p. 404; VI, p. 332.

4. J., IV, p. 298; VI, pp. 332 (*ayyakādīnam*); 485-G. 1700—"na mahyam mattikaṃ nāmaṃ, na pi pettikasaṃbhavam."

5. J., VI, p. 522-G. 1958.

6. J., I, p. 134.

7. J., IV, p. 298.

8. J., II, p. 127; VI, p. 513.

9. J., V, p. 330-GG. 177-8.

10. J., VI, p. 559-G. 2235.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

12. J., III, p. 202.

13. J., I, p. 194.

14. J., VI, p. 377.

15. J., IV, p. 428-G. 132 "*puttā sujātā . . . paññājavena sampannā sammodanti tato tato.*"

Of domestic affection and happiness we have a rare representation in our stories. Folklore, portraying, as it does, the real domestic life, has always been highly prized. The joint-family system was, in those times, it seems, free from the vices that attend it at the present time.¹

The relation of child and parent was clearly one of affection, as a rule; for the father is regarded as the type of all that is good and kind. Parents are recognized as god-like.² '*Brahmā hi mātā pitaro pubbācariyā ti vuccare.*'³ so we are told in the *Soṇa-Nanda Jātaka*, which deals beautifully with the relations of parent and child. Supporting parents in their old age was considered an imperative duty, enjoined by religion and, more so, by tradition.⁴ We have, in the *Vessantara Jātaka*,⁵ a noble and sublime representation of that parental love, that precious bond between parent and child which is self-evident. We observe Vessantara and Maddī respectfully making obeisance to his father who with his hand strokes them pleasantly.⁶ Elsewhere⁷ we have a vivid picture of a beautiful girl "like a nymph of heaven" fanning her father with a palm-leaf as he lies on a little bed to allay discomfort after his early meal. Children sitting down to meals with their parents, instead of waiting upon them, was considered as a sign of lamentable decay of respect towards parents.⁸ The relation between brothers and sisters was also, as a rule, happy. "The name of a brother a strong link is found, to join those akin to each other": So we hear in the *Mamsa Jātaka*⁹ and in another we hear that sisters surely are loving towards their brothers.¹⁰ And if the ideal prevailed among the folk that:

"A father's, or a mother's pain or sister's to relieve

A man should never hesitate his very life to give,"¹¹ the utterance that:

"A parent's fond heart to pity is moved,

the cry of 'Dear Father' to hear"¹²

is as true and sincere as it is natural, since this human bondage is eternal and all-pervading.

1. Cf. "But India aimed at the sublimation of the institution of the family with a deliberately conceived social and political purpose." S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, II, p. 280.

2. J., VI, p. 364 "*Pubbadevatā nāma mātāpitāro.*"

3. J., V, p. 331-G. 182.

4. J., III, pp. 137, 270, 325; IV, pp. 45, 90, 280-G, 10; 417. V, p. 492-GG. 433-4.

5. J., VI, pp. 479-594.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 584-G. 2407-8.

7. J., III, p. 283.

8. J., I, p. 453.

9. J., III, p. 50-G. 58. '*Aṅgam etaṃ manussānaṃ bhātā loke pavuccati.*'

10. J., III, p. 165 '*Bhaginiyo nāma bhātusu sasnehā.*'

11. J., VI, p. 587-G. 2432: *mātula*—maternal uncle—was a term of affection used between men and men: J., II, p. 301. For the importance of this mother's brother in the Epics and the *Purāṇas* See Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

12. J., III, p. 50-G. 59—"Tātā ti putto vandamāno kaṃpeti hadayaṃ pitu."

MOTHER AND CHILD. But the utmost sublimity lies in the affection of a mother towards her child. And the stories are so full of pathos and happiness, joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, while presenting this aspect of human love, that they may well stand out as one of the sublimest pieces of world's Folklore.

The *Soṇa-Nanda Jātaka*,¹ just referred to, presents before us, in all sublimity, the bond of love that always is between parents and children. The Brāhmaṇa husband and wife and their two sons, Soṇa and Nanda, are living in a hermitage on the Himalayas. The two brothers tender their parents, do everything for them. Later on the elder reproaches the younger for not serving the parents satisfactorily, and asks him to go away elsewhere. Nanda goes away. And when after more than seven years he returns, the mother's heart is filled with inexpressible tender feelings. She runs towards her son, embraces him, smells and kisses (*cumbitvā*) his head, and keeps her heart at rest, and then says :

“Just as the tender bo-tree shoot is shaken by the blast,
 So throbs my heart with joy at sight of Nanda come at last,
 Nanda, methinks, as in a dream returned I seem to see,
 Half mad and jubilant I cry, ‘Nanda comes back to me.’
 But if on waking I should find my Nanda gone away,
 To greater sorrow then before my soul would be a prey.
 Back to his parents dear to-day Nanda at last has come,
 Dear to my lord and me alike, with us he makes his home.
 Though Nanda to his sire is dear, let him stay where he will—
 Thou to thy father's wants attend—Nanda shall mine fulfill.”²

The following *gāthās*, still more clearly, put before us the type of an affectionate mother with all her joys and anxieties, more sublimely than even Wordsworth could :

“Craving a child in prayer, she kneels each holy shrine before,
 The changing seasons closely scans and studies astral lore.
 Pregnant in course of time she feels her tender longings grow,
 And soon the unconscious babe begins a loving friend to know,
 Her treasure for a year or less she guards with utmost care,
 Then brings it forth and from that day a mother's (*janetti*) name will
 bear.

With milky breast and lullaby (*gītena*) she soothes the fretting child
 Wrapped in his comforter's warm arms his woes are soon beguiled.
 Watching o'er him poor innocent, lest wind or heat annoy,

1. J., V, pp. 312 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 328-9 G. 159-63.



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And, then, who can ever forget the slim and tender-hearted figure of Maddi, wife of that Prince-sage Vessantara, pining for her dear children Kanhā and Jāli, for she has been late in returning to the hermitage being obstructed on the way? Her feelings are hard to be reproduced here in piecemeal. They should be experienced from the story itself, the *Vessantara Jātaka*,¹ the noblest and the sublimest in the whole of the *Jātaka* collection and, to our mind, in the world's literature or folklore.

We only quote this verse spoken by the boy Jāli, bereft of his mother :

“How true that saying seems to be
Which men are wont to tell :
Who has no mother of his own
Is fatherless as well.”²

But, are we here all along playing upon mere sentiments and poetic imagination, and have no basis on the realities of life? The suspicion does arise but we cannot share in it. We cannot for a moment believe ourselves that all these are mere ideas, and do not reflect real life. No piece of folklore can ever remain out of touch with real life : if it does, it is something else, but not a piece of folklore.

Anyway, nobody will object to our contention that domestic love and family tie were in those days on a sound footing.

The son, after marriage which was largely controlled by his parents as we shall see, must have lived in the same house and under *JETTHAKA*. the control of his father. But clearly as the father's years advanced, the care of the household fell on the shoulders of the eldest son.³ After the death of his father, the son looked after the family property,⁴ and if the son was yet young, the management was in the hands of the mother.⁵ Brothers were entitled to equal shares of the family estate.⁶ It seems probable that there was a tendency for the family to break up as soon as the parent died. The sons would then stay in the vicinity of one another for mutual support and assistance. In this way, the little knot of houses of the several branches of the family would together form the nucleus of the second stage in the society, the *nāti* a predominant feature of the sociology of the times.

1. J., VI, pp. 480-593, specially *gāthās*, 2213-2289.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 553-G, 2189—*Saccam kira evam āham su
narā kira evam āham su
yassa natthi sakā mātā
Pitā natthi tatheva so.*”

Cf. for motherly feelings, *ibid.*, pp. 19-20-GG. 50-5.

3. J., V, p. 326-G. 149 : *Jetthaka* is mod. *Jeth*, elder brother of a woman's husband.

4. J., I, pp. 226, 337 ; III, pp. 56, 300 : *Cf.* Subbarao, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

5. J., IV, p. 1.

6. J., III, pp. 57, 300, 302-GG, 106-109.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATIONS

Throughout history Man has remained a social being. Why Man alone? Sociability is indeed a common instinct in every living being. This is luminously clear from our stories which deal with Man and Animal alike. To keep oneself surrounded by relations is an instinct of self-preservation. The whole of the *Taccha-Sūkara Jātaka*¹ reveals this in a marked manner. A Boar, reared up by a carpenter, thinks to himself, when grown up: "I cannot live alone by myself in this forest; what if I search out my kindred, and live in their midst? (*ñātāke pariyesitvā tēhi parivuto vasissāmi.*)"² He then not only lives amidst his kindred folk, but takes the leading in vanquishing their common foe, the Tiger, and thus provides a fitting illustration for the all-embracing maxim:

"United friends, like forest trees—it is a pleasant sight,

The Boars united, at one charge the Tiger killed outright."³

Of course, there always are gradations in relationship from the family onwards, according to the variations of interests: "*Mātāpitumittasuhajja-ñātivaggo*—father, mother, friends, kinsmen and acquaintances"—this is the phrase⁴ which gives some of the prominent circles of this relationship. But in all these, *ñāti* appears to be an all-embracing term and is frequently to be met with in the stories. It is a term used not so much in the sense of blood-relations (*salohita*) as in the much wider sense of an acquaintance (as the root *ñā* clearly means *to know*) in whom a relation was undoubtedly merged. Well-fare of their *ñātis* was the chief solicitude of the people of those days. In their daily life, the people were guided by the love of those whom they knew well, their friends and acquaintances. No important activity could be done without taking one's *ñātis* into confidence. Even the king held consultation with his *ñātis*, over and above his officers and subjects.⁵ The Owl was made king by his *ñātis*.⁶ The *ñāti* gathers together and laments over the death of one of its members.⁷ The wealthy, if he is wise and considerate, should share his wealth along with his *ñāti* in order that he may win fame and rejoice in

1. J., IV, pp. 344 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 344-G. 161.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 349-G. 176; See also *ibid.*, p. 346—GG. 168—*ñātī ca disvāna samāgi ekato*; G-163—*ko n' amhākaṃ idha sattū, ko ñātī susamāgate*; G-172—*samagge sahite ñātī vyagge ca kurute vase*.

4. J., V, p. 132. Cf. II, p. 29-G. 15: The *Uvāgadasāo*, p. 5, gives more: *Mitta-ñāyiniyaga-sayana-sambandhi-parijana*—friend, kinsmen, members of one's own family, one's blood relations, connected by marriage, one's dependents—Hornle's tr. p. 8, n. 16.

5. J., IV, p. 134-GG. 96, 103-4; V, p. 190-G. 238.

6. J., II, p. 353—G. 58: *Sabbehi kira ñātīhi kosiyo issaro kato*.

7. J., IV, p. 51.

heaven.¹ ‘*Mayā tvam samanūññāto sotthim passatu ñātake,*’ says a fowler while setting free a bird he had caught. The liberated bird expresses the same desire in return: ‘*Evam luddaka nandassu saha sabbehi ñātihi.*’² He who is faithful to his friends is of all kin the best;³ kingdom (*rajja*), relations (*ñātaka*) and wealth (*dhanam*) are the three things worth consideration by a reluctant Prince.⁴ A widowed queen, big with child, arriving to an unknown city was asked as to whether there was any *ñātaka*, relation, of hers in that city.⁵

“One mortal dies—to kindred ties born in another straight:

Each creature’s bliss dependent is on this associate”⁶

so we hear in the *Dasaratha Jātaka*. To have a respectable position in the midst of one’s own *ñāti* was one of the highest aims of the people.⁷ Blessings of his *ñāti* a Prince should always covet; for surrounded by them he is always safe.⁸ So intense is the bond of affection that a parrot never leaves its tree ‘though a dead stump,’ because it is its *ñāti* and its *sakhā*.⁹

The *ñāti* was, most probably, a circle of relations where caste or creed had no place and recognition, and marriage as we shall presently see was contracted in such *ñātis*.

Even more sacred and stronger than the bond between an individual and his (or her) *ñāti*, was the tie of friendship (*metti*).
 Numerous are the stories which, with appropriate parables and similes and with knowledge of real life, exemplify the high value of friendship. To a man, a friend was nearer and dearer than his *ñāti*.

But to establish friendship is no easy task. For the world is full of deceitful appearances. Therefore caution is required at every step. You may have friends. But if they be sense-lacking, they may turn out your foes and ruin you, even as the son, in the *Makasa Jātaka*,¹⁰ cleft his father’s skull, while slaying the gnat, or as the girl Rohiṇī laid low her mother, while drawing the flies away.¹¹ Unthinking people, contracting friendship with anybody and everybody, share the fate of the lion Manoja at the hands of the jackal Giriya,¹² or of the sage Indasamānagotta at the hands of his pet elephant,¹³ or again of the whole family of the iguanas (*godhā*) at the

1. J., III, p. 302—*Dhīro bhoge adhigamma Saṃgaṇhāti ca ñātake* ... Cf. IV. p. 127, G. 92.

2. J., IV, pp. 418-G. 98.

3. J., VI, p. 14-G. 15. *Nātinam uttamo hoti yo mittānam na dūbhati.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 15-G. 23; see also *ibid.*, p. 19-G. 48.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

6. J., IV, p. 127-G. 90.

7. J., VI, p. 360, G. “*tasseva tam rūhati ñatimajjhe.*

8. J., IV, p. 135-GG. 103-4” ... *ñātiparibulham... amittā nappasahanti.*”

9. J., III, p. 492-5. GG. 23, 28, 38.

10. J., I, pp. 247-G. 43.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 249-G. 44.

12. J., III, pp. 323 and GG. 10-13.

13. J., II, pp. 42 ff. and GG. 21-22.



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ship—in the minds of those who might have heard this story or among whom it originated. And people in those days, as even now, must have had to pass through bitter experience in contracting, and, all the more so, in maintaining their friendship; and it was from this experience that they learnt for themselves, and tried to warn their fellow-brethren, that to the slanderer's whispered sneer one should never lend a willing ear, for 'slander parts friend from friend'; but he,¹

“On his friend in trust will rest
As child upon its mother's breast,
And ne'er will by a stranger's word
Be parted from his bosom's lord—”²

a great psychological truth indeed!

The virtues which were to be found in a true friend are enumerated in the *Mittāmitta Jātaka*³ and 'are quite simple and indicative of the early existence of the Āryan society in a strange land surrounded by unfriendly people.'⁴ They are: he remembers his friend when he is away from home, feels delighted at his return, soothes him with gentle words when ailing, is among his well-wishers and not his enemies, restrains others from speaking evil of him, is in company with those who praise him, extols his wisdom and praises his works, rejoices in his prosperity and feels downhearted at his fall, opens his secrets to him and never betrays his, feels at a banquet the want of his company and expresses the desire that he might also meet with the same.

Not without reason, such feelings are constantly expressed. "Adversity, it is said, makes strange bedfellows and the limited circle of acquaintances in a small state not in a position to give adequate protection to individuals made them largely dependent on mutual comradeship and friendly alliances in which consideration of caste or creed had practically no place."⁵

The people in those days moreover were, as they even now are in remote villages, hospitable to strangers. The door of friendship HOSPITALITY. was also open to these strangers. They also became acknowledged friends, upon some practical demonstration of friendly motives. Residence for a single night, receiving the hospitality of a stranger by accepting from him food, drink and shelter, was enough to bind the guest and the host in close friendship. The wise Vidhura thus expressed to Punṇaka, the *Yakkha*, who showed indications of an unfriendly attitude: "In whosoever house a man dwells even for one night, and receives there food and drink, let him not conceive an evil thought against him in his mind; he who is treacherous to his friend burns the innocent

1. J., III, p. 151-GG. 189-92.

2. J., III, p. 193-G. 64.

3. J., IV, p. 197-8-GG. 77-87; also II, p. 131-GG. 89-90.

4. Gokuldas De, *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1931, p. 117.

5. *Ibid.*

hand that hitherto remained free from wound.”¹ Such a host-friend was likened unto a tree that sheltered even for a little while the refuge, who sought it.² The host’s duty it was to honour the guest (*sakkārasam-mānaṃ*) by washing and anointing his feet and seating him on a seat (*āsanaṃ*).³ Rightly says the merchant in the *Piṭha Jātaka*.

“The custom of our family-’twas so

Received by us from ages long ago—

Is to provide the stranger with a seat,

Supply his needs, bring water for his feet.

And every guest as kinsman dear to treat.”⁴

The same words might still be heard in some remote village or the other of this ancient land.

1. J., VI, p. 310-g. 1364.

2. *Ibid.* G. 1365—*yassa rukkhassa chāyāya nisideyya sayeyya vā. na tassa sākhaṃ bhañ-jeyya*” also V, pp. 240-G. 153; 72-G. 222; 87-G. 260-61; VI, p. 256.

3. J., III, p. 10; IV, p. 52. The term used for a guest is *Pāhuneyyaka* (mod. *marathī paunā*): J., III, p. 440.

4. J., III, p. 120-G. 147-8.

CHAPTER IV

POSITION OF WOMAN

Having had a cursory glance over the structure of society, the various classes of which it was composed and then the units of Society, *i.e.*, the family and the relations, we now pass on to examine the different aspects, the different fields, into which the manifold activities of the people in those days revealed themselves. Our main object here will be to depict real life, life as it was actually lived by the general mass of the people among whom, for the most part, these stories originated, life material as well as spiritual.

It is no exaggeration to say that in Ancient India, if the family was the unit of the social fabric, domestic or household affairs centred in no less degree round the woman. The picture of the family that we have drawn, however feeble, has the lady of the house in the centre of the canvas.

In order to understand and estimate fairly the position of woman in those days, we have to deal with two types of evidence in the stories : the one is the great mass of abstract statements about her, scattered here and there, mainly in the didactic *gāthās*, the other is what we obtain from the actions done and parts played by the female characters in the stories themselves. The former evidence, as usual, should be handled with caution, for such passages are often avowedly prejudiced in tone and substance. Moreover, they are often contradictory, as is natural, and it may not be possible to reconcile statements found in one place with those in another. On the other hand, the simple stories, when outstripped of didactic garment, give us a firmer ground to stand upon. And still, the abstract statements need not be wholly set aside : what we have to do is to see how far they harmonize with the general atmosphere, with the examples recorded in the stories. By doing so we shall be able to see that the *Jātakas* depict the bright as well as the dark side of female character. It is a vivid picture that we are going to see.

To proceed now with the subject proper, it seems convenient to try to analyse the position of woman through the four stages of life : childhood, youth, maturity and old age.

The first stage is naturally spent in her father's home. To the Hindu father a daughter has not been, for various social and economic reasons, a great blessing as the son, who has been considered fit to save his father from hell (theoretically), and to support him in old age (in practice);¹ yet, once a daughter is born, the natural affection cannot be denied : it is against human bondage. If there was some distinction between a boy and a girl, as we saw above, it was only outwardly. A

1. The birth of a female child is sometimes looked upon as a sign of ill-luck : Cf. *Thiyotassa pajāyanti na pumā jāyare kule Yo jānaṃ pucchito paṇaṃ aññathā naṃ viyākare*: J., III, p. 459-G. 54.



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year or more without getting married was a rare, quite an exceptional case. In the *Aimba Jātaka*, one of the four daughters of a merchant of Benares thus takes an oath (*sapatha*) before the false ascetic :

“Let the maid that robbed thy tree, vainly for a husband sigh,

Past her teens though she may be, and on thirty verging nigh.¹”

This, *inter alia*, suggests that though the girl getting married at sixteen or so was the general custom, circumstances did, sometimes, force them to remain without a husband (*appatikā kumārikā*) for some time more.² The son's age at the time of marriage is also generally given as 16;³ but it seems probable, at least in the case of the Khattiyas and the Brāhmanas and all those who went out for education at that age, as we saw, that twenty or so was the age of marriage. After all, there cannot be, as there never have been, such hard and fast rules as regards marriageable age. The bride of equal age, (*tulyavayā*) for instance, is not unknown.⁴

Similarly, limitations on marriage imposed by Brāhmanic usage and injunctions are conspicuous by their absence in the stories, and even sister-marriage is not quite unknown. In the *Udaya Jātaka*,⁵ leaving aside the doubtful case of Rāma and Sītā in the *Dasaratha Jātaka*,⁶ we find Prince Udaya marrying his own sister, Princess Udayabhaddā, though born of a different mother (*vemātikabhaginīm*).

The marriage of cousins also appears to have been in vogue. Both in the *Asilakkhaṇa* and the *Mudupāṇi Jātakas*,⁷ we see a king giving away his daughter in marriage to his sister's son (*bhāgineyyo*). It was this form of cousin-marriage. *i.e.*, marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother (*mātuladhītā*) or the son of the father's sister (*pitucchāputto*) which was usual, and even desirable. The wicked queen of Padumakumāra, after having hurled her husband down the precipice in a forest and taking a crippled fellow for her paramour, goes about abegging among the people, pretending to be a devoted wife. And when asked by the people what the man is to her, she in a proud tone says: “He is the son of my father's sister, given me by my family

1. J., III, p. 138-G. 170.

*Viśam vā paṇṇuvīsam vā
Ūnatimsam va jātiyā
Tādisā patim mā laddhā
Yā te ambe avāhari.*” also G. 171-2.

2. J., V, pp. 103-G. 321-104-G. 324.

3. J., VI, pp. 72, 363; an anonymous verse quoted by Abhayadeva in his Commentary to *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 72, says: *Dviraṣṭāvarṣā yoṣitpañcaviṃśatyādiko pumān: anayorniruttarā prītiḥ, svarga ityabhidhīyate*; Vātsyāyana also says that the bride should be younger by three years or more than the groom: *Kāmasūtra*, p. 184.

4. J., IV, p. 76-G. 134. Cf. Gokul Das De, who takes *Sādisī* in the sense of *tulyavayā*: *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1931, p. 110.

5. J., IV, p. 105.

6. J., IV, p. 130.

7. J., I, p. 457; II, p. 327.

my own husband.”¹ So also Prince Vessantara is married to his maternal uncle’s sister, Princess Maddī (*mātuladhītaram*)² Presumably, the other form of cousin-marriage i.e., marriage with the daughter of the mother’s sister or the son of the father’s brother was not usual.³

Marriage was usually of three forms: marriage arranged by parents of both parties, *Svayamvara* and *Gāndharva* marriage. The commonest form of marriage was that arranged by parents of both the parties, and established between two families of the same caste (*jāti*) and rank (*kulam*); marriage within one’s own *jāti* was the rule. And it is probable that the *jātis* of the stories were endogamous. Almost everywhere we notice the effort to keep the family pure through marriage confined to people of one’s own standing and profession, and not to allow it to degenerate through mixture with lower elements.⁴ Such is more usually the case with the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa parents, in the *Ananusociya Jātaka*,⁵ give express instructions to the people whom they send for finding a girl for their son to bring a Brāhmaṇa girl (*Brāhmaṇakumārikam ānethā*). The ordinary course, however, is that the parents bring a wife for their son from a family of the same caste (*samānajātikakulā*).⁶ ‘*Sādīsī bhariyā*,’ or wife of the same type, is a phrase frequently occurring in the *gāthās*.⁷ But exceptions regarding caste and rank are not unknown. Thus for instance *Senāpati* Ahipāraka married a merchant’s daughter, Ummadantī.⁸

Generally do we find that to the inclinations of young people, very little or no weight was attached in matters regarding marriage (*āvāhavivāha*). ‘Much against his will’ is an oft-occurring sentence in this connection. We always read that the elders consult with each other, and sometimes inform their grown-up children; but ultimately the parent’s will prevails.⁹ Something more still. It may sometimes happen that the chief members of two families made a compact in their youth that if one of them had a daughter and other a son, they would wed the pair together (*āvāhavivāha*).¹⁰

1. J., II, p. 119.

2. J., VI, p. 486: see also IV, p. 49.

3. It is significant enough that most of cousin-marriages recorded in other literature are those of the former type: maternal uncle’s daughter and father’s sister’s son: Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 475; for instance Vajirā and Ajātasattu: *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 2, 3; Jyēsthā and Nandi Vardhana, elder brother of Mahāvira: in fact it was a common custom in some parts: Cf. *Purāṭatva*, I, pp. 265-6; also *Kāmasūtra*, p. 200.

4. Cf. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

5. J., III, p. 93.

6. J., I, pp. 199, 475; II, pp. 139, 225, III, pp. 93, 162, 422, 510; IV, pp. 7, 22, 37, 255; 305; VI, p. 72. This is akin to the *Prājāpatya* form of marriage of the Hindu Law Books.

7. J., IV, pp. 99-G. 24; 428-G. 130. There is also an indication of the fact that the law for regulating marriage generally was that the parties should be of different agnates (*gotta*). So we are told in the *Kacchapa Jātaka*. *Kacchapā kassapā honti, koṇḍañṇā honti makkaṭṭā Muñca kassapa koṇḍañṇam katam methunakam tayā*: J., II, p. 360-G. 69; Cf. *migī pakkhī assaññuttā*: J., III, p. 265-G. 58; *nāma-gotta-kula* at J., IV, p. 328.

8. J., V, p. 211.

9. J., III, p. 510; IV, p. 305; J. VI, p. 72.

10. J., IV, p. 316; VI, p. 71.

In this form of marriage a wife was, for the most part, obtained for money paid to her father's family by the husband or his father. Passages like '*kūto dhanena bahunā*' (spoken by a monkey who does not differentiate between the husband and the wife),¹ '*bharyā dhanakkūtā*'² or '*bharyā yā pi dhanena hoti kūtā*,'³ sufficiently testify to the prevalence of the practice of giving daughter in marriage in exchange of money. Thus speaks Udayabhaddā before her former husband who has come to test her :

Men that would woo a woman, raise and raise

The bids of gold, till she their will obeys.⁴

Still however money was not the sole consideration in these matters : the character and virtues of the bridegroom and the bride were of primary importance. It may sometimes be considered rather preferable, in the case of a father having more than one daughter, to have them placed in the hands of one groom of known good character and manners.⁵ The *ācariya* of a family advises the father of four daughters as to the kind of the grooms he should select for them :

"Good is beauty ; to the aged show respect, for this right

Good is noble birth ; but virtue, virtue, that is my delight."⁶

The father gives all his four daughters—wooed by four different persons—to the one virtuous wooer.

The usual practice in this form of marriage was that the bridegroom used to come to the bride's house for marriage on the fixed days.⁷ CEREMONIES: Lucky days were fixed for the ceremony. Once an ascetic is consulted as to whether stars are favourable for holding marriage ceremonies. The fixed day is however found inauspicious and the bridegroom does not come to the bride's house for marriage and the girl is married away to another.⁸ The bridegroom and his party were received with great honour, and were provided with lodging and other requisites—garlands, perfumes, garments and the rest.⁹ We do not know much about the ceremonies that were to be performed at the marriage. Whether the *purohita* or a Brāhmaṇa in general had any thing to do with marriage celebrations, we are not told; 'the presumption is that he did nothing in this connection as marriage was not yet included in religion or considered a sacred function.'¹⁰ We once hear of the father of the bride pouring water over

1. ., II, p. 185-G. 137.

2. ., V, p. 269-G. 126.

3. J., IV, p. 112-G. 56 ; also III, p. 44 ; VI, pp. 267-G. 1154-7, 367.

4. J., IV, p. 108-G. 43. '*Nāri naro nijjhapayam dhanena Ukkamsati yattha karoti chandam*.'

5. G. D. De, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

6. J., II, p. 138-G. 96 ; also IV, p. 35-G. 54.

7. J., II, pp. 225-6 ; cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, I, p. 11.

8. ., I, p. 258.

9. J., IV, p. 323.

10. G. D. De, *op. cit.*, p. 109.



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of it remain for ever.' In the *Jātaka* times, *Svayamvara*—free choice of a husband by a girl—was only an exceptional boon,² conferred on her by her father with whom the final verdict might still remain.

We may also note the third form of marriage—what may be called the *Gāndharva* marriage—in which the bride and bridegroom make their own choice, without the knowledge of their guardians, and are married without rights or ceremonies.³

GĀNDHARVA
MARRIAGE.

Thus we hear in the *Kaṭṭhahāri Jātaka*⁴: a king has gone to his pleasure garden, sees a woman merrily singing and picking up sticks in the grove, falls in love with her, becomes intimate with her; the woman conceives: the king gives her the signet-ring from his finger, saying: "If it be a girl, spend this ring on her nurture; but if it be a boy, bring him to me." In course of time, the woman is made queen-consort and the son viceroy. This again is a reminiscence of the celebrated union of Śakuntalā with Duṣyanta. In the *Vīṇāthūṇa Jātaka*,⁵ we read of a girl who, though betrothed to a rich man, goes away with a hunchback. Later on, however, she is disappointed on seeing this hunchback lying huddled on the earth 'like a lute with broken strings,' and returns to her betrothed husband. In the *Mahāummagga Jātaka*,⁶ we find Mahosadha disregarding the idea that others—his sister Udumbarā for instance,—should choose a wife for him; he himself goes to seek a 'wife to suit his taste,' meets the village girl Amarā on the way, has a long wooing chat with her, lives for some days in her house and finally carries her away.

So also the following *gāthā*, similar to the one quoted before, and uttered by another young maiden of high parentage, in denying on oath the false charge of stealing mangoes in a garden, indicates the existence of *abhisārikās* waiting in search of their lovers:

"She that thy ripe mangoes ate
Weary path shall tread alone,
And at trysting place too late
Grieve to find her lover gone."⁷

Instances of elopement and abduction must also have occurred, as when a king slew his enemy-king and bore off his queen to be

1. Even in the Epic Age this *svayamvara* was probably only meant for the Kṣatriyas: See Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-2.

2. J., I, p. 207. Here may also be noted some instances where we hear of young men, causing golden images, the like of which they would have in real life as their wives, and sending them all over the country. J. III, p. 93; IV, p. 105.

3. I. H. Q., II, p. 1568.

4. J., I, p. 134 ff.

5. J., II, pp. 225-6-G. 163.

6. J., VI, p. 364 ff.

7. J., III, p. 139-G. 171: (See next page.)

his own wife,¹ or when a robber-chieftain kidnapped a village girl and kept her as his wife.²

To come now to the question of the wife's position in her husband's home. CO-WIVES. We should first note, that she may have to put up with co-wives (*Sapatti*), though rarely. As a general rule, people were no doubt monogamous. Very rarely, if at all, do we hear of people bringing a second wife while the first is still living. Only once, as far as we can gather, we read of a Brāhmaṇa asking for, and receiving, two wives, and that too as a boon from a king.³ Princes, of course, are always polygamous, considering it a privilege to have a crowded harem, with a rare exception of a Prince Suruci.⁴ And it is here, among the royal household, that we can have a glance over the relations between co-wives: "What is the worst misery for a woman?" asks a king of his queen while intending to give away his daughter in marriage to another prince, as already promised. "To quarrel with her fellow-wives (*sapatti-rosadukkham*)," so answers the queen.⁵ And if the same princess Sumedhā, after being married to Prince Suruci, who, at first monogamous, is afterwards forced to accept the usual number of sixteen thousand concubines, through people's and his own queen's requests, speaks out that:

"No less than sixteen thousand dames my fellow-wives have been:

Yet, Brahmin, never jealousy nor anger came between;

At their good fortune I rejoice; each one of them is dear;

My heart is soft to all these wives as though myself it were,"⁶

she is a rare exception, proving, negatively, the opposite. 'Anger of a co-wife is a serious thing,' so asserts the Nāga woman in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*.⁷

Thus, if polygamy was a rare incident in general life, polyandry was not less so. Princess Kaṇhā's polyandrous marriage POLYGAMY & POLYANDRY. stands out as a solitary case in the whole of the *Jātaka* book; but this too does not fall in our period—the Mahājanapada period: it is a trait of an anterior period, viz., the Epic age. And even in the Epic period the particular form

*Dīgham gacchantu addhānam ekikā abhisāriyā
saṁkhetē paṭim mā adassa yā te ambe avāharī.*

There is a delightful wooing scene of a cock and a she-cat at J., III, pp. 265-6-GG, 57-62. It is also delightful to note that the wood, usually a *Sāla*-grove, is the scene of love-making. Once a poor man, gone into the woodland to gather sticks and leaves with his sister, comes running up hearing the cry of closing of the city-gates. And the door-keeper reproaches him: "Don't you know that the gate of the town is shut betimes? Is that why you go out into the woods, making love?" Says the other: "No, master, it is not my wife, but my sister." "J., II, p. 379. Courtesans also go and enjoy there, as will be seen.

1. J., V, p. 425.

2. J., I, p. 297.

3. J., IV, pp. 97-9-GG. 15, 24.

4. J., IV, p. 317 ff.

5. J., IV, p. 316.

6. J., IV, p. 320-G. 107-8.

7. J., VI, p. 160—*Sapattiroso nāma bhariyo*: see for Epic examples, specially, the sentiments of Devayānī and Draupadī, Hopkins, J. A. O. S., 13, p. 354, note; see also C. H. I. I., p. 239.

of polyandry was, it is said,¹ connected with the principle of levirate and *Niyoga*.

Thus strictly speaking, both polygamy and polyandry were unknown in those days. A man could not, and did not, marry more than one woman at a time, nor could a woman as a general rule marry twice. We have already noticed an instance where a bride is given away to another man on the failure of the first selected bridegroom in coming to the bride's house on the appointed day. When he later comes, he is told that the girl cannot be married twice over.² Even if she is not loved by her husband, a wedded wife may not take another mate: it is against custom.³ So also;

“Wedded, for others' wives we do not sigh,
But we are faithful to the marriage-vow.”⁴

Even the king, if he wanted to have a new woman as his queen, first ascertained that she was not another's, as we have seen before.

It may however happen, that a woman may be forsaken, or allowed to go away, by her husband or may go away of her own accord, RE-MARRIAGE. and that both of them may then take to newer mates. We learn, from the *Ruhaka Jātaka*,⁵ that a Brāhmaṇa, simpleton as he was, believed his wife's words, made himself fine like a horse, putting the horse-trappings on himself, went down into the street prancing along horse-fashion, and when brought to his shame by those laughing at him, became wroth with his wife, drove her away and took another wife. The *Takkala Jātaka*⁶ informs us, that Vasiṭṭhaka was a young villager, who supported his father in his old age. He had a wicked wife. She did not want the old man in her house. So she persuaded her simple husband to get rid of him by treachery. But their little son, shrewd as he was, won't allow this thing to be done. He brought his father to his senses. Vasiṭṭhaka, now angry, gave her a sound drubbing, and bundled her head-over-heels out of doors, bidding her never darken his door again (*ito patthāya imam gahaṃ mā pavisi*). The woman dwelt for a few days in another house. Vasiṭṭhaka then pretended to bring another wife. And the women in the neighbour's family told his wife, “have you heard that your husband has gone to get another wife in such a place?” “Ah,” said the forsaken woman, “then I am undone; there is no place for me left.” It was only after great beseechings on her part, that she was taken back in her former home. This long incident, by the by, shows the utter helplessness of a woman who may be forsaken by her husband.

1. Siddhanta, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

2. J., I, p. 258—*idāni dinnadārikam katham puna ānessāmā*.

3. J., IV, p. 35—G. 55. “*Ārā dūre na idha kadāci atthi, paramparā nāma kule imasmim-tam kullavattam anuvattamānā māham kule antimagandhinī ahum-etassā vādassa jigucchamānā akāmikā baddha carāmi tuhyam.*”

4. J., IV, p. 53-G. 82. “*Mayam ca bhariyam nātikamāmā.*”

5. J., II, p. 115 and G. 80.

6. J., IV, pp. 45-9.



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pain, she frequently rises from bed as if at nature's call, she acts perversely, she lends her ears to a stranger's voice and listens attentively, she wastes her husband's goods to gain some other love, she forms an intimacy with her neighbour, she wanders abroad, she walks along the streets, she indulges in adultery, she treats her husband with disrespect, she exposes herself shamelessly to passers-by, and standing at the door she often looks around with a confused mind."¹ What a masterpiece of observation? Is it merely a feat of imagination? We do not think so.

Then, on eight grounds a woman despises her husband: if the husband be poor or sick, or old, or a habitual drunkard, or reckless, or dull, or overworked by his cares of business, or disobliging to her.² Further, on nine grounds, does a woman incur blame (*padosaṁ*): if she is fond of frequenting parks, gardens, and river-banks, fond of visiting the houses of kinsfolk or of strangers, given to wearing the smart cloth-vest, addicted to strong drink, stares about her with idle looks, or stands before her door.³

Or, look at this: a woman makes up to a man in forty different ways (*accāvadati*): she draws herself up, bends down, frisks about, looks coy, presses together her fingertips, plants one foot on the other, scratches the ground with a stick, dances her boy up and down, plays and makes the boy play, kisses and makes him kiss her, eats and gives him to eat, gives or begs something, mimics everything, speaks in a high or low tone, speaks now indistinctly now distinctly, appeals to him with dance, song and music, with tears or coquetry, or with her fury, laughs or stares, shakes her dress or shifts her loin-cloth, exposes or covers up her legs, exposes her bosom, her arm pit, her navel, closes her eyes, elevates her eyebrow, pinches her lip, makes her tongue loll out, looses or tightens her cloth-dress, looses or tightens her head-gear.⁴ A perverse sex-mentality, this, but a true representation all the same. And a deep insight into sex-phenomena, too.

Indeed, the wickedness of a woman is brought out in all its aspects.

WICKEDNESS OF WOMAN. Once a poor man's wife insists upon going to the *Kattikā* festival putting on a safflower-coloured cloth, while the husband is too poor to get it. But the wife is obstinate, and does not hear her husband's pleadings for poverty, and so causes her husband to risk his life in stealing safflower from the king's conservatories. The man is caught, hauled up and impaled alive: his last words are: "Alas! I shall miss going to the festival with you arrayed in safflower-coloured cloth, with your arms twined round my neck."⁵ Another woman feigns sickness and does not do her household duties.⁶ We have a vivid picture, much like the present day, of how strife and discontent prevail in a household owing

1. J., V, pp. 434. 5-GG. 298-304; cf. Vātsyāyana. *Kāmasūtra*, *Sūtras* 12, 22 and 52 (*dvāradeśāvasthāyini*).

2. J., V, p. 433-G. 295.

3. *Ibid.*, G. 296-7.

4. J., V, pp. 433-4.

5. J., I, pp. 499-500 and G. 143.

6. J., I pp. 463-4.

to the young wife's treachery. Poor Kaccānī! Old and feeble and innocent, she is driven away from the house by her own son through ear-poisoning by the young wife who does not like to wait upon her old grand-mother¹ as the one, noticed before,² who does not like the presence of the grand-father in her house. Once a wife is tired of walking and is carried on shoulder by her husband. In course of the journey, she is so thirsty that the man at last strikes his right knee from which she drinks blood, and thus quenches her thirst. Afterwards they live on the bank of a river. Once the husband notices a robber with hands, feet, nose and ears cut off, drifting down the stream with loud wailing. The husband takes pity, brings him to his hut, and cures him. Now the wife falls in love with this stranger, and at last gets rid of her husband.³ What an appalling instance of an ungrateful and treacherous wife! Numerous are the instances of this nature in our stories. Nothing is spared while hurling a bitter invective against woman-kind. And the harsh reflections so frequently to be met with! The ways of women are difficult to be understood: they are as perplexing as the course of fish in the sea.⁴ "Frailty, thy name is woman" is the experience or rather the opinion, expressed centuries before the Great English Poet, and in a land quite different from his. Fickleness of mind is an inborn instinct of a woman. Her mind is as changing as that of shifty monkeys, as the shade cast by trees on height or depth around, and as the tire of wheel revolving swift without a pause or rest.⁵ Truthfulness is scarcely seen (*saccam tesam sudullabham*).⁶ Like fuel burning in a blazing fire, they burn a man whom they serve for gold or for desire.⁷ The selfish, possessive and doubtful nature of a woman is illustrated by the words of the wife of a fowler: 'day by day you return empty-handed; I suppose you've got a second establishment to keep up elsewhere.'⁸ Similarly a fish, while caught in a net and at the fisherman's fire, says:

" 'Tis not the cold, the heat, or wounding net;
 'Tis but the fear my darling wife should think
 Another's love has lured her spouse away.'⁹

The poor man's wife who wanted a safflower-coloured cloth said to her husband: 'If I can't have them dyed with safflower, I don't want to go at all. Get some other woman to go to the festival with you.'¹⁰ It is once stated that a woman cannot be satisfied with three things: intercourse, adornment and

1. J., III, pp. 424-7 GG. 1-8.

2. J., IV, pp. 45-9.

3. J., II, pp. 115-8.

4. J., V, p. 94-G. 295. '*Thīnam bhāvo durājāno macchassevodaye gatan.*'

5. J., V, p. 445-G 314; The great Russian poet Pushkin employs another simile, less striking than that of the Jātaka poet, in his '*Gypsies*': "As the moon passes by many a cloud and sheds her loveliness on all of them, but remains with none, so is woman and her love." Quoted *Hindu Tales*, p. 204 n.

6. J., I, p. 295-G ? V, pp. 94-G. 295; 448. G. 329.

7. J., II, p. 330-G. 39.

8. J., I, p. 209. '*Tvam divase divase tucchahattho agacchasi, aññam pi te bahi positabbatthānam atthi maññe.*'

9. J., I, p. 211-G. 33: contrast the words of Sāmbulā at J., V, p. 91-G 282.

10. J., I, p. 499.

child-bearing.¹ Insatiable and incurable is lust in a woman. So passionate are women, that no guard can keep them right. A daughter stood holding her father's hands, and escaped with her paramour without her father's knowledge.² A girl was brought up entirely by women from her birth. She saw no man other than her husband. She was kept in a seven-storied house with a strong guard of women only. But she managed to bring an outsider into the house, by her designing waiting woman, and corrupted herself and then took to various tricks to prove her innocence.³ In fact, corruption is the rule of their life. Given opportunity, all women work iniquity.⁴ No woman finds delight in her own house. A wife forsakes her husband though strong and lusty. She will sin with any other man, even with a lame person.⁵ A householder's wife plays tricks with her husband, in whose absence she carries on intrigues with the village headman.⁶ In her husband's absence, a Brāhmaṇa lady misconducted herself, and there was no end to the stream of her lovers in and out of the house.⁷ A bride, while carried in a closed carriage accompanied by a large escort, misconducted herself with King Kandari of Benares who was kept concealed by his minister in a tent-shaped screen, in order to be convinced of the depravity of woman-kind.⁸ Passion in woman is all-consuming. They are proud by nature. They will not let their pride kiss the ground easily by a man whom their heart yearns for.⁹ A queen had, by her repeated importunity, caused her husband, the king, to promise that he would not look on any other woman with eyes of love, but she herself used, regularly, to sin in the absence of the king.¹⁰ But with such a corrupted state of things in the harem of the king we have already become familiar. Here we only try to get an idea of the state of things among the general mass of the people. Women are profligacy incarnate (*itthiyo asātā nāma*).¹¹ Passion makes them completely blind. No woman is ever faithful to one man alone.¹² So on and so on. And the *Jātakas* leave no stone unturned to prove this. Examples they give us in countless numbers, both from history and from everyday life. Similies they employ, so striking,¹³ that they won't escape from our memory easily. We must now stop here, we think. The upshot of the whole discussion is, that adultery and corruption did exist in the

1. J., III, p. 342. *Methunadhammena, alaṅkāreṇa, vījāyanena*.....

2. J., II, p. 323 ff.

3. J., I, p. 289 ff; a green-grocer tests his daughter's innocence before giving her in marriage: I, pp. 411-2; II, p. 180.

4. J., I, p. 289-G ?

5. J., V, p. 440-G. 308.

6. J., II, pp. 134-6 and G. 93-4.

7. J., I, p. 496-G. 141; also II, pp. 133-G. 91; 168-G. 122; 338 ff. G. 46-8; III, pp. 342 ff G. 46 ff; IV, pp. 245-298.

8. J., V, p. 439.

9. J., II, pp. 338-40. GG. 46-8.

10. J., I, pp. 437 ff G. 116.

11. J., I, p. 288-G. 60.

12. J., I, p. 293; III, p. 221-2-G. 124; V, p. 450-G. 341: "One woman may have husbands eight, yet on a ninth her love she sets."

13. The limit is reached when a woman is so horribly described, in her unbridled lust, to be thirsting for the blood of her own dutiful son: J., I, pp. 286-8.



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“A maiden fair, with wreath upon her head
Fragrant with sandal oil, by me was led
A happy bride within my house to reign :”¹

These utterances of a mother give us the picture of a happy household. The custom, as to-day, made unrelated girls, sisters.² As against the invectives cited above we have the following :

“Truth that sages ascertained, who is there that dares to blame ?
Women in this world are born, destined to great power and fame.
They for dalliance are formed, joys of love for them ordained,
Seeds within them germinate, source from whence all life’s sustained.
They from whom man draws his breath scarce by man may be disdained.”³

All women were not like Alāmbusā or Nalinikā : there did arise, from time to time, illuminating illustrations of Sujātā, Sāmbulā, Amarādevī, Udayabhaddā, Udumbarā, Rūjā and others. Sujātā, fair and lovely, was a faithful, virtuous and dutiful girl, properly discharging her duties to her husband and parents-in-law. Both husband and wife dwelt together in joy, and unity, and oneness of mind.⁴ Sāmbulā was again a symbol of a devoted wife. She followed her leprosy-stricken husband to the forest, and served him with exemplary devotion.⁵ And thus the words of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*⁶ that : *bhāriyā paramā sakhā*—wife is a supreme comrade—come to be true.

These instances, no doubt, confirm the idea that a woman’s highest object of worship was her husband, the ideal of a Hindu wife that
AT HOME. has stood the ravages of centuries. Ideas prevailing at the time, with regard to the duties and status of a wife, as already noticed, show that she was under the subjection of her husband, and was his absolute property, for Vessantara could give Maddī away to a Brāhmaṇa who begged her of him, and still “she did not frown nor chafe or cry.”⁷

On the question of seclusion again we have evidence both for and against.
SECLUSION. But the evidence for seclusion of women is very scanty indeed. It is for the most part the royal maidens who are termed *Orodhā*.⁸ Only the queens, and princesses, and perhaps daughters

1. J., III, p. 512-G. 108.

2. J., I, p. 111 ; at VI, p. 32, we witness a curious scene, as if it were a custom, of a woman—a helpless woman—calling an unknown man ‘brother,’ clasping his feet and making a loud lamentation—“*aham tam bhaginīṭṭhāne thapetvā paṭijaggissāmi, bhā’ika ti mam vatvā pādesu gahetvā paridevā.*”

3. J., V, p. 368-G. 119-20.

4. J., II, pp. 121-5.

5. J., V, pp. 88-98-G. 272-4, 294, 296, 303.

6. J., I, p. 37 ; *Kindred sayings*, I, p. 52, n. 3. Cf. Hopkins, J. A. O. S., 13, pp. 363-4.

7. J., VI, p. 570-G. 2309 : Cf. I, p. 305 ; while on the one hand, we see at J., III, p. 165, a husband abusing, beating and oppressing his wife, we also notice, on the other hand, a woman striking the back of her husband with a spoon which she used for frying rice (*vīhībhajjanadabbī*), because he left earning his livelihood, and began to talk of becoming an ascetic : J., VI, p. 177.

8. J., VI, pp. 15-G. 25 ; 21. G. 66 ; 328-G. 1447 ; 465-G. 1642 : Cf. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, III, 2, 36, which yields the term *asūryam̐paśyā* and has been explained in the *Kāśikā* as *asūryam̐paśyā rājadārā* : Cf. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 182 : “To go veiled is only a court custom.” *C. H. I.*, I, p. 293.

of noble families, went in a covered carriage (*paṭicchannayāna*).¹ But even there the custom does not seem to have been rigid. We often see queens freely moving in the palace, and talking with ministers and other officers.² Generally however women had complete freedom. They enjoyed in public places of enjoyment.³ Daughters-in-law were not forbidden, as to-day, to talk before their elders, fathers-in-law.⁴ A man goes with his wife through the bazaar freely.⁵ At public ceremonies, or feast or festivals women are seen moving without any fear,⁶ as we saw a woman insisting on going to the festival in a safflower-coloured garment, with her arms twined around her husband.⁷ Still however we are inclined to believe, that opportunities were very few in which women could develop their capacities. They were, for instance, not supposed to be knowing swimming, as the men were.⁸ We are elsewhere⁹ told that women are naturally timid (*itthiyo bhīrujātikā*). And cowards are compared to women. When an archer becomes wroth with the robbers for offering him raw meat, the latter says : “What, is he the only man, and are we merely women ?”¹⁰ The husband drives the cart and the wife sits behind.¹¹

MOTHER-
HOOD—THE
AIM.

Motherhood is the one outstanding aim of the Indian marriage ideal : “Women,” says Manu, “were ordained to be mothers, even as men were created to be fathers”—a statement of the principal purpose, perhaps not quite in harmony with modern notions, but none-the-less significant of the hidden aim of human life.¹² That is why a wife is called *Pajāvatī* (or *pajāpatī*) in our stories.¹³ All women, whether rich or poor, long (*puttatthikā*) and beg for sons and daughters, and offer prayers and gifts to heaven.¹⁴ Barrenness was a curse to a woman.¹⁵ She was less respected for this reason, so much so that we hear of a woman pretending to be big with child up to the last, through the help of her good old nurse who instructs her fully in the whole process.¹⁶ Here we fortunately have a glimpse of a woman in this state. The woman who

1. J., V, p. 439 ; VI, pp. 31, 33, 167, 498.

2. J., VI, pp. 293-4, 300.

3. J., I, p. 296 ; IV, p. 390.

4. J., I, p. 453.

5. J., IV, p. 114.

6. J., VI, p. 328-G. 1447.

7. J., I, p. 499. On the freedom of woman in ancient India see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 164 ; “It is probable that while in earlier days a good deal of freedom was allowed to all women, things had greatly changed by the time the epic had come to be written down.” *Siddhanta*, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

8. J., III, p. 221-G. 123.

9. J., VI, p. 29.

10. J., III, p. 220.

11. J., II, p. 122.

12. Shah, *Splendour that was Ind.*, p. 197.

13. For instance, J., II, pp. 6, 305.

14. J., VI, p. 150-G. 694-7.

15. *Cf. MBH.* XIII, 127, 129.

16. J., IV, p. 37; also J., IV, p. 489.

became heavy with child was generally sent to her own parent home (*pitṛkulam*)¹ for bringing forth the child. Stopping of monthly courses (*utukāla*) was the sign of a woman having conceived. The general idea of the child's time in the mother's womb was 9 or 10 months.² During this period there is a strong craving in a woman's heart, (*dohala*) which must be fulfilled, at any cost, and we have many a figure of harrassed husbands on this account.³ Some ceremonies were performed at the time of a woman's conception for the protection of the embryo (*gabbhaparihāra*).⁴ The pains of travail at the birth of a child are known as *Kammajavāta*,⁵ thus showing how deeply the *Karma* theory was rooted in the minds of the people.

As to woman's inborn love for finery and ornaments (*Vatthālankārā*), we have ample evidence. Women were in those days, as they have always been,⁶ fonder of these things than men.⁷ Fine garments of cotton, silk and linen were worn.⁸ How these were worn by the ladies, we have no clear indications to show.⁹ The two, upper and lower, garments, of a single piece each, were probably common to both sexes, though women seem to have further elaborated their toilette by supplementary clothing for such parts of the body as the prevailing notions of modesty required them to clothe. Among the various ornaments worn by women, at least of the richer class, were necklaces (*mālā*) earrings (*kunḍalā*), of jewels or *Kusa* flower or palm-leaf, bracelets (*keyūrā*), frontletpiece, foot-bangle (*pālīpādakam*) and waist bands (*mekhalā*).¹⁰ These and other ornaments worn by ladies jingled like little birds that chirrup in time of rain (*cirūtikā*).¹¹ Face-powders were also used (*kakkūpanisevitam mukham*).¹² They smeared their hair, arms and other parts of the body with sandal oil.¹³ Fair tresses on the head, with many a curl parted in the middle and tipped with gold, added to the charm and beauty of women.¹⁴ They also dyed the finger-tips of their hands and feet, crimson-red, like copper with

1. J., II, p. 122 ; IV, pp. 37-8 ; V, p. 439.

2. J., III, p. 503 ; IV, p. 37 ; VI, p. 485-G. 1699.

3. J., I, pp. 278-9 ; IV, pp. 334, 414 ; V, pp. 354-5 ; VI, p. 263-G. 1141 : Cf. *Yājñavalkya, Smṛti* 3, 79—“*Dohadasyāpradānena garbho doṣamavāpnuyāt*” : for a comprehensive treatment of the subject see J. A., O.S., XLI, p. 4 ff ; The object longed for is for the most part a lump of clay, as is well known.

4. J., II, p. 2 ; IV, p. 323 ; V, p. 281 ; Cf. Bühler, *Ritual Litteratur*, in *Grundriss der Indoiran, Philologie*, p. 43.

5. J., VI, p. 485. In trying to solve the origin of creation these ancient people put forth the theory, that originally there were no wives, and that the creation of mankind was the outcome of the mind : *Pure puratthā kā kassa bhariyā ; mano manussam ajanesi pubbe* ; J., VI, p. 213-G. 922.

6. Cf. *Rgveda*, I, 124-7—“*Jāyeva patyā uṣati suvāsāḥ* ; also *Ibid*, IV, 3, 2 ; V, 80, 50 ; X. 71-4 and X, 91, 13. Cf. also *jāyā patimiva vāsasā* : *Atharva Veda* XVIII, 2, 51.

7. J., V, p. 164.

8. J., VI, p. 590-G. 2443.

9. For details on the subject see G. P. Majumdar, *Indian Culture*, I, 2, p. 191 ff.

10. J., VI, 590-G. 2444-7 ; *kāyūram aṇagadam, manimekhalam gīveyyam upṇatam mukhaphullam, Uggatthanam giṃgamakam pālīpādakam* ; See also, V, pp. 202-G. 30 ff ; 215-G. 62-9 ; 302 G. 37. 44 ; VI, 232-G. 1023.

11. J., V, p. 202-G. 31.

12. J., V, p. 302-G. 37 ; VI, p. 232-G. 1024 (*kuddamukhi*) ; Cf. J. B. O. R. S. XII, p. 440.

13. J., V, p. 215-G. (*bāhāmudū candanasāra-littā*) 302-G. 38-41 (*Kese thane : soṇim mudu candanasāralittā*).

14. J., V, pp. 156-G. 115, 203-G. 34 (*dvedhūsiro sādhuviḥattarūpo*).



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Among other means of livelihood, we now note the “shady one of prostitution,” which was a recognised institution. We are here leaving out the dancing girls (*nāṭakitthiyo*), who formed the royal harem with which we have already become familiar.¹

There were besides these, the courtesans or prostitutes who usually belonged to that section of the fair sex which had no place by the domestic fireside of the common householder, and were reserved for the pleasures of the people. These women earned their livelihood as courtesans.²

In order to understand clearly the position of these courtesans, we shall briefly review the stories concerning them.

A *gaṇikā* once used to make great gains ; but afterwards she did not get the worth of a betel-nut (*taṃbulamattamapi*), and nobody courted her. The reason for this was that the woman used formerly to take a price from the hand of one, and not to go with another until she was off with him (*ajirāpetvā*), and that was why she used to receive much. Afterwards she had changed her manner, and without leave of the first she went with the last, and so she was left forsaken.³

A *vaṇṇadāsī* received a thousand pieces from a youth, who visited her only once and then disappeared. She, for honour's sake (*sīlabhedabhayena*), took not so much as a piece of betel from another man, and so she gradually became poor. “The man who gave me a thousand pieces has not come these three years ; and now I have grown poor. I cannot keep body and soul together.” She went to the chief-justice to seek advice, and was told to return to her former profession.⁴

These two instances seem to suggest, as an ideal, that a courtesan should look to only one man, and as a statement of fact, that she did receive many.

Sāmā was a courtesan (*gaṇikā*) of Benares. Her price, as usual, was a thousand pieces of money. She was a favourite of the king's, and had a suite of five hundred female slaves (*vaṇṇadāsīyo*). A young wealthy merchant, who was enamoured of Sāmā, presented her every night with a thousand pieces of money. One day, while standing at an open window on the upper floor of her house, she saw a robber, comely and gracious, being led along the street. Sāmā fell in love with him at first sight. She got the robber released by sending a thousand pieces of money to the city-governor as a bribe, saying that the robber was her brother and that he had no other refuge except in Sāmā, and the young merchant was executed as a substitute. Thenceforth Sāmā accepted nothing from any other man's hand, but passed all her time taking her pleasure with this robber only. The robber thought, one day, that if the woman should fall in love with any one else, she would cause his death also. So he took her with all her ornaments on to a garden, squeezed her till she

1. *Supra*, pp. 117-20.

2. *Law, op. cit.*, p. 26.

3. *J.*, II, pp. 302, 309.

4. *J.*, II, p. 380.

became insensible and then decamped, with all her jewellery, never to return. When Sāmā recovered consciousness, she could not find her lord. She fasted and led a simple life for a few days, but when she learnt, from the people she had despatched in search of her lord, that he would not have her, she took once more to her former course of life, full of regrets.¹

Practically the same thing is told about another courtesan (*nagarasobhanī*) of Benares; Sulasā by name. But here Sulasā is described as one—a woman that too—who possessed rare wisdom and courage. The robber, after three or four months, desired to leave her, taking away some of her jewellery. He told her one day, that while being hauled along by the king's men he had promised an offering to a tree-deity on a mountain top. Sulasā, to fulfil his desire, put on all her ornaments, and accompanied him to the top of a mountain. There she was told by the robber, that he had not gone there for offering but for killing her and depriving her of all the jewellery. In piteous words she said: 'husband, why would you kill me? I left a rich man's son for you, spent large sum and saved your life. I might get a thousand pieces a day, but I look at no other man. Such a benefactress I am to you; be kind enough to spare my life. I will be your slave.' But the robber did not move. Then Sulasā's wits rose to the occasion. She prayed for the last embrace. He agreed. She walked round him in respectful salutation three times, and kissed him. Then she stood behind him, as if to do obeisance there, and threw him down the precipice. The robber was crushed to pieces, and died on the spot. With a burning heart Sulasā returned home.²

In these two instances we do envisage the fact, that a courtesan did not always like to flirt with many. She yearned to have a man of her choice, and then to live happily with him and with nobody else.³

Another lady of the town (*nagarasobhanī vaṇṇadāsī*) was beautiful and prosperous. A young merchant, as before, gave her a thousand pieces daily, and took pleasure with her constantly. Once being late, he went to her without money. She said: "Sir, I am but a courtesan; I do not give my favours (*keli*) without a thousand pieces: you must bring the sum." She did not heed the young man's entreaties, and ordered her maids to drive him away. Being discontented, he turned out an ascetic. When the king, a friend of the young man, knew this, he at once ordered her to bring him back. She drove in a chariot to the place where the man was, and beseeched him to return. But the man setting forth the utter impossibility of this, she came back.⁴

Then we hear of Kālī, another *ganikā* of Benares. She had a brother, Tuṇḍila by name, a debauchee, a drunkard and a gambler who wasted her wealth. She could not restrain him. One day, he was beaten at hazard

1. J., III, pp. 59-63-GG. 69-72.

2. J., III, pp. 435-8. GG. 18-26. The minister Senaka killed a harlot (*Vesī*) after enjoying her in a garden, and carried her ornaments away: J., VI, p. 382.

3. Bimala Churn Law's reading of her psychology is, to our mind, at variance with the whole tone of the stories: See, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

4. J., III, pp. 475-8. GG. 77-87.

(*dutaparājito*), and lost the very clothes he was clad in ; wrapping about him a rag of loin-cloth, he came to his sister's house. But she had commanded her maids to drive him out. And so they did. He stood by the threshold (*dvāramūle*) and made his moan. Now a rich young merchant, frequenting Kālī, came and asked Tuṇḍila why he was crying. On knowing the reason, he consoled him and entered the house, and asked Kālī why she treated her brother like that. "If you are fond of him, give your clothing yourself," she replied in scorn. Now in her house (*gaṇikāghare*) the fashion was this : out of every 1000 received, 500 were for the woman, 500 for clothes, perfumes and garlands; the men who frequented the house received garments, stayed the night there, and on the next day put off these garments and put on their own and went their ways. Here the young man put on the garments provided for him, and gave his own to Tuṇḍila who hastened away to the tavern. And on the next day, according to the orders from Kālī, the maids surrounded the man when he was going out and took the clothes from him and bade him off. The man lamented upon his state.¹

Thus we get a very vivid and realistic picture of the life these courtesans led in those days.² They lived upon their *vaṇṇa*. Usually the rich people were their patrons, and kings also held them in favour.³ They lived in state and luxuries, with a large train of servants.⁴ They kept intimate connection with court-musicians.⁵ A courtesan, as a general rule and in the eyes of the ordinary people, was not looked down as a moral outcast past redemption, as we may see her talking freely with Gāmaṇicaṇḍa and sending a message to the king,⁶ though expressions like 'a vile trade (*nīcakamma*),'⁷ 'a house of ill-fame' (*gaṇikāghara*),⁸ and 'this bad life of mine (*kilittḥa*)'⁹ and a low woman (*durittḥi kumbhadāsī*),¹⁰ show that the moral aspect of the occupation was not lost sight of. Still, discounting the objective colouring, we do not feel that these 'public women' were in any way below the normal standard, but they, Sulasā, Sāmā and others, like their sisters Ambapālī and Sālavatī¹¹, rose to a higher standard through their intellectual and artistic accomplish-

1. J., IV, pp. 248-9-G. 106.

2. A curious idea is met with in the *Haṭṭhipāla Jātaka*, J., IV, pp. 473-4 : A wretched woman (*duggatittḥi*) is seen outside the gate of a city with seven sons, hail and hearty : one holding pot and plate for cooking, one mat and bedding, one going before and one following behind, one holding a finger of her, one sitting on her hip, and one on her shoulder. When asked about their father, she says: "the lads have no father at all for certain (*nibaddho*)," and points to a banyan tree (*nigrodha*) whose deity, she says, gave her children. Courtesans in India, says Rouse, were said to be married to certain trees : perhaps this woman belongs to that class, Cowell, *Jātaka*, IV., p. 294 n.

3. Cf. J., V, p. 134, where we hear a *gaṇika* deposed from her position by a king and afterwards restored.

4. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 15, 11.

5. J., I, pp. 384-6.

6. J., II, pp. 302-3.

7. J., III, p. 60.

8. J., IV, p. 249.

9. J., III, p. 436.

10. J., VI, p. 228-G. 1001.

11. See *Mahāvagga*, VI, 30 ff ; VIII, 1, 3-4.



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It seems however that widow-remarriage was allowed, and widows, if not grown very old, did marry another man and there was nothing abominable in that.¹

About the legal property-rights of woman, we learn next to nothing. We once hear an old man, complaining that as soon as he was dead, his wife, being young, would marry some other man and spend all his money, instead of handing it over to his own son.² *Pettikaṃ dhanam*, as a dowry given to her, may have been recognized as a sole possession of a woman.³

Some women also took the monastic vow like men, and lived by begging, away from the mundane world. These *paribbājikās*⁴ were generally wise and learned like Bherī of Uttarapañcāla, and liked to form company with the learned male ascetics. This sometimes actually resulted in close intimacy, and it does not seem quite improbable that some at least, tired of this ascetic life, again came back to householder's life, like Saccatapāvī of the *Kuṇāla Jātaka*.⁵ Sometimes both the husband and the wife together took to ascetic life, and then they lived in the forest abstaining from any worldly connection, having their own separate huts (*pañṇasālā*).⁶ Public opinion does not seem to have been in any way against these female ascetics.

We feel, at the end of this discussion, that normally the position of woman was happy. But it was not quite satisfactory. Freedom to enjoy light and air, the two blessings of God, she no doubt had, and her personal freedom was seldom interfered with, but she was accepted more for meeting the demands of the male-sex than for any aspirations of her own fulfilled.

1. J., I, p. 225 ; VI, p. 159.

2. J., I, p. 225.

3. J., VI, p. 494-G. 1748.

4. J., III, pp. 93-4 ; 383 ; IV, pp. 23-7 ; 306 ; V, pp. 427-8 ; VI, pp. 73, 467.

5. J. V., pp. 427-8, Saccatapāvī is called a *setasamanī*, possibly a Jaina nun.

6. J., III, pp. 93-4 ; 383 ; IV, p. 23-7 ; VI, pp. 73-520.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION

EDUCATION is no doubt one of the standards by which cultural position of a particular society or people is to be judged. From the light which these stories throw, here and there, on the system and nature of education, we may be inclined to say that the *Jātaka* society had reached a high watermark of cultural attainments.¹

As to the general education of a child at home—for the Indian system of primary education was mainly one of hereditary transmission of skill in arts and crafts—we know very little. Once we hear: when the son of the *Setthi* learnt writing (*lekham*), the slave *Kaṭāhaka* too went with him carrying his slate (*phalakaṃ vahamāno gantvā*), and thus learnt writing.² It would seem from this, that the boys received instruction somewhere outside the home, presumably at a public school. The use of the word '*phalaka*' or board also shows, that method of instruction of beginners in the art of writing was much the same as in the primary schools of to-day. The boys learnt the three Rs—reading, writing and arithmetic—in these elementary schools.³

After completing this general education, the boys were sent out to some well-known institution for higher education. Of all the places UNIVERSITY CENTRES. which imparted higher education, Takkasilā, in the extreme north-west, was by far the most important and widely renowned. Our stories abound in references to this famous University town.⁴ It was, as we have already noted, the chief intellectual centre of the age, attracting students and scholars from different and distant parts of the country.⁵ The fame of Takkasilā as a great centre of learning was evidently due to its world-renowned teachers (*disāpāmokhā ācariyā*). Let us see how this great University seat imparted education to the youths of the country.

As stated before, students are always spoken of as going to Takkasilā to complete their education and not to begin it. As a rule, the FOR HIGHER STUDIES. time for beginning the higher studies at Takkasilā is given as the age of sixteen (*solasavassakāle*),⁶ or when the students come of age (*vayapatte*).⁷ Naturally, students of a maturer age only could be sent so far away from their homes.

1. On this subject, the two articles, one by J. N. Sikdar in the *J. B. O. R. S.* IV, pp. 148-61, and the other by Dr. R.K. Mookerji in the *Buddhist Studies*, pp. 236-56, have been helpful to us.

2. J., I, p. 451. "Comenius calls the first years of a child the mother's school, and finds here the rudiments of all later education." S. V. Venkateswara, *Indian Culture, through the Ages*, I, p. 107.

3. According to Kauṭilya, a prince should be taught *lipi* (writing), and *sankhyāna* (arithmetic), after the 4th year. *Arthaśāstra*, I, 5.

4. For full references see Dines Andersen, *Index to the Jātaka*, pp. 61-2.

5. From *Bārāṇasī* J., I, pp. 272, 285, 409, 463; II, pp. 85, 87; III, p. 234; IV, pp. 50, 224; V, pp. 127, 263; *Rājagaha*—J., III, p. 238; V, p. 177, 247; *Mithilā*—IV, p. 316; *Ujjeni*—IV, p. 392; *Kosala*—III, p. 45; *Sivi*—V, p. 210; *Kuru*—III, p. 399; V, 457.

6. J., II, p. 277; III, p. 122; IV, p. 237; V, pp. 127, 210.

7. J., I, pp. 356, 436, 505; II, p. 52; I, pp. 18, 171, 194, 228, 248; V, pp. 162, 193, 227

While dealing with the education of Princes we have, by reproducing a long and characteristic passage from the *Tilamutṭhi Jātaka*,¹ noticed practically all the principal features of the educational system and organization of the times, specially at Takkasilā. We saw, there, how the student, coming from abroad for learning, was admitted into the University. Usually the students paid the entire tuition fees—the teacher's fees (*ācariyabhāgaṃ*)—in advance, which was 1000 pieces of money (a favourite figure).² In lieu of paying fees in cash, a student was allowed to pay them in the shape of services to his teacher. Such students attended on their teacher by day and received instruction by night³ and were called *dhammantevāsikā*, as against those fee-payers—*ācariyabhāgadāyaka*—who only learnt the arts. The duties of 500 Brāhmaṇa pupils of a school were, among others, to gather firewood from the forests for their master.⁴ If however a student wanted to devote his whole time to studies, without sparing any time for such services, and at the same time was not able to pay the fees in advance, he may be trusted to pay them after the completion of his education. We read of one such Brāhmaṇa student paying off the fees by begging after completing his studies.⁵ It may also happen, that poor students were provided a free education by some charitable community. For instance, once the "Benares folk" used to give day by day commons of food to the poor lads, and had them taught free.⁶ Then again the cost of education was, to some extent, taken over from the teachers, and the pupils, by the occasional invitations to dinner extended to them by philanthropic householders or by the latter themselves bringing to the former presents in oxen and rice and milk.⁷ Another class of students was formed by those who were sent as companions of the princes of their respective countries at State expenses.⁸ Looking to the length of time a student took to finish his education, and to the necessary expenses which the teacher had to incur, the amount of fee charged does not seem to have been very heavy.

Though the University centres were mainly residential, day-scholars were also admitted to instruction. Prince Junha of Benares had an independent house for himself from which he attended the college at Takkasilā. "One night after lessons he left the teacher's house in the dark and set out for home."⁹ In the day-scholars were included householders or married students. We have several instances of such day-scholars, married men, who are obstructed by their wives from going to their master's house and listening to his teachings.¹⁰

1. J., II, pp. 277-8. *Supra*, pp. 89-90.

2. J., I, p. 273; II, pp. 47-8; IV, pp. 38-9; 50, 128, 298, 316; V, p. 457.

3. J., II, p. 278.

4. J., I, pp. 317-8.

5. J., IV, p. 224.

6. J., I, p. 239—'*Bārāṇasivāsino duggatānaṃ paribbayaṃ datvā sippaṃ sikkhāpentī.*'

7. J., I, pp. 191, 318; III, pp. 171, 537, IV; p. 391.

8. J., III, p. 238; V, pp. 247, 263.

9. J., IV, p. 96.

10. J., I, pp. 300-2, 463.



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(*nipphattim pāpuni*) and becoming the private teacher of his comrade in the school soon educated him, while the others only gradually acquired their learning.¹ We may also note, in this connection, that the teacher was not a single individual, but had a family of his own (*ācariyakulam*),² having wife and children.³ And it was quite usual for the teacher to give his daughter, if he had any, in marriage to his eldest and advanced student,⁴ and he might establish a special test for the purpose.⁵

STUDY HOURS. The study hour seems to have commenced very early in the morning, when the boys were roused from their sleep by the crowing of a cock. The cock, it seems, was domesticated in every school to serve as a clock. It was a necessity. Once, when the trained cock died, the students brought a second one which, however, had been bred in a cemetery, and had no knowledge of times and seasons, and used to crow casually—at midnight as well as at daybreak. Roused by his crowing at midnight, the young Brāhmaṇas fell to their studies; by dawn they were tired out and could not for sleepiness keep their attention on the subject already learnt (*gahitatthānamapi*); and when he fell acrowing in broad day, they did not get a chance of quiet for repeating their lessons (*sajjhāya*). And, as it was the cock's crowing both at midnight and by day which had brought their studies to a standstill, they took the bird and wrung his neck.⁶ This passage shows that there were certain hours for private study, when the students repeated new lessons and revised the old ones. The two things had probably to be finished before noon.

INSTRUCTION. Instruction by the teacher seems to have been imparted at times convenient to the students, and light and lucky days were observed in giving it,⁷ reminding us of the '*anadhyāya*' system of the *Upaniṣadic* times. As pointed out before, the poorer students performed menial work for the school during the day time, and received instruction at night⁸. Possibly, the day-scholars also learnt the *sippas* at night.⁹ The *ācariyabhāgadāyakas* were treated like the eldest sons in the house, and were given schooling on every light and lucky day.¹⁰

TEXT BOOKS. From the frequent use of the expression '*sippani vācesi*,' i.e., 'causing to read the *sippas*, the arts, it seems clear that the students used to read books. And in the instance already cited, the reference to drowsiness preventing the students from understanding (lit. *seeing-passanti*) the subject already learnt, also indicate the use

1. J., V, pp. 457-8.

2. J., V, p. 457.

3. J., IV, p. 50.

4. J., III, p. 219 ; VI, p. 347—"tasmin pana kule sace pi vayapattā dhītā hoti jettḥhan-
levāsikassa dātabbā ti vattam."

5. J., III, pp. 18-9.

6. J., I, p. 436 and G. 115.

7. J., II, p. 278.

8. J., II, p. 47.

9. J., IV, p. 96.

10. J., II, p. 278 (*sallahukena nakkhattena*).

of books. We have also direct references to the existences of books (*potthakam*) 'preserved with brilliant, coloured rappings, and read laying them upon a beautiful standish.'¹ Moreover, the repeated mention of the use of writing, both in private and official correspondence, leaves no doubt as to this.

The three *Vedas* and the eighteen *sippas* or arts² are repeatedly spoken of as the subjects taught at Takkasilā. The invariable mention of the three *Vedas* shows that the *Atharvaveda* was not included in the curriculum. The *Vedas* were of course learnt by heart. We do not know of what did the 18 *sippas* consist. We have however mention of the following individual arts and sciences: elephant lore (*hatthisutta*),³ magic charms (*mante*),⁴ spell for bringing back the dead to life (*matakutthāpanamantam*),⁵ hunting (*buddakakamma*),⁶ spell for understanding all animals' cries (*sabbarāvajānanamantam*),⁷ archery (*issāpasippa: dhanurvidyā*),⁸ the art of prognostication (*aṅgavijjā*),⁹ charm for commanding all things of sense (*ālanibanamantam*),¹⁰ divining from the signs of the body,¹¹ and medicine (*tikicchā*).¹²

Most of the references in the *Jātakas* point to the students taking up the *sippa* or the science course. It seems that technical education was much more valued in those times than *Vedic* or theological studies. It is also evident from some passages that a student was allowed to take up a special course in one of the *sippas*, in addition to or without the ordinary course.¹³

These sciences were not simply theoretical. Knowledge of the literature of a subject had to be followed by its practical applications. For some subjects, like medicine, practical training was naturally essential, as we know from the account of Jīvaka's education.¹⁴ In other subjects, the practical course was left to be completed by the students themselves when they left their colleges. They wandered far and wide, acquiring all practical usages (*sabbasamayāsippāni*) and understanding country observances (*desacārittam*).¹⁵ Princes had to demonstrate their technical knowledge before their fathers after returning home from Takkasilā, as we have seen before. "A practical turn was indeed given to all instruction as a pedagogic principle." In addition to theoretical lectures and practical training, nature-study was sometimes insisted upon for those who were intellectually weak among students. An interesting example of this is

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1. , III, pp. 235, 292; IV, p. 299; V, p. 483.
 2. , I, pp. 259, 285, 356, 402, 464; II, p. 87; III, pp. 115, 122, 537-8
 3. , II, p. 47.
 4. , II, p. 100; also I, p. 402.
 5. , I, p. 510.
 6. , II, p. 200.
 7. , II, p. 415.
 8. , I, p. 356; II, p. 87; III, p. 219; V, p. 127.
 9. , III, p. 122.
 10. , IV, p. 457.
 11. , II, p. 200.
 12. J., IV, p. 171.
 13. J., I, p. 356; II, p. 99; III, pp. 18, 129; IV, p. 456.
 14. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 6 ff.
 15. J., I, p. 356; III, pp. 115, 235, 238; IV, pp. 38, 200; V, pp. 247, 426,

furnished by the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka* ;¹ a world-renowned professor of Benares had 500 young Brāhmaṇas to instruct, one of whom had always foolish notions in his mind (*dandhabhāva*), and always said the wrong thing ; he was engaged with the rest in learning the scriptures as a pupil, but because of his folly could not master them. The teacher was at pains to consider what method of instruction would be suitable for that 'veriest dullard' of all his pupils. And the thought came to him, that the best way was to question him on his return from gathering firewood and leaves, as to something he had seen or done that day, and then to ask what it was like. 'For,' thought the master, 'this will lead him on to making comparisons and giving reasons, and the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to impart learning to him.' But the experiment in the end failed, for the boy compared snake, the trunk of an elephant, sugar-cane, curd and milk, all to the shaft of a plough :

“For universál application, he
Employs a term of limited import.
Plough-shaft and curds to him alike unknown
—The fool asserts the two things are the same.”²

This at least shows the earnest desire on the part of the teacher to use all his intellectual powers to educate a child.

Next to Takkasīlā, Benares was the most important as a centre of learning. It was however largely the creation of the ex-students of Takkasīlā who set up as teachers at Benares, presumably at other places as well,³ and carried thither the culture of that cosmopolitan educational centre which was moulding the intellectual life of the whole of India. In course of time Benares also produced its own alumni as educationists—teachers of world-wide fame with the usual number of 500 pupils to teach.⁴ It is also probable that Benares had, like Takkasīlā, specialized in the teaching of certain subjects, specially music,⁵ as it has till the present day. With all this, however, Benares was still a growing university in those days, and did not attain much celebrity which it afterwards did since the decline of Takkasīlā. The movement of students towards Benares is, in the *Jātakas*, very slow and scarce in comparison with the other city. Even the students of Benares had to seek resort in Takkasīlā.

From the foregoing discussion it will have been apparent, that there was a general spread of education throughout the country. And it will have become also evident, that the demand for the knowledge of the *Sippas* or for technical and scientific education was not less keen than that for general

1. J., I, pp. 447-49.

2. J., I, p. 449-G. 119.

3. J., I, p. 463 ; II, p. 100.

4. J., I, p. 238 ; III, pp. 18, 233; IV, p. 237.

5. J., II, p. 248: “*Bārānasiyam guttilakumāro vayappatto gandhabbasippe nipphattim pavā Guttilagandhabbo nāma sakalajambudīpe ayyagandhabbo ahosi.*”



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CHAPTER VI

ARTS AND SCIENCES

FAR advanced from the primitive stage as the *Jātaka* society was, it naturally saw the development and prosperity of various arts and sciences. People in that age had come to possess refined tastes and aesthetic perceptions : they strove for the joy and beauty in life.

Reading and writing (*vācanam*, *lekhanam*) were commonly known. As we saw just a while before, numerous are the references to the various and widespread uses of writing in the *Jātakas*, to the writing of epistles,¹ to the forging of letters,² to inscriptions on gold plates,³ to inscription over a hermitage,⁴ inscription in letters (*akkharāṇi*) of vermilion upon a wall,⁵ to letters of the alphabet engraved on gold necklets,⁶ to inscriptions upon garments and accoutrements,⁷ to the scratching of a message on an arrow,⁸ and to the scratching of a writing on a leaf (*panna*).⁹

Pāli, in the form, more or less, in which these stories are written, was most probably the common language of the people, though *Sam̐skṛta* may have been spoken among the more literate and cultured class, and there may have been different dialects also, as we discern from the specific mention of the *Caṇḍāla-bhāsā*.¹⁰

Among literary works, in addition to the various works of antiquity like the *Vedas* and the *Vendāṅgas*,¹¹ the *Akkhānas* or ballads¹² and stray *gāthās* composed by *sāvakas*, *isis* or *kavis*,¹³ *Haṭṭhisuttam* or the treatise on elephants was known.¹⁴ The *gāthās* of the *Jātakas* themselves, indeed, reveal a highly developed stage of Poetry, rich with imagination and beauty of style,¹⁵ and deep with thoughts and observation alike.¹⁶ The *Akkhānas* or the ballads in

1. J., I, p. 377 (mentions a correspondent); II, pp. 95, 174 (sealing a letter : also I, p. 451); IV, p. 145 (gives content of the message); IV, pp. 370, 385, 403.

2. J., I, p. 451; IV, p. 124.

3. J., II, pp. 36, 372, 376; IV, pp. 7, 257, 335, 488; V, pp. 59, 67, 125; VI, p. 29.

4. J., VI, p. 520—'ye ke ci pabbajitukāmā gaṇhantu' ti akkharāṇi likhivā'.

5. J., IV, p. 489—*Jātihiṅgulakena bhittiyā akkharāṇi likhivā* : quoted by Barua, *old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Intro.

6. J., VI, p. 390—*Suvannamālā akkharāṇi chindivā*.

7. J., VI, p. 408—*Nivātthavattthādisu akkharāṇi olokethā*.

8. J., II, p. 90—*Kaṇḍe akkharāṇi chindivā*.

9. J., II, p. 174; IV, p. 55; VI, pp. 369, 385, 400.

10. J., IV, p. 391; On language, see Rhys Davids, *Bud. Ind.*, p. 140 ff.

11. J., V, p. 476.

12. J., V, p. 450-G. 339 '*Vedaṃ akkhānapaṇcamam*' Cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 7-9.

13. J., V, p. 484. The *Anguttara Nikāya*, 2,230, mentions four kinds of poets; the poet of imagination, the poet of tradition, the poet of real life, and the improvisatore.

14. J., II, p. 46.

15. The best representative of charming lyrical poetry may be found in *Canda-Kinnara Jātaka*, J., IV, p. 283-G. 18-42.

16. On the literary value of the *Jātakas*, see Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 113 ff

prose and verse, such as those sung by the rhapsodists, were current and had set up the stage out of which the future Epics were to be evolved.¹ We may also discern the beginnings, the first steps, towards a future drama in the varied productions of shows with scenery, music and dancing before a big concourse of people on certain festival days : these were the *samajjas* of which we shall presently speak. We have a distinct reference to *nāṭakāni*, which were, most probably, dramatic performances, as distinguished from pure dancing and acting or pantomimes.² It seems the age of the *Jātakas* saw the beginnings of literary activities—of prose, poetry and drama—in the ordinary language of the people.³

Of mathematical sciences, we do not get much information from the stories. But there cannot be any doubt that they were far
 MATHEMATICS- advanced from the Vedic times.⁴ The numerical system must
 ASTRONOMY- have been well established, as we may guess from the stray
 ASTROLOGY- references to numerical figures, and their fractions. Some arithmetical process for multiplication must have been in existence in order to get the following instance : $4 \times 500 = 2000$: five hundred attendants for each of the four dogs would make the total two thousand (*ekkekassa pañca sunakhasatāni parivāroti evaṃ dvīhi sunakhasahashehi parivāritā*).⁵

Both astronomy and astrology seem to have been well advanced, though no information as to their scientific character is available. Of course various *nakkhattas* were known, and the *nakkhattajānanakas* made forecasts on the moving of different constellations (*nakkhattacāram*).⁶ And the popular belief of Rāhu covering up the moon's orb and the latter's liberation from the jaws of the former,⁷ and the idea of hare in the moon,⁸ were also prevalent.

Medical science seems to have well advanced in those days. There were
 MEDICINE. *Vejjas* and *tikicchakas* who knew their profession well, the profession which they had obtained as a legacy from their ancestors like Bhoga, Vetaraṇi and Dhammantari (Dhanvantari ?)⁹ The

1. The *Vessantara J.*, its *gāthās*, virtually constitute an *epic* : J., VI, pp. 479 ff.

2. J., V, p. 282—*nāṭakāni upatthāpessāmā*.

3. Speaking on the literature of the Buddhist period in general, Rhys Davids remarks : "It shows a curious contrast between the value of the ideas to be expressed and the child-like incapacity to express them well. We have here, as to style, only the untrained adolescence of the Indian mind. But what vigour it has !.... there is much rough and rugged beauty both in the ballads and in the lyrics.... In aftertimes we have evidence of more successful study of the arts and methods of rhetoric and poetry. But never do we find the same virility, the same curious compound of humour and irony and love of Nature on the one hand, with a deadly earnestness and really on the whole a surprisingly able grasp of the deepest problems of life, on the other : " *Buddhist India*, p. 186.

4. On the whole subject of these Ancient Indian Sciences, see particularly Thibaut, *Astronomic, Astrologic und Mathematik* in Bühler-Keilhorn's *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie* : and also recent marvellous treatment of the same by Mr. Gurugovinda Cakravarti in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Cal. Uni. XXIV (1934).

5. J., III, p. 536.

6. For instance, J., II, p. 426 ; V, p. 476.

7. J., I, p. 274 ; III, pp. 52, 364 ; IV, p. 330-G. 135: *Cando yathā Rāhumukhā pamutto*.

8. J., III, p. 52 ; IV, pp. 85-6 G. 144.

9. J., IV, p. 496-G. 340.

typical figure of a doctor can be discerned in the following *gāthā*, already quoted before :—

“Some carry sacks upon their backs, root-filled and fastened tight ;
They gather healing herbs, they bathe, and magic spells recite.”¹

And there were royal-physicians also.² Of course they took their fees.³

It seems that the snake was the most dangerous creature, specially the black-snake (*kaṇhasappo*).⁴ Particularly the breath coming from its nostrils (*nāsāvāta*) was believed to be very poisonous, causing blindness if it fell on the eyes.⁵ Whether this was the same as the *ahivātaroga*, by which the whole family of the *Am̐ba Jātaka*, except the son who broke through the wall and escaped, was destroyed, we have no means to ascertain.⁶ Snake-bites were cured.⁷

Ordinary wounds, bumps and scars were healed by applying some oil (*telaṃ*), and bandaging the injured parts (*sāṭakakaṇṇa*).⁸ Pounding the bark of a tree on a stone and rubbing the ointment on the wounded palms through which holes were made for binding strings healed the wounded parts.⁹

Among diseases¹⁰ we have mention of jaundice (*paṇḍuroga*) but no remedy is suggested.¹¹ The treatment for dysentery (*lohitaṭapakkhandikā*) was a broth made of millet and wild rice, mixed with leaves sprinkled with water, without salt and spices. Irregular food was known to be one of the causes of dysentery.¹² And it was also recognised that there is no proper digestion of food without proper sleep;¹³ indigestion (*ajinṇo*), among other things, is due to over-eating.¹⁴ Milk mixed with a pungent drug, if drunk, was thought to ensure protection from getting cold in the water.¹⁵ *Sīsābādha* or headache was known to be very obstinate, sometimes lasting for years together ; and some medicinal herb, when ground on a slab and mixed with some water and then applied to

1. J., IV, p. 361-G. 226 : *Pasibbake gahetvāna puṇṇe mūlassa saṃvute osadhikāyo ganthenti nahāyanti jāpanti ca.*

2. J., II, p. 213 (*Rājavejja*)

3. J., II, pp. 19 (*vejjavetanam*), 213 (*paribbayam*)

4. J., III, p. 346-G. 48-9 ; also II, p. 215-G. 155.

5. J., II, p. 296 ; III, p. 418 ; IV, p. 457 ; VI, p. 74.

6. J., IV, p. 200 ; *ahivātaroga* occurs also in the commentary on the *Therīgāthā*, p. 120 : it may mean malarial fever which, e.g., in the Terāi, is believed to be due to snake's breath. Or, is it possible that *ahi*, which may mean the navel, could here be the bowels, and some such disease as cholera be meant : Cowell, *Jātaka*, II, p. 55 n.

7. J., I, p. 310 ; II, p. 215-G. 155 ; IV, p. 496-G. 340 ; VI, pp. 181—2-GG. 793.g.

8. J., I, p. 293 ; III, p. 42.

9. J., V, p. 504 “*Rukkhatacam pāsāṇe ghaṃsitvā....hatthathalāni makkhesi.... vaṇo phāsukam̐ ahosi.*”

10. The Jaina *Ācārāṅgastūra*, I, 6, 1. 3. names sixteen diseases : Boils and Leprosy, consumption, falling sickness, blindness and stiffness, lameness and humpbackedness, dropsy and dumbness, apoplexy and eye-diseases, trembling and crippledness, elephantiasis, and diabetes ; besides these many illnesses and wounds occur.”

11. J., I, p. 431 ; II, p. 102.

12. J., II, p. 213 ; III, p. 144.

13. J., III, p. 143.

14. J., II, p. 362.

15. J., I, p. 458. “*tikhiṇabhesajjaparivāritam̐ khīraṇ pīvanti....sītam̐ na bādhati.*”



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dangling at the end of the tendon.... The pain was extreme, blood was trickling, the king's garments were stained with the blood. Then Sīvaka, with his left hand grasping the eyeball, took a knife in his right, and severing the tendon, laid the eye in the king's hand. In the same way the left eye was also taken out, and both the eyes were then placed in the eye-sockets of the Brāhmaṇa who then began to see.¹ Nobody would contend, we hope, that this minute description is only an outcome of rich imagination, and has no bearing with reality.²

It is not strange at all that, with such an advanced stage of medical science, knowledge of Anatomy was not lacking. For instance, it was possible to distinguish between two heads (*sīsāni*) : whether of male or of female. For it was known that the sutures (*sībbāni*) in a man's head are straight (*ujukāni*) andin a woman's head they are crooked (*vaṅkāni*).³ We are not in a position to ascertain the truth of this statement, but the fact that anatomy of different parts of the human body was known and studied cannot be gainsaid.⁴

It is not that this knowledge of physical sciences was confined to human beings : it was also applied to animals. Elephant lore, for instance, must have been a deep study of this animal, its characteristics, its diseases and cures, its training and so on. And there were elephant-doctors (*hatthivejjā*) who were well-versed in this science.⁵ They knew how to find out any ailing in elephants and to cure it.⁶ Once a certain elephant trod upon a splinter of accacia wood, which pierced his foot, and caused it to swell up and fester (*uddhumā-tapādanī*). With a sharp tool an incision was made about the splinter, a string was tied to it, and it was pulled right out. The gathering was then lanced, washed with warm water and doctored properly, and in a very short time the wound was healed.⁷ Similarly characteristics of different animals and birds were known.⁸ Minute knowledge of anatomy of snakes was natural : a male

1. J., IV, pp. 407 ff. *Nānābhesajjāni ghaṁsitvā bhesajjacuṇṇena nīluppale paribhāvetvā dakkhiṇa-akkhim upasiṅghāpesi, akkhi parivatti, dukkhā vedanā uppaṇṇi.... paribhāvetvā puna upasiṅghāpesi, akkhi akkhikūpato muñci....tatiyavāre kharatarani paribhāvetvā upanāmesi akkhi osadhabalena paribbhamitvā akkhikūpato nikkhamitvā nahārusuttana olaṁbamānaṁ atthāsi. So vāmahatthena akkhim dhāretvā dakkhiṇahatthena satthakaṁ ādāya akkhisuttakaṁ chinditvā akkhim gahetvā...."*

2. Cf., Jīvaka's masterful surgery : once he made the man, who was suffering from some head-disease, lie down on his bed, tied him fast to the bed, cut through the skin of the head, drew apart the flesh on each side of the incision, pulled two worms out, and then closed up the sides of the wound, stitched up the skin on the head and anointed it with salve ; at another time he cut through the skin of the belly, drew the twisted intestines out, disentangled them, put them back aright, stitched the skin and anointed it with salve : *Mahāvagga* VIII, 1, 18 ; 22.

3. J., VI, p. 330.

4. For minute details of anatomy in *Vedic* literature see *Ved. Index*, II, pp. 358-62.

5. J., I, p. 485.

6. J., I, p. 187.

7. J., II, p. 18 ; *tikkhiṇavāsiyā khānukassa samantato odhīm katvā rajjujā bandhitvā ākaḍḍhantā khānukaṁ nīharitvā pubbaṁ mocetvā uṇhodakena dhovitvā tadanurūpehi bhesajjehi nacirassa eva vaṇaṁ phāsukaṁ karimsu."*

8. A horse's wound is healed : J., I, pp. 180, 184 ; it was a common knowledge that dogs vomit by eating away the mixture of *kusa* grass mashed into buttermilk : I, p. 177 ; crow's hunger is appeased for the moment by eating a lamp-wick (*dīpavatti*) ; J., p. 243 ; some drugs about the persons prevent animals from approaching near : I, p. 200.

snake is distinguishable from a female one by the following features : the tail (*naguttham*) of the male snake is thick (*thūlam*), that of the female is thin (*tanukam*); the male snake's head is thick (*thūlam*), the female's is long (*dīgham*); the eyes of the male are big : of the female small ; the head (*sovattthiko*) of the male is rounded, that of the female cut short.¹

Not only this, the knowledge of various trees and fruits, particularly the poisonous trees like the *Kimphala*, and how to remove poison, was also not lacking.²

It seems, on the whole, that the science of medicine and surgery was far advanced in the *Jātaka* days, from the primitive stage when folk-medicine was closely connected with charms and sorcery, such as we see it in the *Atharva-veda*.³

The Science of Archery—*Issāpasippa*⁴—once a highly advanced science, has almost lost its place to-day.⁵ In the *Jātakas*, we have several instances which show how this science had attained to a high state of efficiency.

In the *Asadisa Jātaka*,⁶ we see Prince Asadisa exhibiting a marvellous feat of archery. The king, in whose service he was employed had asked him to bring down a cluster of mango-fruits. The archer chose a suitable position. He spread a screen around him and there (*antosānim*) doffed the white cloth which he wore over all, and put on a red cloth next his skin ; then he fastened his girdle, and donned a red waistcloth. From a bag he took out a sword in pieces, which he put together and girt on his left side. Then he put on a mailcoat of gold, fastened his bow-case (*cāpanālim*) over his back, and took out his great ramshorn bow (*meṇḍakamahādhānu*), made in several pieces, which he fitted together, fixed the bow-string, red as coral (*pavālavāṇṇam jīyam*) ; put a turban upon his head ; twirling the arrow with his nails, he threw open the screen and came out, prepared for the amazing feat.... He sped the arrow forth swiftly (*vegāṃ janetvā kaṇḍam khipi*). As the arrow went up, it pierced the exact centre of the mango stalk (*ambapiṇḍivantāni yāva-majjham kantamānam*).... Then he let fly another arrow with greater speed than the first. This struck the feather (*pumkhe*) of the first arrow, and turned it back.... Down it came, not a hairbreadth out either way, but neatly cut through the stalk of the mango cluster.⁷

1. J., VI, pp. 339-40.

2. J., I, pp. 170, 271, 272-G. 53, 368, 380.

3. See Bloomfield, in the second volume of the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, pp. 58 ff. "But the science of indigenous Medicine and Surgery, continuing through all the intervening centuries to the present day, indicates even now a degree of intrinsic worth and vitality, which would well repay a closer study and research than it is now fashionable to accord this science." K. T. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

4. J., I, p. 356 : II, p. 87 ; III, pp. 219 ; V, p. 127.

5. It is perhaps only when we happen to witness the wonderful feats of a *brahmacārī* of some *gurukula* that we are reminded of its former glory.

6. J., II, pp. 88-9.

7. J., II, pp. 88.91-G, 59—*dūrepāti akkhaṇavedhī*.

More amazing and marvellous are the feats of the master-archer Jotipāla of the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*.¹ The same preliminary preparations are made. He has summoned for expert archers-men, who pierce like lightning (*akkhaṇa-vedhī*), able to split a hair (*vālavedhī*), and to shoot at a sound without seeing (*saddavedhī*), and to cleave a falling arrow (*saravedhī*), just as Asadisa did; he sets up a pavilion in a square enclosure in the palace yard, and at the four corners he stations the four archers equipped with plentiful of arrows. He himself stands in the middle with an arrow tipped with adamant (*vajiraggam nārācam*), and asks the four men to shoot him all at once. They begin to shoot their arrows simultaneously. But he strikes them severally with his own iron arrow, and makes them drop on the ground, and remains unhurt to the last. This is called the arrow-defence (*sarapaṭibāhanam*). Then to show that he can shoot the four men posted at the four corners, with a single arrow, he fixes four plantains (*kadaliyo*) at the four corners, and fastening a scarlet thread (*rattasuttakam*) on the feathered part of the arrow, he shoots it aiming at one of the plantains. The arrow strikes it, and then the second, the third and the fourth, one after another, and then strikes the first, which it has already pierced, and so returns to the archer's hand: the plantains stand encircled with the thread. This is called the 'pierced circle'—*Cakkaviddham*. Other feats performed are: arrow-stick (*saralaṭṭhi*), arrow-rope (*sararajju*), arrow-plait (*saraveni*), arrow-terrace (*sarapāsāda*), arrow-pavilion (*saramaṇḍapam*), arrow-wall (*sarapākāram*), arrow-stairs (*sarasopānam*), arrow-tank (*sarapokkharanī*), blossoming the arrow-lotus (*sarapadumam nāma pupphāpesi*), and raining a shower of arrows (*saravassam*). Then again he cleaves seven incomparably huge substances, pierces a plank of fig wood, eight inches (*aṅgula*) thick, a plank of *asana* wood, four inches thick, a copper plate (*tambapaṭṭam*) two inches thick, an iron plate (*ayapaṭṭam*) one inch thick, and pierces a hundred boards (*phalakasatam*) joined together, one after another, shoots an arrow at the front part of wagons full of straw and sand and planks, and makes it come out at the back part, does the same thing from back to front; drives an arrow through a space of over a furlong (*usabhā*) in water, and more than two furlongs of earth, and last but not the least, pierces a hair at the distance of half a furlong, at the first sign of its being moved by the wind.² All these were of course extraordinary performances (*asādhāranāni*) of skill, but not at all impossible. Art of hitting (*sakkharakhipanasippa*) was also a wonderful thing. A marksman cuts the foliage of a tree into various shapes asked for—an elephant or a horse for instance—by throwing stones after stones and he also shoots the dry pellets of goats' dung (*sukkhā ajalaṇḍikā*), one by one, like flies, through slit in the curtain right into the chaplains' gullet (*tālutalam*).³

Among the Fine Arts, the *Kalās* or *sippas*, appertaining to music both
MUSIC AND vocal (*gīta*) and instrumental (*vādita*)—and dancing (*nacca*)
DANCING. were widely cultivated. Not only the kings and nobles who
were, as we saw, always surrounded with musicians (*gandhabbā*) and dancers

1. J., V, pp. 129-131.

2. *Ibid.*

3. J., I, pp. 418-20.



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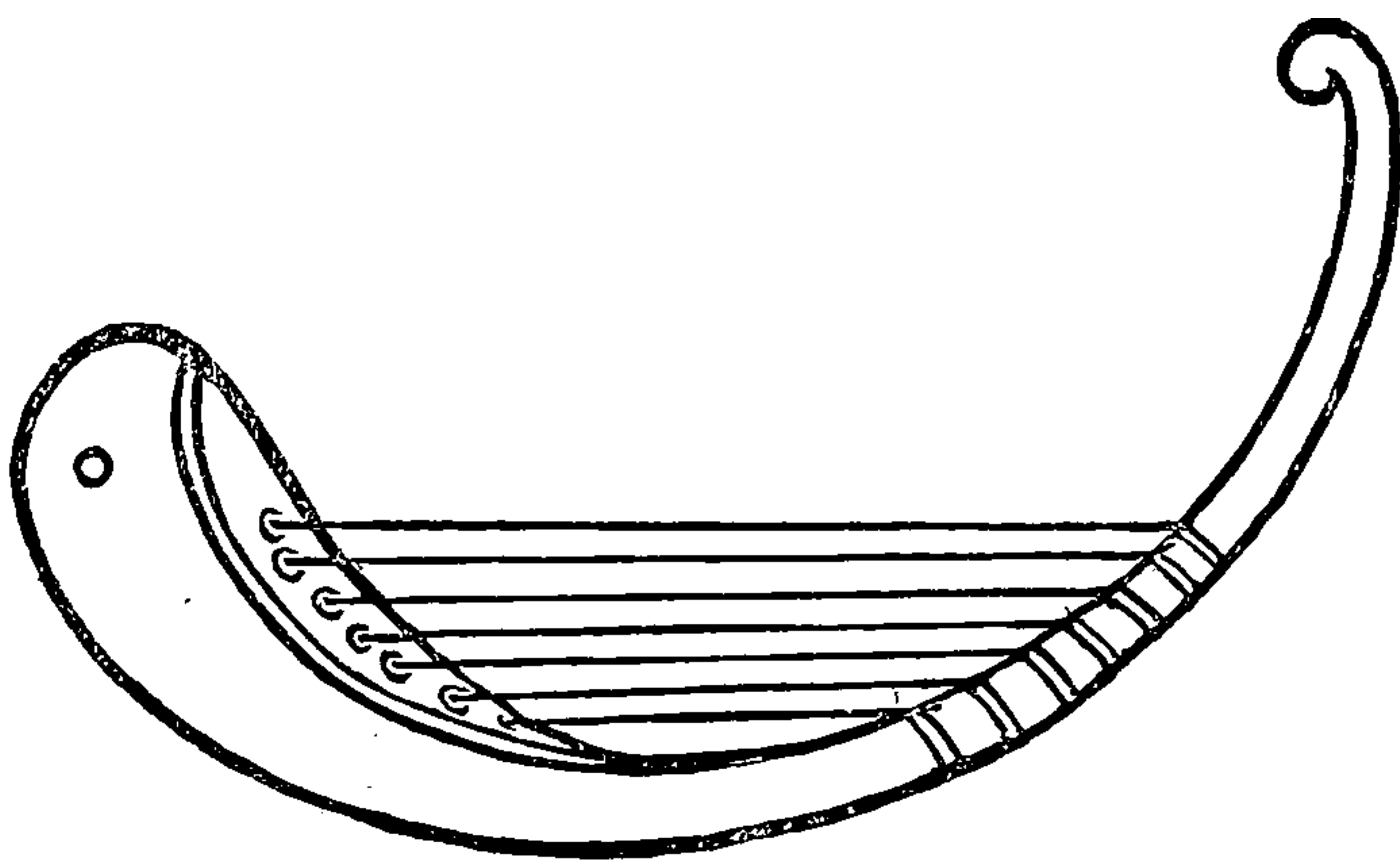
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which were one above the other, and stretched from the arm to the belly, forming as it were arcs to the crescent of the whole frame: The top-most string was called the *bhamaratantī*-bee-string;¹ all these strings passed through holes (*chiddāni*)² in the flat surface (parchment sounding board) of the belly, and probably also passed through, and were fastened to, its rounded under-side (*pokkhara*). The weight of the instrument lay well back. Thus, from this description of the different parts of the *vīṇā*,³ it becomes clear that it was much simpler than the *bīn* of the modern type,⁴ but similar to that depicted in the sculptural representations at Barhut and elsewhere,⁵ and was something like the accompanying illustration.⁶



This old *vīṇā* was used equally by men and women, either as a solo instrument,⁷ or as an accompaniment to song,⁸ but even more often to accompany dancing,⁹ whether dramatic or professional.¹⁰ It was held under the left arm or in the lap, with its thin arm projecting forwards and upwards. It was played upon by the finger-nails (*agganakhehi*)¹¹ (of the right hand). From the *Guttila Jātaka*,¹² which presents before us the two master-musicians, playing upon the *vīṇā*, we also know something of the tuning of the harp. Musila plays the *vīṇā*, first having tuned it to a high pitch (*uttamamucchanāya mucchetvā vādesi*); then he tunes it lower to a medium pitch (*majjhimamucchanāya*) and finally plays with the strings slack (*sithila*).¹³ Evidently all the seven strings

1. J., II. p. 253 here the seven strings are broken in succession, the player performing on those remaining, and finally on the arm alone. The first string to be broken is *bhamaratantī* and it should be the top-most one, for this being the longest would have the lowest note.

2. J., III, p. 507.

3. See *Milindpañho*, p. 53 (Trencher).

4. See illustration, *Annals B. O. R. I.*, XII, p. 364.

5. See illustrations, *J. A. O. S.*, 50. 240.

6. Reproduced from A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, 50 p. 246.

7. Cf. J., II, pp. 248 ff.

8. e.g., J., II, p. 329, III, p. 188 : IV, p. 470.

9. J., I, p. 292 : Cf. *Hindu Tales*, p. 105-6, king Udayana playing on the *vīṇā* and the queen dancing.

10. J., III, p. 507.

11. J., IV, p. 470.

12. J., II, pp. 248 ff.

13. *Mucchanā* is evidently used in the older sense equivalent to *sthāna*, pitch or register; but now *mūrchanā* has come to mean mode, and there are seven *mūrchanās* in each register of which seven are called *jātis*, a term practically equal to *rāga*; *jātivīṇā* occurring in J., II, p. 249 should mean, according to Coomaraswamy, not 'a beautiful *vīṇā*,' but one adapted to the playing of *Jātis*: *op cit.*, pp. 249-50.

resounding make a music powerful and divine.¹ In the case of a harp for charming elephants—*Haṭṭhikantā-vīṇā*—,² three of the strings have magical effects when struck.

Of other string-instruments, we have no knowledge.³ But of other kinds of musical instruments coming under the *pañcaṅgika-tūriyam*,⁴ many are mentioned: *Pāṇissara*, *sammataḷa* or the cymbals, *kumbhathūṇa* (*udakavādyā*?) playing on cups filled with water in varying proportions, various kinds of drums—*Bherī*, *mūtiṅgā*, *muraja*, *ālaṃbara*, *ānakā*—, conches, etc.—*saṅkhā*, *panavadanḍimā*, *kharamukhaṃ*, *godhāparivādentikā*, *kuṭumbatiṇḍimāni*.⁵ Of the wind instruments, *venu*, or the flute was popular.⁶

Music and dancing go together. The *Nāṭa-nattakas* are frequently mentioned in the stories.⁷ Much of this dancing seems to have been of an acrobatic character, like the javeline dance, or the pole dance.⁸ But serene dance, with waving hands, regulating foot-falls and graceful movements, performed with the accompaniment of the *vīṇā* or the *venu*, is also known.⁹ That inborn instinct of graceful movements led people to see this phenomena not only among human beings, but also in Nature (*Cf.*, the *Vedic uṣas*) in beasts and birds. And people liked to train pea-cocks and pea-hens to utter sweet notes and dance at the snapping of fingers and clapping of hands.¹⁰

The Pictorial art, *cittakamma*, also seems to have been highly developed and to have added its own quota to the endless artistic glories of India. Paintings were drawn on the walls (*bhitti*) as well as on panels or boards (*phalaka*).¹¹ We read of Prince Kusa preparing a palm-leaf fan for his beloved Pabhāvatī, and depicting on it a white umbrella, and taking as his subject-matter a banquet hall, amongst a variety of other forms, he represents a standing figure of Pabhāvatī.¹² Balls, with various designs painted on them in a variety of colours, are also mentioned (*cittabhenduka*).¹³ In the great religious assembly constructed under the supervision of the wise Mahosadha, painters (*cittakāre*) painted beautiful

1. J., II, p. 253.,

2. J., VI, pp. 255, 262.

3. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 11, 2 mentions *Vīṇā*, *vepamei*, *Vadvīsaka*, *Tuṇaka*, *Pānaka*, *Tumbavīṇika* or *Dhamkina*.

4. See *Kāmasūtra*, Benares Ed. p. 33.

5. J., II, p. 344; V, p. 390-G. 206; VI, pp. 217-G. 931: 276-G. 1198; 277-G. 1199-1200 580-G. 2389-90.

6. J., IV, p. 284: See *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 111-4.

7. J., III, p. 61; IV, pp. 284, 323-4; V, pp. 249, 276; VI, pp. 7, 580-G. 2388.

8. *Vamśa-dhopana* at J., IV, p. 390, is taken to mean an acrobatic performance corresponding to *Vamśa-nṛtyam* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 6, 2, 20, and not flute-playing as we said before: *Cf.* J. A. O. S., 48, p. 281, 2.

9. *Cf.* J., IV, p. 284-*muduke hatthe nāmetvā* VI, p. 265: *manoramenākāreṇa naccitvā*. See also IV, p. 324.

10. J., II, p. 37: III, p. 127: IV, p. 336: *Cf.* *Sitā* in the *Uttararāmacaritam*, III, 19, “*Karakisalayatālairmugdhayā nartyamānam*.” *Cf.* on ‘*Nṛtu*’ I. H. Q., IX, p. 154.

11. J., I, p. 304.

12. J., V, pp. 291-2: *tālavantaṃ katvā tattheva setacchattam āpānabhūmiṃ ca vatthum ga-hetvā thitam Pabhāvatīm ca tī nānārūpāni dasseti*.

13. J., V, pp. 196, 203-G. 37; Pavilions (*vimānas*) made with canvas dyed in many a tint (*nānārattehi vatthehi*): J., IV, p. 304-G. 75; decorated peaks on gate-houses (*nānācittam*): VI, p. 125-6-G. 558, 562.

pictures (*raṇaṇiyam cittaḱamma*), so that the hall became like Sakka's heavenly palace Sudhammā.¹ And on the walls on either side in the great tunnel—*Mahā-ummagga*—clever painters made various kinds of paintings: the splendour of Sakka, the zones of Mount Sineru, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, Himavat, Lake Anotatta, the Vermillion Mountain, Sun and Moon, the heaven of the four great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions—all were to be seen in the paintings,² reminding us of the marvellous paintings in the grand cathedral caves of Ajantā.³

For this *Cittakamma* or painting, the surface of the wall appears to have been most ordinarily used, as even the ordinary houses had the walls decorated with vermilion letters, and perhaps some other representations also. The walls, on which the paintings were to be made, must be carefully plastered, probably coated with lime and nicely polished (*sudhālepaṇam*).⁴ Lattice-work (*kīlañja*) was also known.⁵

The plastic arts, particularly sculpture, appear to be more difficult of execution and perfection than the pictorial, at first sight. SCULPTURE. Obviously the manual labour is greater and the knowledge of anatomy must be higher owing to the need to show the third dimension. However, the creative excellence and uniqueness are distinctly superior in painting which soars to limit less heights, in imagination and finery. Sculpture flourished side by side with, if not to the same extent as, painting in the days of the *Jātaka* stories. Unfortunately no specimen of sculptural achievements has survived which can be satisfactorily identified as belonging to this period, though the sculptor's art is as old as the Indus valley, as the antiquities discovered at Mohenjodāro and Harappā clearly testify.⁶

The earliest material for carving selected by the Indian artist seems to have been wood. Gradually stone and metal revealed before the artist an inexhaustible field for the display of his skill and craftsmanship. The *Jātakas*

1. J., VI, p. 333.

2. J., VI, p. 432; also VI, pp. 412, 481.

3. *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* quotes a beautiful verse, apparently from a *Śilpa śāstra* about the six great requisites of painting, viz., 'knowledge of appearances, correct perception, measure and structure of forms, action of feelings on forms, infusion of grace or artistic representation, similitude and artistic manner of using brush and colours.' See *Modern Review*, 1914, pp. 581-2.

4. J., VI, p. 432: Cf. J. A. O. S., 48, p. 263: I. H. Q., III, p. 53: An old booklet named *Sudhālepavidhānam* describes the method of plastering the walls before painting, shows the way how to prepare the several colours for painting and explains the process of painting the walls: See I. H. Q., III, pp. 53-9.

5. J., VI, p. 412. See description of Indasālaguhā in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, II, *Sakkapañha Suttanta* and its commentaries; also Barua, *Barhut Jātaka Scenes*.

6. One has only to go over the marvellous facts and figures and illustrations embodied in the 3 bulky volumes of *Mohenjodāro and the Indus Civilization* by John Marshall. "While the remains found in the Sind valley," says Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, certainly go back to the third or fourth millennium B.C., it must not be supposed that a complete hiatus divides this early period from later times. A part of the remains at Mohenjodāro probably dates between 1000 and 400 B.C. and on the other hand the minor antiquities from various Indian sites, as at Basrāh, Taxila (Bhir mound), Pāṭaliputra and South Indian prehistoric sites go back at least to the 5th century B.C. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 4-5.



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single pillar (*ekathūṇaka-pāsāda*).¹ Some palaces had huge octagonal stone-columns (*silāthaṁbhe*) numbering one thousand.² Several architectural terms seem to be not devoid of interest:³ *Koṭṭhaka* is usually 'gatehouse';⁴ *Koṭṭhāgāra* is a store house,⁵ but *Kūṭāgāra* generally means a house with a finial or roof ridge:⁶ *Pañjara* has the double significance of 'attic' and 'dormer-window,'⁷ and *Kaṇṇukā* is connected with the rafters (*gopāṇasiyo*) and is to be seen from within the house by looking up: it is probably always ornamented, very likely representing an inverted lotus. It is distinct from the rest of the roof. It is *patera*.⁸

The *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka*⁹ presents before us indeed a marvellous underground construction—a great engineering feat. The description of the construction of the great tunnel is indeed too realistic to be passed off unnoticed: the mouth of the tunnel was upon the Ganges' bank; its entrance was in the city. It was provided with a door, eighteen hands high, fitted with machinery (*Yantayuttadvāra*) so that all were closed by pressing a peg (*āṇi*). On either side, the tunnel was built up with bricks (*iṭṭhikāhi*) and worked with stucco (*sudhākammaṁ*); it was roofed over with planks (*padaracchanam*) and plastered with cement (*ullokamattikā*) and then whitewashed (*setakammaṁ*). In all there were eighty great doors and sixty-four small ones, all of which closed by pressing one peg and opened by pressing another. On either side there were some hundreds of cells for placing lamps (*dīpālayā*), and they also were provided with machinery, so that when one was opened, all were opened, and when one was shut, all were shut. On either side, there were one hundred and one bed-rooms (*sayanagabbhā*) for one hundred and one Khattiyas. In each of these was laid a variegated bed, as also a great couch shaded by a white umbrella, a throne placed near the couch and a statue of a woman of surpassing beauty. Also on either side of the tunnel, skilful painters made all sorts of paintings as described before. The floor was like a silver-plate being strewn with sand (*vālukā*). On the roof were full-blown lotus flowers (*ullokapaḍumāni*). On both sides were booths (*āpaṇe*) of all kinds; here and there were hung festoons of flowers and scented blooms. Thus they adorned the tunnel until it was like the divine hall of Sudhammā,¹⁰ A grand construction, this. The Ajantā and Ellorā caves, out of so many existing rock-cut structures, show that the above description is not simply an imaginative picture.¹¹

1. J., IV, pp. 79, 153.

2. J., IV, p. 215: VI, pp. 127-G. 568: 173-G. 769: *atthamāsā sukatā thaṁbhā sabbe velu-riyāmayā saḥassathamḁbhā pāsādā*.

3. Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, J. A. O. S., 48, pp. 250 ff.

4. J., I, pp. 227, 351; II, p. 431: VI, p. 413.

5. For instance, J., V, p. 184-G. 212-3:

6. J., V, p. 188-G. 225-6; Cf. J. A. O. S., 50, p. 243.

7. e.g., J., II, p. 172 (*rathapañjara*); III, p. 379 (*Vivata sīhapañjara*); IV, pp. 60-G. 100; 356.

8. J., I, p. 201: III, pp. 317-9-G. 1; 431, 472; See A. K. Coomaraswamy, J. A. O. S., 50, pp. 238 ff.

9. J., VI, pp. 332-3; 428-36; 459-60.

10. J., VI, p. 432.

11. Underground houses are also mentioned in the Jaina *Sūtras*: Cf. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, II, 3, 3, 1. The *Mahāvagga*, I, 30, 4 mentions five kinds of dwellings *Vihāras*, *Addhayogas*, *Pāsādas*, *Hammiyas*, and the *silāguhās*; for constructing of wells, tanks and lakes see J., III, p. 416; V, p. 233; VI, p. 333; 344-5.

Of religious architecture, we only discern the first beginnings in the stories. We do find mention of the *devakulas* (lit. residence of the gods) or temples,¹ but we do not know anything about the nature and architectural character of these buildings, except that they were the resort-places of the travellers, thus corresponding to the later-day *dharmaśālās*.

Then again, we have several references to *thūpas* (*Stūpas*),² built upon the remains of the deceased persons. The *Sujāta Jātaka*³ relates, that a land-owner from the day of his father's death was filled with sorrow, and taking his bones from the place of cremation he erected an earth-mound (*mattikāthūpaṃ*) in his pleasure-garden, and depositing the remains (*atthāni*) there, he visited the place from time to time, adorned the tope with flowers and studiously lamented, neglecting his daily duties and personal comforts.⁴ Another *Jātaka*⁵ gives an account, much more minute, of the obsequies of a king. The ladies of the royal harem came to the cemetery (*ālāhanam*), as retinue for the deceased king, with red garments, disheveled hair and torches in their hands. The ministers made a funeral pyre (*dārūnam citakam*) with a hundred wagon-loads of wood. On the spot, where the body was burnt, a shrine (*Cetiya*) was erected and honoured for seven days with offerings of incense and flowers. The burnt skull (*sīsakapālam*) inlaid with gold, was put at the king's gate, raised on the spear-like staff (*kuntaggee*) serving as royal insignia, and was honoured. Then taking it as a relic (*dhātu*) another shrine (*Cetiya*) was built and honoured with incense and garlands.

From these two typical cases, we come to know something about the original and simpler character of the *thūpa*⁶ and the *Cetiya*,⁷ 'The topes (*thūpas*),' says Rhys Davids,⁸ 'were not especially Buddhist monuments, but in fact, pre-Buddhistic, and indeed only a slight modification of a worldwide custom.' Originally made, in the Āryan days, of wood or bamboo, these soon began to give place to more enduring structures. Instead of heaps of earth or of stones covered with earth, as had been the custom in more ancient times, there now were beginning to be built solid brick structures. "The first step was prob-

1. J., III, p. 238 ; IV, p. 39 ; criticising Lassen who adduced, as a second argument in favour of the priority of Buddhism to Jainism, the fact that both sects erected temples, Jacobi says : "Instead of seeing in the Buddhists the originals, and in the Jainas the imitators, with regard to the erection of temples and worship of statues, we assume that both sects were, independently from each other, brought to adopt this practice by the perpetual and irresistible influence of the religious development of the people in India: *Jaina Sūtra*, (S.B.E. XXII) Intro. p. xxi.

2. The origin of the form *Thūpa* is traced back to an Indo-European word like *Tumba*, from which the English *Tomb* or the French *Tombe* has been arrived. According to this connection the *stūpa* is nothing but a *Tomb* or *tumulus* : Barua, *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 16.

3. J., III, pp. 155 ff.

4. Dr. Barua remarks : "Though here the custom is one of cremation and the man is a member of the Āryan or cultured community, he is said to have lamented, being subject to natural weakness and subconsciously under the superstitious belief that his weeping might bring back the departed soul." *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 19 : also *Barhut stone as a story-teller*. Scene in Cunningham's *Stūpa of Barhut*, pl. xlvii, 3.

5. J., III, pp. 374-5.

6. Cf. also J., III, p. 434 : built on the square ; *mahāthūpa* J., III, p. 461.

7. See also J., II, p. 256 ; III, p. 375 ; VI, pp. 68, 173-G. 768 (*vanacetiyaṇi*) ; *Caitya-Vṛkṣas* in the *Atharvaveda*, *pariśiṣṭa*.

8. *Buddhist India*, p. 80. See also *I. H. Q.*, II, p. 229.

ably merely to build the cairn more carefully than usual with stones, and to cover the outside with fine *cunam* plaster to give it a marble-like surface. The next step was to build the cairn of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time and to surround the whole with a wooden railing.”¹ None of the most ancient structures of this kind have survived or been explored sufficiently to enable a restoration to be drawn. But some idea can, no doubt, be had from examples of a little later period.² The most glorious examples of the *stūpa* now in existence, *viz.*, those of Barhut and Sāñchī, with their wealth of inside and outside decoration, presuppose a few centuries of artistic as well as religious development.³

1. *Buddhist India*, p. 82.

2. The tope built by the Sākiyan Kinsmen of the Buddha over their portion of the remains of his funeral pyre is an earlier example, but this is still in ruins : *Ibid.* p. 132, fig. 33.

3. Some architectural terms in regard to the *thūpa* and the *Cetiya* are known to the *Jātakas* : *Vedikā* or the railing, *torāṇa*, the arch, and *dvāra* the gateway : J., V, p. 511 ; the *cetiyas* were sometimes marked with finger-prints, *gandhapañcāṅgulikaṃ* ; J., II, p. 256.



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The gods were many, and the most prominent among them was *Sakka*, the later transformation of the great god of the *Veda*, *Indra*.¹

SAKKA. Sakka is called Sujāmpati among the gods and Maghavā by men.² He is at the head of the Thirty-three *devas* dwelling in the Tāvātimsa heaven which is the topmost of the three other heavens viz., the Yāma, the Tusita and the Parinimmita.³ This heaven of the Thirty-three was the happiest place imaginable, abounding in rich palaces and gardens,⁴ where the Devadhītās and the Accharās sported.⁵ Sakka had Mātali as the charioteer and Pañcasikha as his musician.⁶ His palaces were Masak-kasāra⁷ and Vejayanta, and Sudhammā was the assembly hall of the gods.⁸ The belief was common that when Sakka's life draws towards its end, or when his merit is exhausted and worked out, or when some mighty being prays or through the efficacy of virtue in priests or Brāhmaṇas full of potency (*mahiddhiyā-Samaṇa-Brāhmaṇānaṃ*), his palace and the yellow marble throne (*paṇḍukāmbalasilāsanaṃ*) grow hot and shaken.⁹ His character as the rain-god (*Pajjunna*) was still retained.¹⁰

Among other *Vedic* gods who still survived, though slowly fading away, were the Moon and the Sun (*Canda Suriya*).¹¹ The worship of the Fire (*Aggi*) and Water (*Āpa*) is laughed at in scorn, and its worthlessness and foolishness explained beautifully to the Common Folk :¹²

To Worship fire, the Common drudge of all,
Senseless and blind and deaf to every call,
And then one's self to live a life of sin—

How could one dream that this a heaven could win ?¹³ and so on.

The wind-god *Vāyu* (*Māluta*) has also been the laughing stock of the story-teller.¹⁴ *Varuṇa* is still a power, ranked with the highest,¹⁵ but he is gradually reduced to a tree-god,¹⁶ more prominently, a Nāga king *par*

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1. See *Buddhist India*, p. 234.
 2. J., IV, pp. 9-G. 12 ; 403-G. 55 ; also III, p. 146. G. 183.
 3. J., I, p. 202 ; II, pp. 89, 312 ; VI, p. 279-G. 1221.
 4. J., VI, pp. 132, 278-G. 1216 : Pharusaka, Cittalatā, Missaka and Nandana.
 5. J., I, p. 240 : II, pp. 57, 256-G.(?) IV, p. 90 ; Barhut Jātaka label : Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Barhut*, pls. xiv, 2 ; liv, 32. See Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 48 ff.
 6. J., III, p. 222 ; V, p. 383 ; the *gandhabbas* at VI, p. 265-G. 1146.
 7. J., VI, p. 289-G. 1255 : *Masakkasāraṃ iva Vāsavassa*.
 8. J., V, p. 386 : VI, p. 278-G. 1216 : 127-G. 567-9 : See Barhut label, Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pls. XVI, LIV.
 9. J., II, p. 188 ; III, pp. 53, 129 ; IV, p. 8-9.
 10. J., I, pp. 331, 332-G. 74 ; IV, p. 253-G. 113.
 11. J., I, p. 474-G. 131 ; VI, pp. 1, 263-G. 1142.
 12. J., I, p. 494 : The Lord of the Fire could not so much as look after his own, in that his victim was carried away by the robbers, how should he look after the Brāhmaṇa who worshipped him ? G. 140 : II, p. 44 : One day the Brāhmaṇa put rice and *ghee* in the fire which at once caught his hut and rendered it all waste : naturally he was enraged G. 23-4 ; VI, pp. 206-207-GG. 886-895 : *milakkha* (*Mleccha*—) G. 892.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 207-G. 893 (*Vessānara*).
 14. J., I, p. 165-G. 16 ; also VI, p. 263-G. 1142.
 15. J., VI, p. 164-G. 750.
 16. J., IV, p. 8.

excellence,¹ and a lord of the oracle girls (*vārunī*)² who, possessed by the god, would, as the Greek Pithias, prophesy smooth things.³

Of other mythological Deities of benevolent character, we may mention *Siri* or *Sirimā*, the Goddess of Luck, of plenty and success, who was very popular.⁴ She is stated to be the daughter of Dhatarat̥ṭha, one of the four guardian angels.⁵ Then we have *Gaṅgā-devatā*, the presiding female deity of the Ganges or rivers in general. She is represented as the custodian of fishes.⁶ She too, like *Siri*, is represented on one of the Barhut medallions, mounted on elephant-faced *makara* and holding a goad in her right hand.⁷ *Maṇi-mekhalā*, the divinity of the sea, who looks after men sailing over the vast ocean, seems to have come in at a rather later stage, but commands respect over a wider area.⁸

It is quite natural, that the mutual assimilation of different traditions of diverse sections of the people, different explanations about the same Natural phenomena, diversity in the conception of the various aspects of Nature, gradually enlarged the huge pantheon with various traditions about individual gods and goddesses, almost on the lines parallel to those we find in Greece, Rome and other parts of the ancient world. Anthropomorphic considerations naturally played the supreme rôle in the evolution of these ideas. "The primitive mind is swayed by wonder and fear, and naturally tries to do recompense for the good done or to appease the anger of the omnipotent agents. As such, the gods were worshipped, and this worship was nothing but offering various kinds of food or sacrificing animals to them—practically, the same means as win success with ordinary men. In course of time, this sacrifice elaborated into a complicated ritual and came to have a different purpose and meaning."⁹

If wonder or gratitude impelled man to venerate or worship the various deities mentioned before, fear made him dread the spirits of EVIL SPIRIT. evil which infested the world. People had to take recourse to various arts and artifices to counteract these evils, to what we call spells, charms or magic which still survive. Prominent among these evil

1. J., VI, pp. 164, 257-329-GG. 1153-7 ; 1164-71 ; 1350, 1424-8 ; 1439.

2. J., VI, p. 586—G. 2425. *Vārunīva pavedhenti thanadhārābhisiñcathā* : the commentator explains *vārunī* as *yakkhāvit̥ṭhā ikkharīkā*. Cf. *atīyakkhā* ; VI, p. 502-G. 1828.

3. Cf. D. N. Sen, 4th *Oriental Conference Proceedings*, II, p. 699.

4. J., III, pp. 257, 258 (*aham mahājanassa issariyadāyikā*) 261, 262-G. 50, 51 (synonymous with *Lakkhī*) 263, 264 ; V, p. 399. G. 236-7.

5. The *Jātaka* mythology distinguishes between the *Vedic Śrī* and the popular one by representing the former as a daughter of Śakra or Indra and the latter as the daughter of *Dhṛtarāstra* the guardian angel. See Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-8 ; Barhut Sculpture : Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIII, 1, LIV ; also *Buddhist India*, figs. 36, 37, 38.

6. J., II, pp. 423 ff ; G. 113-4.

7. Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 68 ; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXVI.

8. J., IV, pp. 17-21 ; VI, pp. 35 ff., Cf. for details regarding this divinity and the Far-Eastern versions, S. Levi in *I. H. Q.*, VI, pp. 597 ff., VII, pp. 173 ff. 371 ff ; other heavenly beings : the *gandhabbas*, the *Kimpurisas* and the *Kinnaras* : J., IV, pp. 25-ff. G. 110, 111, 116, 442 ff-G. 169-186 ; VI, p. 265-G. 1146 ; See Barua and Sinha *op. cit.*, p. 91, Cf. for philological and ethnical relations between the Asses, Horses and the Gandharvas, the Greek Centaurs and the Iranian Gandarewa : J. Przyluski, *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 613-20.

9. N. C. Banerjee in *Calcutta Review*, XXIII, pp. 67-8.

spirits which endangered the safety of man were the *Asuras*, the eternal enemies of the gods,¹ the *Dānava-rakkhasas*,² the *Vijjādhara*s or the wizards flying invisibly and endowed with all sorts of spells and magic (*abbhutadhammā*),³ and above all the *Yakkhas* and various other spirits.⁴

The Four Great Kings (*Cātummahārājā*) were the guardians of the four quarters: Dhataratṭha in the East at the head of the *Gandhabbas*, Virulha in the South at the head of the *Kumbhaṇḍas*, Virupakkha in the West above the *Nāgas* and Vessavana-Kubera in the North above the *Yakkhas*.⁵ All the quarters (*disā*) were worshipped in times of danger or calamity.⁶

Of all the evil spirits, the *Yakkhas* were the most commonly dreaded, and people were in perpetual fear of them. Vessavana, the Lord of the *Yakkhas* himself, is not held without fear.⁷ To common people, the world seemed to be infested with the *Yakkhas*. Even their signs and bodily forms were not left out. They could be recognised because they had unwinking and red eyes, cast no shadow, were fearless and without mercy,⁸ in stature as tall as palm trees, head as big as an arbour, huge eyes like bowls, two tusks like turnips and the beak of a hawk.⁹ They lived on the flesh of men and beasts,¹⁰ and haunted deserts and forests, trees or waters.¹¹ The she-goblins, the *Yakkhinīs* were even more dreadful, as they, by their various snares of beauty, music, smell, taste and comfort, attracted men and made them their prey.¹² People were believed to be possessed by the *Yakkhas*: a goblin named Naradeva took possession of the minister *Kāvinda* on every fast day, so that he barked like a mad dog.¹³ It, however, seems from the descriptions that the *Yakkhas* might have been an aboriginal tribe,¹⁴ like the *Nāgas*.

The *Nāgas*, under the guardian angel Virupakkha, or as sometimes Dhataratṭha,¹⁵ were, according to the superstitious belief, the Siren-serpents whose worship has been so important a factor in the folklore, superstition and poetry

1. J., I, pp. 202-206-G. 30.

2. J., III, p. 527.

3. J., III, pp. 303, 455; 527-31-G. 90 (*Vāyussa putto*); the episode is depicted in a Barhut railing. See Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90; J., IV, p. 496-G. 341.

4. For detailed lists see the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* and the *Ātānātiya Suttana* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*: *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, pp. 286 ff; III, pp. 188 ff.

5. J., III, p. 257.

6. J., VI, p. 562-G. 2256—'*Sabbā disā namassisaṃ puthuṃ katvāna añjaliṃ*.' These four great kings are all called *Yakkhas* in the Barhut inscriptions: their representations on a railing of the *Stūpa* are lifesize: See Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pls. LIII, XXII, LV; Barua & Sinha *op. cit.*, pp. 65-7.

7. J., I, p. 328; II, p. 16; III, p. 502; VI, p. 265.

8. J., VI, p. 307.

9. J., I, p. 273; also I, p. 102; IV, p. 491.

10. J., I, p. 101; III, p. 327; V, p. 458: for cannibalism see Grierson, *Pisāca* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1905.

11. J., I, pp. 99, 349; upon the central rafter of the hut: II, p. 16.

12. J., I, pp. 240, 395-7; II, p. 128; III, p. 502 (a female *Yakkha* with a face of a horse: *assamukhī Yakkhinī*).

13. J., VI, p. 383.

14. It seems also correct to say that the *Yakkha* worship in its ultimate analysis is indisputably hero-worship.—Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 67; In the *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, III. 14-15; V, 24, the *Yakkhas* are greatly praised; a *Yakkhanagara* is mentioned at J., I, p. 101.

15. J., V, p. 164-G. 751 '*Dhataratṭho hi Nāgānaṃ bahunaṃ api issaro*.'



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TREE-WORSHIP. Tree-worship is indeed very old, and widely spread.¹ It was, of course, not the trees as such, but the souls or spirits supposed to dwell within them (*nibbattadevatā*) and to haunt them, that were looked upon as gods. And this notion survived down to the rise of Buddhism as we see from the *Upaniṣads*.² Our stories are full of references to this tree-worship, with its superstitious and savage customs. Offerings were made to the tree-spirits :³ even human sacrifices were offered,⁴ they were consulted as oracles, and expected to grant children, fame and wealth ;⁵ they were believed to injure those who injured the trees in which they dwelt,⁶ and they were pleased when garlands were hung upon the branches of the tree, lamps lighted round it, and *bali* offerings were made, at the foot of the tree.⁷ Horrid and hideous practices were connected with this tree-worship. In the *Dummedha Jātaka*,⁸ we hear of these devoted-people (*devatāmaṅgalakā*) offering sacrifices to the banyan-tree in which the entrails, blood and flesh (*maṁsalohita*) of the victims—goats, cocks, pigs and the like—are the substantial parts of the *bali*. In the *Dhoṇasākhā Jātaka*,⁹ a still more horrid picture is witnessed. The unhappy princes are knocked unconscious (*Visaṇṇī*), their eyes slit out, the bodies (*kalebarāṇi*) cut open, and the entrails taken out, and the carcasses thrown into the river. The entrails are hung as garlands on the tree, which is marked with spread hands dipped in the blood of the victims (*lohitapaṇcaṅgulikāṇi*).¹⁰ Quite a similar description occurs at another place also.¹¹ One does not find the slightest reason to doubt these detailed descriptions : though the custom may not have been widely prevalent. The spirit of the tree was obviously looked upon as having an insatiable craving for human and animal flesh and blood. “The present custom of daubing the tree with vermilion is most probably a reminiscence of far more sinister rites.”¹²

1. Cf. “there is scarcely one tribe of Indo-European stock that did not worship and even offer sacrifices to trees and tree-spirits.” Jarl Charpentier on the *Naicāsākhā* of the *Rgveda* in *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 335 ff., which he has tried to explain as “worshipper of the banyan tree.”

2. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 227 : J. IV, p. 154.

3. J., I, pp. 169 ; 259 ff. 344 ff. G. 76, 423-G. 8, 425-6 ; III, p. 23 ff G. 26, 146 ff. IV, p. 153.

4. J., III, p. 160 ; V, pp. 472, 474, 488.

5. J., I, pp. 259, 404-5 (a tree spirit is asked to settle the dispute between the two merchants) ; 423 ; III, p. 23 (*sukhaseyyam pucchati*) ; IV, p. 351, ff. G. 179-197 ; 456 ; 474 ; this idea is fully alive to-day and is of a particularly primitive trend.

6. J., IV, pp. 210, 353.

7. J., III, p. 23. “*gandhapāṇcaṅgulikāṇi datvā mālāgandhadhūpehi pūjetvā dīpam jāletvā sukham saya ti vatvā rukkham padakkhiṇam katvā pakkamati.*” IV, p. 153 ; Cf. VI, p. 327-G. 1441-3 ; Cf. Barua, *Barhut Stone as a Story-teller*, for an interpretation of the Barhut Scenes of worship of the Bo-trees.

8. J., I, p. 259.

9. J., III, pp. 157 ff.

10. On the *lohitapaṇcāṅgulika*, etc. cf. Vogel in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akademie von Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde*, 5 ; J., IV, p. 218 ff. referred to by Jarl Charpentier, *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, p. 343.

11. J., V, p. 456.

12. J. Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

No doubt, these horrible practices of animal sacrifices.¹ held sway among the people.² The doctrine of *ahimsā*, though preached from long before, was only now beginning to bear fruit. People were beginning to realise, partly through humanitarian sense and partly through fear of something, the utter uselessness of animal-slaughter and to develop a bold and a questioning spirit:

“Why, brahmin, though thyself with reason blest,
Hast thou this dull insensate tree addressed ?
Vain is thy prayer, thy kindly greeting vain,
From this dull wood no answer wilt thou gain,”³

and the scathing arguments in the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*⁴ vividly express this questioning spirit.

However, the dread of the evil spirits was hard to kill. The simpler and unsophisticated mind looked to easier ways of deliverance, other than sacrifice and prayer to gods. Innumerable superstitions and charms grew up. Magic (*dibbamāyā*) and witch-craft were prominent.⁵ Signs and portents (*nimittāni*) were also believed in.⁶ And for all these, there were the sooth-sayers, under the designation *lakkhaṇapāṭhakas* or *aṅgavijjāpāṭhakas*,⁷ *supi-napāṭhakas*,⁸ *nemittikas*⁹ and the *nakkhattajānanakas*¹⁰ already referred to. Fortune-telling and interpretation of dreams were part of their profession. To the same class belonged the professors of *bhūtavijjhā*.¹¹ All these were believed to exercise power over evil spirits and demons, and to interpret and avert bad omens, by their magic incantations (*mante*); charmed sand (*parittavālikam*) to be kept on the head and the charmed thread (*parittasuttakam*) to be twisted round the brow were believed to ensure safety from dangers.¹² Places were supposed to be haunted by supernatural beings (*amānussapariggahita*), and charms were employed to counteract their evil effects.¹³ The idea of washing away the sins in the sacred bathing-places like *Payāga* on the Yamunā river, *Doṇa*, *Timbaru* and others¹⁴ was prevalent. Oaths were taken on various occasions and for various purposes, specially the ‘*saccakiriya*’ or an act of

1. J., VI, p. 133 describes thus : a sacrificial pit (*yaññāvāṭa*) was dug with a level floor, surrounded with a fence (*vāṭiparikkhapaṇam*) for ancient brahmīns had enjoined that this fence should be made, lest some righteous ascetic or brahmin might come and stop the rite : some specimens of the hymns sung : *Udetā ayaṃ cakkhumā-ekarājā* : II, p. 33 ; G. 17 ; *Apetā ayaṃ ca* : II, p. 35-G. 17 ; *ayaṃ te yūpo kāmāduho paratthā* : VI, p. 211-G. 906.

2. See also J., I, pp. 150 (neck of the deer placed on the block—*dhammagandikam*) ; III, p. 45 (*sabbacatukkayañña*) also VI, p. 133 : IV, p. 115 ; the custom of offering feasts to the departed also seems to have been prevalent, J, I, p. 166 ff.

3. J., III, p. 24-G. 25.

4. J., VI, pp. 210-14-G. 904-930.

5. J., I, p. 456. VI, p. 458-G. 1623-4.

6. J., I, pp. 120 : 154 (a bird strikes a hunter while he is starting for hunting thinking this to be an ill omen he stays for a while) ; VI, p. 10.

7. J., I, p. 290 ; II, p. 21 ; V, pp. 458, 484.

8. J., V, p. 443 ; VI, p. 10.

9. J., IV, p. 124 ; V, p. 296 ; VI, p. 5.

10. J., I, pp. 120, 133, 257 ; III, p. 59 ; V, pp. 127-30.

11. J., III, p. 511.

12. J., I, pp. 396-399.

13. J., II, pp. 15-6.

14. J., V, p. 388-G. 199 ; VI, pp. 197-8-G. 857.

truth.¹ In the ideas relating to cosmology, the explanation of the doctrines of *Karma* and of transmigration of soul modified the old ideas; yet people continued to believe in the existence of Heaven as the place of rewards for the good done in life, and of Hell as the abode of punishment.² And in this way this religion of the people, beliefs and superstitions of the people, animistic hocus-pocus, all existing among the people, the simple folk, naturally gave rise to a questioning spirit that would take nothing for granted.

There comes a time in the life of every race, as it does in the life of every thoughtful individual, when it is felt that the ordinary interpretation of the world we live in, and the standard of values by which we estimate the ends or ideals we pursue in life, should be revised, reconstructed or overhauled. And it was such an awakening that began to see the light in the period of which we are speaking. This is not to say that it was a sudden revolution: in fact at all times and in all ages orthodoxy has always been shadowed by heterodoxy: only the degree changes, the extent differs. The whole of the popular animistic notions mentioned before, and no doubt many others, survived in full force. But no one man believed in them all. Gradually the sphere of the questioning, the revolting, spirit widens. And then during this period, as Prof. Rhys Davids³ has rightly observed, suddenly there is evidence of a leap forward in speculative thought, of a new birth in ethics, of a religion of conscience threatening to take place of the old religion of custom and magic.' And the marvel of it is, that the same process of regeneration was taking place simultaneously in other centres of civilisation—in China, Persia, and Egypt, in Italy and Greece.⁴ It was a time reverberating, more vigorously than ever before, with the conflicts of ideals and of practices. The old order of things had had its day. New orders were springing up on the horizon. In short, Ritual had yielded place to self-introspection (*pativekhā* of Aśoka, P. E. III) and to asceticism (*tapas*). Dr. Barua in his *History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*⁵ has rightly designated this period as neo-Vedic and Sophistic or the period of Śamanas and Brāhmanas. Yājñavalkya was the great landmark

1. J., III, pp. 138-9 GG. 169-172; *Saccakiriya* was an Act of Truth a formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command and resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished. The formula of the Act is with slight changes of words, 'etena saccena.. or etena saccavajjena J., I, pp. 294, 331; IV, pp. 31-G. 47; 142-G. 117; 320-G. 103-115; 410-G. 75-7; V, pp. 29-G. 80-2; 87-G. 260; 95-G. 296; VI, pp. 1, 91-G. 376-82; 154-G. 729; 242; it is used for so many purposes: to obtain water to drink: J., pp. 170 ff-G. 19; to cause a forest fire to turn back: J., I, pp. 213 ff, G. 34; J. I, pp. 331 ff. G. 74; to counteract the effect of poison: J. IV, pp. 28 ff-G. 47; to avert ship-wreck; J. IV, p. 137 ff-G. 117; to obtain a son: J., IV, pp. 315 ff-G. 103-113; VI, pp. 1 ff; to deliver animals; J., IV, pp. 333 ff; to deliver a man from captivity: J., V, pp. 21 ff.-G. 80-2; to avenge a wrong: J. V, pp. 75 ff-G. 260; to cure leprosy. J., V, pp. 88 ff. G. 206; to heal wounds: J., V, pp. 457 ff; to refute a false charge; J., VI, pp. 30 ff; to avert human sacrifice: J., VI, pp. 131 ff. G. 729; See for a detailed treatment of the subject, as a psychic motif in Hindu fiction: E. W. Burlingame in J. R. A. S., 1917, pp. 429 ff. also J. A. O. S., 52, pp. 316-7.

2. J., I, p. 168, 174, 232, 490; II, pp. 86, 202; III, pp. 42, 45, 185, 206; IV, pp. 3; V, pp. 266-7; VI, pp. 105-6, 246, 354; belief in the earth's swallowing a wicked man. J., I, p. 322.

3. *Buddhist India*, p. 239.

4. *Buddhist India*, pp. 238 ff.

5. pp. 191, 416.



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the origin of the name Uddālaka (Auddālaka) with the *Uddālaka* tree under which he was conceived, and describes him as the fruit of an illegal union of his mother—a *ganikā*—with a wise *purohita* of a Brahmadatta king of Benares. In both these accounts, the *Jātaka*-historian has evidently confounded Śvetaketu Auddālaka with Philaethes Satyakāma Jābāla.¹

But as to the general views—social and ethical—of Śvetaketu Auddālaka and his father (*i.e.*, Uddālaka), both the *Jātakas* agree. The conversation between the Father and the Son shows some resemblance to the one embodied in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,² the latter setting forth the philosophical views much more elaborately. In the former the son inquires: What makes the Brāhmin? how can he be perfect? tell me this. What is a righteous man, and how he wins *Nirvāṇa*'s bliss?³ The father replies:

“He has no field, no goods, no wish, no kin,
Careless of life, no lusts, no evil ways.
Even such a Brāhmin peace of soul shall win,
So as one true to duty men him praise.”⁴

Setaketu again asks:

“Khattiya, Brāhmin, Vessa, Sudda and Caṇḍāla Pukkusa,
All these can be compassionate, can win *Nirvāṇa*'s bliss:
Who among all the saints is there who worse or better is?”⁵

Uddālaka replies:

“None among all the saints is there who worse or better is.”⁶

Then Setaketu retorts:

“You are Brāhmin, then, for nought: vain is your rank I wis.”⁷

At last his father, in his further reply, strikes the keynote of Uddālaka's philosophy:

“With canvas dyed in many a tint pavilions may be made:
The roof, a many-coloured one: one colour is the shade.
Even so, when men are purified, so is it here on earth.
The good perceive that they are saints, and never ask their birth.”⁸

In the earlier part of the story, Setaketu is represented as doubtful about the efficacy of *Vedic* Learning and favouring self-control. And his father, Uddālaka, maintains the usefulness of the *Vedas*, but at the same time accepts,

1. See *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, IV, 4-9; Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

2. VI, 4.

3. J., IV, p. 302-G. 70.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 71.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 72.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 73.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 303-G. 74.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 304-G. 75-6; for fuller details regarding the philosophic views of Uddālaka see Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff.

right conduct as the means to attain bliss : “The *Vedas* will bring only fame but right conduct will give us bliss.”¹

It is not impossible, as Dr. Barua says,² that the Sophistic movement, characteristic of Indian philosophy before Mahāvīra and the Buddha, had originated with Uddālaka Āruṇi. He may well be regarded as the pioneer of the *paribbājakas* or the Wanderers. As years passed the Sophist mind gradually became more and more antagonistic to the *Vedic* theology. We find this in our stories, as the following quotations will show :

“These *Veda* studies are the wise man’s toils,
The lure which tempts the victims whom he spoils ;
A mirage formed to catch the careless eye,
But which the prudent passes safely by.
The *Vedas* have no hidden power to save
The traitor or the coward or the knave” ;

And what are the sacrifices ?

“The fire, though tended well for long years past,
Leaves his base master without hope at last...
If he wins merit who to feed the flame
Piles wood and straw, the merit is the same
When cooks light fires or blacksmiths at their trade,
Or those who burn the corpses of the dead...
These Brāhmins, all a livelihood require ;
And so they tell us Brahmā worships fire ;
Why should the increate, who all things planned,
Worship himself the creature of his hand ?
Doctrines and rules of their own; absurd and vain,
Our sires imagined wealth and power to gain.”

What are the Brāhmaṇas then ?

“These greedy liars propagate deceit,
And fools believe the fictions they repeat ;
He who has eyes can see the sickening sight ;
Why does not Brahmā set his creatures right ?”

‘Where is your Brahmā ?’ they ask.

“If his wide power no limits can restrain,
Why is his hand so rarely spread to bliss ?

1. J., III, pp. 236-7-GG. 10-3 ; IV, pp. 299-301-GG. 62-65 : *Kittim hi pappoti adhicca Vede Santim, puenti caranena danto.*

2. *op. cit.*, p. 130 ; also Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 247.

Why are his creatures all condemned to pain ?
 Why does he not to all give happiness ?
 Why do fraud, lies, and ignorance prevail ?
 Why triumphs falsehood—truth and justice fail ?
 I could your Brahmā one th'Unjust among,
 Who made a world in which to shelter wrong.”¹

And thus, with robust faith in their doctrines, and with a powerful mastery over thoughts, dispelling doubts (*samsaya*) by reasoning (*naya*), logic (*nāya*) and proofs (*hetu*),² and with appeal to precedents (*nippadesa*)³ and common sense, these thinkers, and more correctly propagandists, imbued the whole people with a new ideal and a new way of living. The philosophers were left free to indulge in any amount of speculation. In the tradition of the time there was only one sage, Māṇḍavya, a contemporary of Kaṇha Dīpāyana (*i. e.*, Vyāsa) who was impaled, for reasons other than his bold theories.⁴

And, as we come nearer to Mahāvīra and the Buddha, we feel the whole atmosphere surcharged with philosophic mood. It was a time ‘seething with speculative ferment.’ But, as Dr. Barua rightly observes, “we have to imagine a time when there was no organised religion or established Church in the country to interfere with the freedom of speculation by imposing upon its adherents its professed dogmas, and when conversion implied, in the case of a learner or truth-seeker, no more than a transition from one mode of self-training to another which he deemed more suitable to his temperament. Nor even in the case of a layman did it ever demand that unflinching devotion or that profession of blind faith which leads men by imperceptible steps to harbour bigotry, to become religious fanatics, and to shut the gates of benevolence upon every fellow-being who is a stranger.”⁵

Several *Jātakas* give us a glimpse of some of the speculations that were going on at this time. They are given just to show their uselessness and wrongfulness in the eyes of others, like the Buddhists, who considered these as false doctrines (*micchāṇḍam*).

The *Mahābodhi Jātaka*,⁶ for instance, presents before us five thinkers of five different philosophic doctrines, *viz.*, *Ahetuvādī*, *Issarakāraṇavādī*, *Pubbekataṇḍavādī*, *Ucchedavādī* and *Khattavijjāvādī*. An interesting subject is introduced in order to refute their arguments. The Bodhisatta attributes the acts of a monkey to the monkey-skin he wears, and so the five ‘heretics’ (*micchāditthikā*) charge him with murder of a monkey.

THE MICCHĀ-
DITTHIKAS.

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1. J., VI, pp. 206-8-GG. 883-902.
 2. J., VI, p. 244-G. 1092.
 3. J., VI, p. 227.
 4. J., IV, pp. 28-9.
 5. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
 6. J., V, pp. 228 ff.



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THE MILITARIST. Lastly, the *Khattavijjāvādī* professed the Militarist doctrine, according to which a man ought to seek his own advantage even at the cost of killing one's parents (*mātāpitāro pi māretvā attano va attho kāmetabbo*). To him the direct reply was: 'You, sir, maintain that a man may kill his parents or any other person if occasion justifies. Why, then, do you blame me?'¹

It is evident that all these philosophies, those of the Fortuitous Originists, the Theists, the Fatalists, the Annihilationists and the Militarists, are discussed and stubbornly hated and refuted by both Mahāvīra² and Gotama Buddha.³

THE DOCTRINE OF TIME. There may be discerned a few more philosophical reflections in the stories here and there, garbed in a confused and indistinct form. But we need not go much deeper. One doctrine, viz., the doctrine of Time (*Kālavāda*), as presented in the *Mūlapariyāya Jātaka*,⁴ however, deserves our notice. The Doctrine of Time,⁵ in its embryo, can be traced in Aghamarṣaṇa's hymn in the *Rg Veda*.⁶ Passing through the minds of Post-Vedic teachers, such as Bāḍhva and Yājñavalkya, it was highly elaborated in the *Mahābhārata*.⁷ The *Jātaka* offers a criticism of the Epic doctrine of time: A well-versed Brāhmaṇa taught five hundred pupils. In course of time they began to think: "We know as much as our teacher: there is no difference." When the teacher knew this, he put to them a question—a paradox—in order to tame them, proud and stubborn as they had all become. He asked: Time consumes all things, including even itself. Can you tell me who consumes time—the all-consumer?⁸ No one could answer. It came to them as a riddle of the Sphinx. So the teacher said in a bitter tone of irony: "Do not imagine that this question is in the three *Vedas*. You think that you know all that I know!"

Here the Brāhmaṇa is represented, as usual, as a Vedic thinker, but he was rather a Bodhisatta or a pre-Buddhistic thinker on Buddhist lines who opposed the Vedic or Epic doctrine of time. As Dr. Barua puts it, according

1. J., V, pp. 240-G. 152; also p. 490; The term *Kṣatrayidyā* occurs in a list of sciences given in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, 1, 2, and is explained by Śaṅkara as the science of archery (*Dhanurvidyā*). But that seems to be a general meaning. Buddhaghosa and Āryaśura are probably more correct in understanding by it the science of government (*nītisattham*): *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 18 n; also Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-3.

2. Mahāvīra, as his disciples inform us, broadly divided the philosophical views of his time into three groups: *Akiriyaṃ* or metaphysics, *Aññānaṃ* or Scepticism, and *Vinayaṃ* or morals; see *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, XVIII, 23; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, X, 12, 4 ff. *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, IV, 4.

3. See *Brahmajāla-Suttanta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 27 ff.

4. J., II, pp. 260-1-G. 188.

5. See Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 ff.

6. X, 190.

7. Schrader, *Indischen Philosophie*, pp. 21-7.

8. J., II, pp. 260-G. 188: *Kālo ghasati bhūtāni sabbaṃ eva saḥ' attanā, yo ca kālaghaso, bhūto sa bhūtapacaniṃ paci.*" Cf. note on this *Jātaka* in *Matriculation Pāli Selections* Calcutta University.

to the *Vedic* theory, Time not only consumes everything, but also itself in the sense, as the *Jātaka* commentator points out,¹ that even the time-before-meal (*purebhattakālo*) and the time-after-meal (*pacchābhattakālo*) do not abide (*na pāpunāti*). According to the Bodhisatta's view, an *Arhat* is the consumer of Time (*Kālaghaso*) inasmuch as he is not bound to be reborn. Having completely rooted out the inherent tendencies to sensuality, eternalism, orthodoxy and ignorance, he is released for ever from metempsychosis.²

The most pronounced antagonism that the *Jātaka* stories seem to show is towards the *Ājīvikas*, who, under Maskarin Gosāla, formed a stubborn sect in the time of the Buddha who opposed them.³

THE
AJĪVIKAS. The order of the *Ājīvikas* is decidedly of older standing than that of the Jainas or the Buddhists,⁴ and is thrice mentioned in the edicts of King Aśoka whose grandson Daśaratha gave them some cave-dwellings at the Nāgārjunī and Bārābār hills.⁵

In the *Lomahamsa Jātaka*,⁶ an interesting, though biased, life of an *ājīvika* is portrayed. "Unclothed (*acelako*),⁷ and covered with dust, he remained solitary and lonely (*ekavihārī*), fleeing like a deer from the face of men; his food was small fish, cow-dung, and other refuse; and in order that his vigil might not be disturbed, he took up his abode in a dread thicket in the jungle. In the snows of winter, he came forth by night from the sheltering thicket to the open air, returning with the sun-rise to his thicket again, and as he was wet with the driving snows by night, so in the daytime he was drenched by the drizzle from the branches of the thicket. Thus day and night alike he endured the extremity of cold: In summer, he abode by day in the open air, and by night in the forest, scorched by the blazing sun by day, and fanned by no cooling breezes by night, so that the sweat streamed from him :

Now scorched, now froze, lone in the lonesome woods,
Beside no fire, but all afire within,
Naked, the hermit wrestles for the Truth."⁸

In the eyes of the Buddhist story-teller, who deliberately and probably with exaggeration, gives such minute details, these austerities were worthless and delusive. And so he makes him discard this delusion (*laddhim*) and lay hold of the real truth (*samadiṭṭhi*).

1. J., II, pp. 260-1.

2. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

3. For a complete treatment of the subject see Dr. Barua's beautiful monograph on *The Ājīvikas*, Calcutta University Publication: also his *History of pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, pp. 297-318; *I. H. Q.*, III, pp. 235 ff; Bhandarkar, *I. A.*, 1912, pp. 286ff. Hoernle's appendix to *Uvāsagadasāo*.

4. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

5. See Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II, 82, 209.

6. J., I, pp. 390-1.

7. *Acelakas* as an order of ascetics are also mentioned at J., V, pp. 16-G. 39; 75.

8. *Ibid.* G. 93: *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 79.

The *Mahānārada-kassapa Jātaka*¹ again brings before us another naked (*acclako* ; *naggo*) *ājīvika*, Guṇa Kassapa by name, whose views remarkably agree with those of Maskarin Gosāla. He lived in a deer park adjoining Mithilā, was approved by all as wise (*dhīrasammato*), famous, a man of varied discourse (*Citrakathī*), and with a large following of disciples (*gaṇī*).² King Angati of Videha, with his ministers, went to him and asked him many questions in reply of which Kassapa said : 'There is no fruit, good or evil, in following the law ; there is no other world, O king,—who has ever come back hither from thence ? All beings are equal and alike, there are none who should receive or pay honour : there is no such thing as strength or courage,—how can there be vigour or heroism ? All beings are predestined (*niyatāni*), just as the stern-rope must follow the ship. Every mortal gets what he is to get, what then is the use of giving ? There is no use in giving—the giver is helpless and weak : gifts are enjoined by fools and accepted by the wise.'³

Then the following exposition describing the powerlessness of sin to produce consequences hereafter is much more important :

"There are seven aggregates (*Kāyā*), indestructible and uninjuring : fire (*tejo*), earth (*paṭhavī*), water (*āpo*), air (*vāyo*), pleasure and pain (*sukhadukkham*) and the soul (*jīvo*) ; of these seven, there is none that can destroy or divide, nor are they to be destroyed : Weapons pass harmless amongst these aggregates. He who carries off another's head with a sharp sword does not divide these aggregates : how then should there be any consequence from evil doing ? All beings become pure by passing through eighty-four great aeons (*mahā-kappe*) : till that period arrives, not even the self-restrained (*saññato*) becomes pure. Till that period arrives, however much they have followed virtue, they do not become pure, and even if they commit many sins, they do not go beyond that limit. One by one we are purified through the eighty-four great aeons : we cannot go beyond our destiny, any more than the sea beyond its shore."⁴ This doctrine of Guṇa Kassapa, the *ājīva*, which is also termed *Ucchedavādo*, annihilation, is made clearer by this : 'There is no door to heaven (*sugati*) : only wait on destiny (*niyati*). Whether thy lot be happiness or misery, it is only gained through destiny : all will at last reach deliverance from transmigration (*saṃsārasuddhi*) ; be not eager for the future.'⁵ The views embodied in these extracts clearly show resemblance partly to the views of Purāṇa Kassapa, the Annihilationist, partly to those of Pakudha Kaccāyana, the Eternalist, and Maskarin Gosāla, the Determinist, all of whom seem to be akin to Greek Stoics.⁶ These views of Guṇa Kassapa are stubbornly

1. J., VI, pp. 220-255. The text is confused and indistinct : many of the *gāthās* are placed in the Buddha's (*Satthā*) mouth so that it becomes very difficult for us to ascertain the exact value of the presentation.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-G. 961-2.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-G. 980-984.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-G. 985-90 : Cf. *Sāmaññaphalasutta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 74, where the same doctrine, with the same simile is attributed to Pakudha Kaccāna, the Eternalist, the Empedocles of India.

5. J., VI, pp. 229-G. 1007-8.

6. See Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 282 ff. 297 ff.



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the Brāhmaṇas who were householders.¹ The institution of hermits or *isis* was not completely wiped out. And people still 'cherished the fond memory of old sages—Yāmahanu, Somayāga, Manojava, Samudda, Magha, Bharata, Kālikara and Kassapa Aṅgīrasa, Akitti and Kīsavaccha²—who by practising *tapassā* attained to *Brahmaloka*. These hermits (*pabbajitas*) of the stories, as Prof. Rhys Davids puts it,³ lived in the forests adjoining the settlements; the disciples of various schools occupied themselves according to the various tendencies of the schools to which they belonged, either in meditation or in sacrificial rites, or in practices of self-torture, or in repeating over to themselves and in teaching to their pupils, the *Suttas* containing the tenets of their school. Much time was spent in gathering fruits and roots for their sustenance...And there was difference of opinion and of practice, as to the comparative importance attached to the learning of texts. But the hermitages where the learning, or the repeating of texts was unknown, were the exceptions.

Usually the *pabbajitas* retired to the sylvan and lonely forests of the Himālayas.⁴ There they built small suitable huts of grass and leaves.⁵ Foot-paths (*padikamagga*) led to these hermitages (*assamaṃ*).⁶ There were also separate marked-out places where the hermits had their daily walk (*caṅkamanakoṭi*).⁷ The usual requisites of an ascetic (*pabbajitaparikkhāre*) were: robes, inner and outer, dyed in bark (*rattavakaciraṃ*), antelope's skin (*ajina*), thrown over the shoulder, a walking staff in hand (*daṇḍa*), shoes (*upānaha*), umbrella (*chattam*), hook (*aṅkusa*) for gathering fruits *etc.*, and a bowl (*pattam*).⁸ The hermits, unlike the *Samanapabbajitas*, kept long locks of matted hair and tied them in a coil (*jaṭāmaṇḍalam*) and, if need be, thrust needles in them.⁹ They wore a girdle of *muñja* grass.¹⁰ A wooden bedstead (*kaṭṭhattharaka*) was kept in the hut.¹¹ As to their food, they generally lived upon wild bulbs, and radishes, catmint and herbs, wild rice, black mustard (spread out to dry), jujubs, herbs, honey, lotus-fibres, myrobolam, scraps of meat.¹² The daily routine in the hermitages was something like this: the hermitage was swept clean in the morning, water was brought

1. Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-40.

2. J., VI, pp. 99-G. 422-3.

3. *Buddhist India*, pp. 140-1.

4. *e.g.*, J., I, p. 140: II, pp. 103, 269; III, p. 515; IV, p. 221.

5. J., I, p. 375; VI, p. 75.

6. J., IV, p. 489; V, p. 132; VI, pp. 74, 532-G. 2037.

7. J., IV, p. 329; VI, p. 232.

8. J., I, p. 304; III, p. 82; IV, pp. 25, 129, 476-G. 294-5; V, pp. 312, 332-G. 124; VI, pp. 21, 73, 528-G. 2011.

9. J., I, pp. 304-375; V, p. 132; VI, pp. 21, 73, 528-G. 2011, 242; *Jaṭilo*, IV, p. 476; V., pp. 202-G. 28.

10. J., V, pp. 202-G. 32: The stock description of a hermit is: with uncleansed teeth (*paṇikadantā*), and goatskin garb (*kharājīnā*) and hair all matted (*jaṭilā*) and muttering holy words in peace (*japanti*): J., III, pp. 236-G. 10; IV, pp. 299-G. 62; VI, pp. 536-G. 2037-8.

11. J., II, p. 41; VI, pp. 21, 158.

12. J., I, p. 450; IV, pp. 221, 306; 371-2-G. 269-86; *ālukalambāni*, *bilālitakkalāni*, *sāmākanivāraṇaṃ*, *sākaṃ*, *bhisam*, *madhum*, *maṃsam* *badarāmalakāni*; hermits taking strong drink and even meat was not a common thing: J., I, pp. 361-2; II, pp. 262, 382; V, p. 235; VI, p. 63; *Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 230.

from the near-by river, wild roots and fruits were collected, wood chopped for fuel, food prepared and eaten, little rest at noon, study and discussion in the afternoon, evening meal, and rest at night.¹ They constantly tended the holy fire (*Jātaveda*).² When a stranger approached a hermit dwelling in the forest, he would first of all inquire as to his welfare in the usual formal words :

‘O holy man, I trust that you are prosperous and well,
With grain to glean, and roots and fruit abundant where you dwell,
Have you been much by flies and gnats and creeping things annoyed;
Or from wild beasts of prey have you immunity enjoyed ?’

and the same sweet reply was given by the hermit with an affectionate reception :

‘I thank you, brāhmin—yes, I am both prosperous and well,
With grain to eat and roots and fruit abundant where I dwell,
From flies and gnats and ‘creeping’ things I suffer not annoy,
And from wild beasts of prey I here immunity enjoy.
In all the innumerable years I’ve lived upon this ground,
No harmful sickness that I know has ever here been found.
Welcome O brāhmin ! bless the chance directed you this way.
Come, enter with a blessing, come, and wash your feet I pray.
The *tindook* and the *piyāl* leaves, and *kāsumāri* sweet,
And fruits like honey, brāhmin, take the best I have, and eat.
And this cool water from a cave high hidden on a hill
O noble brāhmin, take of it and drink if it be your will.’³

In the rainy season the recluses came down from the mountains. For, as it is said, in the Himālayas, during the rainy season, when the rains are incessant, as it is impossible to dig up any bulb or root or to get any wild fruits and the leaves begin to fall, the ascetics for the most part come down from the Himālayas and take up their abode amidst the haunts of men.⁴ After the rains were over, they returned to the mountains, for then the flowers and fruits began ripening.⁵ And they thus lived on in peace and solitary calmness, thinking out the mysteries of this and the ‘other’ world and deep problems for humanity at large, with hundreds of disciples around them, freed of all desires and fetters. These silent recluses, though living far from the mundane world, did no doubt influence the existing society. *Dhamma* was recognised

1. J., IV, pp. 221-G. 40 ; V, pp. 313 ff ; VI, p. 75.

2. J., I, pp. 285 ; 494 ; II, pp. 43-4, V, p. 476 (*aggisālā*) ; VI, pp. 201-G. 872 ; Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I. 15. 2.

3. J., IV, pp. 434-G. 150-3 ; V, pp. 323-G. 130-9 ; VI, pp. 532-G. 2041-8. Cf., sweet words of Vāsantī in Bhavabhtūi’s *Uttarārāmacharitam*. II, 1.

4. J., II, p. 85 ; III, p. 37.

5. J., II, p. 72.

to be the 'standard' of the *isis* :¹ to injure the *isis* in any way was a great sin.² Men besought these sages for the solution of intricate problems and the way to peace, order and happiness.³

The virtues of an ideal ascetic are thus enumerated : he has no anger towards anyone, even when angered, does not allow it to be seen, bears hunger with a pinched belly, restrained in eating and drinking, has abandoned all sport and pleasure, utters no falsehood, is averse to all pomp and carnal desire, has nothing as his own, is resolute, unselfish, has forbearance and freedom from all hindrances to religious perfection—all properly fitted in him like the spokes in the nave of a wheel.⁴

But, as always, there may have existed sham ascetics (*Kūṭa-tāpaśo* : *Kūṭa-jaṭilo*) as well. We must not, however, be misled by the descriptions of these ascetics in the *Jātakas* which, averse as they are to all kinds of penance and austerities, paint them in very bad colours. We may, nevertheless, note them in order to discern some reality.⁵

We have seen that gradually the *Samanas*—the newly-risen ascetic order—broke away from past traditions, revolted against the older *Vedic* system of sacrifice and self-mortification.⁶ The *Jātakas* show particular hatred against austerities and false practices (*samādānam*),⁷ many of which are enumerated. Some did the swinging penance (*vaggulivataṃ*),⁸ some lay on thorn-beds (*kaṇṭakaseyyaṃ*),⁹ some underwent the five-fire penance (*pañcatapaṃ*).¹⁰ Some practised the mortification by squatting (*ukkuṭikappadhaṇaṃ*).¹¹ Some the act of diving (*udakagāhaṇaṃ*), some repeated texts—(*mante sajjāpentī*).¹² Various and many are the instances, in these stories, wherein hypocritical, lewd, sham and many other types of ascetics are portrayed. Quite consistently with their aversion towards ascetic appearances, and with their character as folk-tales, these stories occasionally cast slur and bitter satire on outward show of hypocritical saintliness. In the *Kāsāva Jātaka*¹³ a sham ascetic clothes himself in a yellow robe, puts on the guise of a *Pacceka-buddha*, with a covering

1. J., V, pp. 509-G. 490.....*dharmo hi' isinaṃ dhajo*.

2. J., II, pp. 172-G. 124 ; IV, pp. 383-G. 9; V, pp. 143-4-G-69. 73.

3. J., IV, pp. 134-G. 97-9; *samanā anusāsanti isi dhammaguṇe ratā* ; pp. 395-G. 31.

4. J., VI, pp. 257-61-GG(?). Cf. *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, I, 1, 3.

5. For an exhaustive treatment of the subject from various sources see Maurice Bloomfield, "On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction:" J. A. O. S., 44, pp. 202 ff.

6. See Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

7. J., I, p. 391.

8. See J. P. T. S., 1884, p. 95.

9. Pictures of ascetics doing penance on thorns may be seen in *The National Geographic Magazine*, 24, pp. 1268, 1269, 1270, 1279.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 1286 : the penance consists of sitting between four fires, the sun burning down upon the head as the fifth : Richard Schmidt, *Fakire und Fakirtum in alten und modernen Indien*, pp. 17, 158, 168, 181.

11. As though they had remained so for years.

12. J., III, p. 235; IV., p. 299; V, pp. 241-G. 160. Cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 226-32.

13. J., II, pp. 197-8-G. 140-1.



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He is, at last, caught red-handed and killed.¹ And thus, with distinct ironic intention and a humorous touch, these stories expose the hypocrisy that is sometimes found in asceticism. As Maurice Bloomfield, writing on the subject;² has said, 'both with man and animal these mock descriptions of ascetic get-up figure so largely as to show them to be the reflex of a settled scepticism as to the sincerity or efficacy of such professions in general, dashed strongly with contempt, in the mind at least of the intellectual story-teller if not altogether in the mind of the average listener, to such stories. It must be understood, however, that this attitude of mind does not exclude faith in really sincere professors of these practices. In spite of their evil ways, the populace stands in awe and shows honour to the profession.'³

The *Jātakas* make no secret of the vices that attended on sham ascetics. As hypocrisy, so lust, greed, gluttony and sundry other vices are standard qualities attributed to ascetics, monks and other religious folk. We have instances of lewd ascetics who lead a corrupted life in the darkness of night and pretend asceticism by day, as we saw in the *Dhajaviheṭṭha Jātaka*.⁴ "Being, in theory, immune to the lure of women, and therefore ineligible as lovers and husbands, they are driven by their evil instincts to resort to some crafty device to obtain their end."⁵ After all, biological instincts and moral forces have always been in conflict, and are perhaps destined to remain so for ever.

We also find covetous ascetics, where the ideal is of complete renunciation. One of the ascetics under Mahārakkhita in the *Somanassa Jātaka*⁶ comes back, pleases the king who assigns to him a place in his park, as one of his own household. The ascetic plants vegetables, pot-herbs, and runners, sells them in the market, and amasses wealth. Elsewhere⁷ we find a shifty rascal of an ascetic (*Kūṭajaṭilo : kuhakatāpaso*) who carries away the money given to him by a village squire to keep safely, and still shows himself the most innocent and pure-minded ascetic ever born on earth, bringing back even a straw of the roof of the squire's hut, which has stuck in his hair. Instances may be multiplied to show the weak and vicious character of ascetics.⁸ But

1. J., III, pp. 267-70-G. 64-9.

2. *op. cit.*, p. 206.

3. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 245-6.

4. J., III, pp. 303 ff.

5. J. A. O. S., 44. p. 218. The following remarks, which would have been more appropriate in regard to the wickedness of woman as described before, *Supra*, p. 289, will yet be found interesting: "...It is because of this that the ascetics, those erratic and abnormal examples of the 'variational tendency' have hated women with hatred so bitter and intense that no language could be found strong enough to express their horror. They knew that every natural impulse of a woman (woman is more in harmony with Nature than man) is the condemnation of asceticism. All true lovers of the artificial and perverse find women repulsive; 'woman is natural,' it is written among the sayings of Baudelaire, 'that is to say abominable'. But for most men and women this sexual difference has added to the charm of life; it has also added to the everlasting difficulty of life." Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, London 1934, p. 441.

6. J., IV, pp. 444 ff.

7. J., I, p. 375.

8. Cf. for gluttonous nature and rude manners: J., I, pp. 480 ff. II, pp. 382 ff; 447 ff; III, pp. 84, ff-G. 97-8; 137 ff; 537 ff., treachery upon a confiding friend: J. V., pp. 75 ff. G. 226-7 "*acelo samaṇo ayam sammato bhāvitatto*."

we should not tarry too long on the subject. The impression is unavoidable that there was a distinct move towards scepticism over older methods of asceticism, for which the ascetics themselves, more than anybody else, were responsible.

And here, in the course of our discussion, may well step in those other ascetics, the *Samaṇas*, who undoubtedly played a very important part in moulding the material as well as the spiritual life of the people, a little earlier than the time of the Buddha, and whose representative philosophies have been noticed before. This important body or order of teachers, like the *paribbājakas*; was not known in India much before the rise of Buddhism. The remarks of Prof. Rhys Davids¹ regarding the wanderers may well apply to the *Samaṇas* in general: "Besides the Hermits there was another body of men, greatly respected throughout the country... They were teachers or sophists who spent eight or nine months of every year wandering about, precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism. Like the Sophists among the Greeks, they differed very much in intelligence, in earnestness and in honesty." The time had already come for the earnest thinkers, like Satyavāha Bhāradvāja who represents the common case of all who called themselves *Śramaṇas* against worldly Brāhmaṇas, to uphold transcendentalism against both ascetism as largely practised by the *Vedic* ascetics and worldly life as regulated with Puritanic strictness by the Brāhmaṇa priests and jurists, and thus to prepare the way for the rationalism of the Buddha who enunciated the Middle-path (*maṃjḥimā-pāṭipadā*) and sought for a *via media* of thought, conduct, and intellectual training.²

It is difficult to distinguish exactly between the wanderers (*paribbājakas*) strictly so-called, and the Recluse philosophers (*samaṇas*) who were also in a sense a class of wanderers.³ The most outstanding factors which distinguished the new order or *religieux* (*samaṇas* : *Paribbājakas*) from the older one were that they shaved their head clean,⁴ and begged their food (*bhikkhācariyam*);⁵ instead of feeding, like the *tāpasas* or *isis*, on pot-herbs and fruits. It was perhaps from the practice of begging that they became known as *Bhikkhus*-mendicants. The origin of this order of *religieux* is now obscure. But it is probable, as Prof. Rhys Davids has said,⁶ that the *Bhikkhu* order of homeless persons evolved originally from the *Brahmacārins* who did not enter upon the stage of the householder and who customarily begged their food.

1. *op. cit.*, p. 141.

2. Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

3. In fact there are many points of resemblance between the two orders—the Recluse philosophers (*samaṇas*) on the one hand, and the Wanderers (*paribbājakas*) on the other. Both sought to build up a system of moral philosophy entirely upon a human or rational ground, rather than on a theocratic basis. The Wanderers proper, by their views and ways of life, furnished a connecting link between the Recluses on one hand and the Brāhmaṇas on the other..." Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-50..

4. e.g., J., III, p. 371; V, pp. 187-G. 222; VI, p. 52.

5. J., I, pp. 333, 361, 373, 406, 505; III, pp. 39, 79, 143, 238; IV, p. 299.

6. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 215 ff. Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-2. Later on both the words—*bhikkhu* and *Samaṇa*—came to be applied specially for the Buddhist monks.

The outer appearance of a *samana* was also distinctive. He did not keep hair and beard: he wore three yellow (*Kāsāya*) robes (*ticīvaram*): one as under-dress, the other as upper, and the third he wrapped round his shoulders; his earthen vessel (*patto*) he put in a bag and fastened it on his left shoulder: he held a walking staff (*kattaradaṇḍam*) in his hand: and he also kept with him a razor (*vāsi*), a needle (*sūci*) a strainer (*bandhanam*) and a zone (*parissavana*).¹ He had to stitch his own robe.²

The *Samanas*, whether Brāhmaṇas or not by birth, were highly respected by the common folk as well as by kings and the nobility. These homeless ascetics, as we saw before, wandered about the country precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions and preaching the *dhamma* or the ethical code of the laity. They are sometimes represented as meeting one another at the parks outside the royal cities or at rest-houses (*sālā*) set up by the villagers on the roadside for the common use of the travellers. Usually they took their abode in the royal park (*rajjuyyānam*) outside the city, and went abegging in the city where they invariably were received and respected with greetings (*paṭisantharam*) by the king.³ It was a common custom with the common people to respect these ascetics, give them food, place for residing and other necessities of life, and to ask them questions pertaining to *dhamma*.⁴ In their eyes these ascetics were dear (*piyā*) and venerable (*mānāpā*) and their words worthy to be received.⁵ To kings they advised on matters of polity and administration, to the common folk they showed the right way of living from which the ethical *dhamma* began to grow and develop. Thus they became real reformers, whose vehicle of expression was the language of the people.

CAREER
OPEN TO ALL. The career of such a wandering teacher or a homeless ascetic seems to have been open to anyone, and even to women. "Not only did world-sick old people renounce the world but even kings who were in undisputed possession of sovereignty and in the fullness of their power; young princes preferred the severe life of the ascetic to the glitter of sovereign power; rich tradesmen gave away their riches and heads of families their wives and children in order to build a hut in the forests of the Himālayas and to live on roots and fruits or to eke out an existence by begging alms."⁶

WAVE OF
ASCETICISM. But why did people turn towards asceticism? The philosophy of life, then prevalent, was no doubt largely responsible for this. The political conflicts with war, tyranny, lawlessness and general immorality in their train, and corrupt social practices such as the domination of one class over another, of men over women, and of masters over slaves and servants, the ruthlessness of criminal

1. J., III, p. 377—G(?); IV, p. 342; V, p. 187; VI, p. 52.

2. J., IV, p. 25.

3. J., I, pp. 140, 333, 361, 373, 406, 505; III, pp. 39, 79, 119, 143, 238, 352, 440; V, p. 482.

4. J., I, pp. 187, 298, 480; III, pp. 304 ff. IV, pp. 28-30; 178-G. 46, 299; 320; VI, pp. 287-G. 1247; 296-G. 1298-8; 378-G (?)

5. J., V, p. 315; VI, pp. 190; 242.

6. Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8; see specially J., IV, p. 238; a barber in III, p. 452, *Caṇḍālas* IV, p. 392; *Kulaputtas* V, p. 263.



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away to the Himālayas with his son.¹ Thus this tendency of renunciation appears to have been widely prevalent in the *Jātaka* times. But it was surely no *en masse* exodus to the Himālayas as the stories, with their inherent tendency to generalise, would seem to suggest. As a matter of fact, it was not the thought of higher metaphysical speculations that led the ordinary people, the masses, to look to the forest life. It seems, on the contrary, that generally failures in life and experience of its miseries and treacheries² would lead men to run away from the world, and that too amid the lamentations and beseechings of their near and dear.³ Naturally the relations, who may have to suffer in consequence of their supporter going away, try to dissuade him in every way. Everywhere we hear about these conflicts. For instance, in the *Bandhanāgāra Jātaka*,⁴ we read of a poor *gahapati* supporting his mother by working for hire. His mother, quite against his will, brings a wife for him and dies soon after. Then his wife becomes pregnant: he knows nothing of her condition, and one day says to her: "my wife, you must earn your living: I will renounce the world." "But I am pregnant, wait and see the child that is born of me, and then go and become a hermit." He agrees. And when she is delivered, he says: "Now, wife, you are safely delivered and I must turn hermit." "Wait," says she, "till the time when the child is weaned (*thana-pānato apagamana-kāle*)." And after that she becomes pregnant for the second time. "If I agree to her request," he thinks, "I shall never get away at all." And so without informing her he gets up at night and flees away. And he is simply protesting against the general mentality when he utters:

"Not iron fetters—so the wise have told—
Not ropes, or bars of wood, so fast can hold
As passion, and the love of child or wife,
Of precious gems and earrings of fine gold.
These heavy fetters—who is there can find
Release from such? —these are the ties that bind:
These if the wife can burst, then they are free,
Leaving all love and all desire behind."⁵

The *Cullasutasoma Jātaka*,⁶ presenting before us a typical and a very pathetic scene, shows what a tremendous force may have been acting against the spirit of renunciation. The king, seeing grey hair on his head, thinks of renouncing the world. He gathers the whole townsfolk (*mahājano*), and informs them about his intention. One by one, the ministers, much grieved to hear this, dissuade him. The mother comes: the king does not mind her tears; the father laments and asks: "What is this Law that leads thee to

1. J., IV, p. 220; see also I, p. 245; II, p. 422; III, p. 300.

2. e.g., J., II, p. 422; III, p. 540.

3. J., I, p. 440; V, pp. 177 ff-GG. 192-241; also III, p. 396; IV, p. 8.

4. J., II, pp. 139-41.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-G. 97-8; *Dhammapada*, 345; also J., III, pp. 395-6 G. 117-20.

6. J., V, pp. 177-92-GG. 191-241.

become eager to quit thy kingdom and thy home ? With thy old parents left behind to dwell, here all alone, seek'st thou a hermit's call ?" The Great Being is silent : he is not moved even at the reference of his children of tender years. His wives come and, embracing his feet, bewail most piteously. He does not hear his queen-consort's heart-rending request. The eldest son comes and most stubbornly resists : but the father only thinks the ways and means to get rid of him. The state-officials come and request his presence in the kingdom. He is unmoved. To all who try to dissuade him, his one answer is : "But holy orders I must take, that I may heavenly bliss attain (*saggañ ca pat-thayāno*)."¹ He goes away at last and the people frantically search for him, but of no avail.¹ The whole idea behind this story is of course to show the invincible determination of those who are bent upon renunciation. . But, giving every latitude to poetic and legendary exaggerations and objective colouring, the fact remains that it was a hard conflict, that between home-life and ascetic ideal.

Glories of worldly life have not remained unsung :

GHARĀVĀSA
PRAISED.

"Houses in the world are sweet,
Full of food, and full of treasure :
There you have your fill of meat—
Eating drinking at your pleasure."²

This simple praise of householder's life (*gharāvāsa*) must have impressed more upon the minds of the people than the following unconvincing argument in favour of renunciation (*pabbajjā*), or rather against *gharāvāsa* :

"He that hath houses, peace can never know,
He lies and cheats, he must deal many a blow
On others' shoulders : nought this fault can cure :
Then, who into a house would willing go ?"³

Similarly the bold ascertion that :

"In lonesome forest one may well be pure,
'Tis easy there temptation to endure ;
But in a village with seductions rife,
A man may rise to a far nobler life,"⁴

must have produced not an insignificant appeal to the masses.

1. Cf. "from the unprofitableness of a state of being to which they had not learnt to give stability by labours and struggles for ends worthy of labour and struggle, men fly to seek peace for the soul in a renunciation of the world. The rich and the noble, still more than the poor and the humble, the young wearied of life before life had well begun, rather than the old who have nothing more to hope from life, women and maidens abandon their homes and don the garb of monks and nuns. Everywhere we meet pictures of those struggles which every day must have brought in that period between those who make this resolution and the parents, the wife, the children who detain those eager for renunciation ; acts of invincible determination are narrated of those who in spite of all opposition have managed to burst the bonds which bound them to a home life." Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p.66.

2. J., II, pp.232-G. 168.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-G. 169.

4. J., III, pp. 524-G. 79.

The fact of the matter seems to be, and we may find support in Fick,¹ that "it is in the spiritual region that we have to seek the cause of this asceticism ; the practice of world-renunciation is only an outward expression of the striving for knowledge and for emancipation, *mokṣa*, or to use the Buddhist term *nirvāṇa*. Neither the spiritual yearning nor the striving after knowledge or emancipation could have been so intense and all-embracing as to render the practice of renunciation a mass-wide phenomenon. Even in the hey-day of Buddhism and even of Jainism, it was not so. It could not be, for the simple reason that the masses were, as they always are, psychologically, too preoccupied with their daily struggles for existence to look to anything beyond this world. And it is for this reason that ethics, the religion of the layman, the rules and principles for life as it should happily be lived in the mundane world, found the best favour with the ordinary mass of the people.²

But, so far as these ethics are concerned, there is nothing strikingly original in the stories. The same rules, principles, admonitions and wise sayings which run throughout Indian Literature are to be found here. Only that they give very apt and charming instances, in their own, of course original, way, which, taken as they are from the ordinary local surroundings, lively characters and actions, greatly impress upon the minds of the common people. It would be tiresome, and unnecessary repetition indeed, to discuss this ethical character of the *Jātakas*. We may briefly take notice of some of the beautiful and bold reflections on life and its activities, which must have gone a long way to ennoble the everyday thoughts and actions of the people at large, before whom these were constantly placed, and over and over again.

The five *Kurudhammas* appear frequently, as do the *Dasarājadhammas* : Slay not the living, take not what is not given, walk not evilly in lust, speak no lies and drink no strong drink.³ Four virtues are constantly preached : Truth, Wisdom, Self-control and Piety ;⁴ and four vices are similarly mentioned as to be shunned : hatred, malice, covetise and lust.⁵ There are four things which, if circumstances arise, prove injurious : never lend cow, ox or car to your neighbour, nor trust your wife to the house of your friend : the car they break through want of skill, the ox by over-driving kill, the cow is overmilked ere long, the wife in kinsman's house goes wrong.⁶ A wise man should not dwell near his foe. And who is his worst foe ? A fool. A foolish chief, wise in his own conceit, comes ever, like the monkey, to defeat. A strong fool is not good to guard the herd. Wisdom is required,⁷ keeping to one's own ground is

1. *op. cit.*, p. 78.

2. Cf. for the Conflicts of worldly-life and renunciation of it, the Jaina *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, 1, 2, 3, 3-6 : "Life is dear to many" : *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 3, 3-6-8.

3. *e.g.*, J., II, pp. 372-3.

4. *e.g.*, J., II, pp. 206-G. 146-7.

5. *e.g.*, IV, pp. 11-G. 15-19; also II, p. 192-G (?)

6. J., V, pp. 432-3-G. 293-4.

7. J., III, pp. 357-G. 61-7.



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Strength of mind (*ñānabalaṃ*) is much more helpful than that of body,¹ knowledge of every kind be apt to learn : any time it will help you.² But do not follow blindly (*parapatti*) : a ripe bel fruit fell on a palm leaf, and a hare thought that the earth was collapsing, and scampered off. Seeing him flee, all the animals joined in the head-long flight, till a lion enquired the reason and scolded them for idle gossip and foolish fear.³ Wisdom is more than you have seen or heard.⁴ Were not wisdom (*buddhi*) and good conduct (*vinaya*) trained in some men's lives to grow, many would go wandering idly like the blinded buffalo.⁵ A virtuous man (*sīlavanto*) is he who refrains from thievish act, speaks the truth, and searching dizzy heights of fame still keeps his head, pursues honest wealth, eschews riches gained by fraud (*nikatya*), shuns gross excess in pleasure, never swerves from his purpose (*cittam ahāliddam*), and preserves his unchanging faith (*saddhā avirāginī*) and fulfils indeed all that he says.⁶ Power that is attained by a man of violence is short-lived : when his power is gone from him, he is like a ship that is wrecked at sea (*bhinna-plavo*).⁷ Sacrifice and such other things won't give you release. Take thought of life hereafter when you seek release : for this release is strict bondage, it is a fool's release.⁸ Whoever for his pleasures would kill harmless creatures, would only pine away himself : on the other hand, those who never do any harm are happy, vigorous and charming.⁹ Not hate, but love alone makes hate to cease : this is the everlasting law of peace.¹⁰

The above are only a few drops from the great storehouse of ethical teachings of the *Jātakas*. We have only tried to reproduce some
BOLD
PHILOSOPHY. of the selected passages in order to represent the general tone of the ethics of the stories, the general attitude of mind which they reflect. This tone, as we have felt it, is decidedly bold and practical : it rings amidst the daily life of the people, and it is meant for the people ; the attitude of mind, as we grasp it, is not at all pessimistic ; it takes for granted the transitoriness of the world and recognises its ills, but it, nevertheless, sticks to this earth, strives to find a way out of the miseries and preaches the ennobling—may be rather incomprehensible—ideals of *satya* and *ahimsā*, to attain the everlasting bliss, to reach *nirvāṇa*. And the people tried their best to follow

1. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-G. 122.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 75 ff; V, p. 414.

4. J., III, pp. 233-G. 8.

5. J., III, pp. 368-G. 81.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-9-GG. 101-4.

7. J., III, pp. 158-G. 14.

8. J., I, p. 169-G (?)

9. J., III, pp. 523-GG. 77-8.

10. J., III, pp. 212-G. 110; 488-G. 14 ; *nahi verena verāṇi ammantidha kudācanam, averena ca sammanti, esa dhammo sanantano*—a principle which is the very life-breath of one of the greatest personalities of our times. Mahātmā Gāndhī, who may well be regarded as the Buddha of the twentieth century.

these ideals, to put them in practice.¹ This mentality had come to stay when Lord Buddha arrived on the scene. His *majjhima paṭipadā*, or the *via-media* really brought about a rapprochement between the two different sections of the people, between those on the one hand who were solely devoted to spiritual quests unmindful of worldly affairs, and those others who were wholly steeped into worldly affairs not striving after some noble ideals of conduct. The rapprochement indeed brought about a mass-mentality which tried to lead the people, through all their worldly joys, sorrows, hopes, fears, cares and anxieties, to a noble way of living which did satisfy their spiritual consciousness and yearning.

1. And Aśoka's *dhamma*, preserved through all these dreary centuries, is nothing else but pure ethical code : See *Rock Edicts*, II and VII : Bhandarkar *Aśoka*, pp. 101 ff ; Cf. Gokuldas De " ...In all walks of life—social, political and religious—a new spirit was infused into the body-politic making every soul alive to its pulsation which vibrated in perfect harmony with the note that once rang through the religious sky of ancient India accepting the doctrine of God in everything and feeling oneness in all."—*Significance of Jātakas* (*Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1931 p. 281).

CHAPTER VIII

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

“THE object of composing the Birth-stories,” said I-Tsing in the seventh century A.D., “is to teach the doctrine of universal salvation in a beautiful style, agreeable to the popular mind and attractive to readers.”¹ This shows the universal popularity of the stories. There can therefore be no doubt that the teachings and instructions embodied in them had a wide appeal, and, as we just said, people tried to put into practice the ethical ideals placed before them.

Above all, charity (*dānam*) was the most widely practised of these ideals. Giving of alms is everywhere extolled.² Almost every householder, from the king down to the poorest villager, performed this charitable act, and believed it an ancestral practice (*kulavattam*).³ Rich people and the kings built alms-houses (*dānasālā*): at the four city-gates, in the centre of the city, and at their own house-doors, where food and drink (*annapānam*) were provided to the *samaṇa-brāhmaṇas*, the poor (*daliddā*), way-farers (*vanibbakā*) and the beggars (*yācānakā*).⁴

Then another outstanding practice towards leading a noble life was that of *uposatha* or keeping of Fast. This sabbath vow, *uposatha* (*upavāsa*), which is still widely observed as a religious vow by the ordinary people, and as a means to self-purification by individuals like Mahātmā Gāndhī, was observed on the New and Full Moon days (*pakkhadivase*)—on the fifteenth of each *pakkha* (*pannarasu-posatha*).⁵ On this day the eight-fold sabbath vows (*aṭṭhāṅga*) were taken,⁶ especially the four abstinences (*caturāṅga*) from food (*āhāra*), bodily attentions (*śarīra-satkāra*), sexual intercourse (*abrahma*) and daily work (*vyāpāra*).⁷ On the *uposatha* day, the bed was to be smaller than usual.⁸ There was no killing of creatures on that day.⁹ It was a solemn day for meditations or hearing the *dhamma* by men and women alike.¹⁰

And thus their life rolled on. The general *milieu* of Indian life in those days was, as it might have been apparent by now, to a surprising degree, the same as in modern India, in spite of the two thousand years and more that have played so much havoc with the political history of this country. One cannot but be struck

MINOR
CUSTOMS.

1. *I-Tsing's Travels* ed. by Takakusu, p. 163.
2. Specially J., III, pp. 471-3 GG. 71-6.
3. J., IV, pp. 34-G. 53.
4. J., II, pp. 470 ff; IV, pp. 39, 53, 237; V, pp. 383 ff; VI, pp. 42, 96, etc.
5. J., I, p. 390; II, p. 190; III, pp. 292, 343; IV, pp. 318, 320-G. 114-*pāṭihāriyapakkho*; V, pp. 1, 458; VI, pp. 1, 96, 121-G. 524; 169, 186, 257; In Buddha's time the 8th and the 14th days were also observed, probably in the *Saṅgha*; *Mahāvagga*, II, 1, 1.
6. J., IV, pp. 318, 320-G. 114: they were the eight *sīlas*: against taking life, theft impurity, lying, intoxicating liquors, eating at forbidden hours, worldly amusements, unguents and ornaments.
7. J., VI, p. 169; Cf. Hoernle on *Uvāsagadasāo*, note 87.
8. J., VI, p. 1 (*cullasayanaka*).
9. J., VI, p. 346-*uposathamāghāta*.
10. J., III, p. 445.



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falling from a precipice or by extreme cold or attacked by diseases of divers kinds.¹ Out of the various modes of ending life, that by drowning oneself is clearly instanced in the bankrupt of the *Ruru jātaka*.² We do not however hear of condemnation or approval of different forms of suicide. It seems cases of suicide were very rare.

Was it, then, a life serious and morose, uneventful and stagnant, full of pain and misery devoid of any joy and amusement that these SPORTS AND FESTIVITIES. *Jātaka* people lived? We do not think so. On the other hand, the very wit and masterful humour that ring through these simple, inornate yet forceful, stories, reflect a mind which must be described as joyful, if not robust. And the various games and festivities of which we so often read, are the diversions of people who seek pleasure and amusement, of people who have plenty of leisure to enjoy and sufficient fortunes to provide for the simple means of enjoyment.³

As is natural, small boys and girls were fond of toys and playthings (*kīlābhaṇḍanaṃ*).⁴ We have already seen⁵ how children enjoyed themselves, taking delight in all sorts of games.

Playing with balls (*bhendukam*) seems to have been a popular sport.⁶ The ball with which Nalinikā played before Isisinga was beautifully painted with varied colours, tied to a string (*tantubaddham*) so that however far it was tost it would still return to her hands.⁷

Swings of rope there were, where even the kings sported themselves.⁸ Water-sport (*udakakīlam*) in rivers or tanks was a favourite pastime with the rich (*issarajātikā*) and the kings.⁹ There were public places for sports (*kīlāmaṇḍalam*).¹⁰ Moreover, every great city in those days was surrounded by extensive gardens where people could find some relief. These gardens had beautiful ponds (*pokkharanī*) within, and were studded with all manners of trees, fruits and flowers.¹¹ *Uyyānakīlanam* or garden-sports were common wherein even young ladies took part.¹² Probably kings had their own separate parks where, as we have seen, they betook themselves with their councillors for important discussions or with their subjects to enjoy music and dance.

1. J., III, p. 345.

2. J., IV, p. 256.

3. See for the various games and recreations, shows and performances: *Brahmajāla—Suttanta*: *Dialogues* I, pp. 7-11; *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, I, 8, 1, 5-8; II, 12, 18 "Where women or men, old young or middle aged ones, are well-dressed and ornamented, sing, distribute portion or parcel out plenty of food, drink, dainties and spices."

4. J., VI, p. 6.

5. *Supra*, p. 266.

6. J., V, pp. 196, 203-G. 37; VI, p. 741.

7. J., V, pp. 196-G. 10; 203-G. 37: was it a rubber string with which the ball was tied?

8. J., VI, p. 341-*dolāya kīlitum*.

9. J., I, p. 458. VI, p. 341.

10. J., VI, p. 333.

11. J., II, p. 188.

12. J., IV, p. 376: VI, p. 157: Cf. *Udyānayātrās* of Vātsyāyana: *Kāmasūtra*, Chakladar op. cit., pp. 168-9.

Besides the various sports and amusements that enlivened the daily life of the people, there were frequent high days and holidays when they made merry with their friends and companions. On these festival days (*chanam: ussavo*) which were proclaimed by beat of drum, there was great noise of sound and music of those that made merry.¹ The village-drummers and conch-blowers rejoiced to go to the towns, and made money by their art.² On these days even the farmers hang up their ploughs and joined in the festivities.³ Even the poor-folk wore new clothes, went on with their wives hanging on their shoulders, and enjoyed with garlands, perfumes and drinks.⁴ The most popular among these festivals was the *Kattikā* festival which was celebrated on the night of the Full Moon day of the month of *Kattikā* (*Kārtikī pūrṇimā*), when the king went in a solemn procession round the city.⁵ Equally celebrated was the Full Moon day of the month of *Aśvina* (*Cātumāsini Komudī*) when the sky is beautifully clear and the orb of the full moon of the last month of the rains shines in all splendour.⁶ This *Śarad Pūrṇimā* or *Kaumudī-Jāgara* is still the most favoured of the festivals, both among the simple folk and the cultured classes, in which the whole night is passed without sleep by playing at dice or similar other amusements. There were presumably many other festivals on the changes of the planets and of seasons (*nakkhatte: utu-pubbesu*).⁷ On these and specially on the drinking festivals (*surānakkhatam: surāchano*), people ate and drank strong drinks to their hearts' content. Besides the taverns (*surāpana*), special drinking booths (*maṇḍapam*) were put up on these days. People believed this drinking as time-honoured festival.⁸

Then there were frequent *Samajjas*,⁹ where crowds of men, women and children gathered together and witnessed various kinds of shows and performances, dancing and music, ballad-recitations (*akkhānam*), and pantomimes, combats of elephants, horses and rams, bouts at quarter-staff (*daṇḍehi yuddham*) and wrestling. Boys and girls were fond of these social gatherings,¹⁰ and the parents of the youths studying at the university schools, like Benares and Takkaṣilā, sent messages for their sons to come and see the festivals.¹¹ The palace-court of the king (*rājāṅgaṇam*) was the usual place where these gatherings were held, and the king himself would make a proclamation by beat of drum and invite

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1. J., V, p. 428.
 2. J., I, pp. 283-4.
 3. J., VI, pp. 328-G. 1445 — *Unnaṅgala māsam imam karontu*.
 4. J., I, p. 499 ; III, p. 446.
 5. J., I, pp. 499-500-G. 143 ; II, p. 372 ; V, pp. 212-4.
 6. J., VI, pp. 221-2-G. 947, 949, 953 (*uttamo ussavo*).
 7. J., VI, pp. 524-G. 1974.
 8. J., I, pp. 362, 489 ; III, p. 287 ; IV, pp. 116-6 ; V, pp. 427-8.
 9. See for a fuller significance of the term, Bhandarkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 21, pp. 395 ff ; *I.A.*, XLII, pp. 255 ff ; also *Ibid*, XLVII, pp. 221 ff ; *Aśoka*, pp. 19-21 ; F. W. Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 392 ff. 752 ; 1918, 122 ff, M. M. Bose, *I. H. Q.*, IV, pp. 111-3 ; " *Samāja* was of two kinds : in one the people were treated to dainty dishes, in the other to dancing, music, wrestling and other performances... Both the kinds of *Samājas* seem to have been celebrated by Aśoka. But when he began to preach *Dhamma*, he naturally tabooed those where animals were slain to serve meat." (*R. E. I.*) As there was nothing in the other *samājas* for him to object to, he retained them : Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 201.
 10. J., VI, p. 7.
 11. J., III, p. 538.

the people to come there and witness the performances.¹ A pavilion (*maṇḍapam*) was set up at the palace-door: a throne (*pallaṅka*) was set apart for the king: around him sat slaves, women of the harem, courtiers, Brāhmaṇas and the citizens. In the courtyard were fixed seats, circle by circle, and tier by tier (*Cakkāṭīcakkhe : mañcāṭimañce*).² Among a sort of Olympic games arranged here, wrestling (*mallayuddham*) was the most popular.³ The wrestling-ring (*yuddhamanḍalam*) was gaily decorated. Both the wrestlers went down into the ring, and strutted about, jumping, shouting, clapping their hands.⁴ They struck their doubled arms (*diguṇam bhujam*) to each other: one tried to strike down the other.⁵ Then there were wonderful feats of archery as noticed before.⁶ Fights of rams⁷ and elephants⁸ and horse-playing⁹ were also common. Dramatic festivities (*nāṭakāni*) were also instituted.¹⁰ In the *Guttila Jātaka*,¹¹ we witness a musical competition between two master-musicians amidst a big gathering of people in the palace courtyard. Outside the palace courtyard, again, we see people enjoying themselves with various sights and performances: acrobatic feats¹² snake-charmer's tricks,¹³ and so on. The people took great interest in all these games and performances and, when delighted, they would give out *sādhukāras*, would shout and roar, clap their hands and even throw away their garments and ornaments, probably as a reward for the skilful performer.¹⁴ Of outdoor festivities we hear of *samajjas* arranged on mountaintops (*giriaggasamajja*),¹⁵ where feasting was indulged in and, possibly also, theatrical performances were instituted, as in later days.¹⁶ In all these festivals and festivities, religion seems to have played a very insignificant part, if at all.¹⁷ They were, for the most part, purely secular amusements. Besides the festivals and occasional festivities, there were daily *goṣṭhis* (*goṭṭham*)¹⁸ or social gatherings where people diverted themselves in pleasant talks and gossips on varied subjects.¹⁹

1. J., II, p. 253; IV, p. 458; VI, pp. 7, 277-G. 1202.

2. J., II, p. 253; IV, pp. 81-2; VI, p. 277.

3. J., III, p. 160; IV, pp. 81-2; VI, pp. 277-G. 1202.

4. J., IV, pp. 81-2.

5. J., VI, pp. 277-G. 1203.

6. *Supra*, pp. 311-2.

7. J., III, p. 82.

8. J., II, pp. 46-9; IV, p. 95; V, p. 286.

9. J., VI, p. 275.

10. J., V, p. 282.

11. J., II, pp. 253-4.

12. e.g., J., III, pp. 541-G. 112.

13. J., II, p. 267; IV, pp. 457-8.

14. J., II, pp. 90, 253-4; III, pp. 344, 506; V, pp. 130.

15. J., III, p. 538.

16. The Jogimārā cave (2nd B.C.) on the Rāmgarh, hill (Chhotā Nāgpur) seems, according to Bloch, to have been used, if not for the performance of plays, at any rate for purposes of recitation of poems or some similar end: *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1903-4, pp. 123 ff: See Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 358, ff.

17. Once we hear of people offering *balī* to ogres and sprites on a *nakkhatta*: J., I, p. 425.

18. J., IV, pp. 223-G. 53.

19. Vātsyāyana gives a detailed description of these *goṣṭhis*: See Chakladar, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-7.



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SECTION V
GEOGRAPHY OF THE JĀTAKAS



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and the *Epics*, which were considered to be fictitious or fabulous years ago,¹ have, now in the light of further research, come to be regarded as based on facts.² This makes it incumbent upon us to put down the results of our geographical knowledge derived from the *Jātakas*, bearing always in mind that that which looks fabulous now may prove to be a fact in future.

1. A characteristic example is furnished by this, that when "Mr. Wilford collected an account of the river Nile and its source, and reconstructed a map out of the *Purāṇas*, H. H. Wilson called him an "injudicious writer," Cunningham remarked that his essay was a "wild speculation," St. Martin stated him to be the first victim of the "imposture geographical literature of the Hindus." But it was from this very source that best information was secured, and the source of the river Nile traced and discovered by the 19th century explorer Lieut. J. H. Speke. See *C. A. G. I.*, Introd., p. xxxviii.

2. *Paurāṇic Seven Dvīpas* and their identification by V. Venkatachellam, *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, pp. 62, 119, 238; XVI, pp. 116, 268; XVII, p. 94; cf. Raychoudhury, "*India in Purāṇic Cosmography*" in *J. D. L.*, XIX; for seven divisions of *Jambūdvīpa*, Jayaswal, *I. A.*, LXII., pp. 167 ff.; also *Traimāsik*. Quarterly organ of The Forbes Gujarātī Sāhityasabhā, Bombay, Vol. I.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL OUTLOOK

THOSE were the days of brisk trade and commerce, both inland and sea-borne, between India and a large part of the outside world. The *Jātakas* abound in sea-going references, and they quite frequently refer to brisk inland trade carried on by means of caravans.¹ This, naturally, brought the trading folk in close contact with different parts of the country and with other foreign countries, and thus expanded their geographical knowledge through personal experience. Now, these trading people, when they returned home from their far-off journey on land and water, told their experiences to their relatives and friends, and thus the knowledge of the outside world was easily broad-casted. It was through this process, that the people of India knew well that in the far-off kingdom of Baveru (Babylon), there did not exist various kinds of birds; it was through this medium again, that they knew how prosperous the country of Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) was. It was through this personal experiences of the travellers, also, that the numerous cities and villages, ports and seas, rivers and mountains, plains and deserts became familiar to the people. Besides this, the itinerant mendicants (*paribbājakas*) of whom we hear a lot in these stories, helped a great deal in spreading geographical knowledge.

In this way the *Jātakas* know the entire track of the country, from Gandhāra and Kamboja in the North-west to Kalinga, Andha and Kāvīrapaṭṭana in the South-east on one side, and from Kasmīra and across the Himālayas on the North to Assaka, Avantī and Mahimsaka in the South on the other. Besides these, the foreign lands like Baveru, Tambapaṇṇi, Suvaṇṇabhūmi and other oceanic countries are known.

Here, it may be of use to know what was the *Jātaka* conception about the world in general and India in particular. The *JĀTAKA CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD.* earth was recognised as a round sphere (*Cakkavāla*), surrounded on all sides by the sea,² and *Jambudīpa* was only a part of the bigger sphere.³ The earth was believed to be 24 *nahuta yojanas* in thickness, and split in two like unto a strong stout cloth garment.⁴

1. Details of these evidences of our commercial life in those days as given in the *Jātakas* are presented in the chapter on Exchange : *Supra.* pp. 225-37.

2. J., III, p. 484—"Sāgareṇa parikkhittaṃ Cakkaṃ ca parimaṇḍalam" ; IV, p. 214.

3. J., IV, p. 214 ; cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 4.

4. J., I, pp. 321-2 ; III, p. 42—"Cattālīśasahasādhikānidveyojanasatasahasāni bahalā... Balitthaddha sātako viya phalitā" ; a *nahuta*=ten thousand. VI., p. 486 ; cf. *Visuddhimagga*, P. T. S., I, p. 205.

The world was comprised of four *Mahādīpas* (*Catunnam Mahādīpānam*) or the four great Continents,¹ surrounded by 2000 *dīpas* or FOUR MAHĀDĪPAS. doabs.² Fortunately for us, the *Jātakas* do furnish us with the names of these Great Continents. They are: Uttarakuru, Pubba Videha, Aparā Goyāna and Jambudīpa.³

UTTARAKURU is mentioned as such once in the *Sonānanda Jātaka* wherefrom we learn that it was to the north of the Himālayas. This is in perfect agreement with the statement of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁴ that Uttarakuru lay beyond the Himālayas (*pareṇa Himavantaṁ*). It is placed immediately to the south of *Uttaraḥ payasām nidhiḥ*—the Northern Deep or the Arctic Ocean—by the *Rāmāyana*.⁵ Both the Greek and Indian writers describe Uttarakuru as a semi-mythic region where there was perpetual happiness and bliss.⁶ It is, nevertheless, identified with Siberia.⁷

As to PUBBAVIDEHA we have no internal data to identify it. But a passage of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*⁸ which calls BHADRĀŚVA as *PŪRVA-DVĪPA* makes us feel certain of the identity between Pubbavideha and Bhadrāśva which is, in turn, identifiable with Eastern Turkestan and North China.⁹

APARAGOYĀNA, similarly, should be taken to be identical with the *Paurāṇic KETUMĀLA* which is, in turn, identifiable with the region of Western Turkestan.¹⁰

As regards JĀMBUDĪPA, the fourth of our great continents, we have plenty of references in the *Brāhmaṇic* as well as in the Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is mentioned quite frequently in the *Jātakas*.¹¹ But they, we mean the *Jātakas*, nowhere give any clear idea of the size or extent of this country. The *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka*,¹² indeed, knows that Jambudīpa was encompassed (*paribbata*) by the ocean (*sāgara*), but this, in no way, clears

1. J., II, p. 313 ; III, pp. 239, 481—G. 91 ; VI, pp. 3, 432.

2. J., II, p. 313 ; III, p. 239—"Dvīpa originally meant land having water (and not sea) on two (and not all) of its sides." See, C. A. G. I., Intro., p. xxxvii.

3. J., VI, pp. 278—G. 1212; "*Purato Videhe passa Goyāniye ca pacchato, Kuruyo Jambudīpaṇca maṇimhi passa nimmitaṁ*;" Cf. Hardy, *op. cit.*, and *loc. cit.*; Cowell and Neil, *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 214 ff; Law, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, pp. 4, 14; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 31, 6; according to the *Paurāṇic Geography*, the world was comprised of 7 concentric *dvīpas*, viz., Jambū, Śāka, Kuśa, Śālmala, Krauñca, Gomeda and Puṣkara; for the attempted identifications of these, see V. Venkatachellam, *op. & loc. cit.* cf. Kasten Rönnow, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol. V, pp. 253-284.

4. VIII, 14, 4; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 84.

5. IV, 43, 56.

6. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 63, 113 & notes; *Mārka. P.* 59, 18 ff; *Dīgha Nakāya. The Ātānātiya Suttanta, Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, pp. 192-4 Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, 492.

7. Jayaswal, I. A., LXII, p. 170. Cf. Raychoudhury, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 71 ff.

8. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 45, 24; 46, 35.

9. Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-6; Bhadrāśva is said to have been watered by the Sītā, the mythical prototype of the Yārkanḍ and Yellow Rivers. Sītā is our Sīdā mentioned in J., VI, p. 100, *Gāthās* 424-5. *Uttara Himavante*—Cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XI, 28.

10. Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

11. See Dines Anderson, *Index to the Jātaka*, p. 56.

12. J., VI, p. 464—G. 1637.



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CHAPTER II

DIVISIONS OF INDIA

THE traditional division of India into five regions is found throughout in Indian Literature. In the *Atharvaveda*,¹ already, we have this division of India as a familiar practice. So also in the well-known passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,² we find India divided into five great *diks*, viz., *Prācyā* (Eastern),³ *Dakṣiṇā* (Southern),⁴ *Pratīcī* (Western), *Udīchī* (Northern),⁵ and *Dhruvā Madhyamā* (Central).⁶ In later times, these five 'diks' or directions are clearly stated to be *Deśas* or countries. The *Purāṇas*, also, know these five regions, though they, sometimes, add two more, viz., the *Vindhya* and the *Himavanta* regions, thus making the number seven.⁷ Rājaśekhara, in the beginning of the tenth century A.D., clearly gives the boundaries of these five divisions in the following manner: "To the east of Bārāṇasī (Benares) is the eastern country; to the south of Māhiṣmatī is the Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan; to the west of Devasabhā is the western country; to the north of Pṛthūdaka (mod, Pēhoā, about 14 miles west of Thāṇeśwar) is the Uttarāpatha, and the tract lying between Vinaśana and Prayāga is called Antarvedi (or Madhyadeśa).⁸ The same division was adopted by the Chinese Travellers also.⁹

The *Jātakas*, also, are familiar with these divisions of India. Uttarāpatha is mentioned three times¹⁰; Dakṣiṇāpatha is mentioned in the *Sarabhaṅga* and *Indriya Jātakas*¹¹; Majjhimadesa is similarly mentioned a number of times¹²; The names of the other two divisions, viz., the *Prācyā* and the *Aparānta* do not, however, find mention in the *Jātakas*. But their non-mention does not prove that they were unknown to the *Jātakas*, for the countries like Sovira,¹³ Bharu¹⁴ and Suratṭha,¹⁵ mentioned in the *Jātakas*, are apparently to be located in the *Aparānta* division; so also Kajaṅgala,

1. III, 27; IV, 40; XII, 3; XIX, 17; Cf. H. C. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 41.

2. VIII, 14.

3. *Prācyā* also appears in the *Śat. Brāh.* I, 7, 3, 8; See *Ved. Ind.*, II, 46.

4. *Dakṣiṇāpadā* is mentioned in the *Rgveda*, X, 61, 8; cf. Oldenburg, *Buddha*, p. 394, note.

5. *Udīcyas* are mentioned in the *Śat. Brāh.* XI, 4, 1, 1.

6. See *Ved. Ind.*, II. pp. 125-7.

7. Cf., e.g., *Brahmāṇḍa* p. 34, 64; "Tairidaṁ Bhārataṁ varṣaṁ sapta-khaṇḍaṁ kṛtaṁ purā"; Raychaudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

8. *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, (G. O. S. Series), pp. 93. ff.

9. See Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14; the boundary of the *Madhyadeśa*, the *Āryāvarta* of the *Dharma Sūtras*, seems, gradually, to have expanded itself from Prayāga and Benares, to the east of Aṅga-Kajaṅgala, as the Āryans spread over the country.

10. J., II, pp. 31, 287; IV, p. 79.

11. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 133.

12. J., III, pp. 115, 364, 463; V, p. 134.

13. J., III, p. 470.

14. J., II, pp. 171-2; IV, p. 137.

15. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 133.

mentioned in the *Kapota Jātaka*¹ and the *Bhisa Jātaka*,² is clearly the western boundary of the Prācyā Deśa.

Besides the above five divisions or regions, the *Jātakas* know the Himālaya region as a separate division altogether.³ This
HIMAVANTA REGION. region is very frequently alluded to, and the *Jātakas* grow, oftentimes, eloquent over the description of that region showing, thereby, a great deal of observation.⁴ This Himavanta region is also known to the *Purāṇas* as *Parvatāśraya* or the "mountain region."⁵

Unfortunately, the *Jātakas* are perfectly silent about the respective
BOUNDARIES. boundaries of these divisions. Only incidentally we come across the names of some of the countries or cities which are there said to have been included in particular divisions. Thus Videha was a kingdom in Majjhimadesa;⁶ Takkaṣilā is said to be outside Majjhimadesa;⁷ the country of Arañjara, again, was situated in the Central region;⁸ Avantī was included in Dakkhināpatha;⁹ the district of Kāṃsa was a part of the Uttarāpatha.¹⁰

One remarkable fact now remains to be noticed in this connection. The *Jātakas* seem to have retained the original significance
UTTARĀPA- of the terms *Uttarāpatha* and *Dakkhināpatha* as meaning,
THA AND
DAKKHINĀ- respectively, "the Northern High Road" and "the Southern
PATHA. High Road." It is clear that originally two great trade routes, both Uttarāpatha and Dakkhināpatha, lent their names to the regions through which they passed.¹¹ It is in this sense that the districts of Kāṃsa and Uttaramadhurā, which lay on the Northern High Road,¹² are included in Uttarāpatha,¹³ and that Avantī, which lay on the Southern High Road,¹⁴ is included in Dakkhināpatha.¹⁵

1. J., III. p. 226.

2. J., IV, p. 310.

3. See Andersen's *Index*, p. 184.

4. Cf. J. IV, pp. 286-7; V, pp. 415-6; VI, pp. 496-7.

5. See *Brahmāṇḍa* pp. 34, 64; Buddhagoṣa, in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*, mentions two territorial names of the two post-Aśokan Buddhist Schools, viz., *Hemavatika*, and *Uttarāpathaka*, thus distinguishing between the two regions: Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 219-220.

6. J., III, p. 364.

7. J., III, p. 115.

8. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 134.

9. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 133.

10. J., IV, p. 79.

11. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 218-220.

12. We know, from the *Gandhāra Jātaka*, III, p. 365, that traders went from Videha to Gandhāra. This route seems to have extended from Videha, across the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, through the desert on to Takkaṣilā, the Gandhāra capital.

13. J., IV, 79.

14. This route extended from Sāvattihī to Paṭṭiṭṭhāna; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 103.

15. J., III, p. 463; V, p. 133. About these trade-routes in detail, see *Supra*, pp. 225-28.

CHAPTER III

GEOGRAPHICAL LEXICON

In order to arrange systematically the mass of geographical material found in the *Jātakas*, we have felt it advisable to place it in a lexicographic order. All the geographical names found in the *Atātavathu* portions of the *Jātakas* have been arranged in alphabetical order, together with their descriptions as given in the *Jātakas*, their places of reference, and identification and location wherever possible. We have not touched the Introductory portions for this information as we have confined ourselves only to the *Atātavathu* portion throughout our book, though the former are, in themselves, valuable and have been utilised by their writers.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
1	Aggimāla	A sea (<i>samudda</i>) : It was like a blazing fire giving out streaks like that of the midday sun ; merchants from Bharukaccha passed through it in quest of riches ; gold was abundantly found there.	IV, 139 ; 140-G. 108.	It refers 'either to the Arabian coast near Aden or some portion of the Somali coast'; Jayaswal, <i>J. B. B. O. R. S.</i> , VI, p. 195 and footnote.
2	Anga	A kingdom (<i>raṭṭha</i>).	II, 211-G. 152 ; IV, 454 ; V. 316 ; VI, 256, 274. G. 1182.	Identical with the country about the modern districts of Bhāglpur and Monghyr : De, <i>G. D.</i> , p. 7 ; C. A. G. I., p. 546.



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
			VI, 432.	<p>Mānasa lake, and others with the Rāvaṇhrad or Lāṅgā; De, <i>G. D.</i>, p. 8. But recent explorers in the Mid-Asia tend to locate it in the vast tract of water near the water-divide of the Kārākoram pass where the headwaters of the Yārkaṇd (Sītā) and the Shyok tributary of the Indus approach. See J. C. Vidyālaṅkāra, <i>Proc. Sixth Oriental Conference</i>, 1930; pp. 109-10.</p> <p><i>Cf.</i> Sven Hedin, <i>Trans-Himalaya</i>, II, p. 123.</p> <p>Capital of the Āndhras; De, <i>op. cit.</i>, p. 7; perhaps an ancient name of mod. Bezwādā: <i>P. H. A. I.</i>, p. 64.</p> <p>Once famous Ayodhyā: it is the A-yu-te of Yuan Chwang who places it 600 <i>li</i> (100 miles) to the</p>
7	Andhapura	<p>Near by was the table-land of Manosilā.</p> <p>A city; a river named Telavāhā flowed between it and the Seriva Kingdom.</p>	<p>I, 232; IV, 379; V, 392.</p> <p>I, 111.</p>	
8	Ayojjhā	A city.	IV, 82.	

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
9	Arañjaragiri.	<p>A mountain-chain in Majjhima- desa.</p> <p>It was near or on the R. Kontimārā</p>	<p>III, 463; V, 134; VI, 493, G. 1745; 514.</p> <p>VI, 493. G. 1745.</p>	<p>south-east of the neighbourhood of Navadevakula, a city identi- fied with Nāl in Unāo dist. U. P.: Law, <i>G. E. B.</i> pp. 23-4; the an ruined city of Ajudhyā which is confined to the north-east corner of the old site, is only a mile from Fai- zābād; <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, p. 466.</p> <p>Cannot be identified with any cer- tainty; it may have been the eastern extension of the Vindhya range. See Kontimārā. ?</p>
10	Aritthapura.	<p>A city in the Sivi Kingdom. It lay on the road from Mithilā to Pañcāla.</p>	<p>IV, 401; V, 210, 212; VI 419.</p>	<p>Perhaps the same as the Aristo- bbra of Ptolemy on the north of the Punjab; De, <i>G. D.</i> p. 11; if it was the same as the Siva- pura mentioned by Patañjali, it is to be located near the mod.</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
11	Avantī	A kingdom in Dakṣiṇāpatha; its capital was Ujjain.	III, 463; IV, 390; 397-G. 40; V, 133; IV, 390.	<p>ern Shorkot in Jhāṅg; <i>P. H. A. I.</i>, p. 170.</p> <p>It roughly corresponds to modern Mālwa, Nimār and adjoining parts of C. P.: Law, <i>G. E. B.</i>, p. 22; <i>P. H. A. I.</i>, p. 102. Bhandarkar, <i>C. L.</i> p. 45.</p>
12	Asītañjanā	A city in the district of Kāśī in Uttarāpatha.	IV, 79, 82.	<p>Not identifiable; King Kāśī of the Great Epic, however, ruled at Mathurā: See <i>Harivaṃśa</i>, ch. 5, also <i>Manorathapūrāṇī</i></p>
13	Amuka	A kingdom; it is associated with Avantī: Capital Potali.	III, 3; V, 317-G. 99. <i>Ibid.</i> II, 155; III, 3.	<p>As it is clearly associated with Avantī, it must be located in the south, being different from that of the Greeks in the North; it is identical with that mentioned in the <i>Suttanipāṭa</i>, 977, as situated on the Godāvarī; an Asikānagara is mentioned in the <i>Hāthigumphā Inscription</i> of Kharavela.</p>



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
		It extended over seven leagues; the road starting from Indapatta to Takkasilā met the road from Benares to the same destination.	59, 67, 457, 474, 484, 510, 511; VI, 255, 272-G. 1179; 311, 323-G. 1431-3; 324-G. 1434. V, 484; VI, 275. V, 457.	is, obviously, identified with Old Delhi where the fort <i>Purāṇa Kila</i> is still popularly known as Indrapat; De, <i>G. D.</i> pp. 77-8.
19	Isipatana	A park (<i>udapāṇa</i>)	II, 354.	It is Sārnāth, 6 miles from Benares.
20	Isadhara	A mountain—one of the 7 mountains encircling Sineru.	VI, 125-G. 556.	The <i>Mahāvastu</i> calls it Isāndhara.
21	Ujjeni	A city—Capital of Avantī; merchants came here from Benares.	II, 248, 250; IV, 390. II, 248.	It is modern Ujjeni on the bank of the Siprā.
22	Uttarakuru	One of the four great Continents.	V, 316.	Siberia: See <i>Supra</i> , p. 364.
23	Uttarapañcāla	A kingdom; capital was Kampillanagara, city in Kampilla	III, 379; VI, 405; III, 379; II, 213, 214-G.	Northern portion of the country which was originally north and

CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
24	Uttara-madhurā	Kingdom. A city in Kuru Kingdom. A city in Uttarāpatha.	1547; III, 79, 461; IV, 430; V, 21, 98; VI, 311, 392, 405, 415, 426, 466. IV, 444. IV, 79.	west of Delhi, from the foot of the Himālayas to the river Chambal; De, <i>G. D.</i> p. 145; it roughly corresponds to Būdaon, Furrukābād and the adjoining districts of U. P., <i>C.A.G.I.</i> , pp. 412, 705. It is clearly Mathurā, generally identified with Maholi, 5 miles to the S. W. of the present town of Mathurā: Growse, <i>Mathurā</i> , pp. 32, 54: De, <i>op. cit.</i> pp. 115-6
25	Uttara-himavanta	Northern Himālayas.	III, 377, 471; IV, 114, 119, 328, 367, 368; V, 42; VI, 56.	It refers to the Trans-Himālayan region.
26	Uttarāpatha	Northern Division of India.	II, 287; IV, 79.	Supra, p. 367.
27	Udakapabbata	A mountain in Himavanta.	V, 38.	Occurs at <i>Apadāna</i> II, 434.
28	Uddhagaṅgā	The Ganges.	II, 283; VI, 427.	The Upper course of the Ganges.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
29	Upakārī	A town in Pañcāla kingdom lying on the way from the Uttarapañcāla city to the bank of the Ganges, the distance of which was $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>yojana</i> and a <i>gāvuta</i> .	VI, 450, 458, 427, 430.	Occurs at <i>Buddhavaṃśa commentary</i> , 165.
30	Uparigaṅgā	The Ganges.	VI, 230-31.	Same as Uddhagaṅgā—the upper course of the Ganges.
31	Ekabala	A Kingdom.	VI, 390.	May be a foreign country. B. C. Sen, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 40.
32	Kaṃsabhoga	The kingdom of Kaṃsa in Uttarāpatha; capital Asitañjanā.	IV, 79.	Corresponding to the country round Mathurā over which the Yādava King Kaṃsa ruled.
33	Kajaṅgala	A town	III, 226-G. 133-4; IV, 310-G. 87.	It is the Ka-chu-wen-ki-lo of Yuan Chwang who says that it was 2000 <i>li</i> (i.e., 333 miles) in circuit; he gives the location as 400 <i>li</i> (67 miles) east of Chāmpā; Watters, <i>Yuan Chwang</i> , II, p. 182; Cunningham locates it at the



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				identical with the modern Wain or Waingāṅgā which has for its main tributary the Kanhan. The Kanhan and the Wain unite in the district of Bhandaṛa and the united stream comes down to meet the Wardhā in the district of Chandan; Jayaswal, <i>J. B. O. R. S. IV</i> , pp. 374-5; De, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 104.
37	Kaṇṇamunḍā	A lake in Himavanta.	II, 104	The <i>Sutta Nipāta commentary</i> , II, 407, says that its waters never grow hot.
38	Kāṃpilla	A city-capital of Uttarapañcāla	III, 379; V, 35-G. 95; VI, 433-G. 1500.	Identical with modern Kāmpil on the old Ganges, 28 miles N. E. of Fategaḍh in the Farrukhābād dist. U. P. De, <i>G. D.</i> p. 188 <i>C. A. G. I.</i> p. 413.
39	Karibojaka	A kingdom: Capital Uttarapañcālanagara. A country. It was famous for its horses; its people were considered as non-Aryans.	III, 79; V, 21, 98; VI, 391, 464. V, 445-G. 315; VI, 464-G. 242; VI, 208-G. 903.	It was long thought to be the region round about modern Rajaori the ancient Rājapura (<i>Cf.</i> Watters,

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
40	Kammāsadamma	A town in Kuru country.	V, 511, 35.	<i>op. cit.</i> , I, pp. 284 <i>ff.</i>) including the Hazārā district of the N. W. F. P., Bhandarkar, <i>Aśoka</i> , p. 31; Jayaswal <i>I. A.</i> , lxii, pp. 130-1; but recent research more correctly locates it in the modern Ghālchā territory to the north of Kashmir: See J. C. Vidyālaṅkāra, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 102 <i>ff.</i>
41	Karaṇḍaka	A forest.	IV, 95.	It is not identified; it was here that the Buddha delivered two profound discourses, <i>viz.</i> , <i>Mahānidāna</i> and <i>Mahāsatipapaṭṭhāna Suttantas</i> of the <i>Dīgha Nikāya</i> ; Law, <i>G. E. B.</i> , p. 17.
42	Karambiya	A sea-port-(<i>pattana</i>).	V, 75.	?
43	Karavīka	A mountain—one among the 7 encircling Sineru.	VI, 125-G. 556	<i>Cf. Milindapañho</i> , p. 201. The <i>Mahāvastu</i> II, 300, calls it Khadiraka.

CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
44	Kalyāṇī	A river in Ceylon (Tambapaṇṇī); on the other side was Nāgadīpa	II, 128. V, 124-G. 48.	It is modern Kaelani-Gaṅgā in Ceylon: See <i>J.P.T. S.</i> , 1888, p. 20. Law. <i>G. E. B.</i> p. 71. According to legends Kalyāṇī was at one time much further from the sea than it is now: <i>Mahāvamsa</i> , XXII, 12 ff.
45	Kaviṭṭha	A forest on the banks of the Godāvarī extending over 3 <i>yojanas</i> .	V, 123, 133.	According to Buddhaghosa, <i>Sutta N. Com.</i> , II, 581, it was an island in the fork of the river.
46	Kasmīra	A kingdom spoken together with Gandhāra.	III, 365, 378.	Evidently the same as modern Kashmir.
47	Kākaneru	A mountain.	VI, 204-G. 880 ; 212-G. 916.	Probably a peak of the Sineru range. See Sineru.
48	Kāradīpa	An island near Nāgadīpa: same as Ahidīpa.	IV, 238.	See Ahidīpa. Kāradīpa receives its name from the <i>Kāra</i> trees which grew there.
49	Kālapabbata	A mountain in Himavanta, on which was the table-land of Manosilā.	VI, 265.	Same as Kālagiri; not identifiable. See <i>Mahāvastu</i> , II, 300.



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
55	Kimbilā	A town.	VI, 121-G. 521	Is it Kihimbālā of the <i>Cullavamsa</i> ? (<i>P. T. S.</i>) I, pp. 12, 46; <i>Mahāvamsa</i> 46, 12-13. Also <i>Anguttara Commentary</i> , II, 642.
56	Kumbhavatī	A city—Capital of Daṇḍaki.	III. 463; V, 134.	According to the <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> , vii, 79, 18, the name of the capital of Daṇḍaka was Madhumanta, while the <i>Mahāvastu</i> , Senart's ed. p. 363, places it at Govardhana (Nāsik); <i>P. II. A.</i> , I. p. 62.
57	Kuru	A kingdom.	II, 214-G. 154; III, 400; IV, 361, 444; V, 57, 457, 474, 484; VI, 255, 278, 322, 325, 329.	“The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised the Kurukṣetra and Thāneśwar. The district formerly included Sonapat, Āmin Kernāl, and Pāṇipat, and was situated between the Sarasvatī (mod. Sarsuti) on the north and the Dṛṣadvatī (mod. Rākshi) on the south; <i>De G. D.</i> p. 110; <i>C. A. G. I.</i> , p. 701.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
58	Kusamāla	<p>Its extent was 300 leagues ; its capital was Indapatta.</p> <p>An ocean ; green (<i>nīlavanna</i>) and grassy-like ; merchants from Bharukaccha went there for trading purposes ; here a great quantity of precious emeralds was to be found.</p>	<p>V, 484. See below.</p> <p>IV, 140-G. 112.</p>	<p>See Indapatta.</p> <p>Ocean named probably after the Kuśadvīpa of the <i>Purāṇas</i>, identified with Nubia on the N.E. coast of Africa. This identification led to Captain Speke's discovery of the Source of the Nile (Scoff, <i>Periplus</i>, p. 230) ; the Kushites were masters of Nubia as early as the 22nd-18th cent. B. C., as their name appears in inscriptions of that period : Jayaswal, <i>J.B.O.R.S.</i>, VI, p. 195.</p> <p>An older name of Kuśinārā, so much famous in the Buddhist period, being the place where the Buddha obtained <i>Parinirvāṇa</i> ; it was, very probably, near the modern village of Kāsiā, on the smaller Gandak</p>
59	Kusāvati	<p>A city—capital of Malla country ; it is said to have been 100 leagues far from Sāgala, the capital of Madda kingdom.</p>	<p>I, 392 ; V, 278, 285, 293, 294, 297.</p> <p>V, 290.</p>	

CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
60	Kekaka	A city (<i>Rājadhānī</i>) spoken together with two other great cities viz., Uttarapañcāla and Indappatta.	II, 213.	<p>37 miles to the east of Gorakhpur and to the north-west of Bettia; here, in the large <i>Stūpa</i> behind the Nirvāṇa-temple, was discovered an inscribed copper-plate with the words “(<i>parini</i>) <i>rvāna caitye tāmrapaṭṭa iti</i>.” Law, <i>G. E. B.</i>, p. 14 & note. <i>C.A.G.I.</i>, pp. 713-4; De, <i>G. D.</i>, pp. 11-2; <i>J. R. A. S.</i>, 1913, p. 152.</p> <p>Also called Kekaya. The capital of the Kekayas, according to the <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i>, was Rājagṛha (different from the Magadhan Capital) or Girivraja, which is identified by Cunningham with Girjāk or Jalālpur on the Jhelum; <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, p. 685; Pargiter, <i>Mārka</i>, p. 318 and note.</p>



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
64	Kokanada	A country(?) famous for lute-making.	V, 281, 290.	<p>Pargiter identifies it with the Kokaṅkanas, mentioned in the <i>Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa</i> as a people in the North West classed with the Trigartas and Darvas; <i>Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa</i>, p. 372 and note; 380 and note; if it be so, it can, very well, be identical with Kikiangna of Yān Gāng. It is identified by Stein with Waziristan; <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, p. 679.</p> <p>It is one of the group of countries named after trees, like Udumbara. See J. Przyluski, <i>Journal Asiatique</i>, 1926, pp. 25 ff.</p> <p>It is so called in the <i>Milinda-pañho—Questions of King Milinda</i>, (S. B. E.) I, p. 2. We long suspected its identity with Audumbara and, to our agreeable surprise, find a 1, 1, 1 in</p>
65	Koṭuṁbara	A country famous for linen clothes (<i>khomakoṭuṁbarāṇi</i>).	VI, 47-G. 166; 500-G. 1801.	

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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
66	Kontimārā	A river, on which stood the mountain Arañjara ; it was 5 leagues far from Suvannagiri-tāla and 10 leagues from Jetuttara.	VI, 493, 514.	Prof. J. Przyluski who, on philological grounds, connects the two words and makes them of Austro-Asiatic origin; Bagchi, <i>Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dravidian in India</i> pp. 149-160.
67	Kosambī	A city—capital of Vamśa Kingdom.	IV, 28, 56, 392; VI, 237-G. 1057, 238-G. 1070.	Identical with modern Kosam—an old village on the Jumnā, 30 miles S. W. of Allāhābād; C. A. G. I., p. 709. Now see. Law, <i>Kosambī in Ancient Literature in Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India</i> .
68	Kosala	A Kingdom.	I, 331, 332; III, 116, 270; V, 315.	In ancient times it was bounded on the west by Pañcāla, on the

CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				<p>south by the Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) river, on the east by the Sadānirā, which separated it from Videha, and on the north by the Nepal hills: it corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. <i>P. H. A. I.</i>, p. 70.</p> <p>See Sāketa and Sāvattthī.</p>
69	Kosikī	<p>Its capital cities were Sāketa and Sāvattthī.</p> <p>A river—a tributary of the Ganges in the Himavanta region.</p>	<p>III, 270, 272-G. 70; V, 13; I, 331; III, 115, 168; V, 134; VI, 123-G. 546.</p> <p>V, 2, 5-G. 11.</p>	<p>Identical with the modern Kusi or Kosi; De, <i>G. D.</i>, p. 97; it flows into the Ganges on its north bank</p> <p>though the district of Purnea; it has shifted its course: Pargiter, <i>Mark. P.</i>, p. 292. See <i>dis-</i> <i>sion, Indian</i> III, I and II.</p> <p>According to Mr. Jayaswāl, “the Babylonian National legend of their Man-Fish (Oannes) who was</p>
70	Khuramāla	A sea, “where fish with bodies like men and sharp razor-like snouts dive in and out	IV, 139-G. 106.	



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
73	Gaggali	A village-built on the southern bank of the Ganges.	VI, 431.	?
74	Gaṅgā	A river; there was a great natural lake very near to the river; when there was a flood, the two became one; “Whatever runs pour themselves into the Gaṅgā, all these lose names and kind”; the river had winter floods (<i>himodaka</i>); there were red fish in the river; it came on the way when Uttarapañḍa and Mithilā; it met the Yamunā at a certain place; its another name was Bhāgīrasī.	See Anderson's <i>Index</i> ; II, 79; V, 392. VI, 359-G. ? II, 450. III, 52. VI, 427. II, 151. V, 255-G. 27; VI, 204-G. 879.	It is of course the river Ganges; for its course, see De, <i>G. D.</i> , p. 61; <i>I. A.</i> , I., pp. 8, 33, 65; Malalasekara's <i>Dictionary</i> , I, pp. 733-5. The confluence is at Prayāga or Allāhābād, as is well-known. Named after Bhāgīratha; D. N. Sen, <i>I. A.</i> , I., p. 192.
75	Gandhamādana	A mountain in Himavanta.	III, 452-3, 478-G. 86; IV, 16, 287-G. 40-1, 438; V, 63-G. 163, 196-G. 11,	According to Mr. De, it was a part of the Rudra-Himālaya, <i>G. D.</i> , p. 60. For description

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
76	Gandhāra	A kingdom ; famous for its bright robes (<i>Indagopakaṣaṇṇābhā Gandhārā Paṇḍu Kambalā</i>). Capital Takkasilā—a great centre of learning ; it included Kasmīra ; it had trade relations with Videha.	395-G. 222 ; VI, 79-G. 304, 83, 518-G. 1936, 519, 528-G. 2010, 533, G. 2054, 579-G. 2376. I, 191, 273, 285, 317, 395 ; II, 217 ; III, 364, 365, 367-G. 77 ; VI, 500-G. 1796. VI, 500-G. 1796. I, 191, 273, 285, 317, 395 ; II, 217 ; III, 377 ; III, 365, <i>Ibid.</i>	in Literature see Malalasekara, <i>op. cit.</i> I, pp. 746-8. Occurring in the <i>Vedic</i> Literature under the name Gandhāris ; <i>Vedic Index</i> , I, pp. 218-9 ; it comprised the districts of Peshāwar and Rāwalpindī in the Northern Punjab ; <i>P. H. A. I.</i> , p. 39 ; it lay on both sides of the Indus ; see also, Jayaswāl, <i>I. A. LXII</i> , pp. 131-2. See under Takkasilā ; the older capital seems to have been Puṣkarāvātī ; <i>De, op. cit.</i> , p. 61, <i>C. A. G. I.</i> , pp. 56-8 ; 676 ; Puṣkarāvātī (Pencelaotis of

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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
77	Gambhīra	A port (<i>paṭṭanagāma</i>).	I, 239.	Arrian) is represented by the modern Prang and Charsadda, 17 miles N. E. of Peshāwar, on the Swāt river, <i>P. H. A. I.</i> , p. 39. Has it any connection with the river of the same name which flows 7 or 8 miles north of Anurādhapura, Ceylon. Cf. <i>Ma-hāvamsa</i> , (<i>P. T. S.</i>) p. 290, Law, <i>G. E. B.</i> , p. 71.
78	Gayā	A river — a sacred <i>tīrtha</i> for offering sacrificial gifts ; spoken together with Bāhukā, Doṇa and Tīmbaru.	V, 388-G. 199.	It is the same as the river Phalgu on which stands Gayā. It is still a sacred place where pilgrims flock ; See Barua, <i>Gayā and Buddah Gayā</i> , p. 87 and note, 239-240.
79	Garahita	A mountain.	II, 186.	?



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
86	Cakkavāla	A mountain.	VI, 282.	?
87	Caṇḍoraṇa	A mountain in the Himavanta region.	IV, 90, 93-G. 4, 6.	It should have probably been a part of the Altai mountain while in the Mongolian (<i>Altai</i>) means the 'mountains of gold.' Jayaswāl, <i>I. A.</i> , XIII, p. 170.
88	Candapassa	A mountain in the Himavanta region.	IV, 283, 288; V, 38.	„
89	Candaka	A mountain, which stood on a bend of the river Kaṇṇapennā in Mahimsaka Kingdom.	V, 162.	It may, possibly, be located somewhere near the Wardhā river in the district of Chanda. <i>J. B. O. R. S.</i> , IV, p. 375; De identifies it with the Malayagiri-Malabār Ghāṭs; <i>G. D.</i> , p. 46.
90	Camṇā	A city—Capital of Aṅga kingdom; it was situated on the river Camṇā which flowed between Aṅga and Magadha; it was 60 leagues from Mithilā;	IV, 32; VI, 31, 42, 256; IV, 454. VI, 32.	Its actual site, as pointed out by Cunningham, is probably marked by two villages; and Camṇāpūra and Camṇānagara, which still exist near Pāthārgḥatā—a very ancient site covered with

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
		it was a very busy trading centre from which traders sailed to Suvannabhūmī.	VI, 34.	ruins—24 miles to the east of Bhāgalpur, <i>C.A.G.I.</i> , pp. 546-7. It is very probable that these emigrant-traders led in a bhūmī (or Lower Burmā) first, and thence further East, and established the great settlement of the same name—Campā in Indo-China. See R. C. Majumdar, <i>Campā</i> , intro., pp. xxii-xxiii, De, <i>J.A.S.B.</i> , 1914; Elliot, <i>Hinduism and Buddhism</i> , III, pp. 137 ff.
91	Cittakūṭa	A mountain in the Himavanta.	II, 107, 176; III, 208, 209, 247, 248; IV, 212-4, 215-218, 423-4, 427, 430; V, 337-8, 352, 354-8, 365, 381; VI, 125, 126-G. 561, 127.	If it is the same as mentioned in the <i>Rāmāyana</i> and the <i>Purāṇas</i> it may be identified with the hill lying 65 miles W. S. W. of Allābād, Raychaudhury, <i>Studies in Indian Antiquities</i> , p. 134; but the <i>Jātaka</i> 's association of it with the Himālayas is rather inexplicable.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
92	Ceta (ti)	<p>A kingdom.</p> <p>It is stated to be 30 leagues distant from Jetuttara, the capital of the Sivi Kingdom.</p> <p>There was a high road between Kāsi and Ceti, which, being infested with roving bands of marauders, was not safe.</p> <p>Its capital was Sotthivatī.</p>	<p>I, 253 ; III, 454 ; VI, 514-G. 1910.</p> <p>VI, 514.</p> <p>I, 253-4.</p> <p>III, 454.</p>	<p>It is Cedi mentioned as early as the <i>Rg-Veda</i> (viii, 5, 37-9).</p> <p>Even in Vedic times it was probably situated in the same locality as in the later period (<i>Ved. Ind.</i>, I, p. 263.) <i>i.e.</i>, along the south-bank of the Jumnā, from the river Chambal on the N. W., to Karwi on the S. E. thus roughly corresponding to modern Bundelkhand and a part of C. P., Paragiter, <i>Mārka, P.</i>, p. 359 ; <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, p. 725 ; <i>De, G. D.</i>, p. 48.</p>
93	Chaddanta	A lake in the Himavanta.	V, 37, 38, 39.	<p>It is mentioned in the <i>Āṅguttara Nikāya</i>, (<i>P. T. S.</i>) IV, p. 101. It is not identifiable.</p>
94	Jam̐budīpa	One of the four Great Continents.	See Andersen's <i>Index</i> .	<i>Supra.</i> p. 364.
95	Jetuttara	A city—capital of Sivi kingdom.	VI, 480, 484-G.-1698, 486, 487, 514, 545, 566, 574, 580, 592.	<p><i>Cf. Mahāvamsa</i>, 89, 5 ; it should be located near Nagari, a small town 11 miles north of Chitor</p>



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CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
98	Tikūṭa	A mountain spoken with Mallagiri and Paṇḍaraka.	IV, 438-G. 169.	102 ff. It is to be identified with Ceylon. It is probably identical with the <i>Trikakud</i> of the Vedic Literature, which is identified with the modern Trikoṭa, a lofty mountain to the north of the Punjab and south of Kāshmir, containing a holy spring: <i>Ved. Ind.</i> , I, p. 329; De, <i>G. D.</i> , p. 205.
99	Timbaru	A <i>tīttha</i> or a sacred place for offering gifts spoken together with Bāhukā, Gayā, and Doṇa.	V, 385-G. 199.	?
100	Telavāhā	A river on which stood Andhapura to which traders from the Seriva kingdom came after crossing the river.	I, 111.	Dr. Bhandarkar identifies it with the modern Tel or Telingiri; both flowing not far from each other and on the common confines of Madras and the Central Provinces: <i>I. A.</i> , 1918, p. 71; <i>Aśoka</i> , p. 34; Dr. Raychaudhury however says that “if ‘Seri’ or

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
101	Thūṇa	A Brāhmaṇa village coming between Mithilā and the Himavanta.	VI, 62.	<p>‘Śrī-rājya’ refers to the Gaṅga kingdom of Ājre, Telavāhā may abe been another ame of the Tuṅgabhadra-Kṛṣṇā and Andhapura ādal with Bez-wādā.” <i>P.H.A.I.</i>, p. 64.</p> <p>It occurs also in <i>Mahāvagga</i>, V, 13, 12 and <i>Divyāvadāna</i>, p. 22 ; it has not been identified. Prof. Majumdar, however, on the description of it in the <i>Mahāvagga</i> as the Wsrn boundary of the Buddhist Middle 1 10y, proposes to identify it with Thāneśwar which is said by Yuan Chwang to be the said boundary : <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, Intro. p. xliii ; the <i>Jātaka</i> description would however seem to indicate its position to the north of Mithilā and south of the Himālayas.</p>

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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
102	Dakṣhiṇāpatha	The Southern division of India.	III, 463 ; V, 133.	<i>Supra.</i> p. 367.
103	Daṇḍakahiraṇṇa	A mountain in the Himavanta ; it was reached after crossing the three ranges of mountains from Benares.	II, 33, 36, 38.	?
104	Daddara	A mountain in the Himavanta.	II, 67-G. 41 ; III, 16.	Most probably, it is the same as Dardura mountain mentioned in the <i>Purāṇas</i> . See <i>Mārka</i> , P., 57, 13 ; it should be located north of Kāshmir and among the Hindukush.
105	Daddarapura	A city.	III, 461.	We propose to connect it with the Darada epic ^{city} mentioned in the <i>Purāṇas</i> : <i>Mārka</i> P., 57, 38 ; <i>Viṣṇu</i> , P., II, III ; it shld ^{shld} then be l ated ^{ated} in the present Dārdistān : See Aurel Stein, <i>Khotān</i> , pp. 14-18 ; the <i>Dardai</i> are down ^{known} to the Greek writers : Me ^{Me} , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 51 and note <i>Cf. I. A.</i> , 1884, p. 345.



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
108	Damila	A kingdom; very near to it was an island named Kāradīpa; its chief port was Kāvīrapattana.	IV, 238.	and accepts its location as given by Mr. Rāmdās: <i>Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dravidian in Ind.</i> 163, ff. 171. The place must be near the Chilka lake and the old route from Mālud: <i>J. B. O. R. S.</i> , XXI, pp. 137-8. It is the Like of Ray kih, according to Dr. : kēll, was a lake of Damir-ike (See McClellan's <i>Ray</i> , p. 49) 'ike' in Tamil iag day. It is identified with Kāla or the Malabar coast. De, <i>G. D.</i> , p. 52.
109	Dasanna	A kingdom; it was famous for sharp-edged swords (<i>tikk-hinadhāram asin</i>).	III, 338-G. 39; VI, 238-G. 1065.	The 'Periplus' mentions Dosarene as famous for Ivory (Schoff. <i>Periplus</i> , pp. 47, 253) Nonnos mentions the "serried ranks of the Dosareans"; McCrindle, <i>Ancient India as described in Classical Literature</i> , p. 198; the country is

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
110	Dunnivitttha	A village in Kalinga and some 5 <i>yojanas</i> far from Arañjaragiri.	VI, 514, 521.	generally identified with Vidiśā or Bhilsā region in C. P.: Law, <i>G. E. B.</i> , p. 26. De, <i>G. D.</i> , p. 54.
111	Doṇa	A <i>titttha</i> —a sacred place for offering gifts; spoken together with Gayā and Bāhukā and Timbaru.	V, 388-G. 199.	?
112	Dvārakā	A city.	IV, 85-G. 141.	Same as Dvāravatī.
113	Dvāravatī	A city: on one side of it was the sea and on the other mountains: it was very strongly built.	IV, 82, 83, 84, 85.	It is the 'Barake' of the <i>Periplus</i> , p. 389. Usually it was situated near the mountain Girnār; it in later days it came to be as ^{good} as the same as in Dvārakā on the shore ^{side} on the west ^{east} coast of the ^{the} city ^{city} : <i>ibid.</i> , IV, pp. 101 ff. <i>Nāgarī Pracārīnī Pat-rīkā</i> , 12 (N. S.), pp. 97 ff.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
114	Dhammapāla	A village in Kāśi kingdom.	IV, 50.	?
115	Nandamūlaka	A mountain in the Uttarahimavanta.	III, 240, 245, 304, 377, 379, 407, 433, 439, 471, 472; IV, 114-6, 342, 367-8, 370; V, 248.	?
116	Nammadā	A river spoken together with the sea and the Ganges as containing big crabs.	II, 344-G. 51; IV, 392, 397-G. 40.	It is the river Nammadus of the <i>Periplus</i> , Scoff, <i>op. cit.</i> p. 30, and the Nai-mo-te of Yuan Chwang, Watters, <i>op. cit.</i> II, p. 241; it is the modern Narmadā which rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain and falls into the gulf of Cambay.
117	Nalamāla	A sea : which, had the appearance of an expanse of reeds or a grove of bamboos; merchants from Bharukaccha passed across it in quest of riches: it was full of coral of the colour of the bamboos.	IV, 140, 141-G. 114.	It was a canal which took the <i>Jātaka</i> mariners from Kuśānila country into the volcano sea (<i>Valabhā mukha</i>). It existed, as pointed out by Mr. Jayaswāl, in the time of Seti I, 1380 B.C.; this canal joined the Red Sea near the Bitter lake with



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				<p>seems to locate it in the North-western part of Ceylon; Jayaswāl's identification of it with Nicobār is however noteworthy: <i>History of India</i>, 150 A. D.—350 A. D., p. 155: Majumdar's suggested identification of it with Elephanṭā is out of question. For the traditional origin of Nicobār Islands, See Barbe, <i>J. R. A. S.</i>, 1846, pp. 344-6.</p>
119 120	Nārivana Nālīka	<p>A forest in the Himavanta. A mountain in the Himavanta, on the N. W. of which was the lake Mucalinda.</p>	<p>V, 152. VI, 518-G. 1942-3, 59.</p>	<p>? ?</p>
121	Nisabha	A mountain near the Himavanta.	VI, 204-G. 880, 212-G. 916.	<p>It is probably the same as the Niṣadha of the <i>Purāṇas</i>. It should be identified with the 'Paropanisad' of the Greeks, now called the Hindukush: <i>I. A.</i> LXII, p. 169; De, <i>G. D.</i> p. 141.</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
122	Nemindhara	A mountain among the seven encircling the R. Sīdā.	VI, 125-G. 557.	<i>Cf.</i> Hardy, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 12; probably it was a peak in the Kārā-korum range.
123	Nerañjarā	A river.	IV, 392, 397-G. 40.	It is identical with the modern Nilājan or Lilājan at a short distance to the east of Bodh-gayā, which has its source near Simeria in the district of Hazāribāgh. Mohanā and Nilājan unite to form the river Phalgu. Law, <i>G. E. B.</i> , p. 39; Barua, <i>Gayā and Buddha Gayā</i> , p. 101.
124	Neru	A mountain in the Himavanta; 'noblest of mountains.'	III, 247-G. 22, 248-G. 25.	See Meru.
125	Pañcāla	A kingdom.	II, 214-G. 154; III, 80-G. 90-1, 381; VI, 412-G. 1461, 424-G. 1491.	Same as Uttarapañcāla.
126	Paṇḍaraka	A mountain—spoken together with Mallagiri and Tikūta.	IV, 438-G. 169.	It is perhaps the Pāṇḍura of the <i>Purāṇas</i> ; <i>Cf.</i> , e.g., <i>Mārka. P.</i> , 55, 10, which calls it the 'loftiest

CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
127	Payāga	A <i>tīṭha</i> —a sacred place for bathing where flowed the river Yamunā.	VI, 198-G. 857.	of mountains.' It is there also mentioned shortly after Trikūṭa. It may be located in the Rudra Himālayas or Garwāl. De, <i>G. D.</i> , p. 196.
128	Pāraṅgaṅgā	A river	VI, 427.	It must be taken to mean the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumnā, <i>i.e.</i> , at Allāhābād: Barua, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 87 note.
129	Pupphavatī	A city—older name of Benares.	IV, 119; VI, 131, 145-G. 655-662, 146.	It implies probably the downward course of the Ganges.
130	Pubbavideha	One of the four great Continents.	VI, 278-G. 1212.	Banares? <i>Supra</i> , p. 364.
131	Paṭali	A city—capital of Assaka Kingdom.	II, 155, 156; III, 3.	It is the same as Poṭana of the <i>Dīgha Nikāya</i> , and Pauṇḍarya of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> . Mr. De considers it as the same as



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
135	Bāveru	A kingdom, where traders from India sailed for trading purposes. It is said that there were no birds, and peacock was first introduced there by the Indian traders.	III, 126, 127.	It is correctly identified with ancient Babylon. See Rys Davids, <i>Buddhist India</i> p. 104; <i>C. H. I.</i> , I, p. 396. The fact of the taking of the peacock from India sees a bit support from the Greek and Roman sources. See McCrindle, <i>The Invasion of India</i> , pp. 362-3; <i>Cf. C. H. I.</i> , I, p. 396, Lévi, <i>Annuaire de L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes</i> , 1913-4.
136	Bāhiya	A kingdom, whose foresters were known.	I, 421-G. 107; III, 432-G. 15.	Identical with Bāhlika known to the <i>Satapatha Brāhmaṇa</i> , See <i>Ved. Ind.</i> II, p. 67. It lay between the Gāb and the Sutlej. The Bāhlikas were probably settlers from Balkh, the capital of Bactria. They lived by day, as Mr. De says; according

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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
137	Brahmavaddhana	A city—another name of Bārāṇasī.	IV, 119; V, 312, 313, 314, 316.	to a Passage from the <i>Ma-hābhārata</i> : id by Majumdar, the Bāhikas were also called Jārtikas. (Is) and Āratṭas (the stai of the <i>Periplus</i>) C. A. G. I., pp. 686-7. Cf. Pargiter, <i>Dirk, P.</i> , p. 311 note.
138	Bharu	A kingdom of which Bharukachha was a sea-port town.	II, 171, 172; IV, 137.	Benares? It not have ben a small kingdom with Bharukaccha (Broach) as its : apl. Huen-Tsang gives a st it graphic in of it—his Po-lu-ka- ch-po; according to him “it was 2400 or 2500 <i>li</i> in circuit <i>i.e.</i> , at 400 miles; the soil was st h and vegetation sp. Salt was ide by boiling war and the people were supported by the sea.”

CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
139	Bharukaccha	A sea-port town of Bharu kingdom.	III, 188, 190-G. 57; IV, 137, 138, 139-G. 106, 140-G. 108, 110, 112, 141-G. 114, 116, 142.	Watters, <i>Yuan Chwang</i> , II, p. 241. This may equate it with modern Gujarāt. It is Barygaza of Ptolemy and the <i>Periplus</i> and Bargoza of Strabo: See McCrindle, <i>Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature</i> . pp. 78 ff; Scoff. <i>The Periplus</i> , pp. 40, 287. It is modern Broach.
140	Bhāgīrathī	From the port, traders went to Suvannabhūmi probably via Tambapanni and Nāgadīpa—and also towards the west across the Arabian Sea and the Persian gulf. A river.	III, 188. III, 126-7. IV, 137-142. V, 255-G. 27; VI, 204-G. 879.	It is the name given to the stream which rises at Gangotri in the mountains of Garwāl (in the Rudra Himālaya) and is considered to be the primary and the holiest source of the Ganges. See De, <i>The early Course of the Ganges</i> , I. A., L, p. 10. Later on



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142	Bhogavatī	The golden city of the Nāga Varuṇa : a glorious description of its splendours is given in several <i>gāthās</i> .	VI, 269-G. 1164.	<p>by Beṇā or the modern Kṛṣṇā J. B. B. R. A. S., III (N. S.), pp. 187 ff. Beṇākarpāra is mentioned as a <i>Bhāga</i> of King Pravarasena II in the <i>Seonā Copper plate Grant</i> (Circa 430 A. D.) Fleet, <i>Gupta Inscriptions</i>, No. 56. A city by the Beṇāyada occurs also in two old Jaina stories given in Jacobi's <i>Erzähl un</i> (Trans. J. J. Mr, <i>Hindu Tales</i>, pp. 205, 223), we take to be the same as our Beṇākāṭa.</p> <p>It is considered as a mythical city. But Mr. De in his remarkable work on '<i>The Rasātala or the Underworld</i>' identifies it with Balkh—the Bactria of the Greeks. "The name of Bhogavatī" he says, "is the Sanskritized form</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				<p>of Bakhdi mentioned in the <i>Avestā (Vendidad)</i>, ch. I, (S.B.E. Vol. I, p. 2,) which was the ancient name of Balkh." <i>I. H. Q.</i>, II, pp. 518-9. According to Strabo, Balkh was the ornament of all Ariana: McCrindle, <i>Ancient India</i>, pp. 100 ff. Hamilton and Falconer, <i>Strabo</i>, II, pp. 252-3. It is however also possible that the place is idal with its namesake Bhogavati-pura Nāgapura, the capital of Śāvaka—the Tamilian form of Jāvā. See S. K. Aiyangar, <i>Some Contributions</i>, pp. 374 ff; it was also, another me for Ujjayini: Raychaudhury, <i>P. H. A. I.</i>, p. 378. It sans from all this that Bhogavati was essentially a general me for a Nāga capital.</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
143	Magadha	Kingdom. Its capital was Rājagaha. The country was rich with paddy-fields. The river Campā flowed between it and Aṅga. Two Magadha villages viz., Sā-lindiya and Macala are mentioned. A village in Magadha.	I, 143, 154, 199, 213, 373, 444, 466; II, 55, 211; III, 479; IV, 325, 454; V, 171-G. 170, 316, 317-G. 99. I, 143. IV, 154. III, 293, 298; IV, 276, 279; I, 199. I, 199.	It roughly corresponds to the present Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar, <i>P. H. A. I.</i> , p. 78.
144	Macala			?
145	Maccha	A kingdom—spoken together with Pañcāla, Sūrasena, Madda and Kekaya.	VI, 280-G. 1228.	Equivalent to Matsya. The Matsya people are known to the Vedic Literature; See <i>Ved. Index.</i> , II, pp. 121-2. It originally included parts of modern states



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
149	Manosilā	A mountain near the Anotatta lake in the Himavanta.	I, 232; III, 379; V, 392, 423.	The word <i>Manosilā</i> means red-arsenic rock. Sven Hedin, in his ' <i>Trans-Himalaya</i> ,' Vol. II, p. 123, speaks of a Cinnabar red hill lying on the north side of a slightly indented bay of the Western shore: See, I. A. Vol. L. p. 162.
150	Malla	A kingdom—capital Kusāvati.	IV, 327, 331-G. 137; V, 278.	It may correspond to the territory round about Kāsia which preserves the ruins of the old Kusāvati and Kusīnārā. Cf. P. H. A. I., p. 88.
151	Mallagiri	A mountain-spoken together with Paṇḍaraka and Tikūṭa.	IV, 438-G. 169.	It was probably some peak of the Kārākorum mountains which are situated, according to the <i>Mahābhārata</i> , between the Nīla and Niṣadha, i.e., the Kuenlen and the Hindukush: De, G.D. p. 123. It is perhaps identical with the Maleus of Pliny. McCrindle, <i>Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature</i> , p. 109.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
152	Mahimsaka	A kingdom. Its capital city was Sakula. It was outside the boundary of Magadharattha. The river Kannapennā issuing out of the lake of Mānusiya, flowed in the kingdom and on its bend stood the mount Candaka.	I, 356; V, 162, 337; V, 337. V, 162.	Nowhere in the <i>Purāṇas</i> or in the Buddhist Pāli Literature does this name occur. One is however readily put ed to connect it with the people an usly met in the <i>Purāṇas</i> as Māhiṣakas, Mahiṣas, Māhiṣmakas : See Parigiter, <i>Mārka</i> , P., p. 333. But without going into the co versy about the identity between Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Mysore or Māhiṣmatī (See discussion l ween Rice and Fleet reprinted in <i>Q. J. M. S.</i> , III, pp. 53-76), we may state that Mahimsaka appears clearly to be different from Māhiṣmatī; for, Mahimsaka was met by the Kannapennā, while Māhiṣmatī stood on the Narmadā Cf. Munshi, <i>I. A.</i> , LI, pp. 217 ff. <i>J. R. A. S.</i> 1910, pp. 867 ff.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
153	Mānusiya	A lake near the city of Sakula in the Mahimsaka kingdom.	V. 337-8.	Here we are reminded of Khāra-vela's <i>Hāthigumphā Inscription</i> wherein, if we accept Jayaswāl's reading, we find the Mūsikas on the Kaṇṇabennā: <i>J. B. O. R. S.</i> , III p. 442; IV, 374-5; Barua, <i>bar</i> , readse 'Asika'; See <i>Old Brāhmī Inscriptions</i> , pp. 11, 207-9. If however our identity of Mahimsaka with Mūsika be correct, the country can be identified with the districts of Bhandara and Chanda in C. P.; Cf. Jayaswāl, <i>loc. cit.</i>
154	Migasammata	A river in the Himavanta. It poured its waters into the Gaṅgā.	VI, 72, 75, 76, 79, 80, 83, 84, 87; VI, 72.	
155	Mithilā	A city—Capital of Videha. It was 7 yojanas in extent.	See <i>Index. sub. voc.</i> VI, 246.	

It has been identified with the small town of Janakpur just



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
159	Meru	A mountain	IV, 462-G. 236.	According to Mr. Sherring, all local traditions fix Mount Meru as lying direct to the north of the Almorā district (<i>Western Tibet</i> p. 40). It is Mount Meros of Alexander's historians, near mount Nysa or Nisadha, our Nisabha—mod. Hindukush; De, <i>G. D.</i> pp. 130, 197; McCrindle, <i>Invasion of India by Alexander</i> , pp. 338-40.
160	Molinī	A city—another name of Benares.	IV, 15, 20-G. 32, 21.	?
161	Yamunā	A river.	II, 151; VI, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164-G. 750; 170, 172-G. 765; 197, 198-G. 857; 200-G. 867; 217.	It is modern Jumnā, having its source in the Bhandarapuccha range in the Himālayas; De, <i>G. D.</i> p. 215.
		It met the Gaṅgā at a certain place.	II, 151.	Evidently at Prayāg or Allāhābād.
		Its fish are praised.	II, 152, <i>Gāthā</i> (?)	

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
162	Yavamajjaka	<p>The whirlpool (<i>āvatta</i>) in the river was well known as it was considered dangerous for a man to go there.</p> <p>A market-town (<i>nigama</i>). It is a general name applied to the four market towns distinguished as eastern, southern, western and northern, according to their respective positions near the gateways of the city of Mithilā.</p> <p>A mountain.</p>	<p>VI, 161-2.</p> <p>VI, 330-1</p>	<p>The spot is not identified.</p> <p>These must have long perished if they ever existed at all, as Janakpur itself, the modern representative of Mithilā, is only a small town. See Mithilā.</p>
163	Yāmuna		IV, 200-G. 867.	<p>It is mentioned in the <i>Rāmāyana</i> 4, 40, 19-<i>Yāmunaṁ ca mahā-girīm</i>. It is the portion of the Bhandarapuccha range where the Yamunā has got its source. It is also called Kālinda-giri: De, <i>G. D.</i> p. 215.</p>
164	Yugandhara	A mountain spoken together with Sineru.	I, 322; IV, 213, 214.	It must be a trans-Himalayan range.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
165	Rajatapabbata	A mountain in the Himavanta.	II, 6, 7.	Apparently one of the shining peaks of the great Himalayan Range.
166	Ramma	A city—an older name for Bārāṇasī.	IV, 119, 120, 122-G. 78.	?
167	Rājagaha	A city—capital of Magadha.	I, 143, 154, 162, 350, 373, 444, 446, 466, 468, 469, 489; II, 55; III, 238, 293, 479; IV, 37, 38, 276; V, 161, 247; VI, 271-G. 1175.	It must be identified with the old Rājagṛha or Girivraja—the ancient capital of Magadha, known in Hsüang's time as Kuṣā-gārapura—Kiu-she-kie-tpo : Watters; <i>Yuan Chwang</i> , II, 149 ff; The Case ^{Case} has left us a living picture of this old city, which was, however, burned down by fire early during the reign of Bimbisāra, who built a new capital near by called the new Rājagṛha—mod. Rājgir : <i>C. A. G. I.</i> , pp. 528 ff; Mrs. ^{Mrs.} <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 162. Law, <i>G. E. B.</i> , p. 11 n.



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				<p>with what Yuan Chwang calls the O-lao-lo-ka (according to Watters, II, 298) or Ho-lo-lo-kia (according to Beal, II, 322), i.e., Rallaka or Roruka: <i>Purātatva</i>, I, pp. 281 ff. All the same we have nothing to do with Yuan Chwang's Roruka which was situated to the north of Khotān: Watters, <i>op. cit.</i>, and <i>l.c.</i> Our Roruka was a famous city of Sovira which is often combined with Sindhu, and so it must be located near Sindh. In 1 per Sindh we find such ant places as Lor and Rori-Bhakar. Lor, as Cunningham pointed out long ago, is known to be the capital of Upper Sindh for many years. The original name of Alor, says the same archaeologist, must be</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
169	Rohanta	A lake in the Himavanta.	IV, 413.	been Rora. All this would lead us to look for Roruva near about the ruins of Alor. <i>C. A. G. I.</i> pp. 294 ff.
170	Lambacūlaka	A market town (<i>nigama</i>) in the Kingdom (<i>vijita</i>) of King Pajaka or Caṇḍapajjota.	III, 463 ; V, 133.	?
171	Vaṃsa	A kingdom with Kosambī as its capital.	IV, 28 ; VI, 236-G. 1056.	It is identical with Vaccha of the Jains, and Vatsa of the Classical Sanskrit Literature. See Hoernle, <i>Uvāsagadasāo</i> , II, App. I., p. 7 ; K. H. Deb, <i>Udayana Vatsarāja</i> . Prof. Oldenburg <i>Buddha</i> , p. 393, 407 note, is inclined to identify the <i>Vaṃśas</i> with the <i>Vaśas</i> of the <i>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</i> , VIII, 14, 3, spoken invariably with the Kurus the Pāñcālas and the Uśīnaras,

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
172	Vamka	<p>A mountain.</p> <p>It was 30 <i>yojanas</i> far from the Ceta capital Sotthivatī and 60 <i>yojanas</i> from Jetuttara, the Sivi capital. The journey between it and Jetuttara took 2 months.</p>	<p>VI, 491-G. 1726 ; 513-G. 1904-5 ; 520, 523-G. 1969 ; 524-G. 1975 ; 525, 580, 592.</p> <p>VI, 518-20 ; 514, 592.</p> <p>VI, 592.</p>	<p>but this is, as Dr. Raychaudhury points out, only a conjecture lacking any proof : <i>P. H. A. I.</i> p. 92. Yuan Chwang, speaking of the land of the Vatsas as the Kauśāmbī country, gives the extent as 6000 <i>li</i> (1200 miles) : Watters, <i>op. cit.</i>, I, p. 365. The country lay round about modern Kosam on the Yamunā, 30 miles to the S. W. of Allāhābād.</p> <p><i>The Samyutta Nāya</i> (<i>P. T. S.</i>) II, pp. 91-2, says that Vamketa was an old name of the Nāla mountain near Rājagaha. See <i>EW</i>, <i>Als B. O. R. I.</i>, VIII, p. 164. But the <i>Jātaka</i>, curiously enough, distinguishes between the two (VI, 518-9) and as Vamka in the Himālayas.</p>



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CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
		It is said to have been located in the Majjhimapadesa. It was 300 <i>yojanas</i> in extent and contained 16,000 villages. Trade was carried on between Videha and Gandhāra.	III, 365. III, 366 ; 367-G. 76. III, 365.	For these particulars, see Dr. Prannath. <i>A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India</i> , pp. 49-50 and notes.
175	Vipula	A mountain to the north of the Gandhamādana mountain.	VI, 518-G. 1938, 519.	<i>Cf. Paramatthadīpanī</i> —a commentary on the <i>Therī-Gāthā</i> , pp. 277-8 (<i>P. T. S.</i>) It is probably the Bepyrhos of Ptolemy which with Damassa comes in Eastern Himalayas ; S. N. Majumdar, <i>Ptolemy</i> , pp. 76-81, 204-7.
176	Vetaraṇī	A river of the Yama.	III, 472-G. 71 ; IV, 273-G. 147-8 ; V, 269-G. 119-20 ; VI, 105, 250-G. 1116-7.	<i>Cf. Saṃyutta (P. T. S.)</i> , I., p. 21, also Hopkins, <i>Epic Mythology</i> , <i>sub-voc.</i> It is not a mythical river but has been variously identified with (1) Vetaraṇī in Orissā, (2) Dantura, which rises

CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
177	Vettavatī	A city—situated on the bank of the river of that name in the Mejha kingdom.	IV, 388.	near Nāsik and is in the north of Bassein, (3) a river in Kuruksetra and (4) a river in Gharwāl: on the road between Kedāra and Badrināth. Law, <i>G. E. B.</i> p. 40.
178	Vettavatī	A river on which stood the city of Vettavatī.	IV, 388.	It is no doubt identical with the Vetravatī mentioned in Kālīdāsa's <i>Meghadūtā</i> , 25. It is mentioned in the <i>Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa</i> , pp. 57, 20; cf. also <i>Milindapañho</i> , p. 114. It is identified with the modern Betwā which rises near Bhopāl and flows into the Jumnā; Pargiter, <i>Mārka. P.</i> , p. 295. There was another river of this name in western India as Pargiter points out. <i>Ibid.</i>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
179	Vepulla	A mountain.	I, 445 ; IV, 232 ; VI, 271, 326.	Same as Vipula, one of the five hills surrounding Rājagaha. Cunningham identifies it with the Caityāka mad in the <i>Mahābhārata</i> list of the five hills, as its smit is even now mad ^{used} with the ruins of a lofty <i>Caitya</i> . <i>C. A. G. I.</i> , pp. 531-2.
180	Sakula	A city—capital of Mahimsaka. Not very far from it was a village of hunters.	V, 337.	It is not identifiable. If our conjectural identification of Mahimsaka with the M śikas be not , then the capital city which Khāravēla's army destroyed must have been this Sakula. Unfortunately the Inscription is silent about the name. If it was Sakula it must be located on the Kṛṣṇā river. Not identifiable.
181	Samkhapāla.	A lake in the Mahimsaka kingdom from which flowed the Kannabennā river.	V, 162.	



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
183	Sāgala	A city—capital of Madda	IV, 230 ; V, 283, 285, 290.	<p>It is equivalent to Sanskrit Sākala</p> <p><i>Cf. M. B. H.</i>—‘<i>tatah sākala—(sāgala) mabhyetya Madrānām putābhedanam</i>’. <i>P. H. A. I.</i>, p. 43. It should not be confused with the Sangala of the Greeks which is identical with Sankala of Pāṇini: <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, p. 686. in <i>id</i> <i>id</i>, <i>Arient India</i>, p. 37 note. Sāgala, the has been reidentified more correctly with Siālkot in the <i>here</i> division: <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, p. 686 ; Smith, <i>Early History of India</i>, (3rd Ed.) p. 75. It was destroyed by the Macedonians, but was subsequently rebuilt by Demetrius, one of the Greco-Bactrian Kings who, in <i>nbur</i> of his father Euthydemus, and the city <i>E</i> India. <i>I. A.</i>, 1884, p. 350.</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
184	Sātoḍikā	A river in, or rather on, the border (<i>sīmāntare</i>) of Surāṭṭha country (<i>janapada</i>)	III, 463 ; V, 133.	It is not be identified. The probability seems that it flowed on the East or South-East border of modern Katīāḍ Kāṭiāḍ (Surāṭṭha—Saurāṣṭra) as the sage Mendissara is said to have settled on its bank after passing the Kaviṭṭhaka forest situated on the Godāvārī. Is it the Sītodaka of the <i>Arthaśāstra</i> ? See <i>Indian Culture</i> , I, p. 259.
185	Sālindiya	A village of the Brāhmaṇas to the E. or N. E. of Rājagaha.	III, 293, 298 ; IV, 276, 279.	?
186	Sāvattthī	A city—capital of Kosala.	I, 331 ; III, 115, 168 ; V, 13 ; VI, 123-G. 546.	It is the famous city of the Buddhists where the Tathāgata delivered many of his discourses. It was 6 leagues N. of Sāketa, 45 leagues N. W. of Rājagaha, more than 100 leagues N. E. of Suppāraka, 30 leagues from Sankassa and on the bank of the

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
187	Sineru	A mountain	I, 202, 322; V, 314, 332; VI, 174, 278-G. 1213, 362, 432, 486-G. 1703, 575, 586. V, 314; VI, 362.	<p>ivti; <i>Buddhist India</i>, p. 40. It is identified with the great ind city add Sahet-mahet on the south bank of the Rāpti, bearing identity, a cording to Dr. B. C. Law, with Aciravati of Buddhist fae, between Akaona and Balrāmpur. It is the sawei of Fa-Hian and She-lo-fa-si-ti of Huen Tsang; <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, pp. 467 ff. See now aw, <i>Śrāvastī in Indian Literature</i>, A.S.R.</p> <p>It is the same as Sumeru or Meru simply. See under Meru.</p> <p><i>Cf.</i> the association of Meru with the Vālukārnava to the N. of the Himavanta in the <i>MBH</i>: Raychaudhury, <i>Studies in Indian Antiquities</i>; p. 64 note, and</p>
		At its foot were heaps of golden sands (<i>Ratanavālukā</i>)		



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
190	Sirisavatthu	A city in the island of Tambapannī, where lived the <i>Yakkhas</i> .	II, 127.	<p>located somewhere in Chaldea if Mr. De is right in his identification.</p> <p>It is mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicle <i>Mahāvamsa</i> as Sirivatthu where Vijaya slaughtered the <i>Yakkha</i> aborigines and established himself. Cf. Wijesingha, <i>Mahāvamsa</i>, p. 32. But it is not identified. A Sirisapada occurs in a Barhut votive label, the similarity of which with our Sirisavatthu is noticed by Barua and Sinha who do not, however, hazard any identification. <i>Barhut Inscriptions</i>, p. 27.</p>
191	Sivi	A kingdom.	IV, 401, 411; V, 210; VI, 419, 424, 480.	<p>The Sivi people are seen to have occupied different places at different times. The Sivas of the <i>Rgveda</i>, VII, 187, were settled</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
		<p>Its one capital was Aritthapura. The other was Jetuttara.</p>	<p>IV, 401; V, 210; VI, 419; VI, 480 ff.</p>	<p>on or about the Indus in the neighbourhood of the Alīnas, Pakthas, Bhalānasas and Viśānins. See <i>Ved. Ind.</i>, II, pp. 381-2. Thus these Śiva people were identical with the Siboi of the early Greek writers who also dwelt between the Indus and the Akesines (Asiknī) in Alexander's time. Again, the discovery of a steatite relief representing the story of Uśīnara, king of Śibi, as related in the <i>MBH</i>, makes it probable that the pent Swat (Suvāstu) valley was the me of the aint Sivas: De, <i>G. D.</i>, p. 188. In the Epic times they are shown to have occupied the land to the north of Kuruksetra: Pargiter, <i>J. R. A. S.</i>,</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
192	Sīdā	A river in the Uttarāhimavanta region. It was deep and un-navigable (<i>duratikame</i>)—because, says the Commentator, the water was so delicate that even a peacock's feather will not float but sink to the bottom—surrounded by the golden mountains which blazed like a fire of reeds. It	VI, 100-G. 424 ; 125-G. 557.	<p>1908, p. 322. Even the <i>Jātakas</i> know of two settlements: one with Aritṭhapura as the capital thus locating itself in the Shorkoṭ region of Punjāb, and the other with Jetuttara as the capital thus identifying itself with the region round Nagari, 11 miles north of Chitor: See <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, p. 669 ; <i>P. H. A. I.</i>, p. 170.</p> <p>It is of course the Sītā of the <i>Purāṇas</i>: e.g., <i>Viṣṇu P.</i>, Bk. II, ch. II ; <i>Mārk. P.</i>, 56-6-7 and of the <i>Jaina Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra</i>, XI, 28, which says "it is the best of the rivers with its dark waters." Some take it to be the modern Jaxartes or the Sarik-kul river which rises in the plateau south of Jssyk-kul</p>



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
194	Sudassana	A city—an older name for Bārā- ṇasī.	IV, 119 ; V, 177, 191-G. 240.	
195	Sudassana	A mountain—one of the seven mountains.	VI, 125-G. 556, 204-G. 880, 212-G. 916.	
196	Suppāraka	A seaport town, not directly mentioned, but clearly to be noticed in the name given to the master-mariner in the <i>Suppāraka</i> <i>kā</i> , where, on the map , Bharukaccha says out more prominently, thus indicating that Sup- pāraka was a later d vel p ent but alier tān the time of Aśoka, or may be, <i>vice</i> <i>versa</i> .	IV, 137, 138, 139-G. 105- 7 ; 140-G. 109-11 141- G. 113-15.	It is the well-known Sūrpāraka of the <i>Periplus</i> : Scoff, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 43, and the Soupara of Ptolemy: <i>I. A.</i> 1884, p. 325, and is identical with the modern Sopārā in the Thāṇā district 37 miles rdm Bombay and 4 miles fcm Bas- sein, where one of the (bits of Aśoka was found : all , <i>śoka</i> , pp. 254-5 ; <i>J. B. B.</i> <i>R. A. S.</i> , XV, pp. 273 ff. Its can with the bit of the Bible dœ s not seem to be en- able. Cf. <i>J. B. H. S.</i> , I, pp. 65- 77.

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
197	Suratṭha	Country (<i>Janapada</i>) on the borders of which flowed the river Sātoḍikā.	III, 463 ; V, 133.	Mentioned as early as in the <i>Bauddhāyana Sūtra</i> , I, 1, 29, " <i>Surāṣṭrāḥ, Dakṣiṇāpathāḥ</i> ." It is the Saraoastos of Strabo : Hamilton and Falconer, <i>Strabo</i> , II, pp. 252-3 ; McCrindle, <i>Ancient India</i> , p.355; the Syrastrène of Ptolemy, Bk. III, Ch. I, and the <i>Periplus</i> : Scoff, <i>op. cit.</i> , pp. 39, 40; the Horatae of Pliny— <i>I. A.</i> , 1884, p. 355, and the Sula-cha of Yuan Chwang: Watters, <i>op. cit.</i> , II, pp. 248-9 ; <i>C.A.G.I.</i> , p. 373. Yuan Chwang gives the circuit as 4000 <i>li</i> or about 667 miles. The author of the <i>Periplus</i> speaks of it as a "fertile country, yielding wheat and rice and sesame oil and clarified butter, cotton and the Indian cloths made therefrom of the coarser

CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
198	Suriyapassa	A mountain in the Himavanta.	V, 30.	<p>sorts: very many cattle are pastured there and the men are of great stature and black in colour." (p. 39). It is of course modern Sorath. (Horath is a dialectical variant) or Kāthiā-wād. The name also survives in modern Surat which owes its name to Arabic domination (Scoff, <i>op. cit.</i>, p. 176), but which has no connection with Sauvira as Rhys Davids wrongly supposes. <i>B. I.</i>, p. 38.</p> <p>Some peak in the Himālayas which cannot be accurately located. Cf. <i>Saurye nāma Himavataḥ śṛṅge</i> in Patañjali's <i>Mahābhāṣya</i>. (Kielhorn's ed.) I, p. 150. Raychaudhury, <i>op. cit.</i>, p. 103 and note.</p>



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CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
202	Sūrasena	A kingdom—mentioned together with the Macchas, Maddas and Kekakas.	VI, 280-G. 1228.	<p>Moulmein according to Smith : <i>Ep. Ind.</i> XVII, p. 312 ; Phayre in <i>J. A. S. B.</i>, 1873, p. 24.</p> <p>It is the Sourasenoi of the Greek writers with Methora (or Madhurā) as the capital. See McCrindle <i>Invasion of India by Alexander</i>, p. 184 n. It comprised the country round Mathurā or modern Muttra district: Pargiter, <i>Mārka, P.</i>, pp. 351-2, <i>C. A. G. I.</i>, p. 706.</p>
203	Seriva	A kingdom—separated from Andhapura by the R. Telavāhā.	I, 111.	<p>A Seriyāputa (<i>i.e.</i>, a seaport town of Seriya) is aid in a votive label on the Stūpa of Barhut : Barua and Sinha, <i>Barhut Inscriptions</i>, p. 32. 'It was that Seriyāputa was like Suppāraka and Bharucha, an important port on</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
204	Seruma	<p>An island inhabited by the Nāgas at that time—situated somewhere between Bharukaccha and Suvaṇṇabhūmi. It was famous for the fragrant Timira flowers.</p>	<p>III, 187, 189-G. 56.</p>	<p>the western coast of India.” <i>Ibid</i> p. 132. It probably is identical with Śrīrājya or the later Gaṅga kingdom of Mysore: Raychaudhury, <i>P. H. A. I.</i>, p. 64. See Telavāhā.</p> <p>The <i>Jātaka</i> says “<i>Tasmin kāle Nāg-adīpo Serumadīpo nāma hoti</i>,” i.e., the Nāga settlement was at that time called Serumadīpa. It can be easily inferred from this that the Nāgas had different settlements simultaneously or at different times. See Nāgadīpa. From the story we also learn that Seruma lay on the way from Bharukaccha to Suvaṇṇabhūmi or Lower Burma. I propose to identify it with the Paurāṇic Kaśerudvīpa located in the Malay Peninsula: <i>C. A.</i></p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				<p><i>G. I.</i>, p. 752; Jayaswāl, <i>History of India</i>, 150-350 <i>A. D.</i>, p. 155. Firstly because, the description given in the <i>Jātaka</i> agrees with that location; secondly, in the Tibetan version of the same story it is Kaśeru (<i>Tibetan Tales</i>, pp. 228, 231); thirdly, the two words Seruma and Kaśeru are only two differently-pronounced forms of one and the same word. Cf. <i>Lābu-Alābu-Kalābu</i>; <i>Timun-Antemon Katimun</i>; <i>Tumba-Odumba-Kotumba</i>; all these are loan words of Austro-Asiatic root and prevalent in the Far-Eastern islands. See J. Pryzluski in <i>op. cit.</i>, pp. 149 ff. Prof. Dikshitar's identification of Kaśerudvīpa with Krazēh or</p>



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
206	Sotthivatī	A city—capital of the Cetiya kingdom where ruled King Upacara.	III, 454.	<p>a country of Udumbara was known. See Przyluski, <i>op. cit.</i>, pp. 149 ff.</p> <p>It is, as shown by De, the Sūktimati or Suktisāvaya of the <i>Mahābhārata</i>; <i>G. D.</i>, p. 196. The <i>Mahābhārata</i> also mentions a river by the name of Sūktimatī, which is said to break through the Kolāhala hills and flow by the capital of Rājā-Uparicara of Chedi; Pargiter identifies the river with the modern Ken and places Sūktimatī near the modern town of Bandā. <i>Mārka P.</i>, p. 359 note. See also Raychaudhury, <i>Studies in Indian Antiquities</i>, pp. 114 ff.; 125, 134.</p>
207	Sovīra	A kingdom—capital Roruva.	III, 470.	<p>It is Sauvīra, frequently coupled together with Sindhu in the</p>

CHAPTER III—(Contd.)

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				<p><i>Purāṇas</i> and other works. See, for instance, <i>Mk. P.</i>, pp. 57, 37; <i>Milinda Pāho</i> (S. B. E. 2 XVI I) p. 269. ^a Mous identifications have ^{have} been proposed, but no satisfactory d ^d isi ^{isi} has been ked ^{ked}. Edst ^{Edst} writings, besides the present <i>Jātaka</i> (cf. <i>Dīgha Nikāya</i> XIX, 36) give Roruka as the capital city of Sovira. Roruva, as we saw (see under Roruva) is ped ^{ped} by the modern Alor, or Rora in Upper Sindh. Cunningham while discussing the identification of Alor—<i>C. A. G. I.</i>, pp. 294 ff., did not n ⁿ ti ^{ti} oe ^{oe} this Roruka of the Buddhists and thus, unhesitatingly, separated Souvira which he identified with the distant Vadri or Eder, a district</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
				<p>in Gujārāt Province at the head of the gulf of Cambay—<i>Ibid.</i>, pp. 565 ff. On the other hand Paurāṇic evidence is clear in locating Sovīra just adjoining Sindha and between the Indus and the Jhelum. Moreover, we have the support of that keen observer Alberuni, who places Sauvīra in Multān and Jāhrāwār. (Sachau, <i>Alberuni</i> I, pp. 298, 300.)</p> <p>Sauvīra, again, has been considered as one among the various places that can lay claim to be identical with the Ophir of Solomon's voyages. In fact, as it seems to us, Sauvīra—Sovīra—has more than any other—Suppāra for instance—the nearest approach, on phonological grounds,</p>



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No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
209	Himavanta	A mountain-range.	See Anderson, <i>Index</i> , pp. 183-4.	<p>It is the famous range of mountains to the North of India so frequently mentioned in Indian Literature since the <i>R̥gveda</i>, X, 121, 4; but varying in extent at different times. "The oldest designation of the range is Himavat—the Imaos of classical Greek writers. The current name Himālaya is first met with in the <i>Bhagavad-Gītā</i> and the works of Kālidāsa (<i>māyo</i> <i>nāma Nagādhirāja</i>), though some scholars equate it with Simalia ugen of the snow mountains—known to the ancient Babylonians." Raychaudhury, <i>Studies in Indian Antiquities</i> p. 101. Cf. McCrindle, <i>Megasthenes and Arrian</i>, p. 182 n; <i>Ant India</i>, p. 16 n. It is the Hemodos or</p>

No.	Name	Description	Reference	Identification
210	Himavanta-padesa	The Himālaya region; on the eastern side of this region were green flowing streams having their source in slight and gentle mountain slopes.	V, 419.	Emodos of the Greeks and the Hi-mo-ta-lo of Yuan Chwang; <i>Ibid</i> ; Watters, <i>Yuan Chwang</i> , II, pp. 274 ff; I. A. 1933, p. 169 n. It should denote the region on and near the slopes of the great mountain chain stretching from Kashmir to Assam. <i>Cf.</i> De, <i>G. D.</i> p. 75.
211	Hiraññavatī	A city—another name of Bhogavatī, the capital of the Nāga king Varuṇa.	VI, 269-G. 1164.	See Bhogavatī.
212	Hemavatā	A river.	IV, 437.	It may refer to some or any river flowing from the Himālayas.

SUMMING UP

THUS flits away, across the dim past, a pageant of the people and a panorama of this ancient land. The picture may have been blurred and indistinct in some places. But on the whole, we believe, it is homogeneous and impressive.

From the hoary past we first tried to trace the foot-falls of history down to the period of the Buddha. Those glimpses of political history gave us an idea of the rise and fall of different peoples and kingdoms; and at last we reached the point wherefrom we began to survey the cultural stage of the Mahājanapada period—of the period which immediately preceded the Buddha, who is undoubtedly a prominent landmark on the continuous and chequered path of Indian civilization.

We saw the country divided into small kingdoms, normally at peace but occasionally vying with one another for supremacy. Each kingdom had its king—generally an autocrat. The system of administration was simple, yet not unorganised. The *rājadhānī* or the capital city, being the seat of government, was well built and fortified, with a population of varied character. The *nigamas* were busy market-towns. The *gāmas* or the villages, where dwelt the vast millions of the toiling masses, were silent yet serene.

The economic condition of the people was not too bad. We did not see anything like the two extremes of poverty and riches, though the general mass cannot be said to have been content and happy. The country was, no doubt, prosperous and busy with trade and commerce.

Society was formed of classes in the practical sense, and of castes in the theoretical sense. The classes were those of the *Khattiyas*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Gahapatis* and the *Dāsakammakaras*. Family was the unit of social structure. People lived among relations of their own (*ñāti*). The position of women cannot be described as satisfactory when judged according to the modern standard. Arts and sciences were many and flourishing. People still believed in a variety of superstitions, while there was a slow but steady movement going on among the philosophers and the ascetics of the day towards a more rationalistic way of thinking and living. The common folk were, nevertheless, content with their life of sports and festivities.

Nature does not seem to have turned her face from the people in those days. Famine and pestilence, however, were not unheard of. But, after all, these are only temporary phases. The endless and aimless life of the people rolls on day by day, for centuries and centuries, even as the waves of the sea roll on for ever, in storm and in calm.

And so our task ends.





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