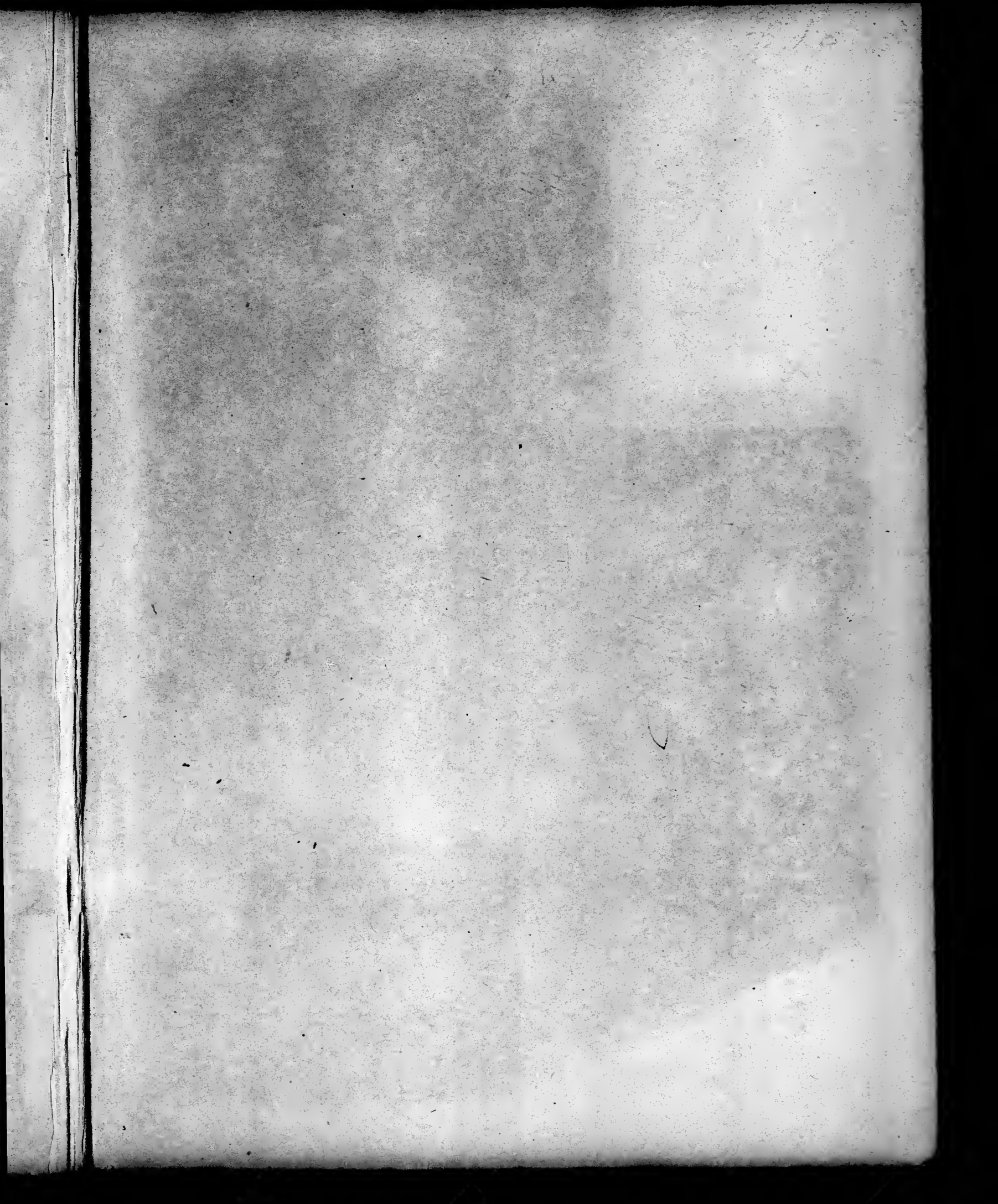




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DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE

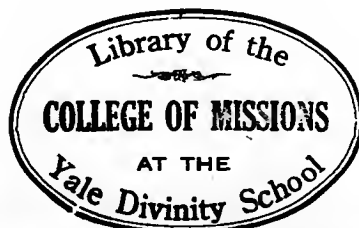
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

EDITED BY

F. E. PARGITER, M.A.

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

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## INTRODUCTION

### *Authorities.*

Accounts of the dynasties that reigned in India during the Kali age are found in the Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, and Bhaviṣya Purānas. All these, except the Matsya and Bhāgavata, set out the ancient genealogies down to the time of the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, and immediately afterwards deal with the dynasties that reigned in North India after that time, of which the three earliest and chief were the Pauravas who reigned at first at Hastināpura and moved in king Nicakṣus' time to Kauśāmbī, the Aikṣvākus who reigned at Ayodhyā, and the Bārhadhrathas who reigned in Magadha. But the Matsya and Bhāgavata break these up. The Matsya adds only these later Pauravas to the ancient Paurava line in connexion with the ancient genealogies, and introduces all the rest of the Kali age dynasties separately in some of its latest chapters. The Bhāgavata adds the later Aikṣvākus to the ancient line, and the later Pauravas and Bārhadhrathas<sup>1</sup> immediately after the ancient Paurava line in its ninth skandha, and deals with all the subsequent dynasties separately in its twelfth skandha.

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

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

Brahmāṇḍa, Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśvara edition of 1906 (cited as *Bd*).

Bhāgavata, Gaṅpat Kṛiṣṇāji edition of 1889 (cited as *GBh*)<sup>2</sup>.

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

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

The passages containing this dynastic matter are these<sup>3</sup>:—

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

*AVāyu* 99, 250–435.

Brahmāṇḍa iii, 74, 104–248.

<sup>1</sup> The Bārhadhratha line was an offshoot from the Paurava line; see *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 11, 22, 29, 51.

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

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



*CViṣṇu* iv, 20, 12 to 24, 44.

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

*CGaruda* 140, 40 and 141, 1-12.

*Bhaviṣya* III, i, 3 and 6.

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

*The Versions and their Characters.*

3. The versions of the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa present a remarkable similarity. The two latter agree so closely that they resemble two recensions of the same text, and the Matsya, though not in such marked agreement, contains a text very similar. There can be no doubt that their versions are based upon one original compilation, and this appears from four facts: *first*, they all declare they are taken from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa<sup>1</sup>; *secondly*, where the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa differ from each other, one of them not seldom agrees with the Matsya<sup>2</sup>; *thirdly*, single MSS of them sometimes vary so as to agree with the reading of the Matsya<sup>3</sup>; and *fourthly*, one Purāṇa occasionally omits a verse which appears in one or both of the two others, yet a single MS (or a very few MSS) of it has at times preserved that verse<sup>4</sup> and so testifies to their original harmony. These three versions therefore grew out of one and the same original text. At the same time the Matsya version has a character of its own which is clearly different from those of the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, and was prior to those two (see § 24). The similarity of the three is however such that, by collating all their MSS, copious material is available for estimating what the original compilation was. The verse is almost epic. One line is generally assigned to each king, and two or more are sometimes given to the more prominent kings; and it is rare that two kings are dealt with in the same line, except in the early portions of the Paurava, Aikṣvāku, and Bārhadratha dynasties for which the chroniclers' materials were necessarily scanty, and in the latest dynasties which are treated succinctly.

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

<sup>1</sup> See § 7.

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

<sup>3</sup> Especially *eVā*; as to which see *List of Authorities: Vāyu*.

<sup>4</sup> Thus p. 28, ll. 3, 4 of the Matsya version do not occur in any copy of the Vāyu or Brahmāṇḍa except *eVā*.

whole of its final chronological and astronomical portion is in verse ; and it cites all these as pre-existing ślokas. The Bhāgavata has at times fuller verses which resemble those of the three Purāṇas, and its final portion agrees largely with that of the Viṣṇu. Wherever the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata have the fuller form of verse, they agree with or approximate to the version of those three Purāṇas, and so testify that they have been derived from an original which was the same as or closely like the original of those Purāṇas. These peculiarities show that these two are condensed redactions. They are also later, for the Viṣṇu elaborates its prose at times in the ornate classical style especially when referring to Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu<sup>1</sup>, and the age of the Bhāgavata will be considered further on<sup>2</sup>.

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

6. The only copy of the Bhaviṣya which contains this dynastic matter is the Venkaṭeśvara edition, but its account is altogether vitiated and worthless. It says each Paurava king reigned at least 1000 years, and Kṣemaka's son was Pradyota (III, i, 3, 82-96) ; and it declares that Gautama founded Buddhism in Mahānanda's time, that Gautama reigned ten years, and that his successors were Śākyamuni, Śuddhodana, Śākyasimha, his son Buddhasimha, and his son Candragupta (ibid. 6, 35-43). It dilates, however, on more recent 'history' with elaborate details, and with a great quantity of new matter boldly fabricated brings its prophecies down to the nineteenth century<sup>3</sup>. In other copies the ancient matter has dropped out, and some very modern events have been particularized<sup>4</sup>.

*The Bhaviṣya the Original Authority.*

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

tān sarvān kīrtayiṣyāmi Bhaviṣye kathitān nṛpān.

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

tasyānvavāye vakṣyāmi Bhaviṣye kathitān nṛpān.

<sup>1</sup> It alludes to Kṛṣṇa thus :—Bhagavataḥ sakala-surāsuravandita-carana-yugalasyāt-mēchā-karāṇa-mānuṣa-rūpa-dhāriṇo 'nubhāvāt (iv, 20, 12).

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I, § viii, and Appendix II.

<sup>3</sup> See ZDMG, lvii, 276.

<sup>4</sup> See *List of Authorities: Bhaviṣya, infra*.

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

The Vāyu agrees, except that it reads *Bhaviṣye tāvato*<sup>1</sup>. The Matsya words can mean nothing but 'in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa', and this is the best rendering of the Vāyu's words also, even if *tāvato* be not a misreading<sup>2</sup>.

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

*Bhaviṣye te prasaṅkhyātāḥ purāṇa-jñaiḥ śrutarṣibhiḥ.*

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

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

#### *Prophetic Form of the Account.*

10. All these accounts profess to be prophetic, yet the standpoints from which these Purāṇas view these genealogies differ somewhat. The Viṣṇu professes to have been narrated by Parāśara to Maitreya, and sets out the Paurava genealogy from the standpoint of the reign of Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit, and the Aikṣvāku and Bārhadratha genealogies from the time of the great battle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas<sup>4</sup>. This is absurd, because Parāśara was Vyāsa's father and was dead long before that battle and Parikṣit's birth. All the other Purāṇas profess to have been recited by the Sūta to the ṛishis in Naimiṣa forest and (except in the Garuḍa) at their twelve-year sacrifice<sup>5</sup>. The Vāyu fixes the time of that sacrifice as the

<sup>1</sup> Not cited in the Preface (see p. 1).

<sup>2</sup> See also p. 3, note <sup>45</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 59, l. 10, and note thereto.

<sup>4</sup> CVṣ iv, 20, 12-13, and 21, 1: also 22,

1 and 23, 1.

<sup>5</sup> AMt 1, 4; AVā 1, 13-15; Bḍ i, 1, 17, 18, 35, 36; GBh i, 1, 4-6; CGr 1, 3-11

They differ in the Sūta's name.

reign of the Paurava king Asīmakṛṣṇa<sup>1</sup>, who is more often called Adhisīmakṛṣṇa<sup>2</sup>, and who was fourth in descent from Parīkṣit; and the Matsya and Vāyu say the same in nearly the same words when mentioning that king in this account of the Kali age<sup>3</sup>. These two Purānas thus deal with these genealogies from the standpoint of his reign, and the Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata, and Garuḍa constructively profess to do the same.

11. The Matsya and Vāyu carry out that view. They bring the Paurava genealogy from Abhimanyu and his son Parīkṣit down to Adhisīmakṛṣṇa as already past, and name Adhisīmakṛṣṇa as the reigning king<sup>4</sup>; the ṛishis then inquire about the Kali age, and the Sūta, declaring his intention to set out all the future kings, begins the list of future Pauravas from that monarch. Similarly, in the contemporary Aikṣvāku and Bārhadratha genealogies, these two Purānas name Divākara as reigning then in Ayodhyā and Senājit in Magadha<sup>5</sup>, and mention their predecessors as past and their successors as future. Hence they virtually declare that these three kings were contemporary<sup>6</sup>. The position taken in the Brahmāṇḍa is the same, though it is obscured by a large lacuna in which all the Paurava and Aikṣvāku kings are lost, and its account begins with line 23 on page 12. Thenceforward it agrees with the Matsya and Vāyu and mentions Senājit as the reigning Bārhadratha king. The Bhāgavata and Garuḍa, though professing to have been recited in Adhisīmakṛṣṇa's reign, take the former the standpoint of Parīkṣit's reign<sup>7</sup>, and the latter that of his son Janamejaya<sup>8</sup>; and both treat all the successors and also all the Aikṣvāku and Bārhadratha kings after the great battle as future. The Viṣṇu agrees with the Bhāgavata in this attitude, as already mentioned.

12. Accordingly the texts are framed for the most part in prophetic shape, but this character is not maintained completely because past expressions occur here and there, such as *abhavat*<sup>9</sup>, *smṛta*<sup>10</sup>, &c. Some MSS have tried to be more consistent by modifying such words<sup>11</sup>. One line found in three MSS frankly states that the whole Aikṣvāku dynasty was ancient, and naturally does not appear in any of the other MSS<sup>12</sup>. There can be no doubt therefore that the accounts have been steadily though slowly revised in details, so as to improve their prophetic character.

<sup>1</sup> In its verse, 1, 12—

Asīmakṛṣṇe vikrānte rājany an-upama-  
tviṣi  
praśāsātīmām dharmena bhūmim bhūmipa-  
sattame.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 4, note<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> AMt 50, 66, 67; AVā 99, 258, 259.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 4, l. 6.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 10, l. 5, and p. 15, l. 13.

<sup>6</sup> In equating these kings some 20 years must be prefixed to the Paurava list on account of Yudhiṣṭhira's reign after the

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

<sup>7</sup> GBh ix, 1, 6.

<sup>8</sup> CGr 140, 40.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. p. 10, note<sup>23</sup>; p. 11, l. 18.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. p. 5, l. 11; p. 11, ll. 14, 21.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. *bhavet* for *abhavat*, p. 10, note<sup>23</sup>; p. 11, note<sup>51</sup>.

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

13. Though the account is said to have been narrated to Paurava kings or to rishis in Naimiṣa forest, yet the ground from which the historic changes are viewed is Magadha. The Paurava and Aikṣvāku dynasties are dealt with briefly, with two kings generally to a line and with no mention of the lengths of the reigns, but the Bārhadratha dynasty of Magadha is set out with one line to each king and the length of his reign is stated<sup>1</sup>. After those three ancient kingdoms disappeared, the dynasties treated of are those which reigned in or dominated Magadha. All other dynasties in North India are noticed only in the aggregate, with the exception of the dynasty of Vidiśā, and even that is described but cursorily (p. 49).

14. The beginning of the Kali age has been discussed by Dr. Fleet, and he has pointed out that it began on the day on which Kṛṣṇa died, which the chronology of the Mahābhārata places, as he shows, some twenty years after the great battle, and that it was then that Yudhiṣṭhira abdicated and Parīkṣit began to reign<sup>2</sup>. But, as shown above, these Purāṇas virtually begin the Kali age dynasties immediately after the battle, and that position is the most convenient to adopt for the present purpose. The text of the Matsya and Vāyu<sup>3</sup> can be brought into harmony therewith by merely altering the order of a few verses without tampering with them, namely, by transposing the four verses containing the rishis' questions and the prefatory verses of the Sūta's reply from their position in Adhisīmākṛṣṇa's reign to the commencement of the account; and, so treated, those verses form a fitting preface to the whole: but it is unnecessary to print the questions here, and those prefatory verses are alone introduced as a sufficient preface (see p. 1).

*Original Language of the Account.*

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> This portion in the Brahmāṇḍa is lost in the lacuna, as already mentioned.

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

17. Judging from such specimens of old ślokas and Prakritisms as have survived, it would appear that the Prakrit used in the original ślokas was a literary language not far removed from Sanskrit<sup>1</sup>. The art of writing was introduced into India some seven centuries B.C., and there can be no doubt that it must have been adopted early in the Courts because of its manifest administrative usefulness. Records must have been kept by secretaries and chroniclers in the royal offices, and as those men would not always have been Sanskrit scholars, the language they used would presumably have been as elegant a Prakrit as their courtly surroundings and predilections required. There must have been ample written material concerning the dynasties from the 7th century B.C. from which metrical chronicles could have been composed by bards, minstrels, and reciters<sup>2</sup> in the same kind of language, to entertain not only their royal and noble patrons but also all those who found an interest in hearing of former times<sup>3</sup>. As Magadha was a great, if not the chief, centre of political activity during those ages, we can perceive how it was that the account grew up with Magadha as its centre (§ 13). The Māgadhas were celebrated as minstrels, and since traditions are most easily remembered, are best handed down, and confer the greatest pleasure, when cast into poetical form, it is easy to understand how this metrical account of the dynasties in literary Prakrit could have developed among them. Hence we may infer that the original ślokas were composed in Māgadhi; or, since the account, much as we have it now, was compiled and edited apparently in North India<sup>4</sup>, and one verse that the Bhāgavata has preserved is in Pali<sup>5</sup>, they may have been in Pali, either originally or perhaps more probably by conversion.

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

<sup>2</sup> Sūtas, māgadhas, and vandins; and other professional singers.

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

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

<sup>4</sup> See § 27.

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

*Age of the Compilation of the Account.*

18. The account supplies two kinds of internal evidence to fix the time when it was compiled, namely, *first*, the subject matter, and *secondly*, textual peculiarities; and both are important. The latter are dealt with in § 26, and the former is discussed first. The subject matter consists of two parts, the earlier setting out the dynastic details, and the later part describing the unhappy conditions that should prevail and stating certain chronological and astronomical particulars<sup>1</sup>. These are treated here separately.

19. The dynastic portion shows two stages of termination. The earlier of these stages is the period following the downfall of the Andhras and the local kingdoms that survived them a while. The Matsya account ends here with the mere mention of the Kilakila kings<sup>2</sup>, and no MS of the Matsya contains anything later. The Andhra kingdom fell about A. D. 236, and it may be said that the Matsya account brings the historical narrative down to about the middle of the third century A. D. and no further.

20. The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata all carry the narrative on to the rise of the Guptas, which is the later stage. The Guptas are mentioned as reigning over the country comprised within Prayāga, Sāketa (Ayodhyā), and Magadha, that is, exactly the territory which was possessed at his death by Candragupta I who founded the Gupta dynasty in A. D. 319-20 and reigned till 326 or 330 (or even till 335 perhaps), before it was extended by the conquests of his son and successor Samudragupta. With the Guptas are mentioned Nāgas, Manidhānyas, and others as reigning contemporaneously over the countries which surrounded the Gupta territory<sup>3</sup> and which were subjugated afterwards by Samudragupta<sup>4</sup>. The account takes no notice of his conquests nor of the Gupta empire. These particulars show clearly that this account was closed during the interval which elapsed between the time when Candragupta I established his kingdom from Magadha over Tirhut, Bihar, and Oudh as far as Allahabad<sup>5</sup>, and the beginning of Samudragupta's reign, for he began his conquests immediately after his accession. That interval is approximately A. D. 320-330 or perhaps 335. It is hardly credible that, if this account was compiled later, it would have omitted to notice Samudragupta's conquests, or would have mentioned the foregoing kingdoms (which he subdued) in the same terms as his kingdom. The Gupta era was established in A. D. 320, and it may be concluded that this account was closed soon after the commencement of that era, or, if we allow some margin for delay, by the year A. D. 335.

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

<sup>1</sup> The earlier part pp. 1-55, and the later pp. 55 ff.

<sup>2</sup> That is l. 15 on p. 48. The Vṣ says they were Yavanas, see note <sup>82</sup> thereto.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 53-5.

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

<sup>5</sup> V. Smith's *History*, p. 266.

soon after the middle of the 3rd century<sup>1</sup> in the shape found in the Matsya, and that they were extended to the rise of the Gupta kingdom before the year 335, which augmented compilation is what the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa contain and the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata have condensed. It has been shown that the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa all obtained their accounts from the Bhaviṣya. Hence it would appear that the earlier compilation must have been incorporated in the Bhaviṣya about or soon after the middle of the 3rd century, and that its prophetic account was extended in the later compilation before the year 335. There is nothing improbable in this augmentation, because the Bhaviṣya account has been continually supplemented even up to the present time in order to keep its prophecies up to date, as shown above (§ 6). It follows then that the Bhaviṣya must have been in existence in the middle of the 3rd century<sup>2</sup>; and it would appear that the Matsya borrowed what the Bhaviṣya contained before the Gupta era, and that the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa borrowed the Bhaviṣya's augmented account about or soon after the year 330 or 335. Further remarks on these dates are offered in §§ 43 ff.

22. Further light is thrown on these points by the MS *eVāyu*, which contains the full account but holds a position intermediate between the general Vāyu version and the Matsya version. The facts to be explained are these. The Matsya has one version which contains only the shorter compilation, the Vāyu generally has a somewhat different version containing the full account, the Brahmāṇḍa has the full compilation in a version resembling the Vāyu closely, *eVāyu* has a version containing the full compilation in a text intermediate between the Matsya and all other copies of the Vāyu<sup>3</sup>, and yet all these Purāṇas declare they borrowed their accounts from the Bhaviṣya.

23. The only theory which appears to me to explain all these facts is this. The Matsya borrowed from the Bhaviṣya the shorter account about (say) the last quarter of the 3rd century. The Bhaviṣya account was then extended down to the time when the Gupta kingdom had acquired the territories assigned to it, and its language was revised<sup>4</sup>; that would be (say) about 320-325. The Vāyu copied that extended and revised account from the Bhaviṣya almost immediately, and that is the version found in *eVāyu*. Afterwards, the language of the Bhaviṣya version was revised again, and this must have been done very soon, (say) about 330-335, before the Gupta kingdom had developed into the Gupta empire by Samudragupta's conquests, because it could hardly have failed to notice that immense change if the revision had been later. This second revision was soon adopted by the Vāyu and is the version found now in Vāyu MSS generally. The fact that

<sup>1</sup> There is an apparent indication that a compilation was begun in the latter part of the 2nd century in the Andhra king Yajñaśrī's reign, for 5 MSS of the Matsya (of which three appear to be independent, namely, *b*, *c*, and *l*) speak of him as reigning in his ninth or tenth year; see p. 42, note <sup>8</sup>.

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

<sup>2</sup> But not of course in its present condition.

<sup>3</sup> The position of *eVā* is best shown in the account of the Mauryas, pp. 27-9.

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



*eVāyu* stands unique among all the Vāyu MSS suggests that no long interval could have separated the second revision from the first, and that the first revised version was quickly superseded by the second in the Vāyu. I cannot speak about the Brahmanḍa in any detail, because I have not been able to collate any MSS of it: yet two points may be noticed, *first*, it agrees closely with the general Vāyu version<sup>1</sup> and yet condenses the account sometimes<sup>2</sup>; and *secondly*, the probability is that it borrowed the second revised version from the Bhaviṣya not long after the Vāyu adopted that<sup>3</sup>. The Bhaviṣya existed in writing when the first revision appeared in it, because *eVāyu*, as well as all other Vāyu MSS, uses the word *paṭhita* when acknowledging its indebtedness to the Bhaviṣya (see § 7). The Matsya uses the word *kathita* in the corresponding passage, which might imply that it borrowed the account orally at the earlier stage, but that is not probable because of the inferences brought out in Appendix II.

24. If this explanation be tenable, the Matsya version of these dynasties of the Kali age is older than those of the Vāyu and Brahmanḍa<sup>4</sup>, and *eVāyu* gives us the earliest text of the Vāyu. The styles of the versions appear to support this explanation, for the Matsya version is somewhat crude at times, and the Vāyu text has been revised more than the Matsya as shown by the story of king Janamejaya's dispute with the brahmins<sup>5</sup>. Though later than the Matsya, the Vāyu account may yet be more accurate at times by reason of the revision which it underwent<sup>6</sup>. The Vāyu has Prakritisms sometimes where the Matsya has correct Sanskrit<sup>7</sup>, but this fact is not incompatible with that conclusion, and for either or both of two reasons; (1) the Matsya may have emended such defects at the time of taking the account from the Bhaviṣya, while the Vāyu may have copied them as they stood; and (2) a process of silent emendation has been in continual operation in the MSS<sup>8</sup>. Further it would seem that the three accounts may have been compared at times, for this would explain certain small variations which appear occasionally between the Vāyu and Brahmanḍa in the direction of the Matsya<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The agreement is not only here, but large portions also of the Brahmanḍa are almost identical with the Vāyu.

<sup>2</sup> As in p. 22, note<sup>46</sup>; p. 35, note<sup>42</sup>. In those passages the Bhāgavata partially resembles it, and may have copied from it.

<sup>3</sup> Unless (what is possible) the Brahmanḍa copied its account from the Vāyu (see note<sup>1</sup>); and its paraphrase of *Aśoka-vardhanaḥ* as *aśokānāṁ ca tṛpti-daḥ*, if not a late attempted emendation of a text that was unintelligible, suggests that it could not have been composed until Aśoka was wholly forgotten.

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

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

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix III.

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

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix I, § iii, first instance.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* p. 18, note<sup>7</sup>; see Appendix I, § ii.

<sup>9</sup> These conclusions do not imply that these Purānas existed then in their present

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

26. I come now to the subject of textual peculiarities mentioned in § 18. Further information may be discovered by examining the divergent readings of the same passage and especially the corruptions in names. A study of the variations shows that ordinarily the copyists copied what they found in dull good faith to the best of their ability, often writing the same name differently in contiguous lines<sup>3</sup>. Moreover these dynasties of śūdras and foreigners offered little inducement to readers to alter the texts. Hence the variations that crept in were mostly due to clerical blunders or to misreadings of the MSS copied; and the mistake might be detected and corrected, or might not. If not detected, the erroneous letter remained; if detected, the correct letter was written or inserted, and the incorrect letter was sometimes cancelled but was not seldom left uncanceled. In that state

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

<sup>1</sup> P. 58, ll. 9, 12, and p. 61, l. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See *Encycl. Brit.*, 'Hindu Chronology'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the corruptions in the well-known names, *Kauśāmbī* (p. 5, note<sup>19</sup>) and *Kānvāyana* (p. 34, note<sup>11</sup>). Yet sometimes errors

were caused by a droll perversity or would-be cleverness, cf. p. 41, note<sup>20</sup>; p. 42, note<sup>1</sup>; and p. 47, note<sup>71</sup>: and sometimes where the text had become corrupt, it was boldly paraphrased afresh, cf. p. 26, note<sup>42</sup>; p. 33, note<sup>52</sup>; but the latter was probably the effort of a reader and not of a copyist.

the passage was repeated in subsequent copies, and misreadings are important chronologically if we can explain how they arose. If their divergent readings of the same name or passage be written in the ancient scripts, and resemble one another so closely in a particular script that an ordinary copyist might easily misread one for another, it may be inferred that the variation must have arisen out of a MS written in that script, and therefore that the text once existed in that script, that is, it had been written during the time when that script was in use. In this way it may be ascertained which are ancient and which are mediaeval or even modern corruptions. Most of the variations have arisen from misreadings of the Gupta and later scripts<sup>1</sup>, but for the present purpose it is unnecessary to consider any that arose from misreading scripts that came into use after A.D. 330, the date when this account was finally compiled, and it is only essential to see whether any variations point to misreadings of Kharoṣṭhī or of Brāhmī.

27. It would overload this Introduction to examine such particulars here, and in Appendix II are noticed such cases as appear to throw light on this subject. It is shown there that errors are found in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Viṣṇu which point to misreadings of Kharoṣṭhī as their source. Hence it seems there is reasonable ground for inferring that this account of the dynasties was, in its earliest form, written in Sanskrit in Kharoṣṭhī, and, since Kharoṣṭhī was current only in Upper India, that the account was probably put together there: that is, since the earliest account was in the Bhaviṣya, that the Bhaviṣya account was written originally in Kharoṣṭhī and was put together in Upper India. If these conclusions are sound, it would follow that the account could not have been compiled later than about A.D. 330, because Kharoṣṭhī went out of use about that time. Further, judging from the point of view displayed in the portion which was added to the Bhaviṣya to bring it up to date about the year 320<sup>2</sup>, it would seem that the composers of this portion were probably in Madhyadeśa, and more particularly perhaps in the country between Magadha and Mathurā. The Viṣṇu account was probably based on the same original for three reasons: (1) its dynastic matter agrees closely with that in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, and also the ślokas where it has preserved them; (2) it closes its account where they close theirs; and (3) it is not probable that its account was a new and independent compilation from early chronicles when the compilations in the Bhaviṣya, Matsya, and Vāyu were available. At the same time it was composed early enough for its account to be drawn from Kharoṣṭhī MSS. It seems probable then that the main part of the Viṣṇu which is in prose was composed from those Purāṇas directly in Sanskrit not very long after the Gupta era, (say) perhaps before the end of the 4th century. The Bhāgavata was, as shown in Appendix II, composed afresh in Sanskrit, except in so far as it has incorporated old ślokas; and must have been based on the same materials for the same three reasons mentioned above, yet most probably on the Viṣṇu chiefly, to which it has

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

the closest resemblances<sup>1</sup>; and it was probably not composed till the 8th century or even later. These conclusions strictly refer only to these dynastic accounts.

*Sanskritization of the Account.*

28. It has been shown that the account was first compiled for the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa about the middle of the 3rd century A.D., and there are reasons why that was appropriate. Since royal genealogies constituted one of the subjects which every Purāṇa should treat of, the Bhaviṣya, as a work professing to deal with the future, could hardly ignore the dynasties that reigned after his time; and the dynasties of the Kali age would hold the same position in it that the ancient genealogies held in the Purāṇas which dealt with ancient stories<sup>2</sup>. The account of

<sup>1</sup> See p. 18, note<sup>7</sup>; p. 25, notes<sup>6, 14, 22</sup>; p. 28, note<sup>30</sup>; and in its description of the evils of the Kali age, where the Viṣṇu and it have matter peculiar to themselves. It has resemblances to the Brahmāṇḍa in p. 22, note<sup>46</sup>; p. 35, note<sup>42</sup>; p. 41, note<sup>80</sup>.

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

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

these dynasties would then naturally have been required for the Bhaviṣya, and all that was necessary was to collect the Prakrit metrical chronicles and convert them into Sanskrit prophecies uttered by Vyāsa<sup>1</sup>. That was done as shown in Appendix I, and then the Matsya first, and the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa afterwards, borrowed the account from the Bhaviṣya. The original Bhaviṣya account has been lost, but these three Purāṇas have preserved and reveal what its contents were; otherwise it would have been impossible to know what it contained at that time. A comparison of their accounts with the present condition of the Bhaviṣya shows to what bold lengths pious fraud has gone.

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> See the phrase *aṣṭāvimsati tathā varṣā* in Appendix I, § i.

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

*Errors, omissions, and rare verses.*

30. Though there was originally one text common (but qualified by the revisions suggested in § 23) to the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa down to the end of the Andhras, yet present MSS show many errors and omissions and some misplacements. Such defects easily occurred through the carelessness of copyists<sup>1</sup>, damage to<sup>2</sup> or loss of<sup>3</sup> leaves, or disarrangement of leaves<sup>4</sup>. The blemishes in the text appear to have been generally accidental. The brahmins who compiled the Sanskrit account could and did fabricate passages portraying the evils of the Kali age, but had neither inclination nor incentive to invent particular dynasties or kings of foreign or base origin. The chief changes that can be placed under the head of fabrications are various attempts by later readers to improve the text in details in which it appeared to be corrupt or inelegant<sup>5</sup>, or to remove inconsistencies<sup>6</sup>. Among the latter some alterations, though made apparently in good faith, involved tampering with the text, as in the Śiśunāga dynasty, where the Matsya, by mistakenly introducing the first two Kāṇvāyana kings, names twelve kings instead of ten as all the other authorities declare; so that some copies of the Matsya have boldly altered the total to twelve, while others more cautiously have made the passage indefinite<sup>7</sup>. Misreadings have also produced incorrect statements and there are many errors in names and numbers<sup>8</sup>; but of deliberate falsification I have found no instance except in the story of the dispute between Janamejaya and the brahmins<sup>9</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> As for instance the mistaken introduction of the first two Kāṇvāyana kings among the Śiśunāgas in the Matsya (see p. 21 and note <sup>24</sup>).

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

<sup>3</sup> Hence no doubt the absence of all the first part in the Brahmāṇḍa (see pp. 1, 3, 8).

<sup>4</sup> As for instance the displacement in eVāyu of the last half of the Early Contemporary Dynasties, all the Nandas, Manryas, Śuṅgas, and Kāṇvāyanas and the first twelve lines of the Andhras after Viśvasphāni

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

<sup>5</sup> See p. 26, note <sup>42</sup>; p. 33, note <sup>52</sup>; p. 52, notes <sup>37, 38, 42</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> As in p. 29, note <sup>32</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 22, note <sup>42</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> As where the Bh misread *trayodāsa* as *bhūyo dāsa*, p. 46, note <sup>22</sup>. As regards the readings *Tuṣāra* and *Tukhāra* in pp. 45, 47, it may be noted that *ṣ* has often been pronounced *kh* for centuries in North India, and that the letter *ṣ* was used at times for *kh*; hence these two letters are often confused: cf. p. 6, notes <sup>32, 42</sup>; p. 19, note <sup>28</sup>; p. 41, note <sup>30</sup>; p. 51, note <sup>24</sup>; &c.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix III.

contains the verse about Śālīsūka, and his existence might be doubted if it depended on that alone, but it is testified to by the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata<sup>1</sup>. Again in the Bhāgavata only one copy has preserved the verse about Suśarman<sup>2</sup>. Such being the conditions, no verse should be discarded even if it is found in only one MS. Thus line 26 of the Aikṣvākus appears only in three MSS, and lines 12-14 of the Preface only in eVāyu; yet it is not credible that they were fabricated, and they might easily have been regarded as valueless in the other MSS, for the former contradicts the alleged prophetic standpoint, and the latter merely name sundry and some unknown dynasties. Such rare passages appear to be relics of genuine tradition; and it is possible that lines 30, 31 of the Bārhadrathas found only in jMatsya, and line 28 of the Andhras found only in eVāyu, may be genuine. Other peculiar verses will be found in the notes<sup>3</sup>.

*Formation of this Text.*

32. The Bhaviṣya account having been the common source of the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa versions, the various readings are often equivalent or not materially different, so that real divergencies are far fewer than the places where the readings vary. The text now offered has been prepared according to the printed editions and the MSS collated. The Matsya and Vāyu versions are of far greater value than the Brahmāṇḍa, because they have been printed at Calcutta and in the Ānandāśrama series from a number of MSS, and I have collated besides 13 MSS of the Matsya and 11 of the Vāyu; whereas of the Brahmāṇḍa only the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition has been available<sup>4</sup>, and I have seen no MSS containing this account. Where variations occur I have endeavoured to choose the most weighty, it being remembered (1) that the Matsya gives us the oldest version, eVāyu the next, and all other copies of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa the third recension; and (2) that the Matsya is at times a somewhat crude Sanskritization of the old Prakrit ślokas, and the later versions may be more accurate. Their general agreement must be understood, but variations and omissions are always noticed, so that where no notes are given, the copies all agree.

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

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

<sup>2</sup> See p. 34, note<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> As p. 40, l. 13; p. 42, note<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See *List of Authorities, Brahmāṇḍa Purāna*.

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

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

35. As regards variations in words, these when small, such as errors in sandhi<sup>1</sup>, or optional ways of writing<sup>2</sup>, or obvious clerical mistakes<sup>3</sup>, or mere trivial differences<sup>4</sup>, are generally disregarded or corrected unless there is something noteworthy in them<sup>5</sup>, for many of the MSS are carelessly written and abound in such blemishes; yet the notes will show that I have erred probably rather on the side of inclusion than of exclusion. Various letters are often written so much alike in the MSS as to be easily confused, such as *b* and *v*, *p* and *y*, *c* and *v*, *n* and *l*, *n* and *r*, subscript *r* and *v*, and the MSS often contain superfluous letters written by mistake and not cancelled. These flaws, when obviously purely clerical, have been disregarded in some cases, but otherwise, and especially where these particulars may prove significant in the matter of Prakritisms and scripts, have been cited in the notes as they stand, the superfluous letters being enclosed in square brackets. *B* and *v* when not distinguished in the MSS have been generally transcribed as they should be correctly, unless the actual letter seemed worthy of notice. Since the account is only a Sanskritized version of Prakrit ślokas, Prakrit forms have been admitted into the text if they are supported by the best authority, as more truly representing the original words especially in numerals. Variations of readings and corruptions of names have been arranged in the order of modification, so as to elucidate as far as possible the process of the changes, and when so placed, readings that are corrupt often prove to be highly instructive as regards both language and script<sup>6</sup>.

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

<sup>1</sup> E.g., in p. 60, note<sup>68</sup> *dfIVā* have *śatāt śatam* actually.

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

<sup>3</sup> Thus the Calc. edition of the Vāyu has *Snecccha* sometimes instead of *Mleccha* by an obvious printer's error: see p. 47, note<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> As the insertion or omission of final *anusvāra* or *visarga* through mere carelessness.

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

<sup>6</sup> E.g. p. 39, note<sup>45</sup>; p. 40, note<sup>69</sup>; p. 47, note<sup>72</sup>; p. 49, note<sup>14</sup>.



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

*Interpretation of the Account.*

37. In interpreting the account the fact must be borne in mind that it was written in Prakrit originally, and this will throw light on many points, especially the variations in names and the meaning of numbers. It will explain how corruptions in names have sometimes occurred<sup>2</sup>, it will help to elucidate doubtful passages<sup>3</sup>, and will be the best guide in solving difficulties in readings which appear corrupt<sup>4</sup>. The best course in such cases is to convert the different readings into literary Prakrit, write the Prakrit forms in the various old scripts, compare them, and see whether one can divine what was probably the original Prakrit statement. These remarks apply especially to the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa versions.

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

<sup>1</sup> Chiefly where names have fused with other words by single or double sandhi, as *bhaviṣyōdayanas* (p. 7, l. 23; p. 82) and *bhavitāsoka* (p. 27, l. 2; p. 28, l. 4 in *eVā*); these are printed as *bhaviṣy-ōdayanas* and *bhavit-Āśoka* in order to bring out the name clearly. It could hardly be dispensed with in such cases of double sandhi as *Yavanōstau*

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

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* p. 40, note<sup>69</sup>; p. 41, note<sup>74</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* p. 52, notes<sup>57, 58, 42</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> P. 59, line 11 is an excellent crux for such solution.

to diverge<sup>1</sup>; but this is a measure more of convenience than of accuracy, because it happens sometimes that the correct form is what would appear to be an aberrant form<sup>2</sup>; and in such cases what is, or would seem to be, the correct form is suggested sometimes in the notes<sup>3</sup>.

39. The numbers present much difficulty. Those that occur oftenest are *viṃśati* and *triṃśati*, and their abbreviated forms *viṃśat* and *triṃśat*, *viṃśa* and *triṃśa*<sup>4</sup>; and the difficulty arises because *tr* and *v*, if written carelessly or if partially frayed, are hardly distinguishable in the later script<sup>5</sup>, and *t* and *v* in the Prakrit forms of these words might have been confused from the first in Kharoṣṭhī. Hence in many cases either may be read as other data may indicate, irrespective of the weight of the MSS.

40. Various groups of misreadings will appear on an examination of the notes, and the most important may be mentioned here. First, *abda*, if the loop of the *b* be carelessly written so as to touch the top bar (as I have found it sometimes), may easily be misread as *aṣṭa*, and there can be no doubt that *abda* and *aṣṭa* have often been confused. Thus, where most MSS read *aṣṭapañcāśatām cābdan*<sup>6</sup>, one has *°cābdā*, two *°cāṣṭān*, and one *°cāṣṭā*; and here *aṣṭa* is plainly a corruption of *abda* because it is impossible after *aṣṭapañcāśatām*. Again, one set of readings is *so smā daśa*, *so 'smād daśa* and *tasmād daśa*, and another set is *aṣṭām daśa*, *aṣṭādaśa* and *so 'ṣṭādaśa*<sup>7</sup>: the latter suggest the reading *abdān daśa*, which (with the frequent use of anusvāra for nasals) would be often written *abdām daśa* and might be misread as *aṣṭāmdaśa* and so pass to *aṣṭādaśa*: thus *abdān daśa* would reconcile all the readings as regards the number and would seem to have been the original reading. The same confusion occurs in other places<sup>8</sup>. This liability of *abda* and *aṣṭa* to be confused may harmonize other passages where the numbers 10 and 18 are in conflict. Moreover, *abda*, if the initial *a* is elided by Sanskrit or Prakrit sandhi, becomes *bda*; and *bda* may be mistaken for *dva* (= *dvau*)<sup>9</sup>; hence *dvā* and *dvau* become a third alternative, and this possibility may harmonize other passages<sup>10</sup>. Secondly, *samā* and *sapta* have been confused sometimes, for it is not always easy to distinguish *m* and *pt* where written carelessly in the more modern scripts, as I have found. Thus two readings occur *saptāśītim* and *samāśītim*<sup>11</sup>, and either might be derived from the other<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 39, note <sup>45</sup> for an instance.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Vindusāra, whose name is given correctly only by the Viṣṇu (p. 28, notes <sup>23</sup>, <sup>24</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> As in p. 6, note <sup>29</sup>; p. 42, note <sup>58</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> In nMt *ṣadvīṃśati* looks like *ṣadgīṃśati* generally, and *ṣattrīṃśati* like *ṣadīṃśati*.

<sup>5</sup> For a clear instance see p. 57, note <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> P. 15, l. 17, and notes.

<sup>7</sup> P. 39, l. 5, and notes.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 19, note <sup>48</sup>; p. 30, note <sup>46</sup>; p. 43, note <sup>33</sup>; p. 47, note <sup>77</sup>; p. 60, notes <sup>70</sup>, <sup>86</sup>;

p. 61, note <sup>1</sup>; p. 62, note <sup>35</sup>. For the reverse cf. perhaps p. 29, note <sup>21</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> I have not seldom found *bd*, *db*, and *dbh* inverted in the MSS, and *b* is generally written as *v*. See p. 22, note <sup>42</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. probably p. 40, l. 13.

<sup>11</sup> That is, *samāḥ aśītim* by double, or Prakrit, sandhi: p. 47, note <sup>54</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> See also p. 29, note <sup>44</sup>; p. 31, note <sup>13</sup>; p. 40, notes <sup>54</sup>, <sup>55</sup>.

41. Misreadings could easily affect other numerals. Thus, *catvāriṃśa-t* occurs at times where it may be erroneous<sup>1</sup>, and in such cases it might easily be a mistaken Sanskritization of Prakrit *cattāri sa* (or perhaps *ca*), for *cattāri* is both nomin. and accus., and is of all three genders<sup>2</sup>. Again *dāsa* and *śata* are sometimes confused<sup>3</sup>, and, since *dāsa* appears in Prakrit as *daśa* and *dasa*, and *śata* as *śada* and *sada*<sup>4</sup>, either word might easily be altered to the other, since metathesis occurs in the MSS<sup>5</sup>. Again the final *ti* of numerals, especially *saptati*, may be a misreading of *vi* which may in Prakrit represent 'pi'<sup>6</sup> or 'vai'<sup>7</sup> (Pali *ve*), for *v* and *t* might easily be confused in Kharoṣṭhī, so that *saptati* should probably be *sapta vai* in some cases<sup>8</sup>. In short in dealing with all numerals, it must be remembered that they were Prakrit originally, and their Prakrit forms are of primary importance.

42. The combination of numerals is important. They are used in two ways, *first*, in correct Sanskrit compounds, such as *caturviṃśati*, 24; *aṣṭatrimśac-chatam*, 138; *saptatrimśac-chatam*, 137<sup>9</sup>; and *secondly*, strung together in separate words. The latter construction alone requires notice, because it often follows what seems to me to have been a Prakrit arrangement and, if so, should be interpreted according to Prakrit usage. Thus, in Prakrit 'hundred' preceded by 'three' means 'three hundred', but followed by 'three' means apparently 'hundred (and) three'. The Prakrit numerals were Sanskritized as they stood, and were then declined regularly, so that 'three' appears as *trīni*, and 'hundred' seems to appear similarly in the plural as *śatāni*. If this view be right, *trīni śatāni* mean 'three hundred', but *śatāni trīni* 'hundred and three'. This conclusion may be tested by some cases, for it is very important if it is right.

43. The most important passage for this purpose is the statement that 18 Śakas would reign *śatāni trīny aśitīm ca* years<sup>10</sup>. This expression is ordinarily read as correct Sanskrit to mean 380, but there are cogent grounds to show that these words cannot have that meaning. These Śakas are, in Dr. Fleet's opinion, Nahapāna and his successors, whose kingdom began with (or about) the Śaka era, A.D. 78; and if these words mean 380, the conclusion could be and has been drawn that this Purāṇic notice was written after they had reigned 380 years, that is, about the year A.D. 458<sup>11</sup>. Now this conclusion involves this consequence, that the account brings the notice of the Śakas down to A.D. 458 and yet wholly ignores the great Gupta

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

<sup>2</sup> Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 439.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 30, note<sup>46</sup>; p. 33, note<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Pischel, *op. cit.*, §§ 442, 448.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 7, note<sup>58</sup>; p. 32, note<sup>52</sup>; p. 39, note<sup>46</sup>; p. 45, note<sup>11</sup>; p. 49, note<sup>36</sup>: also *nṛpaḥ* and *punaḥ* are confused through their Pkt forms *napa* and *pana*, see p. 11, note<sup>51</sup>, and p. 45, note<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Pischel, *op. cit.*, § 143.

<sup>7</sup> *Sapta vi* actually occurs for *sapta vai*,

p. 53, note<sup>4</sup>. Similarly in names a final *vi* has been treated as a particle and the name curtailed, cf. p. 40, note<sup>59</sup>, p. 42, note<sup>58</sup>, and p. 43, note<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.* p. 28, l. 7.

<sup>9</sup> P. 19, l. 10; p. 28, l. 9; p. 30, l. 15.

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

<sup>11</sup> JRAS, 1912, p. 1047.

empire which was paramount in North India after A. D. 340 and was still flourishing in 458<sup>1</sup>. This is incredible, because the Gupta kings were orthodox Hindus, guided by brahman advisers, and skilled in Sanskrit<sup>2</sup>; and this Purāṇic account, which was brahmanical, would unquestionably, if not closed till 458, have extolled their fame. The argument *ex silentio* is incontestable here. The fact then that the account knows nothing of events most congenial to brahmanism later than 330 shows that the rendering '380' leads to impossible results: indeed no date later than about A. D. 330 is possible. These words *śātāni trīṇy aśūtiṃ ca* occur in the Matsya as well as in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, and the Matsya account is that which was compiled in the Bhaviṣya about or soon after the middle of the 3rd century A. D. If we read these words as '380' with reference to that time, they take us back to about 130 or 120 B. C. as the beginning of these Śakas—a result that no one will accept. From both these alternative interpretations therefore it appears that the rendering of these words as '380' stultifies them.

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

45. This conclusion is corroborated by the notice of the Hūṇas or Maunas along with the Śakas. They are said to have reigned, eleven for *śātāni trīṇi* years<sup>3</sup>. It is not known when their rule began, so that exact calculations cannot be made for them; but, if these words be read as '300', difficulties occur precisely similar to those discussed with regard to the Śakas and show that that meaning cannot be right. Read as meaning '103' however the statement may be true; Hūṇas or Maunas may have formed some small kingdom for 103 years on the frontiers of

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

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, pp. 282, 287.

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

India in A.D. 260. The corresponding line relating to the Tuṣāras is certainly corrupt, and their period should probably be 105 or 107 years<sup>1</sup>, which would be possible in A.D. 260.

46. All the statements regarding the 'Various Local Dynasties' in pp. 45-47 must be read with reference to the date of the first compilation which is preserved in the Matsya. When the account was revised and brought up to date in the Bhaviṣya at the Gupta era in the version found now in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, the periods assigned to the Śaka and other mleccha dynasties should have been revised for the further period of 60 or 70 years, but that was not done, for the periods are the same in the two versions. The brahmans, who revised the account at that time, merely revised the language and not the statements. That was natural, for revision of the statements required fresh and precise calculations, for which they may have had few data and certainly had little inclination, as the dynasties were mleccha or śūdra. All they did was to extend the account by adding the fresh matter contained in p. 48, l. 16 to p. 55, l. 17; yet in that they do appear to have included further particulars about the Śakas on p. 49, for there can be little doubt that Nabapāna's successors are alluded to in l. 4<sup>2</sup>, though the context is vague.

47. This examination of the circumstances thus leads to the conclusion that the numerals discussed here cannot be read as correct Sanskrit, and that read in the way now suggested they accord with the circumstances and also apparently with Prakrit usage. Hence I would submit that they must be interpreted in that way. This construction simplifies numerical statements remarkably and reduces to reasonable and probable totals figures that seem at first wild and extravagant. At the same time one must hesitate to assert that numerical statements must always be so read, for it certainly seems that the period assigned to the Andhras by the Matsya is 460 rather than 164 years<sup>3</sup>.

#### Conclusion.

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

<sup>1</sup> P. 47, l. 11 with p. 45, l. 4. *Sahasrāṇi* is sometimes a corruption of *sa* (or *tu*) *varṣāṇi*, see p. 25, note<sup>18</sup>; p. 46, note<sup>38</sup>.

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

<sup>3</sup> It says there were 19 Andhra kings, and I may offer a tentative suggestion. The Andhra who overthrew the Kāṇvāyanas

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

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

49. The Bhaviṣya professed to treat of future events, subsequent to that battle which practically ushered in the Kali age (§ 14), and should therefore supply an account of the dynasties of that age, because royal vāṁśas were one of the prescribed topics of the Purāṇas (§ 28); and, as the Purāṇas professed to have been composed by Vyāsa, it took the same standpoint. Hence it appropriated the Prakrit metrical accounts, converted the Prakrit ślokas into Sanskrit ślokas, and altered them to the form of a prophecy uttered by Vyāsa (§§ 28, 29, Appx I); and this re-shaping was carried through generally yet not completely (§ 12). Some compilation seems to have been made, of the Andhras at least, in the reign of the Andhra king Yajñaśrī about the end of the second century A.D. (§ 21, note)<sup>1</sup>; but the first definite compilation is that which brought the 'history' down from the time of the battle to a little later than the end of the Andhras<sup>2</sup>, together with the final portion<sup>3</sup>, and was incorporated in the Bhaviṣya about or soon after the middle of the third century (§§ 19, 21, 24); and there are reasons for fixing its date as not later than A.D. 260-1 (§ 44). That account was apparently written in Kharoṣṭhī and composed in Northern India (§ 27). The Matsya borrowed it from the Bhaviṣya, probably during the last quarter of the third century (§ 23), and so has preserved what the Bhaviṣya contained then.

50. The Bhaviṣya account was revised about the years 315-320 and brought up to date by the insertion of the later dynastic matter<sup>4</sup> and much addition to the 'Evils of the Kali Age'<sup>5</sup>: it was still in Kharoṣṭhī, and was certainly written down then (§§ 23, 27). That version was borrowed by the Vāyu then, but exists now only in one MS, *v*Vāyu (§ 23). The language of the account in the Bhaviṣya was revised again about the years 325-330, and that version was adopted by the Vāyu, and soon afterwards by the Brahmāṇḍa<sup>6</sup>, and now constitutes their general versions (§ 23). They have thus preserved what the Bhaviṣya contained at that time.

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

<sup>2</sup> P. 1 to l. 15 on p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 55-63: see § 25.

<sup>4</sup> P. 48, l. 16 to p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 55, 56.

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

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

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

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

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

F. E. PARGITER.

OXFORD, *May* 15, 1913.

## LIST OF AUTHORITIES

### *Editions and Manuscripts collated.*

#### BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA.

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

#### *MSS in the Bodleian Library.*

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

#### *MSS in the India Office Library.*

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



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

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

## BHAVIṢYA PURĀṆA.

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

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

- in the India Office Library*, two, no. 1314, E 3447, and no. 1429, E 3448;
- in the Bodleian Library*, three, Auf. Cat. nos. 75 (Wilson 103), 76 (Wilson 126), and 77 (Wilson 124);
- in the Royal Asiatic Society*, MS Tod 2;
- in the Nepal State Library*, one MS sent to Oxford with other selected MSS.

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

## BRAHMĀṆDA PURĀṆA.

- Bd.* The edition published by the Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay. It professes to be based on several MSS, yet gives variant readings only rarely, and leaves on my mind the impression that it has been silently emended at times; cf. p. 25, note <sup>24</sup>; p. 26, note <sup>42</sup>; p. 34, note <sup>5</sup>; p. 51, note <sup>10</sup>.

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

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

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

## GARUDA PURĀNA.

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

*MSS in the India Office Library.*

*aGr.* No. 1199 c, E 3353. Dated 1727? Far from correct. Account begins, fol. 114<sup>a</sup>, l. 1.

*bGr.* No. 2560, E 3355. Modern. Very incorrect. Account begins, fol. 103<sup>a</sup>.

*cGr.* No. 1199 a, E 3354. Dated 1800. Badly written. Account begins, fol. 127<sup>a</sup>, l. 2.

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

## MATSYA PURĀNA.

*AMt.* The Ānandāśrama (Poona) edition, 1907. It is based on 6 copies, the Veṅkaṭeśvara (Bombay) edition (marked ऋ and cited here as *VMt*), the Gondhalekar (Poona) edition (marked ख and cited here as *GMt*), and 4 MSS marked ग, घ, ङ and च, and cited here as *a*<sup>1</sup>, *a*<sup>2</sup>, *a*<sup>3</sup>, and *a*<sup>4</sup> respectively.

*CMt.* The Calcutta edition by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar, 1876.

*GMt.* The Gondhalekar edition; see *AMt*.

*VMt.* The Veṅkaṭeśvara edition; see *AMt*.

*aMt.* See *AMt*.

*MSS in the Bodleian Library.*

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

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

*MSS in the India Office Library.*

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

- eMt. No. 2032, E 3549. Dated 1767. Writing poor and full of clerical mistakes: agrees genly with cMt and sometimes corruptly. Paurava kings, fol. 67<sup>b</sup>, l. 13; other dynasties, fol. 321<sup>b</sup>, l. 8.
- fMt. No. 1080, E 3550. Dated 1795. Fairly well written; many small clerical mistakes (as *s* for *ś* often) and a very few corrections. Paurava kings, fol. 62<sup>a</sup>, l. 13; other dynasties, fol. 327<sup>b</sup>, last line.
- gMt. Nos. 406-7, E 3551-2. Modern. Much like fMt. Paurava kings, vol. i, fol. 79<sup>a</sup>; other dynasties, vol. ii, fol. 437<sup>b</sup>.
- hMt. No. 2831, E 3553. Modern. Contains only the first part of the Mt. Fairly well written; some special readings. Only Paurava kings, fol. 166<sup>b</sup>, l. 9.
- jMt. No. 3347, Jackson Collection. Modern. Fairly well written; aptly copied carefully from a damaged MS and so has small blanks: many small errors. Valuable as it has several special readings, which are aptly ancient. Paurava kings, fol. 62<sup>b</sup>, l. 6; other dynasties, fol. 330<sup>a</sup>, l. 9.

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

- kMt. Skt MS no. 28 of 1871-2. Much like ceMt.
- lMt. Skt MS no. 164 of 1887-91.
- mMt. Skt MS no. 340 of Viśrama (first collection).

*MSS in the British Museum.*

- nMt. Add. 14348. Date, 18th cent. Fairly well written; fairly accurate, though with some carelessness: resembles cMt. Paurava kings, fol. 98<sup>b</sup>; other dynasties, fol. 508<sup>a</sup>.
- pMt. Add. 26414. Date, 18th cent. Fairly well written and genly correct; closely like AMt. Contains only the Preface and Pauravas; begins fol. 42<sup>b</sup>.

VĀYU PURĀṆA.

- AVā. The Ānandāśrama (Poona) edition, 1905. It is based on five copies, the Calcutta edition (marked ॠ; see CVā below), and 4 MSS marked ख, ग, घ, and ङ and cited here as *a*<sup>1</sup>, *a*<sup>2</sup>, *a*<sup>3</sup>, and *a*<sup>4</sup> respectively.
- CVā. The Bibliotheca Indica edition, Calcutta. It is based on 6 MSS, but only rarely notes variant readings.
- aVā. See AVā.

*MSS in the Bodleian Library.*

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

*MSS in the India Office Library.*

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

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

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

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

*MS in the Royal Asiatic Society.*

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

## VIṢṆU PURĀṆA.

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

*MSS in the Bodleian Library.*

- aVṣ.* Wilson 26; Auf. Cat. no. 112. Date, 18th cent. Beautifully written in Bengali characters. Account begins, fol. 102<sup>a</sup>.
- bVṣ.* Wilson 108; Auf. Cat. no. 109. Dated 1703. Fairly well written and fairly correct. Much like *aVṣ*.
- cVṣ.* Wilson 107; Auf. Cat. no. 110. Dated 1740. Writing good but careless; close to *CVṣ*.
- dVṣ.* Wilson 130; Auf. Cat. no. 111. Date, late 18th cent. Well written and fairly correct: close to *CVṣ*.

*MSS in the India Office Library.*

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

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*MSS in the Indian Institute, Oxford.*

- jV*ṣ. Malan MS; cat. no. 122. Date, 18th cent. Writing poor, with many small blunders and omissions, some of which have been corrected by a later hand in Bengali writing.
- hV*ṣ. Cat. no. 121. Dated 1736 (?). Fairly well written and genly correct, but has strange mistakes at times, probably through defects of the MS copied: contains several interesting readings.

*MS in the Royal Asiatic Society.*

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

## ABBREVIATIONS.

* (prefixed) denotes a hypothetical word.	MBh = Mahābhārata.
+ (prefixed) denotes a corrupt reading.	Pkt = Prakrit.
apptly = apparently.	prob = probable, probably.
crp = corrupt, corruptly.	Skt = Sanskrit.
genly = generally.	syll = syllable.

## CORRIGENDA

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

# THE PURĀNA TEXT

## OF THE

### DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE

#### PREFACE

The Matsya and Vāyu Purānas introduce a preface into the middle of the account of the Paurava dynasty. Both bring the Paurava (or Aila) genealogy from the Pāṇḍavas to Abhimanyu, Parīkṣit, and Janamejaya<sup>1</sup>, and then describe Janamejaya's dispute with Vaiśampāyana and the brahmans about his Vājasaneyaka doctrine<sup>2</sup>. They then continue the genealogy to Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, in whose reign was performed the twelve-year sacrifice during which these Purānas profess to have been recited<sup>3</sup>. At this point the rishis ask the Sūta for a full account of the Kali age<sup>4</sup>, and he proposes to give it in verses which are here treated as the Preface<sup>5</sup>. Then starting from Adhisīmakṛṣṇa as the existing king, he carries on the dynasty to its close<sup>6</sup>. In order to simplify the arrangement, the prefatory portion is placed here first, and the separated parts of the Paurava genealogy are joined together in a continuous account and given next as the Paurava line. The story of Janamejaya's dispute<sup>7</sup>, the rishis' questions, and the Sūta's resumption of his account are omitted as superfluous<sup>8</sup>. The Preface therefore consists of—

*Text*—AMt 50, 72-76 ; AVā 99, 264-269.

All copies contain this preface, except that *AMt* omits lines 6-10; *AMt* misplaces l. 11 after l. 5; *eVā* has lost the first 5½ lines and it alone contains ll. 12-14; *gVā* omits l. 11; and *ffmVā* have nothing. All agree in the text except where noted, and where the Matsya and Vāyu are different, both versions are given, the Matsya on the left and the Vāyu on the right. The Brahmanḍa has lost the preface in a large lacuna. The Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, and Garuḍa have no preface.

<sup>1</sup> AMt 50, 57; AVā 99, 249b-250a.

<sup>2</sup> AMt 50, 58-64; AVā 99, 250b-255.

<sup>3</sup> AMt 50, 65-67; AVā 99, 256-259.

<sup>4</sup> AMt 50, 68-71; AVā 99, 260-263.

<sup>5</sup> AMt 50, 72-76; AVā 99, 264-269.

<sup>6</sup> AMt 50, 77-89; AVā 99, 270-280a.

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

<sup>8</sup> See Introdn. § 14.

Sūta uvāca—

Yathā me<sup>1</sup> kīrtitam pūrvaṃ<sup>2</sup> Vyāsenā<sup>3</sup>ākliṣṭa<sup>3</sup>-karmanā  
bhāvyaṃ<sup>4</sup> Kali-yugaṃ<sup>5</sup> cāiva tathā manvantarāṇi ca<sup>6</sup>  
anāgatāni<sup>7</sup> sarvāṇi bruvato me nibodhata  
ata ūrdhvaṃ<sup>8</sup> pravakṣyāmi bhaviṣyā ye<sup>9</sup> nṛpās tathā<sup>10</sup>  
Aid-Ēkṣvākv-anvaye<sup>11</sup> cāiva | Ailāms<sup>12</sup> cāiva tath-Ēkṣvākūn<sup>13</sup>  
Paurave cānvaye<sup>14</sup> tathā | Saudyumnāms<sup>15</sup> cāiva pārthivān  
yeṣu<sup>16</sup> saṃsthāpyate<sup>17</sup> kṣatram<sup>18</sup> Aid-Ēkṣvāku<sup>19</sup>-kulaṃ<sup>20</sup> śubham<sup>21</sup>  
tān sarvān kīrtayisyāmi<sup>22</sup> Bhaviṣye<sup>23</sup> kathitān<sup>24</sup> nṛpān<sup>25</sup> 7  
tebhyo 'pare 'pi ye<sup>26</sup> cānye<sup>27</sup> utpatsyante nṛpāḥ punaḥ<sup>28</sup>  
kṣatrāḥ<sup>29</sup> pāraśavāḥ<sup>30</sup> śūdrās tathānye ye<sup>31</sup> vahiś-carāḥ<sup>32</sup>  
Andhrāḥ<sup>33</sup> Śakāḥ Pulindās ca Cūlikā<sup>34</sup> Yavanās tathā<sup>35</sup> 10

<sup>1</sup> Yath-aiva in jMt.

<sup>2</sup> So Mt. Vā sarvaṃ.

<sup>3</sup> So Mt. Vā °ādbhuta.

<sup>4</sup> Bhāvaṃ in eMt; kMt bhavet.

<sup>5</sup> Yuge in cejnMt.

<sup>6</sup> So Mt. Vā tu.

<sup>7</sup> Atr-āgatāni in lMt.

<sup>8</sup> Param in jMt.

<sup>9</sup> So Mt genly: oMt bhaviṣy-ārthe; cejnMt bhāvino ye. Vā bhaviṣyanti. For this half line lMt reads bhaviṣyān kathitān (nṛpān omitted) as in l. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Smṛtāḥ in fgmMt. Vā tu ye.

<sup>11</sup> So a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>befmMt; CGVgpMt °k-ānvaye: cMt Ail-Ēk°; jMt +Ain-Ēk°; hMt +Aindk°; dMt +Ed-Ēk°; nMt crp: a<sup>2</sup>kMt Aid-Ēkṣvāku-nṛpe: a<sup>1</sup>Mt Ikṣvākor anvaye: lMt +Ekṣakasya. Aida = Aila.

<sup>12</sup> Elāms in ghkVā.

<sup>13</sup> In gVā tath-Aik°.

<sup>14</sup> But nMt vānvaye; eMt c-ānya[ta]ye. This is pleonastic because the Pauravas were Ailas, see JRAS, 1910, pp. 16, 20.

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

<sup>16</sup> In hMt yehi (Pkt for yebhi?).

<sup>17</sup> So Vā, ceMt: Mt genly saṃsthāsyate.

<sup>18</sup> So a<sup>2</sup>-Vā; Ca<sup>1</sup>dghklVā kṣetram, a frequent mistake for kṣatram. Mt genly tac ca; cejghjnMt tatra.

<sup>19</sup> So Mt genly; jMt Ain-Ēk°: hMt Ail-Ēkṣvākam, eVā °kum: dMt Ed-Ēk°. Vā genly Aikṣvākavam: lMt +Ekṣakasya.

<sup>20</sup> So Mt. Vā idam.

<sup>21</sup> Śrutān in lMt; smṛtam in dMt.

<sup>22</sup> Kathayisyāmi in jMt.

<sup>23</sup> But dMt bhaviṣyān; enMt °syā; jMt °syat: see Introdn. § 7.

<sup>24</sup> So Mt. Vā paṭhitān; bVā paṭhito.

<sup>25</sup> Nṛpa in bVā.

<sup>26</sup> So Mt: nMt omits ye. Vā pare ca ye.

<sup>27</sup> So Vā; eVā 'py anye. Mt genly tv anye hy; bedghjnpMt omit hy.

<sup>28</sup> So Mt; eVā nṛpās tathā: Vā genly mahīkṣitāḥ.

<sup>29</sup> So Mt, Vā genly: cejnMt, eVā kṣatra-; a<sup>1</sup>kVā +kṣetrāḥ; eMt +kṣatriyāḥ.

<sup>30</sup> So Mt, Vā genly: fgmMt pārasavāḥ, so mMt with pārasavāḥ also; bMt +pārasarāḥ; eVā +pārasarāḥ; eMt +pāravā; nMt +yāḥ-ravāḥ; lMt +pāsavā.

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

<sup>32</sup> So Mt genly: Ca<sup>1</sup>a<sup>4</sup>bdmpMt mahīśvarāḥ. Vā dvijātayaḥ.

<sup>33</sup> So Vā genly, chjlnpMt; fgmMt Andhrāḥ: dhVā, Mt often, Andhāḥ: kVā Adhryāḥ.

<sup>34</sup> ACMt Cūlikā; eVā Cūl°; bVā Vūl°; hVā Vūn° (or Vūl°); dVā Vṛūl°: Vā genly Tūl°; hMt Dhūl°; jMt Mūl°; bmpMt Cal°; eMt Pulihās; fgmMt Valimkā; dMt Bāhikā:

Kaivart-Ābhira-Śabarā<sup>36</sup> ye c-ānye<sup>37</sup> Mleccha-sambhavāḥ<sup>38</sup>  
 Pauravā Vītihoṭrā vai Vaidiśāḥ<sup>39</sup> pañca<sup>40</sup> Kosalāḥ  
 Mekalāḥ Kośalāḥ Pauṇḍrā Gaunardāḥ Svāspṛakāś ca ha<sup>41</sup>  
 Sunidharmāḥ Śakā Nipā yās c-ānyā Mleccha-jātayah<sup>42</sup>  
 varṣ-āgrataḥ<sup>43</sup> pravakṣyāmi<sup>44</sup> nāmataś c-aiva tān nr̥pān<sup>45</sup>.

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### Pauravas.

*Text*—AMt 50, 57, 65<sup>a</sup>, 66, 78–89; AVā 99, 249<sup>b</sup>, 250<sup>a</sup>, 256<sup>a</sup>–258<sup>a</sup>,  
 271–280<sup>a</sup>; Bḍ nil.

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 20, 12–21, 4; GBh ix, 22, 34–45<sup>a</sup>; CGr  
 i, 140, 40–141, 4.

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

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

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

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

<sup>36</sup> So Mt. Vā *Yavanaiḥ saha*.

<sup>37</sup> So Mt, Vā genly (Śabarā or Śav<sup>o</sup>); eVā *Kaivart-Āraibhira-varāḥ*; nMt *Kaivart-Ābhira-Śabaro*.

<sup>38</sup> So Mt, Vā genly: nMt *ye v-ānye*: eVā *yās c-ānyā*, correcting the faulty grammar.

<sup>39</sup> So Mt. Vā *jātayah*.

<sup>40</sup> This line only in eVā, which reads *Rūtihoṭrā vai Vaidikāḥ*; this should obviously be *Vītihoṭrā vai Vaidiśāḥ*, and has been emended so. For the Vītihoṭras see *Pradyotas*, line 1, *infra*; for Vaidiśas see *Dynasties of Vidiśā, &c., infra*.

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

<sup>42</sup> This line only in eVā. For Mekalas

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

<sup>43</sup> This line is only in eVā.

<sup>44</sup> So Vā genly, *chiknMt*. Mt genly *paryāyataḥ*. Other copies intermediate, eMt *vaśāgrataḥ*; dVā *vaśāyataḥ*; bVā *varṣāyata*; hVā *varyāyata*. *Varṣ-āgrataḥ* occurs in this context, AVā 99, 261—

varṣ-āgrato 'pi prabrūhi nāmataś c-aiva tān nr̥pān.

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

<sup>45</sup> In *kMt praviṣyāmi*.

<sup>46</sup> So Mt genly, Vā: *cek'nMt* read this half line, *bhaviṣyān (n, °syāt) kathitān (l, kāśikān) nr̥pān*, which should no doubt be *Bhaviṣye kathitān nr̥pān*; see l. 7.



ll. 10 and 20 (second half) to 25 (first half); *kVā* omits ll. 15 (second half) to 18 (first half); *lVā* ll. 17 (second half) to l. 20; and *jjmVā* have nothing. Also *adsBh* have nothing; and *abGr* omit all kings after the second Śatānika.

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

Abhimanyoḥ Parikṣit tu<sup>1</sup>  
putraḥ para-puraṁ-jayah<sup>2</sup>  
Janamejayah<sup>3</sup> Parikṣitaḥ  
putraḥ parama-dhārmikah  
Janamejayāc Chatānikas<sup>4</sup>  
tasmāj jajñe sa vīryavān<sup>7</sup>  
putro 'śvamedhadatto 'bhūc<sup>8</sup> Chatānikasya vīryavān  
putro 'śvamedhadattād vai jātaḥ para-puraṁ-jayah<sup>9</sup>  
Adhisimakṛṣṇo dharm-ātmā<sup>10</sup> sāmpratam yo<sup>11</sup> mahā-yaśāḥ<sup>12</sup>

Uttarāyām tu Vairātyām  
Parikṣid<sup>1</sup> Abhimanyu-jah<sup>2</sup>  
Parikṣitas tu dāyādo<sup>4</sup>  
rāj-āsiḥ<sup>5</sup> Janamejayah  
tasya putraḥ Śatāniko<sup>6</sup>  
balavān satya-vikramah

5

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

<sup>2</sup> *Abhimanyunā* in *bVā*.

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

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

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

*Vīrasena* for *Bhīmasena* in *riBh*. Vṣ concurs in this; so also MBh i, 3, 661-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Rājā sa* in *kVā*.

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

tasya putraḥ Śatāniko Yājñavalkyāt  
trayīm paṭhan

astra-jñānam kriyā-jñānam Śaunakāt  
param eṣyati.

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

<sup>7</sup> *Su-vīryavān* in *jMt*.

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

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

but no other authority supports it.

<sup>9</sup> So *Vā*: *kVā pura-puraṁ*. *Mt* omits this line, condensing it with the next.

<sup>10</sup> So *Vā* except that the name varies; all have a superfluous syllable: *kVā Adhisīma-* [tta]krṣṇo; *Ca*<sup>2</sup>*a*<sup>4</sup>*Vā* °*sāmak*<sup>o</sup>; *gVā* °*sāmah* *Kṛṣṇo*; *a*<sup>1</sup>*Vā* °*māsak*<sup>o</sup>; *a*<sup>3</sup>*Vā* °*masak*<sup>o</sup>; *kVā Adhimak*<sup>o</sup>. *Mt* genly *jajñe 'dhisomakṛṣṇ-ākhyah*; *fgMt* °*sīmak*<sup>o</sup>; *jMt* both; *eMt* °*sīmah* *Kṛṣṇ*<sup>o</sup>; *nMt* †*Adhinsamak*<sup>o</sup>; *pMt* *Adhisomakṛṣṇāsyaḥ*; *bMt* °*krṣṇasya*; *dMt* °*sīmah* *Kṛṣṇāsyaḥ*; *gMt* °*sīmakṛṣṇas ca*; *hMt* *āsīt Kṛṣṇa sutas tasya*: *jMat* misplaces this line after l. 3. *Mt* readings seem to

Adhisimākṛṣṇa-putro<sup>13</sup> Nicakṣur<sup>14</sup> bhavitā nṛpaḥ<sup>15</sup>  
 Gaṅgayāpahṛte<sup>16</sup> tasmin nagare Nāgasāhvaye<sup>17</sup>  
 tyaktvā Nicakṣur nagaram<sup>18</sup> Kauśāmbiyām sa<sup>19</sup> nivatsyati<sup>20</sup>  
 bhaviṣyāṣṭau<sup>21</sup> sutās tasya<sup>22</sup> mahā-bala-parākramāḥ<sup>23</sup> 10  
 Bhūrir<sup>24</sup> jyeṣṭhaḥ<sup>25</sup> sutas tasya | bhaviṣyad Uṣnas tat-putra<sup>26</sup>  
 tasya<sup>27</sup> Citrarathaḥ<sup>28</sup> smṛtaḥ | Uṣnāc Citrarathaḥ<sup>28</sup> smṛtaḥ

be corruptions of *Adhisimākṛṣṇo'sya* in Pkt form °krṣṇa asya. Vṣ *Adhisimākṛṣṇa*; kVṣ °simah Krṣ°: Gr °simakah Krṣ°. Bh *Asimākṛṣṇas tasy-āpi*; hBh *Aśisāk°*; fBh *avātsit Krṣ°*; gBh crp. In two later lines (omitted here) *a'a'a'Mt* (verse 77) and *a'a'Vā* (verse 270) have *Adhisimāk°*. The correct name appears to be *Adhisimākṛṣṇa*, with a shorter form *Asimāk°*. The longer form is best supported here, though the shorter would improve the metre.

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

<sup>12</sup> So Vā, Mt genly: *a'ceknMt mahārathaḥ*. After this line Mt and Vā insert three lines stating that the twelve-year sacrifice was performed during his reign; see Introdn. § 10.

<sup>13</sup> So Mt, Vā, except that there are variations in the name; cMt adds 'bhūt and CGVā<sup>3</sup>a'jMt *tu* superfluously: *a'a'deMt*, ghVā *Adhisimāḥ Krṣṇa-putro*; kMt °māsah K°; dVā *Asimāk°*; nMt merely *Kṛṣṇa-putro*; eVā *Dadhīcikṛṣṇa-suto*. Bh says *tat-sutaḥ*, 'son of the preceding'.

<sup>14</sup> There is great variation in this name here and in l. 9. Mt often *Vivakṣu*; bgMt *Vicakṣus*; dMt both; hMt *Nṛcakru*; a'cenMt *Nṛcaka*: afterwards fMt *Nicakṣus*, lMt *Nrvakṣu*, kMt *Nṛcaka*. Vā genly *Nirvaktra*; eVā *Nrvadha* here. Vṣ genly *Nicakṣus*; bcdefgjVṣ, jMt, tBh *Nicakru*; lVṣ *Nīscakru*; kVṣ crp: aGr + *Nivadra*?; bGr + *Nivaha*?; CGr *Aniruddha*. Bh genly *Nemicakra*; eBh *Nemimśc°*; nBh *Naimic°*; rBh, aVṣ *Nic°*. I have adopted *Nicakṣus* as the most central form; but the true name may be *Nṛcakṣas*, a word occurring in Rigv. x, 14, 11.

<sup>15</sup> So Mt. Vā *kila*.

<sup>16</sup> So Vā, cenMt. Mt genly *Gaṅgayā tu*

*hrte*; bMt °dhrte; mMt both; dMt *hrte*.

<sup>17</sup> Similarly Vṣ—yo Gaṅgayāpahṛte Hastināpure Kauśāmbiyām nivatsyati. Bh also—Gajāhvaye hrte nadyā Kauśāmbiyām sādhu vatsyati:

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

<sup>18</sup> So Mt genly with variations in the name, see note<sup>14</sup>: *a'a'ceknMt Nṛcako nagaram tyaktvā*; hMt °svam vāmsam tyaktvā: eVā *tyaktvā Nṛbandhu vāsam* (with a syll. lost). Vā genly *tyaktvā (gVā kṛtvā) ca tam sa vāsam ca*; CVā °su-vāsam°; dVā °tam tu vāsam svam; hVā °nam sarvāsa va; bVā + *nyattakam* | *tkām ca nam sa vāsa va*. These variations suggest the reading, *tyaktvā ca tam sa-vāsam* (or *vāmsam*) *ca*.

<sup>19</sup> So Vā genly (gVā omits *sa*) and rBh; lVā + *Kauśāmdyām°*; fMt *sa Kauśāmbiyām*; gMt *sa Kauśāvya*. Mt genly *Kauśāmbiyām tu*; jMt °su; dMt + *Kauśānām*; hMt + *Kauśālyāntu*. Vṣ, Bh corroborate; eBh + *Kauśikyām*; kVṣ *Kauśak°*.

<sup>20</sup> So Mt, Vā genly, Vṣ: bVā *niveṣyati*; hVā *niveṣ°*; dVā *niveṣmani*; gVā *sannivetsyati*.

<sup>21</sup> This line is only in Mt, but not in dfjMt: *a'Mt bhaviṣyās ca*; hMt °ṣye yaḥ; mpMt °ṣyākṣau; kMt omits *aṣṭau*: eVā has only the first half line, *bhaviṣyas tu sutas tasmāt*.

<sup>22</sup> C-aiva in a'Mt.

<sup>23</sup> In hMt *Uṣna Citraratha smṛtaḥ*.

<sup>24</sup> Bhūri in bdfgjkpMt; hMt *Bhūvi*; lMt *Bhūmi*.

<sup>25</sup> In hMt *śreṣṭhaḥ*.

<sup>26</sup> So Vā. Vṣ *tasy-āpy Uṣnaḥ putro*. CGr *Uṣna*; abGr *Uśca*?; Bh *Ukta*; tBh *Upta*.

<sup>27</sup> *Tataś* in bcefjhnpmMt; mMt both; jMt *tatra*.

<sup>28</sup> All agree in this name, except eVā *Tvaṣṭā Dhītrarathaḥ*.

Śucidrathas<sup>29</sup> Citrarathād<sup>30</sup> Vṛṣṇimāms<sup>31</sup> ca Śucidrathāt  
 Vṛṣṇimataḥ Suṣeṇas ca<sup>32</sup> bhaviṣyati śucir nṛpaḥ<sup>33</sup>  
 tasmāt Suṣeṇād bhavitā Sunītho<sup>34</sup> nāma pārthivaḥ<sup>35</sup>  
 Rucaḥ<sup>36</sup> Sunīthād<sup>37</sup> bhavitā<sup>38</sup> Nṛcakṣur<sup>39</sup> bhavitā tataḥ<sup>40</sup> 15  
 Nṛcakṣuṣas<sup>41</sup> tu dāyādo bhavitā vai<sup>42</sup> Sukhībalaḥ<sup>43</sup>  
 Sukhībala-sutaś c-āpi<sup>44</sup> bhāvi<sup>45</sup> rājā Pariplavaḥ<sup>46</sup>  
 Pariplava-sutaś c-āpi<sup>47</sup> bhavitā Sunayo<sup>48</sup> nṛpaḥ

<sup>29</sup> So Vā, fJMt; CGr agrees: *ceghnMt Śucidratha*; *a²a³kMt Suvid°*; *hVṣ* either; *bMt, kVā Śucidravya*, so *dpMt* with *°dravāt* at the end: other Mt *Śucidrava*. *Vṣ* genly *Śuciratha*; *cVṣ Suvir°*. Bh *Kaviratha* and *Kuvir°* about equally; *jBh Tvuir°*; *fBh Kathir°*; *rsBh Sucir°*. The proper form should probably be *Sucadratha*. Omitted in *dlVṣ, abGr*.

<sup>30</sup> *Caitraratho* in *a²a³kMt*; *enMt Cit°*. Bh says *sutaḥ*.

<sup>31</sup> So Mt genly; *Vṣ, fjjklqBh, CGr* agree in the name: *mpMt Viṣṇumāms*; *cejnMt Vṛṣṭim°*: in next line *pMt Vṛṣṇimataḥ*; *lMt Vṛṣṭi°*; *nMt Vṛṣi°*. Vā genly *Dhṛtimāms*; *dVā Dhṛtam°*; *gVā Vṛttim°*; *bVā Vṛtyam°*; *hVā Vṛnam°*; *kVā Vṛttirmās*. Bh genly, *abVṣ Vṛṣṭimat*; *tBh Vṛti°*; *rBh Dhṛti°*; *eBh Dhṛṣṭi°*; *cBh Kṛṣṭi°*. Omitted in *abGr*.

<sup>32</sup> So Mt genly: *eVā Suṣeṇa Dhṛtimato* (with one syll. short). Vā genly *Suṣeṇo vai mahāvīryo*. Bh, *Vṣ, CGr* agree in the name; *kVṣ Suṣeṇa*. With the dialectical modification of *ṣ*, *cenMt* read *Sukheṇas tu*, so *gVā* and *hVṣ*; *bVṣ, knpBh Sukheṇa*: *lMt Sukheṇas tu*. Omitted in *abGr*.

<sup>33</sup> So Mt genly: *cfghjklmMt punar nṛpaḥ*; *eMt panu°*. Vā genly *mahāyāsāḥ*; *eVā punaḥ punaḥ*.

<sup>34</sup> So Mt genly, *eVā*. *Vṣ, Bh* agree; *CGr* *Sunīthaka*; *kBh Sunītha*: *jMt Sunīyo*; *mpMt Sunīpo*, *pMt Sunīthād* in next line. Vā genly *Sutīritho*. Omitted in *abGr*.

<sup>35</sup> *Dhārmikah* in *eVā*.

<sup>36</sup> So Vā genly; *gVā Ruciḥ*. *Vṣ* genly *Rcaḥ*; *kVṣ Rta*; *jVṣ Amca*; *eVā sa vai*. Mt *nṛpāt*. Bh, *hIVṣ, Gr* omit him.

<sup>37</sup> *Sunīto* in *eVā*. Vā *Sutīrthād*.

<sup>38</sup> *Samjanaye* in *kMt*.

<sup>39</sup> So Mt genly; *Vṣ, Bh, Gr* agree genly: *cknMt Nṛcakra*, *eMt Nuc°*. Vā genly *Tri-cakṣo*; *bdVā °vakṣyo*; *gVā Citrākṣo*; *a³klVā*

*Vivakṣo*; *eVā Nṛvandhur*. Others, *pBh Nṛcakru*; *cBh Nṛpakṣu*; *fBh Sucakṣus*; *aVṣ Nuc°*, *kVṣ Ntac°*, *bVṣ Tric°*: see note <sup>41</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> So Vā. Mt *su-mahāyāsāḥ*; *dMt sa°*; *fghMt tu°*.

<sup>41</sup> Readings here genly follow those in note <sup>39</sup>: but *bpMt Nṛcakṣuṣasya* (omitting *tu*), *lMt Vivakṣasas*: *lVā Trivakṣasya*, *kVā °kṣyāsya*, *bVā °vikṣyāsya*; *gVā Citrākṣyasya*; *eVā Nṛvandhuyas*.

<sup>42</sup> In *fjMt °ca*: *cehknMt bhaviṣyati*.

<sup>43</sup> So Mt, Vā genly, here and in next line: *bdVā Suṣib°*; *nMt Sukhīlava*, *jMt Sukhel°*, *cMt Mukhīl°*; *ekMt na saṁsayah*: but in next line *cMt Sukhīlava*, *ekMt °tala*, *bVā Suradhāla*. *Vṣ* genly *Sukhābala*, *lVṣ Sukha°*, *abhkVṣ Sukhīb°*. Bh genly *Sukhīnala*, *pBh °nara*; *fBh Suṣinara*; *rBh Sakhānana*. *CGr Mukhābāna*; *aGr Surabala*, *bGr °baja*. This name omitted in *eVā*. After him Gr adds, *medhāvī ca nṛpāñjayaḥ*, implying apptly two other kings, but no authority supports it.

<sup>44</sup> In *dVā sutaḥ sūta*; *bVā ṛsuta[mṛ]tasi*; *ekMt ṛvaśas c-āpi*. Bh *sutas tasmāt*.

<sup>45</sup> So Mt genly. Vā, *onMt bhāvyo*, *eMt bha°*; *hMt bhaviṣyati* (omitting *rājā*).

<sup>46</sup> So many Mt, *a³a⁴Vā*, here and in next line. *Vṣ, Bh* agree genly; and *abGr*: *bgriBh, CGr Pāriplava*; *Ca²a²Vā Paripluta*. *CGVa²lMt, ghVṣ, cBh Pariṣṇava*; *kMt °ṣṇava*. The letters *pl* and *ṣn* are often written very much alike; so *eMt °ṣṇava* here, *°pluva* in next line: *gVā °pṭuta*, *°ṭlava*; *kVā °pluva*, *°plava*; *bVā °śraya*, *°plava*; *kVṣ °puna*; *dVā °slagha*; *cfVṣ Paritṁava*: *lVā* substitutes here *Daṇḍapānir bhaviṣyati* from l. 25.

<sup>47</sup> This line omitted in some, see p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> So Vā genly, *hMt*; *Vṣ* genly, *CGr* agree: also Bh impliedly, *Medhāvī Sunay-ātmaḥ*. Mt genly *Sutapā*; *jMt °tamā*: *tBh °tapa*; *pBh °daya*; *kVṣ °vaya*; *kMt °nṛpo*; *eVā*

Medhāvī<sup>49</sup> tasya dāyādo<sup>50</sup> bhaviṣyati narādhipaḥ<sup>51</sup>  
 Medhāvinaḥ sutaś c-āpi<sup>52</sup> bhaviṣyati Nṛpañjayaḥ<sup>53</sup> 20  
 Durvo<sup>54</sup> bhāvyaḥ sutas tasya<sup>55</sup> Tigmatmā<sup>56</sup> tasya c-ātmajaḥ<sup>57</sup>  
 Tigmad<sup>58</sup> Bṛhadratho<sup>59</sup> bhāvyo Vasudāno<sup>60</sup> Bṛhadrathāt  
 Vasudānāc<sup>61</sup> Chatāniko<sup>62</sup> bhaviṣy-Ōdayanas<sup>63</sup> tataḥ<sup>64</sup>  
 bhaviṣyate c-Ōdayanād<sup>65</sup> viro rājā<sup>66</sup> Vahīnaraḥ<sup>67</sup>  
 Vahīnar-ātmajaś<sup>68</sup> c-aiva<sup>69</sup> Daṇḍapāṇir<sup>70</sup> bhaviṣyati 25  
 Daṇḍapāṇer Nirāmitro Nirāmitrāt<sup>71</sup> tu<sup>72</sup> Kṣemakaḥ<sup>73</sup>

<sup>49</sup>ratho: bgVā, acdeghVṣ, abGr Munaya; hVā Mumapa; IMt Muṣṇavo; ceMt Putrayo; nMt Putrāpo; rBh Vijana.

<sup>49</sup>So all: but hBh Modhāvin; kBh Me-ghāvin.

<sup>50</sup>So Mt, eVā. Vā genly Sunayasy-ātha; bgVā Munay<sup>o</sup>; hVā Munany-ātha. Bh Sunay-ātmajaḥ.

<sup>51</sup>So Vā: eVā nṛpaḥ sa tu; hMt nayasya tu. Mt genly na saṁśayaḥ.

<sup>52</sup>So Mt and Vā.

<sup>53</sup>So eVā. Bh, Vṣ, Gr agree. Mt Purañj<sup>o</sup>; bVṣ Ripuñj<sup>o</sup>; lVṣ Nṛpanaya. See p. 3.

<sup>54</sup>There is great variation in this name. Mt mostly Urvo; ceMt Ūru; hMt Uror; jMt Ūrvyā; gMt Urvyau, fMt Ūr<sup>o</sup>; nMt Ūru (or Kuru); pMt Kurvo; dMt Jayo. But eVā Durvi. Bh genly Dūrova; nBh Dur<sup>o</sup>; ctBh Dar<sup>o</sup>; rBh Dār<sup>o</sup>; pBh Purva. Vṣ genly Mṛdu; fVṣ <sup>o</sup>da; hVṣ Durva, lVṣ Dūr<sup>o</sup>; abVṣ Durbala; kVṣ Durddharṣa. Gr Hari. Durva is the most central form.

<sup>55</sup>C-āpi in eVā.

<sup>56</sup>So Mt genly; eVā shortly Tigmatmā. Vṣ, Gr Tigma, which Mt and eVā use in next line. Bh Timi; hMt Timātma, ceknMt Nirm<sup>o</sup>; fgMt Nirm-ākhyas; jMt †Nin-dātma.

<sup>57</sup>In eVā tasmād bhaviṣyati; Bh <sup>o</sup>janīṣyati.

<sup>58</sup>So Mt genly, eVā: bMt <sup>o</sup>mātmad, dMt <sup>o</sup>mātmano, with excess syll: pMt Tigma; hMt Timād; cefgknMt Nirmād; jMt †Nindā.

<sup>59</sup>All agree in this name.

<sup>60</sup>So hMt, eVā; Vṣ agrees: dMt Vasudānā. Mt genly <sup>o</sup>dāmā; kMt <sup>o</sup>dhānā; eMt <sup>o</sup>dhāmā; cnMt <sup>o</sup>dhāma; jMt <sup>o</sup>devo: lVṣ <sup>o</sup>da; bVṣ <sup>o</sup>manas. CGr Sudānaka; abGr †Tudānava misplacing him after the next king Śatānika. Bh Sudāsa indirectly, Śatānikah Sudāsa-jaḥ; bBh Sudāru-jaḥ.

<sup>61</sup>So hMt, eVā. Mt genly <sup>o</sup>dāmnaḥ; bMt

<sup>o</sup>dāmna; enMt <sup>o</sup>dhāmā; cMt <sup>o</sup>dhāmāc; jMt <sup>o</sup>dāsuḥ.

<sup>62</sup>All agree; eMt Sat<sup>o</sup>: abGr Sadānika, Pkt. Vṣ calls him aparāḥ Satānikah; for the former see note <sup>6</sup>. Bh says 'son of the preceding', see note <sup>60</sup>.

<sup>63</sup>So Mt genly; Vṣ: eVā bhavit-Ōdaya-ya[m]s here, Udayanād in next line: jMt bhaviṣy-Ōdayinaḥ; eMt <sup>o</sup>syadayanaḥ; dmpMt <sup>o</sup>sy-Ōdathanah; kMt <sup>o</sup>syadanayaḥ. CGr Udāna. Bh genly Durdamana; enBh Durd<sup>o</sup> or Urd<sup>o</sup>; cBh Umanasu (or Dum<sup>o</sup>).

<sup>64</sup>Tathā in bchjnpMt, eVā.

<sup>65</sup>See note <sup>65</sup>. Other variations here are, cjnMt <sup>o</sup>syataś c<sup>o</sup> (so kMt crp); CMt <sup>o</sup>syate ca Dayanād; dpMt <sup>o</sup>c-Ōdathanād; eMt bhavitaś c-Ōvayanād; eVā bhaviṣyāś c-āpy Udayanād.

<sup>66</sup>Jāto in dMt.

<sup>67</sup>So Mt genly; Bh, ablVṣ agree: pBh Vrahā<sup>o</sup>; Vṣ genly Ahā<sup>o</sup>; hVṣ Ahā<sup>o</sup>; CGr Ahmā<sup>o</sup>; gBh Vahīnana: ceknMt Mahīnaraḥ, fgMt <sup>o</sup>rataḥ, here and in next line.

<sup>68</sup>So Mt; eVā <sup>o</sup>ra-sutaś: lMt Mahīsar-ātm<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>69</sup>C-āpi in eVā; mpMt c-Aindro.

<sup>70</sup>So Mt; and Vā which resumes the list here. Bh, bklVṣ, CGr agree. Vṣ genly Khaṇḍa<sup>o</sup>; fVṣ that or Khadga<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>71</sup>So Vā, CbcdefgjnMt; jVṣ. ApMt, bghVṣ Nira<sup>o</sup>; hMt Nirva<sup>o</sup>. Vṣ genly Nara<sup>o</sup>; aVṣ Nī<sup>o</sup>. CGr Nimittaka. Bh genly, kVṣ Nimi; cBh Nima; nBh Nini; tBh Nidhi; jBh Niti; rBh Muni. This half line in eVā is bhavitā Kṣemakas tathā.

<sup>72</sup>So Mt. Vā ca.

<sup>73</sup>All agree in this name; but lVṣ Kṣema; a<sup>o</sup>a<sup>o</sup>gkVā Kṣepakah; jVṣ, lBh Kṣamaka; kVṣ Cākṣuka. All agree in Kṣemaka in l. 30.

pañca-vimśā<sup>74</sup> nṛpā hy ete<sup>75</sup> bhaviṣyāḥ Pūru<sup>76</sup>-vaṁśa-jāḥ  
 atr-ānuvaṁśa<sup>77</sup>-śloko 'yam gīto vipraiḥ purātanaiḥ<sup>78</sup>  
 brahma-kṣatrasya<sup>79</sup> yo yonir vaṁśo<sup>80</sup> deva-rṣi<sup>81</sup>-satkr̥taḥ<sup>82</sup>  
 Kṣemakam prāpya rājānaṁ saṁsthām prāpsyati vai Kalau<sup>83</sup> 30  
 ity eṣa Pauravo vaṁśo<sup>84</sup> yathāvad anukīrtitaḥ<sup>85</sup>  
 dhīmataḥ Pāṇḍu-putrasya Arjunasya<sup>86</sup> mahātmanaḥ<sup>87</sup>.

### Aikṣvākus.

*Text*—AMt 271, 4-17<sup>a</sup>; AVā 99, 280<sup>b</sup>-293; Bḍ iii, 74, 104-107<sup>a</sup>.

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 22; GBh ix, 12, 9-16; CGr i, 141, 5-8.

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

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

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

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

<sup>75</sup> Nṛp-ādya te in bVā.

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

<sup>77</sup> In hMt °vaṁśaḥ; nMt °vaṁśya: bdpMt ato 'nuvaṁśa-ḥ; eVā atr-ān°: dVā Puru-vaṁśasya; kVā anuv°, hVā °śayā: gVā omits atra.

<sup>78</sup> So Mt genly; nMt †surāt°; fgMt sanāt°. Vā genly purā-vidaiḥ; eVā paurāṇikair dvijaiḥ.

<sup>79</sup> This verse is in Mt, Vā, Vṣ, Bh.

<sup>80</sup> In hMt yā yonir°; BṛtBh vai yonir°. Bh genly vai prokto°; bfhjknpqBh vaṁśo 'yam prokto.

<sup>81</sup> Vṣ rājarsi; aVṣ devarsi.

<sup>82</sup> In nMt saṁk°; cMt saṁsk°; eMt †sajñitah; kMt †samjñinah.

<sup>83</sup> So Vā, Bh, lVṣ. Mt MSS have two endings (1) saṁsthāsyati Kalau yuge, (2) saṁsthāsyati sa (or ca) vai Kalau; jMt °sthāpyanti ca ye°. Vṣ sa saṁsthām (k, saṁsthānam) prāpsyate Kalau. Cf. p. 12, note <sup>78</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> But eVā ity evam Pauravaṁ vaṁśam.

<sup>85</sup> So Vā, ceknMt; eVā °tam. Mt genly iha kīrtitah.

<sup>86</sup> So Vā, Mt genly; AbklmMt c-Ārjunasya; dVā dharmajñasya; eVā reads this half line Pārthasya prathit-ātmanaḥ.

<sup>87</sup> Gr after naming Kṣemaka says, tataḥ śūdraḥ pitā pūrvas tataḥ sutah, suggesting that two śūdra kings, father and son, reigned after him.

- Mt.* Brhadbalasya dāyādo viro rājā hy<sup>1</sup> Urukṣayah<sup>2</sup>  
Urukṣaya<sup>3</sup>-sutas c-āpi<sup>4</sup> Vatsadroho mahāyāsāh<sup>5</sup>.  
*Vā.* Brhadrathasya<sup>6</sup> dāyādo viro rājā Brhatkṣayah<sup>7</sup>  
tataḥ Kṣayah sutas<sup>8</sup> tasya Vatsavyūhas tataḥ Kṣayāt.  
*Vṣ.* Vṛhadbalasya putro Vṛhatkṣanaḥ<sup>9</sup>  
tasmād Gurukṣepaḥ<sup>10</sup> tato Vatsaḥ<sup>11</sup> Vatsād Vatsavyūhaḥ.  
*Bh.* Brhadbalasya bhavitā putro nāma Brhadraṇaḥ<sup>12</sup>  
Urukriyas<sup>13</sup> tatas tasya Vatsavṛddho bhaviṣyati.  
*Gr.* Vṛhadbalād<sup>14</sup> Urukṣayo Vatsavyūhas tataḥ paraḥ.

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

Brhadbalasya dāyādo viro rājā Brhatkṣayah  
Urukṣayah sutas tasya Vatsavyūha Urukṣayāt.

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

Ata ūrdhvam pravakṣyāmi Iksvākūṇām mahātmanām<sup>1</sup>  
Brhadbalasya<sup>2</sup> dāyādo viro rājā Brhatkṣayah<sup>3</sup>  
Urukṣayah<sup>3</sup> sutas tasya Vatsavyūha<sup>4</sup> Urukṣayāt  
Vatsavyūhāt<sup>5</sup> Prativyomas<sup>6</sup> tasya putro<sup>7</sup> Divākaraḥ<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hy omitted in *bedefgjkMt*.  
<sup>2</sup> In *jMt Uruk°*; *dkMt Kuruk°*; *ceMt Nurak°*;  
*lMt Nuk°*.  
<sup>3</sup> See note <sup>2</sup>; *eMt Surak°*: *nMt Urukṣayas*.  
<sup>4</sup> In *nMt tu tasy-āpi*.  
<sup>5</sup> In *gMt mamā°*; *nMt mahātapaḥ*.  
<sup>6</sup> *Brhadbalasya* in *eVā*.  
<sup>7</sup> In *hVā °ikṣavaḥ*; *dVā °twayaḥ*; *bVā °drathah*.  
<sup>8</sup> *Kṣaya sutas* in *bVā*: *eVā* omits this line.  
<sup>9</sup> In *kVṣ °kṣvenaḥ*; *gVṣ °kṣetraḥ*; *bVṣ °kṣantaḥ*; *fVṣ Brhataksanaḥ*.  
<sup>10</sup> So *dVṣ* or *Uruk°*: *jVṣ Urukṣaprah*:  
*abhVṣ Urukṣayah*; *kVṣ Varūk°*; *lVṣ +Puru-  
ṣak°*.  
<sup>11</sup> But *lVṣ* omits him.  
<sup>12</sup> In *hnBh °vraṇaḥ*; *eBh Dharudraṇaḥ*.  
<sup>13</sup> In *eBh °kriśas!*; *hBh Kurukriyas*; *rBh  
Upāvṛttas*.  
<sup>14</sup> *Vṛhanraṇād* in *abGr*.

<sup>1</sup> This line is only in Vā. Vṣ, Gr have similar statements.

<sup>2</sup> Vā genly, *fgMt °rathasya*, but *Brhadbala* correctly in l. 24. Brhadbala, king of Kosala, is mentioned in the MBh.

<sup>3</sup> For this line, see above.

<sup>4</sup> So Vā genly, *a°a°bklMt*. Vṣ, Gr agree. In *klVā °vyūhās*; *fgMt °vyāho*, *dMt °dāho*, in next line *dgMt °dvyāhāt*; *jMt crp*; *eMt Vatsavyūho*; *nMt Vṛtsamūho* and *Vatsavyūhāt*. Mt genly *Vatsadroho*: Bh °vṛddha, tBh °vriha: *hVṣ Vyūha*. Vṣ (except *lVṣ*) inserts a king Vatsa before him (see above), but no other authority supports it.

<sup>5</sup> *Vyūdhāt* merely in *eVā*.

<sup>6</sup> So Mt genly. Vṣ, Bh, *abGr* agree. In *eVā Prativyomnas tu*. Vā genly, *lVṣ °vyūhas*; *gMt °vyogo*; *rBh °vyota*; *jVṣ °cyoma*; *kVṣ Prativyāma*. CGr, *hVṣ* omit him.

<sup>7</sup> *Vyoma-putro* in *fgMt*.

<sup>8</sup> So Mt, Vā, Vṣ. Bh *Bhānur Divāko vāhinī-patih*, where *BepBh* read correctly *Divārko*. *Sūrya* in *abGr*. CGr, *hVṣ* omit him.

tasyaiva <sup>9</sup> Madhyadeśe tu	yaś ca sāmpratam adhyāste	
Ayodhyā nagarī śubhā	Ayodhyām <sup>10</sup> nagarīm nṛpaḥ	5
Divākarasya bhavitā <sup>11</sup> Sahadevo <sup>12</sup> mahā-yaśāḥ		
Sahadevasya <sup>13</sup> dāyādo <sup>14</sup> Bṛhadaśvo <sup>15</sup> mahā-manāḥ <sup>16</sup>		
tasya Bhānuratho bhāvyaḥ <sup>17</sup> Pratitāśvaś <sup>18</sup> ca tat-sutaḥ		
Pratitāśva-sutaś cāpi Supratiko <sup>19</sup> bhaviṣyati		
Marudevaḥ <sup>20</sup> sutas tasya <sup>21</sup> Sunakṣatraś <sup>22</sup> ca tat-sutaḥ <sup>23</sup>		10
Kinnarāśvaḥ <sup>24</sup> Sunakṣatrād bhaviṣyati param-tapaḥ		
Kinnarād Antarikṣas tu <sup>25</sup>	bhavitā cĀntarikṣas tu <sup>26</sup>	
bhaviṣyati mahā-manāḥ <sup>27</sup>	Kinnarasya suto mahān	
Suṣeṇaś <sup>28</sup> cĀntarikṣāc ca <sup>29</sup>	Antarikṣāt Suparnaś <sup>30</sup> tu <sup>31</sup>	
Sumitraś cāpy <sup>32</sup> Amitrajit <sup>33</sup>	Suparnāc cāpy <sup>34</sup> Amitrajit <sup>33</sup>	

<sup>9</sup> So Mt genly: °aiśā in cdefymMt. Cf corresponding lines about Adhisimākṛṣṇa (p. 4, l. 6) and Senājit (p. 15, l. 13).

<sup>10</sup> So Vā: gVā omits this line.

<sup>11</sup> Sahitā in eMt.

<sup>12</sup> So all, except that gVā reads—

Divākara-sutaś cāpi cakravartī bhaviṣyati. CGr, hVṣ omits him.

<sup>13</sup> In CmMt °devāc ca.

<sup>14</sup> So Vā. Mt bhavitā.

<sup>15</sup> So Vā. Vṣ, Bh, Gr agree: kVṣ °drutha. Mt genly Dhruvāśvo vai; cenMt °v-ākhyo°: hVṣ omits him.

<sup>16</sup> So Mt: cenMt °yaśāḥ. Vā bhaviṣyati.

<sup>17</sup> So Vā genly; Vṣ, Gr agree: bhVā Bhātu°. Bh Bhānumant; hBh Vān°: bhVṣ omits him. Mt corrupts this half line, gjMt bhāvya-ratho bhāvyaḥ, fMt bhāvya°, bMt bhāvyo°, dmMt bhāvyo rathā°, lMt °rathodbhāv°: genly bhāvyo mahābhāgaḥ. Vṣ says, 'son of the preceding', tat-sūnur.

<sup>18</sup> So Vā, bdfgmMt; abhklVṣ agree. Mt genly Pratīpāśvaś; kMt Pranitā°. In bBh Pratikāśva: Bh genly Pratikāśva; cfhknprBh °kāśa: CGr °vya; abGr °cyu: jMt Pracetās tasya (omitting ca), but Pratitāśva in next line: lMt marutaś cāpi. Vṣ genly omits him.

<sup>19</sup> So kMt; Vṣ, Bh agree. Vā genly Supratīto; eVā °nīto: Mt genly °tīpo; fgMt °tāpo: mMt Supritāyo; lMt Suvratopo. CGr Pratītaka; rBh Pratīka; abGr °tikṣaka. Bh says, 'son of the preceding', tat-sutaḥ.

<sup>20</sup> So Mt; Vṣ, Bh agree: jBh Marād°; lVṣ Maru[da]d°; mMt, Gr, bpBh Manud°; Vā Sahad°; cBh Suhad°.

<sup>21</sup> Cāpi in eVā.

<sup>22</sup> So all; except rBh Svan°; eBh Sutaḥk°; hBh Sunakṣetra: cMt Sukṣatras tat; eMt †Svakṣatrasvat; mMt Sutaḥsas tu, but Sutaḥsatāt in next line; jMt Sutaḥkṣatas, but Sutaḥsattād in next line.

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

<sup>24</sup> So Mt genly, eVā; kMt °raśva: nMt °raś ca; lMt °rāḥ; dMt °rākṣaḥ; fgmMt °r-ākhyah; jMt †°rakṣāt. Vā genly Kinnaras tu; Vṣ, Gr agree: bVā †Kannarasya: rBh Kandara; Bh genly Puṣkara; kBh °kala; cBh Puṣpara; tBh Rūṣkara. But cMt Kinnaraś cākṣaras tadvad; so eMt crp.

<sup>25</sup> So cdefgijklmnMt (with some corruptions); so bMt, but altered to Kinnarāśvād Antarikṣas which ACMt have. Vṣ, Bh Antarikṣa; bfgjkVṣ °rikṣa; CGr °rikṣaka: abGr Anurakṣaka.

<sup>26</sup> So Vā; kVā °rikṣasya: eVā c-Ākṣavikṣas tu, but Antarikṣāt in next line.

<sup>27</sup> Mahāyaśāḥ in dfmMt.

<sup>28</sup> So Mt genly: mMt °ṣarnaś; cekMt °varnaś; dfgmMt °parnaś; bMt °parvaś; lMt °pparvaḥ; nMt °kṣatraś; jMt °varnāc.

<sup>29</sup> So Mt genly; cenMt °rikṣasya.

<sup>30</sup> So Vā: bhVṣ, Gr agree. Vṣ Suvarṇa; jVṣ Sarvaṇa. Bh Sutapas.

<sup>31</sup> Tu wanting in kVā.

<sup>32</sup> So Mt genly; jMt tu: nMt Sumitrasya-āpy; bMt Sumantr°; ceMt Suvarṇ°. Sumitra Amitrajit would be one king.

<sup>33</sup> All agree in this name, except bMt

putras tasya<sup>35</sup> Brhadbhrājo<sup>36</sup> Dharmī<sup>37</sup> tasya sutaḥ smṛtaḥ  
putraḥ<sup>38</sup> Kṛtañjaya<sup>39</sup> nāma Dharmiṇaḥ sa<sup>40</sup> bhaviṣyati 15  
Kṛtañjaya<sup>41</sup>-suto vidvān<sup>42</sup> bhaviṣyati<sup>43</sup> Raṇañjayaḥ<sup>44</sup>  
bhavitā Sañjayaś<sup>45</sup> cāpi<sup>46</sup> viro rājā Raṇañjayāt  
Sañjayasya<sup>47</sup> sutaḥ Śākyaḥ<sup>48</sup> Śākyac<sup>49</sup> Chuddhodano<sup>50</sup> bhavat<sup>51</sup>  
Śuddhodanasya<sup>52</sup> bhavitā Siddhārtho<sup>53</sup> Rāhulaḥ<sup>54</sup> sutaḥ<sup>55</sup>  
Prasenajit<sup>56</sup> tato bhāvyaḥ<sup>57</sup> Kṣudrako<sup>58</sup> bhavitā<sup>59</sup> tataḥ<sup>60</sup> 20  
Kṣudrakāt Kulako<sup>61</sup> bhāvyaḥ Kulakāt<sup>62</sup> Surathaḥ<sup>63</sup> smṛtaḥ<sup>64</sup>

*Amantrajit*; CGr *Krtajit*; abGr *Satajit*:  
jMt *tato bhavet*.

<sup>34</sup> So Vā; dMt also: dVā *Parnāc*.

<sup>35</sup> So Vā. Mt genly *Sumitra-jo*; bMt  
*trīyo*; jMt *trāt tu*.

<sup>36</sup> Mt genly *Brhadrājo*; Vṣ, Bh genly agree.  
But hVṣ, bqtBh, CGr *dbhrāja*; hjklpBh  
*dbhāja*; nMt, abGr *dvāja*; fBh *dgātra*;  
cBh *dbhānu*; gBh *jjāta*; eBh *Brahmadrāja*;  
cMt *Mahārājo*. Vā *Bharadvājo*. *Brhad-*  
*bhrāja* appears to be the probable name.

<sup>37</sup> So Vā; Vṣ agrees: eVā *Dharma*; Gr  
*Dhārmika*. Mt reads this half line *Brhad-*  
*rājasya* (d, *rājyasya*; n, *vājasya*) *vīryavān*  
(b, *vīrya-bhāk*; j, *kīrtanāt*), where *vīryavān*  
is probably a mistake for *Dharmavān* or  
*Dhārmikah*; see note <sup>40</sup>. Bh *Barhis*.

<sup>38</sup> So Vā, CbedejkmMt. Other Mt *punaḥ*.

<sup>39</sup> So Mt genly, Vā, Vṣ, Bh, Gr agree.  
But fgMt read thus—

Kṛtiñjaya iti khyātaḥ su-putro yo bhavi-  
syati:

but fMt *Kṛtañj*° in next line. In bVṣ  
*Kṛtiñj*°: jMt *Vṛhañj*°, but *Kṛtañj*° in next  
line.

<sup>40</sup> So Vā: for sa dVā has *sam-*, eVā *tu*.  
Mt genly *Dhārmikāś ca*; cMt *keś ca*; mMt  
*ttāhākaś ca*. Mt reading should probably  
be *Dhārmikasya* (see note <sup>37</sup>). But gVā  
reads this half line, *rājā parama-dhārmikah*.

<sup>41</sup> In degVā *jayāt*; kVā *jayā*; lMt *Raṇañ-*  
*jaya-*.

<sup>42</sup> So Mt. Vā genly *Vrāto*: gVā *suta*  
*vrāto*, dVā *vrāta*, kVā *vrato*; eVā *svrato*  
*vai*. These suggest a king Vrāta or Svvrata,  
of whom the other authorities know nothing.

<sup>43</sup> So Mt. Vā *tasya putro* to accord with  
the insertion of Vrāta.

<sup>44</sup> So Vā, cefgkmMt; Vṣ, Bh agree. Mt  
genly *Ranej*°; abGr *Raṇaj*°; qBh *Rṇañj*°;  
eVā *Rathāj*°: CGr †*Dhanastraya*.

<sup>45</sup> So all; but gBh *Suñjaya*: lMt reads  
this half line †*Raṇañjayaś capisuno*.

<sup>46</sup> *Cāto* in bMt.

<sup>47</sup> *Raṇañjaya-* in cenMt.

<sup>48</sup> So all genly: but cdeMt, abVṣ, cfBh  
*Śak*°; bMt *Sāth*°; gMt *Sāj*°; fMt *Sāj*°;  
abGr *Kāśyapanya*: kVā omits this name in  
a blank.

<sup>49</sup> So all; except ceMt *Śak*°; dgMt *Sāj*°;  
fMt *Sāj*°; bMt *Sāth*°: gVā *rājā*.

<sup>50</sup> So Vā, bcdjMt; bghVṣ, Gr agree: efgMt  
*Sud*°. Mt genly *Chuddhauḍ*°; nMt crp.  
Bh *Suddhoda*. Vṣ genly *Kruddhodana*;  
dVṣ *Krod*°; aVṣ crp.

<sup>51</sup> So Vā; bVā *bhavet*: eVā *smṛtaḥ*. Mt  
genly *nṛpaḥ*; cejnMt *punaḥ*.

<sup>52</sup> So Vā, cdenMt. Mt genly *Śuddhauḍ*°;  
bfjMt *Suddhod*°.

<sup>53</sup> So Mt genly; cMt *Śuddhārdha*, eMt  
*Śru*°. Vā *Śākyārthe*; a'a<sup>3</sup>bdhVā *Śak*°. Vṣ,  
Bh, Gr omit him.

<sup>54</sup> So Ca<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>Vā; lVṣ *Rāhula*. Vṣ genly  
*Rātula*; a'a<sup>2</sup>dghVā *Nāhula*; abhVṣ, CGr  
*Bāh*°; abGr *Vāph*°; bhVā *Nah*°; jVṣ *Gār*°.  
Bh *Lāngala*. In jMt *Prāhula*; fgMt  
*Prahuta*; Mt genly *Puškala*; eMt *Hasata*;  
kMt *Hasanaḥ* (cMt *sanah*); lMt *Sukṛtaḥ*.

<sup>55</sup> So Mt. Vā *smṛtaḥ*; jMt *dhruvaḥ*. Bh  
*tat-sutaḥ smṛtaḥ*.

<sup>56</sup> So Mt genly, Vā. Vṣ, Bh agree. CeMt  
*Prasenaji*; lMt *sannaji*; Gr *Senajit*: lVṣ  
omits him.

<sup>57</sup> *Kṛto*° in eMt; jMt *tato bhavyāt*.

<sup>58</sup> So all; but lVṣ *Kṣudrajit*: aVṣ omits  
him.

<sup>59</sup> *Mavarā* in eMt.

<sup>60</sup> In ceMt *nṛpaḥ*; nMt *na sah*.

<sup>61</sup> So Mt genly: a<sup>2</sup>dVā *Kuliko*, Ca<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>Vā  
*Kṣul*°; cMt *Keullako*, eMt *Kṣall*°; jMt  
*Tūlako*. Vṣ *Kundaka*; fMt *Ku[va]nako*;



Sumitraḥ<sup>65</sup> Surathasyāpi<sup>66</sup> antyaś ca<sup>67</sup> bhavitā nṛpaḥ  
 eta Aikṣvākavaḥ<sup>68</sup> proktā<sup>69</sup> bhaviṣyā ye<sup>70</sup> Kalau yuge<sup>71</sup>  
 Brhadbal-ānvaye jātā<sup>72</sup> bhaviṣyāḥ kula-varadhanāḥ<sup>73</sup>  
 sūrās ca kṛta-vidyās ca satya-sandhā jit-ēndriyāḥ<sup>74</sup>  
 niḥśeṣāḥ kathitās c-aiva nṛpā ye vai purātanāḥ<sup>75</sup>  
 atr-ānuvaṁśa<sup>76</sup>-śloko 'yaṁ viprair gītaḥ purātanaiḥ<sup>77</sup>  
 Ikṣvākūṇām ayam vaṁśaḥ Sumitr-ānto bhaviṣyati<sup>78</sup>  
 Sumitram prāpya rājānaṁ saṁsthām prāpsyati vai Kalau<sup>79</sup>.

ity evam Mānavo vaṁśaḥ<sup>80</sup>  
 prāg eva<sup>82</sup> samudāhṛtaḥ<sup>83</sup>

ity evam Mānavam kṣatram<sup>81</sup>  
 Ailam ca samudāhṛtam<sup>84</sup> 30

*IVṣ Kurandaka: pBh Kanāṁka; fBh Ganaka; gBh Sun°; Bh genly Raṅ°; cBh Rūn°: erBh omit him. CGr Kudava; abGr Kudara. Gr inserts a king Sumitra before him, misplacing aptly the next king Suratha.*

<sup>62</sup> In jMt Kūl°; fMt Kru°; ceMt Kṣull°.  
<sup>63</sup> So Mt, Vā. Vṣ, Bh agree: kBh Suretha;  
 fMt Surasaḥ: hVṣ Adhīratha; IVṣ Vidūr°  
 or Vimyūr°: cBh Sunaya; erBh omit him.  
 Gr aptly Sumitra, see note <sup>61</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Suitaḥ in cenMt. Bh tanayas tataḥ.

<sup>65</sup> So all: eVā omits this name.

<sup>66</sup> So Vā, bedfgjknMt; eMt °thas c-āpi:  
 other Mt °thāj jāto; AMt adds hy: eVā  
 °thāt tasmād: IVṣ says tat-putraś.

<sup>67</sup> So Vā, nMt; eVā °sa; Mat genly °tu;  
 bVā antya ca. Antyaḥ crp to antaḥ in bMt,  
 abGr; to anyāḥ in CcefgjMt; Vṣ genly; to  
 ataḥ in CGr; to tataś in dVā: so antyaś ca  
 to antasya in gkVā. Bh niṣṭhānta.

<sup>68</sup> So bḥVā, Bd. ACMt ete c-Aik°; cenMt,  
 eVā ete Ik°; bdfgMt ity et-Ēk°, jMt °ev-Ēk°.  
 Vā genly eta Aikṣvākavaḥ; mVā ete Ai[la]k-  
 ṣvākavaḥ.

<sup>69</sup> Bhūpā in jMt.

<sup>70</sup> So Mt genly, eVā: cejnMt °syanti. Vā,  
 Bd bhavitāraḥ.

<sup>71</sup> Kilau purā in jVā.

<sup>72</sup> So Vā, Bd; eVā °tv ete; benMt °ānvayā  
 ye tu. Mt genly °ānvavāye tu: jMt Vṛhad-  
 ba...nṛpā ye tu; cjqBh °balā nṛpāḥ. Vṣ  
 °bal-ānvayāḥ. Bh genly ete Bārhadbal-  
 ānvayāḥ: riBh ete c-ānāgatā nṛpāḥ.

<sup>73</sup> So Mt genly: dMt kṣudra-vaṁdh°, bfgMt

°bāndhavāḥ, eVā putra-bāndh°; kMt kṣatra-  
 bandhavaḥ; jMt kruddha-vaṁdhanāḥ; cenMt  
 śuddha-vaṁśa-jāḥ. Bd reads this half line,  
 mahā-vīrya-parākramāḥ. Vā repeats bha-  
 vitāraḥ Kalau yuge.

<sup>74</sup> This line is only in Va and Bd.

<sup>76</sup> This line is only in cenMt.

<sup>78</sup> Atr-ānubandha in kMt.

<sup>77</sup> So Mt genly; befgjnMt gīto vipraiḥ.  
 Vā bhaviṣya-jñair udāhṛtaḥ; Bd bhaviṣyaj-  
 jñ°; dVā bhaviṣyatair (or °nair)°: see In-  
 trodn. § 8.

<sup>78</sup> So all; but jMt Sumitrā te bh°: eMt  
 omits the second half line.

<sup>79</sup> So all: except that Vṣ, Bh begin yatas  
 tam; rBh eṣyati for prāpsyati; IVṣ tasmāt  
 for saṁsthām. Vṣ reads the second half  
 line, sa saṁsthām (h, saṁsthānam) prāpsyate  
 Kalau. This line in jMt is—

Sumitraś c-āpi rājā vai saṁsthām prāp-  
 syati kevalam.

<sup>80</sup> So this line is in Mt genly: bMt Māna-  
 vam vaṁśam.

<sup>81</sup> So this line is in Vā, Bd: CgkVā  
 †kṣetram: eVā blunders thus—

ity etat Soma-jam kṣatram Aila-jam  
 samudāhṛtam;

for Aila-ja = Soma-ja, and neither term ap-  
 plies to the Aikṣvākus who were Mānavas.

<sup>82</sup> In bMt Pāṇḍavam; cenMt Ailasya; eMt  
 Elaś ca; kMt †malasa; jMt etaiḥ ca; dMt  
 crp.

<sup>83</sup> In bMt °tam: eMt su-mah-ādṛtaḥ; cMt  
 su-mah-ādbhutaḥ.

<sup>84</sup> Su-suhṛd-gatam in bVā.

*Bārhadrathas.*

*Text*—AMt 271, 17<sup>b</sup>-30<sup>a</sup>; AVā 99, 294-309<sup>a</sup>; Bđ iii, 74, 107<sup>b</sup>-122<sup>a</sup>.

*Corresp. passages*—CV§ iv, 23; GBh ix, 22, 45<sup>b</sup>-49; CGr i, 141, 9-11.

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

Scarcely any copies are complete. L. 15 is only in Vā and Bđ, and ll. 30, 31 only in *jMt*. All copies of Mt omit ll. 26-28, except that l. 26 is in *dfgkMt* and ll. 27, 28 in *cdefgjkM*. Other omissions are: *ceMt* ll. 8, 9, 13, 20, 21, 23-25, and *eMt* also ll. 29, 32, 33; *jMt* ll. 8-12, 17-19, 32, 33; *kMt* ll. 12, 13, 17-23; *lMt* ll. 8-12, 21-29; *mMt* ll. 10-12, 14, 24, 25 and misplaces 18-20 after 23; *nMt* ll. 19 (second half)-22 (first half): *a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>Vā* ll. 23-25; *ōVā* ll. 16 (second half)-18 (first half); *eVā* ll. 7-9, 15; *fVā* l. 25; *gVā* ll. 21-29; *jVā* ll. 1 (second half)-2 (first half), 10-12; *lVā* ll. 8-12; *mVā* ll. 23-25: *hpMt* and *lV§* have lost the whole. V§ and Bh omit Nirvṛti; *rBh* also Kṣema, Suvrata, Dharmanetra and Suśrama; and *abGr* Senājit and all after Dṛdhasena.

Lines 30, 31 in *jMt* are perhaps valuable. This dynasty was founded by Brhadrathā, son of Vasu Caidyōparicara, and he and his 9 successors reigned down to the great battle; see JRAS, 1910, pp. 11, 22, 29. From the battle to Senājit 6 kings are named, excluding Senājit who is spoken of as the then reigning king; and from and including him to the end 16 kings are mentioned. There were thus 32 kings altogether, 10 before the battle and 22 after; or from the standpoint of Senājit's reign 16 past and 16 future. Lines 30-31 in *jMt* take the standpoint of his reign and speak of him and his successors as the 16 future kings, and say *prima facie* their total duration was 723 years; see note <sup>98</sup>. Lines 32-33, which are not in *jMt*, reckon (in a way) from the beginning and speak of all the 32 kings as future since most of them were posterior to the battle; and thus they say the whole dynasty lasted 1000 years. These two statements are not contradictory but are hardly compatible, because taken together they assign 723 years to the last 16 kings and only 277 to the first 16. The total of 1000 years for 32 kings is excessive, and that of 723 years for 16 kings is absurd. But if we can read lines 30-31 as two independent sentences, and treat *tesām* as applying, not merely to those 16 future kings, but to the Brhadrathas generally, their purport stands thus—"These 16 kings are to be known as the future Brhadrathas: and<sup>1</sup> their kingdom (that is, the kingdom of the Brhadrathas) lasts 723 years." The total duration then, 723 years, would be within possibility, for the average reign would be about 22½ years. This rendering would of course discredit lines 32-33. If we read *vayo* in *jMt* with that construction (see note <sup>98</sup>), the total period would be 700 years and would give an average reign of just under 22 years, which would be *vimś-ādhikam*.

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

Ata ūrdhvam pravakṣyāmi Māgadhā ye Br̥hadrathāḥ<sup>1</sup>  
 Jarāsandhasya ye vaṁśe<sup>2</sup> Sahadev-ānvaye<sup>3</sup> nr̥pāḥ  
 atitā vartamānās ca<sup>4</sup> bhaviṣyās ca tathā punaḥ<sup>5</sup>  
 prādhānyataḥ pravakṣyāmi gadato me nibodhata<sup>6</sup>  
 saṅgrāme Bhārate vṛtte<sup>7</sup> Sahadeve nipātite<sup>8</sup> 5  
 Somādhis<sup>9</sup> tasya dāyādo<sup>10</sup> rāj-ābhūt<sup>11</sup> sa Girivraje<sup>12</sup>  
 pañcāsatam<sup>13</sup> tath-āṣṭau ca<sup>14</sup> samā rājyam akārayat  
 Śrutaśravās<sup>15</sup> catuḥ-ṣaṣṭim<sup>16</sup> samās tasy-ānvaye<sup>17</sup> 'bhavat<sup>18</sup>  
 Ayutāyus<sup>19</sup> tu<sup>20</sup> ṣaḍ-vimśad<sup>21</sup> rājyam varṣāny<sup>22</sup> akārayat  
 catvāriṁśat<sup>23</sup> samās tasya | samāḥ śatam<sup>24</sup> Nirāmitro  
 Niramitro<sup>25</sup> divam gataḥ | mahim bhuktvā divam gataḥ 10

<sup>1</sup> So Mt, a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>a<sup>4</sup>bd<sup>5</sup>ghVā; also Vā (reading yo): fkmVā Māgadha (m, °dhe) ye Br̥had-rathāḥ, Bḍ Māgadho yo B°, jMt Māgadhēso B°: other Vā Māgadheyān Br̥hadrathān: eVā vaṁśe ye vai Vṛhadrathāt. Bh says—  
 Atha Māgadha-rājano bhavitāro vadāmi te; which is not Skt but Pali; see Appendix I, § ii. Vṣ says—

Māgadhānām Vārhadrathānām bhaviṣyāṇām (kVṣ bhāvinām) anukramam kathayāmi.

<sup>2</sup> So Vā, Bḍ. Mt pūrveṇa ye Jarāsandhāt, which should prob. be pūrve tu ye J°, cf. jMt sarve ye tu J°. Vṣ says—

atra hi vaṁśe mahābalā Jaiāsandha-pradhānā babbhūvuh.

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

<sup>3</sup> In jMt °devās tu ye; dMt crp.

<sup>4</sup> Both accus. pl. in cefgnMt; both nom. sing. in jMt.

<sup>5</sup> So Vā, Bḍ. Mt °ṣyāṁś (bdj, °ṣyās) ca nibodhata (j, nibodha tām).

<sup>6</sup> This line only in Vā, Bḍ: eVā prādhānyās tām.

<sup>7</sup> So Mt; jMt matle. Vā, Bḍ tasmin.

<sup>8</sup> So Mt, eVā. Vā, Bḍ °devo nipātitaḥ: ceMt yaś ca bhuktā mahā drayam (c, druyam).

<sup>9</sup> So Mt, Vā genly. Bḍ, cdefgjVṣ, CGr Somāpi; eVā, bhVṣ °āvi; bnMt °ādi; Vṣ genly °āmi; kVṣ °āri: aVṣ Semāvi; jMt, bVā Samādhi, kVā Sām°. Bh Mārjari. For Somādhis tasya cMt has Sahadevasya, eMt °devo 'sya.

<sup>10</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bḍ tanayo.

<sup>11</sup> So Mt: eVā rāj-āsīt. Vā, Bḍ rājarsih.

<sup>12</sup> In lMt Giri[sam]vrajan; ceMt samiti-dhvajaḥ.

<sup>13</sup> Pañcāśac ca in fgMt; jMt reads this

half line, pañcāśat sapta ca taihā.

<sup>14</sup> Tathā c-aiva in bMt; eVā omits th-āṣṭau ca.

<sup>15</sup> So Mt, a<sup>1-4</sup>mVā, Bḍ. Bh, bkVṣ, CGr agree. CVā °śruvās; fBh °śruva; abGr °ścavās: gBh Śataśravas, tBh Vyutas°. Vṣ genly Śrutavān; aVṣ †Tuksata.

<sup>16</sup> So Mt, Ca<sup>1</sup>Vā: a<sup>2-4</sup>bd<sup>5</sup>ghjklmVā, Bḍ sapta-ṣaṣṭi; but dVā repeats the line thus—  
 Śrutaśravā ṣaṣṭi samās tatas tasya suto 'bhavat:

so bVā also, crp.

<sup>17</sup> So Mt genly; bMt °ānvayo; dMt °āntayo; nMt tasya nayo. Vā, Bḍ tasya suto.

<sup>18</sup> Bhavet in bkMt.

<sup>19</sup> So Vā, Bḍ. Vṣ, Bh, CGr agree; gVṣ °tāyuta, abGr °tāmus, rBh °dhāyus; fBh °dhutās ca; jVṣ Uyus. Mt genly Apratāpi; a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>dfgmMt Apratāpi (which would be an easy misreading of Ayutāyī); nMt Anayā-pam; kMt Asutā.

<sup>20</sup> Ca in Mt.

<sup>21</sup> So bkMt, Bḍ; Vā genly ṣaḍ-vimśam: mVā that or ṣaṣṭ-trimśam. Mt genly, a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>fgjnVā ṣaṣṭ-trimśat or °śam: but dfgMt, bdhVā ṣaḍ-trimśat or °śa, where the ḍ suggests the correct reading is ṣaḍ-vimśat, for v and tr are often confused.

<sup>22</sup> So Vā, Bḍ. Mt samā (kMt abdam) rājyam.

<sup>23</sup> So Mt: kMt °śati.

<sup>24</sup> So Vā, Bḍ: eVā omits these words.

<sup>25</sup> So Mt genly; bnMt tasmān Nir°; nMt Nirāmitro: but ceMt samā Mitro bhuktvā c-aiva; kMt Śarmamitro bhogān bhuktvā; dfgMt Nirāmitro (g, °titro) bhuktvā c-ēmām.

pañcāśatam samāḥ ṣaṭ ca<sup>26</sup> Sukṣatraḥ<sup>27</sup> prāptavān mahīm  
trayo-vimśad Brhatkarmā<sup>28</sup> rājyam varṣāny<sup>29</sup> akārayat  
Senājit<sup>30</sup> samprayātas ca<sup>31</sup> | Senājit<sup>30</sup> sāmprataḥ<sup>32</sup> c'āpi  
bhuktṛvā<sup>33</sup> pañcāśatam<sup>34</sup> mahīm | etā vai<sup>35</sup> bhokṣyate<sup>36</sup> samāḥ<sup>37</sup>  
Śrutañjayas<sup>38</sup> tu<sup>39</sup> varṣāni<sup>40</sup> catvāriṃśad<sup>41</sup> bhaviṣyati  
mahā-balo<sup>42</sup> mahā-bāhur<sup>43</sup> mahā-buddhi<sup>44</sup>-parākramah  
aṣṭā-vimśati<sup>45</sup> varṣāni mahīm<sup>46</sup> prāpsyati vai<sup>47</sup> Vibhuḥ<sup>48</sup>  
aṣṭa-pañcāśatam<sup>49</sup> c'ābdān<sup>50</sup> rājye sthāsyati vai Śuciḥ<sup>51</sup>  
aṣṭā-vimśat<sup>52</sup> samā rājā<sup>53</sup> Kṣemo<sup>54</sup> bhokṣyati vai mahīm<sup>55</sup>

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

<sup>26</sup> But *fgMt ṣadva*; *nMt ṣadga*; *cMt ṣaṣṭah*; *eMt hy aṣṭah*; *eVā tasya*.

<sup>27</sup> So *dfMt, a'eVā, Bd*; Vṣ agrees: *kVā Sukṣatrā*; *a'fgmVā 'kṣattā*. *Ca'a'Vā 'kṛttāh*, *hVā 'kṛttā*, *bVā 'kṛtā*, *dVā 'kṣakṛt*; *gMt Kṣukṣatraḥ*; *bMt Sukṣarah*. Mt genly *Surakṣah*; *ceMt Sumitrah*; *kMt Nakṣatraḥ*; *nMt crp.* Bh, *bVṣ Sunakṣatra*; *abGr Suhakṣ*; *CGr Svakṣetra*. Vṣ adds *tat-tanayah*.

<sup>28</sup> So Vā, Bd, with °*śad*, °*śam*, or °*śa*. Mt *Brhatkarmā trayo-vimśad*; *ceMt 'tu dvā-trimśat*. Vṣ *Vṛhatkarman*. Bh °*tsena*; *hBh Vihaśena*. *CGr Bahukārmaka*; *abGr Varukarmana*.

<sup>29</sup> So Vā, Bd; *eVā varṣāni 'kār*. Mt genly *abdam rājyam*, *fgMt abdān*: *cenMt* read this half line, *prāptā (n, 'tas*; *c, 'tvā) c-ēmām vasundharām*.

<sup>30</sup> So Mt, Vā genly, *Bd: a'bdjMt, a'a'Vā, Vṣ, CGr Sena*; *nMt Śena*, *mMt Śyena*; *kVā San-jit*. Bh genly *Karmajit*, *nBh Kār*, *hkBh Kūr*; *rBh Dharmavid*: *eVā Manīṣi*. *CGr* inverts this king and the next. See the corresponding lines about *Adhisimākṣṇa* (p. 4, l. 6) and *Divākara* (p. 10, l. 5).

<sup>31</sup> So Mt genly: *bfgmMt sāmprataś c'āyam*, *jMt samprajic c'*.

<sup>32</sup> So Vā, Bd: *eVā sāmprataś*.

<sup>33</sup> *Bhoktā* in *bdfgjlmMt*.

<sup>34</sup> So *a'a'bdlMt*; *fgjMt 'śatā*. Mt genly *pañca-satam*.

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

<sup>36</sup> *CVā bhujyatē*; *fmVā bhokṣyase*.

<sup>37</sup> In *mVā tava*; *fvā tave*.

<sup>38</sup> So all; except *jMt Śrutāñj*; *a'kVā Śatañj*; *gMt Śrūtāñj*; *bMt Stutañj*; *dVṣ Kṣatañj*; *bVṣ Ripuñj*: *eVā Śatañyajñas*. Bh names him *Śrtañjaya* indirectly, *Srtañjayād Viprah*; *cBh Mutañj*. *CGr* inverts him and *Senājit*.

<sup>39</sup> *Ca* in *cenMt*.

<sup>40</sup> In *enMt varṣānām*; *jMt varṣān vai*.

<sup>41</sup> *Pañca-trimśad* in *fgMt, eVā*.

<sup>42</sup> This line is only in Vā, Bd. *CVā 'bāhur*. *Bd ripuñjajo*.

<sup>43</sup> *CVā buddhir*.

<sup>44</sup> *CVā bhīma*; *gVā bala*.

<sup>45</sup> So Mt; *eVā aṣṭa-vimśat tu*: *gmVā pañca-vimśat tu*. Vā, Bd *pañca-trimśat tu*.

<sup>46</sup> *Masvā* in *eVā*.

<sup>47</sup> So Mt genly; *jMt pāsyati*; *cenMt samprāpsyate*. Vā, Bd *pālayitā*.

<sup>48</sup> So Mt genly, *eVā*; *bMt vibho*; *cefgMt Prabhuh*; *lMt prabho*: *djkMt vīryavān* for *vai Vibhuḥ*. Vṣ, Bh genly *Vipra*; *pBh Dhipra*; *jVṣ Pipra*; *kVṣ Ripu*; *bVṣ Ripuñjaya*. *CGr Bhūri*; *abGr Sañvi*. Vā, Bd *nṛpah*, giving no name; *mVā [vr]nṛpah*.

<sup>49</sup> *Aṣṭau pañcāśatā* in *eVā*.

<sup>50</sup> So *dfjMt, Vā, Bd*: *cMt c-ābdā*; *nMt, hVā cāstān*; *eMt cāstā*. Mt genly *ṣaṭ ca*: *eVā sūnho*.

<sup>51</sup> So all: except *nBh Suci*; *bMt Mucih*; *eMt Śrucih*; *gBh Śuśi*. Vṣ adds *tasya putraḥ*.

<sup>52</sup> In *cdeMt aṣṭā-trimśat* (or °*śa*); *mMt dvātrimśas ca*.

<sup>53</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bd *pūrnāh*.

<sup>54</sup> So all: except *eVā Kṣamo*; *lMt Kṣaimo*. Vṣ genly, *CGr Kṣemya*: *fgMt Pakso* or *Yakṣo*.

<sup>55</sup> So Mt genly; *cefgmMt bhokṣyati (f, bhojyati) medinīm*. Vā, Bd *rājā bhaviṣyati*.

Suvratas tu <sup>56</sup> catuḥ-ṣaṣṭim <sup>57</sup> rājyam prāpsyati vīryavān <sup>58</sup>	
pañca-trimśati <sup>59</sup> varṣāni	pañca varṣāni pūrṇāni <sup>60</sup>
Sunetro <sup>61</sup> bhokṣyate mahīm <sup>62</sup>	Dharmanetro <sup>63</sup> bhaviṣyati 20
bhokṣyate <sup>64</sup> Nirvṛtiś <sup>65</sup> c-ēmām <sup>66</sup> aṣṭa-pañcāśataṁ samāḥ <sup>67</sup>	aṣṭa-pañcāśataṁ samāḥ <sup>67</sup>
aṣṭa-vimśat <sup>68</sup> samā rājyam	aṣṭa-trimśat <sup>69</sup> samā rājyam <sup>70</sup>
Trinetro <sup>71</sup> bhokṣyate tataḥ <sup>72</sup>	Suśramasya <sup>73</sup> bhaviṣyati
catvārimśat tath-aṣṭau ca <sup>74</sup> Dr̥dhaseno <sup>75</sup> bhaviṣyati	
trayas-trimśat tu <sup>76</sup> varṣāni	trayas-trimśat tu varṣāni
Mahīnetraḥ <sup>77</sup> prakāśyate <sup>78</sup>	Sumatiḥ <sup>79</sup> prāpsyate tataḥ <sup>80</sup>
dvā-trimśat tu <sup>81</sup> samā rājā <sup>82</sup> Sucasas <sup>83</sup> tu bhaviṣyati <sup>84</sup>	25

<sup>56</sup> So Bđ. V<sub>§</sub>, Bh, CGr agree: also eVā *Suvratas tha* (for *Suvrato 'tha*); CbfgmVā *Suvatas tu*. Vā genly *Bhuvatas tu*; jVā, 2 MSS of CVā *Yuvatas*°; dVā *tsavatsara*; jBh *Suvrata*; abGr *Sujāta*. Mt genly *Anuvrataś*, gMt °*traś*; fMt *Anuvṛta*: ceMt *Kṣemakasya*.

<sup>57</sup> So Mt, Vā, Bđ (°*ti*, °*ti*, °*ti*, °*ti*): cdeMt *sutah ṣaṣṭi*; dVā *tu ṣaṣṭim vai*; mMt *ṣaṣṭi samā*.

<sup>58</sup> In ceMt *yatnataḥ* (for *Suvrataḥ*? see note <sup>56</sup>).

<sup>59</sup> So CbMt; fgjkmMt °*trimsat tu* (m, ca; k omits tu). AlMt °*vimśati*; dMt *pañcāśac ca* (with a syll. short).

<sup>60</sup> So Vā, Bđ: eVā *varṣāni* repeated.

<sup>61</sup> In jMt †*Snānātro*; lMt *pañcāśan*.

<sup>62</sup> *Mahīm* in jMt.

<sup>63</sup> So Vā, Bđ; also hV<sub>§</sub>, hV<sub>§</sub>Bh, and v. r. in GBh: hVā °*nepro*. Bh genly *Dharmasūtra*; nBh °*putra*; bqBh °*kṣetra*. V<sub>§</sub>, Gr briefly *Dharma*.

<sup>64</sup> *Bhokṣyate* in mMt, emVā.

<sup>65</sup> So Mt; jMt *Ninṛtiś*; eVā *Nṛbhṛtaḥ*. Vā, Bđ *nṛpatiś*.

<sup>66</sup> So Mt. Bđ c-ēmā; a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>fkmVā *caimā*; hVā *caibhā*; dVā c-ōbhā; other Vā c-aiṅva: eVā *pṛthvīm*.

<sup>67</sup> In fMt *aṣṭam p*°: bMt *aṣṭa-pañcāśa vai samām*.

<sup>68</sup> So Mt: cdeMt °*vimśa*.

<sup>69</sup> So Vā, Bđ. CVā *aṣṭā*°.

<sup>70</sup> So Vā. Bđ *rāṣṭram*.

<sup>71</sup> So Mt genly; jMt *Train*°: cdefgMt *Sun*°.

<sup>72</sup> In cefgMt *nṛpaḥ*; dMt *mahīm*.

<sup>73</sup> So Bđ; V<sub>§</sub> genly *Suśrama*: hV<sub>§</sub> *Suśruma*, eV<sub>§</sub> and abGr *Suś*°, CGr †*Smas*°:

dV<sub>§</sub> *Suśuma*; tBh *Śrama*. Bh genly *Sama*; hknpBh *Sama*; bV<sub>§</sub> *Susava*; hV<sub>§</sub> *Suśrama*. Vā genly *Suvratasya*, eVā *Suśrut*°.

<sup>74</sup> So Mt; eVā °*śatam aṣṭau ca*. Vā, Bđ °*śad tdaś-aṣṭau ca*.

<sup>75</sup> So a<sup>2</sup>djMt, Vā genly, Bđ. V<sub>§</sub> genly, BcrtBh agree; CGr °*senaka*; jV<sub>§</sub> °*śnena*; abGr *Dardhasenaka* (Pkt): mMt *Dr̥dhanetā*; fgMt and eVā *Vṛhatseno*; bMt *Mahats*°, nMt *Mahās*°, CVā<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>Mt *Dyumats*°, and so GpBh (altered in p to *Dr̥dhas*°).

<sup>76</sup> So Mt genly; djMt °*śac ca*; fgMt °*śati*: kMt *pañca-trimśad* (omitting tu).

<sup>77</sup> So CVā<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>knMt: a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>bdfgjMt *mahīm N*°.

<sup>78</sup> So Mt genly: a<sup>1</sup>bfMt *praśāsyate*, djMt °*ti*; a<sup>2</sup>kMt *praśāsyate*, gjmMt °*ti*. The root *praśās* appears to be treated as belonging to the ya class, see *Various local dynasties*, note <sup>64</sup>, post.

<sup>79</sup> So Vā, Bđ, V<sub>§</sub>, Bh, CGr: dV<sub>§</sub> *Sumanti*.

<sup>80</sup> In eVā °*te mahīm*; dVā *vimśatiḥ samāḥ*.

<sup>81</sup> So Mt genly, eVā; dfgkMt °*śac ca*; nMt °*śatam*. Vā *dvā-vimśati*; jMt °*śat tu*. Bđ *catvārimśat*.

<sup>82</sup> So Mt; fgMt *rājan*. Vā, dMt *rājyam*. AkMt add *hy*.

<sup>83</sup> Mt genly *Acalas*; bMt *Abalas*: a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>jIVā *Sucalo*; CVā *Sucālo*; a<sup>3</sup>a<sup>4</sup>bhkVā *Sucālo*. V<sub>§</sub>, nMt, Bh, CGr *Subalas*; hBh *Subāla*; cBh *Surbola*: eVā *Sudhanvā*; rBh *Bhūvana* or *Bhūbala*; one CVā MS *Yuvāno*. *Sucalo* seems the best form. Bđ omits this line: dVā reads it—

rājyam *Sucālo bhokṣyati atha śatru-jayī tataḥ*;

which suggests a king *Satrujayin*, but no other authority supports this. Bđ adds *janitā tataḥ*, 'son of the preceding'.

catvārimśat samā rājā<sup>85</sup> Sunetro<sup>86</sup> bhokṣyate<sup>87</sup> tataḥ<sup>88</sup>  
 Satyajit<sup>89</sup> pṛthivīm rājā<sup>90</sup> try-aśitim<sup>91</sup> bhokṣyate<sup>92</sup> samāḥ<sup>93</sup>  
 prāpy-ēmaṁ Viśvajic<sup>94</sup> c-āpi pañca-vimśad<sup>95</sup> bhaviṣyati  
 Ripuñjayas<sup>96</sup> tu varṣāni<sup>97</sup> pañcāsat prāpsyate mahīm  
 ṣoḍaśaite<sup>98</sup> nṛpā jñeyā bhavitāro Brhadrathāḥ 30  
 trayo<sup>99</sup>-vimś-ādhiḥ teṣāṁ rājyaṁ ca śata-saptakam  
 dvā-trimśac<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>2</sup> nṛpā hy ete<sup>3</sup> bhavitāro Brhadrathāḥ<sup>4</sup>  
 pūrṇaṁ varṣa-sahasraṁ<sup>5</sup> vai<sup>6</sup> teṣāṁ rājyaṁ bhaviṣyati<sup>7</sup>.

### Pradyotas.

*Text*—AMt 272, 1-5; AVā 99, 309<sup>b</sup>-314<sup>a</sup>; Bḍ iii, 74, 122<sup>b</sup>-127<sup>a</sup>.

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

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

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

<sup>84</sup> So Mt. Vā bhokṣyate tataḥ; eVā bhojyate<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> As to this line, see p. 13: dfykMt rājyaṁ.

<sup>86</sup> So Mt, Vā, Bḍ. Vṣ genly, frtBh Sunūta, dVṣ °nāta; Bh genly, aVṣ °nūtha. CGr Nūta.

<sup>87</sup> In kMt bhojyate; eVā bhavitā.

<sup>88</sup> In dfykMt nṛpāḥ.

<sup>89</sup> So all (see p. 13); except jkMt Saptajit; cdemMt Sarvajit.

<sup>90</sup> So cdefkMt, eVā; gjMt °vī-rājā. Vā genly °vī-rājyaṁ. Bḍ °vī-rāṣṭraṁ.

<sup>91</sup> So Vā, Bḍ: cefykMt aśitim; dMt aśitih: eVā trimśatam: jMt reads this half line, 'śitim prāpsyati vai samāḥ. Tryaśitim may be a mistake for hy aśitim, or (by metathesis of vowels) for trimśatam.

<sup>92</sup> In eVā bhojyate; cdefgkMt prāpsyate.

<sup>93</sup> In dfykMt tataḥ; ceMt nṛpāḥ.

<sup>94</sup> So all (see p. 13): but kVā Vṣyajic; Vā genly Vīrajic: cdefgkMt read this half line, Viśvajic c-aiva (d, sarba) varṣāni.

<sup>95</sup> So ekMt, dfmVā, Bḍ. Vā genly, cdjmMt °trimśad: gMt tri-pañcāśad, fMt °cād.

<sup>96</sup> So Mt, eVā. Vṣ, Bh agree: see Pradyotas, note<sup>1</sup>. Vā, Bḍ synonym. Ariñj<sup>o</sup>; dVā + Acirañj<sup>o</sup>; CGr Iṣuñj<sup>o</sup>: gMt omits this line and repeats l. 24 here. Vṣ adds tasya putrah.

<sup>97</sup> So Mt, Vā. Bḍ varṣānām.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> So Mt genly, Vā. CblMt °śati (omitting ca). Bḍ dvāvimśac, which is the total number of kings mentioned. This half line in gVā is, ete mahābalāḥ sarve.

<sup>2</sup> Mat tu; eVā omits.

<sup>3</sup> CMt nṛpārhyate (misprint): eVā ete hi nṛpā.

<sup>4</sup> So Mt, Bḍ. Vā genly °thāt. CVā Dṛhadrathāḥ; eVā dṛḍha-vratāḥ.

<sup>5</sup> In dMt pūrvaṁ v<sup>o</sup>; fyMt pūrṇe varṣa-sahasre. Vṣ varṣa-sahasraṁ ekam. Bh sāhasra-vatsaram.

<sup>6</sup> Mt tu.

<sup>7</sup> After this line AbcMt insert l. 3 from the next dynasty.

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

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

<p>Brhadhratheṣv <sup>1</sup> atiteṣu <sup>2</sup> Vīti-hotreṣv <sup>3</sup> Avantīṣu <sup>4</sup>  Pulikaḥ <sup>5</sup> svāminam hatvā <sup>6</sup>  sva<sup>a</sup>-putram abhiṣekṣyati  miṣatām <sup>10</sup> kṣatriyānām <sup>11</sup> ca <sup>12</sup>  Bālakah <sup>14</sup> Pulik-ōdbhavaḥ <sup>15</sup>  sa vai praṇata<sup>19</sup>-sāmanto <sup>20</sup> bhaviṣyo <sup>21</sup> naya-varjitaḥ <sup>22</sup></p>	<p>Sunikaḥ <sup>7</sup> svāminam hatvā  putram samabhiṣekṣyati <sup>9</sup>  miṣatām kṣatriyānām hi <sup>13</sup>  Pradyotaḥ <sup>16</sup> Suniko <sup>17</sup> balāt <sup>18</sup></p>
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<sup>1</sup> In *a<sup>1</sup>bMt* °rathe: *nMt* *Bārhadhratheṣv*, *eMt* °rathesa.

<sup>2</sup> In *beMt* *vyatiteṣu*; *a<sup>1</sup>Mt* °te tu; *bVā* omits 'titeṣu.

<sup>3</sup> So *Mt* genly: *Vā* genly and *cdenMt* *Vīta*°; *eVā* *Riti*°. *Bd* *Vīrahantṛṣv*. *Vīti-hotreṣv* is right; see *Early Contemporary Dynasties*, l. 7, where all three read it right; the name occurs often in the Purānas.

<sup>4</sup> So *Mt* genly. *Bd*, *a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>bfgHVā* *a-varitṣu*. Other *Vā* °hotreṣu *varitṣu*, *eVā* °varniṣu, *fjkmMt* °bandhuṣu; *lMt* °bhaviṣyati.

<sup>5</sup> So *a<sup>1-9</sup>bcdefgkmnMt*. *CGVā<sup>1</sup>lMt* *Pulakah*; *jMt* *Palikāḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> *Kṛtvā* in *eMt*.

<sup>7</sup> So *fmVā*; and *Vṣ* genly. *Bd*, *Bh* *Śunaka*; *dBh* *Śanaka*. *Vā* genly, *hkVṣ* *Munikaḥ*; *lVṣ* *Munika*. *Vṣ* says—

yo 'yam Ripuñjayo nāma Bārhadhratho 'ntyah tasya Suniko nām-āmātyo\* bhaviṣyati. Sa c-ainam svāminam hatvā sva-putram Pradyota<sup>a</sup>-nāmānam abhiṣekṣyati: where \* *kVṣ* *āpatyo*; <sup>†</sup> *eVṣ* *Pradyotana*. *Bh* reads—

yo 'ntyo\* Purañjayo<sup>†</sup> nāma bhaviṣyo  
Bārhadhrathah<sup>†</sup>  
tasy-āmātyas tu Śunako hatvā svāmi-  
nam ātmajam

Pradyota-sañjānam rājānam kartā:—

where \* *lVṣ* 'nyah; <sup>†</sup> *dBh* *Ripuñjayo* correctly, see p. 17, note <sup>36</sup>: <sup>†</sup> *Bārhadhrathah* for the metre; *eBh* *Bārhad*°; *cpBh* *Vāvrhad*°; *dBh* 'tha *Bārhad*°, *afnrsBh* *Bārhad*°, in dis-

regard of metre: *qBh* and *v.r.* in *GBh* amend this half line, *bhāvyo Bārhadhratho nṛpaḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> *Swam* in *bedMt*; *eMt* †*sūm*.

<sup>9</sup> So *Vā*, *Bd*; *sam-* was probably *swam* originally: *dVā* *rājye* 'bhī°.

<sup>10</sup> So *Mt* genly: *bMt* *jīyatām*; *lMt* *niyatām*; *nMt* *niyantā*; *dMt* †*maṣilām*: see p. 17, note <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> In *dMt* °yāyām.

<sup>12</sup> *Tu* in *cdefgjnMt*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ca* in *eVā*.

<sup>14</sup> So *Mt* genly: *bMt* *bālakah*; *jMt* *Mālikah*; see note <sup>27</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> So *cejnMt*; see note <sup>3</sup>. *ACMt* *Pulak*°; *kMt* *Pulako* merely. But *bdMt* *Puliko* *balāt*, *lMt* *Pulako*°, *fgmMt* *Pālako*°. The accus. seems to be required.

<sup>16</sup> So *Vā* genly. *Vṣ*, *Bh* corroborate, see note <sup>7</sup>. *Bd* °*tim*; *eVā* *Sudyotam*. *Ca<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>kVā* *Pradyoto*.

<sup>17</sup> See note <sup>7</sup>; *fVā* *Śunike*. *Vā* genly *Muniko*, *mVā* °*ke*. *Bd* *nṛpatim*.

<sup>18</sup> To its statement in note <sup>7</sup> *hVṣ* adds †*kyi saṁmati pārśva svayam eva rājā svayāmava bhāvino*.

<sup>19</sup> In *eMt* *prajāta*; *kMt* *prajāntāḥ*.

<sup>20</sup> In *lMt* *śrīmanto*.

<sup>21</sup> So *Mt* genly, *eVā*. *Vā* genly, *a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>bdMt* °*ṣye*; *jMt* *bhavitā*.

<sup>22</sup> So *Ca<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>cejklmMt*, *cfghjklmVā*; so *AVā* which prints it 'naya°'. But *dMt* *nava-v*°; *eVā* *na ca v*°; *fMt* *na ca dhārmikah*; *GVā<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>nMt* °*dharmataḥ*, *bMt* °*dharma-jit*:

trayo-vimśat samā rājā <sup>23</sup> bhavitā <sup>24</sup> sa nar-ōttamaḥ <sup>25</sup>	5
catur-vimśat samā rājā <sup>26</sup> Pālako <sup>27</sup> bhavitā tataḥ <sup>28</sup>	
Viśākhayūpo <sup>29</sup> bhavitā nrpaḥ pañcāśatīm <sup>30</sup> samāḥ	
eka-vimśat samā rājā <sup>31</sup>	eka-vimśat <sup>32</sup> samā rājyam
Sūryakas <sup>33</sup> tu bhaviṣyati	Ajakasya <sup>34</sup> bhaviṣyati
bhaviṣyati <sup>35</sup> samā <sup>36</sup> vimśat <sup>37</sup>	tat-suto Nandivardhanaḥ <sup>38</sup>
dvi-pañcāśat tato <sup>39</sup> bhuktvā <sup>40</sup>	aṣṭa-trimśac <sup>41</sup> -chatam <sup>42</sup> bhāvyaḥ <sup>43</sup>
prāṇaṣṭāḥ <sup>44</sup> pañca te nrpāḥ.	Prādyotāḥ <sup>45</sup> pañca te sutāḥ <sup>46</sup> . 10

*dVā mitra-varjitāḥ; bVā merely varjitāḥ. Bḍ reads this half line bhaviṣyena pravartitāḥ.*

<sup>23</sup> In *a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>Vā rājya*.

<sup>24</sup> In *nMt bhaviṣyat*.

<sup>25</sup> In *blnMt manmath-āturaḥ*.

<sup>26</sup> So *Vā, Bḍ. Mt genly aṣṭā-vimśati varṣāni: bMt vimśati tathā varṣā* (with an extra syll.), see Appendix I, § i: *kMt vimśat tato yo* (with a syll. short).

<sup>27</sup> So all, except *hBh Pal<sup>o</sup>; dBh Yāl<sup>o</sup>* (*p* and *y* confused); *kVṣ Gopāl<sup>o</sup>; ceMt Bāl<sup>o</sup>; bnMt Tīl<sup>o</sup>: jMt Pāsako; lVṣ Baka; lMt Nalakoṣo. Vṣ adds, tasy-āpi Pālaka-nāmā putro; Bh yat Pālakaḥ sutāḥ.*

<sup>28</sup> So *Vā, Bḍ: eVā punaḥ. Mt nrpāḥ.*

<sup>29</sup> So genly, except *dVṣ yapa, bVṣ yūgha, cBh sūpa, bMt and aVṣ bhūpo, fmVā dhūpo, jBh dūya, fyMt rūpo, rBh nrpa*. With the dialectical variation of *ṣ* and *kh*, *nMt* and *deVā Viśaṣa-yūpo, bhVā sūyo, kBh mūpa*. Otherwise *dMt Viśvākhayūpo; hBh Viśvay<sup>o</sup>; kVṣ Viśvāsvainy<sup>o</sup>*. *Bh* adds *tat-putro; Vṣ* implies it.

<sup>30</sup> So *Ca<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>Vā; bghkVā ā; a<sup>2</sup>lVā āḥ: Bḍ tam. Mt* reads this half line, *tri-pañcāśat* (*jMt pañcāśa dvā*) *tathā samāḥ; eVā kṣatriyānām samā satam.*

<sup>31</sup> So *Mt: kMt rājya*.

<sup>32</sup> So *efVā, Bḍ: mVā* first *trayo-vimśat* (part of l. 5?) but in repeating has *eka<sup>o</sup>*. *Vā* genly *eka-trimśat*.

<sup>33</sup> So *Mt genly: lMt Sūryabas; dMt Mūrjakas; mMt Mrjukas.*

<sup>34</sup> So *Vā, Bḍ; fVā Ajyak<sup>o</sup>, dVā Akark<sup>o</sup>: eVā* reads this half line *Ajakaḥ sa kariṣyati. Bh* genly *Rājaka; Vṣ Janaka: dBh Cājaka; akVṣ Ajaka; hVṣ Aja*.

<sup>35</sup> In *bMt Śiśunākāḥ*.

<sup>36</sup> So *Vā, Bḍ, bMt. Mt* genly *nrpas; fMt bhrśas*.

<sup>37</sup> *Mt trimśat; jMt tadvat*.

<sup>38</sup> So *Mt, Bḍ. Vṣ, Bh* agree: *dBh Nanda<sup>o</sup>* altered to *Nandi<sup>o</sup>; cVṣ Nakṣi<sup>o</sup>. Vā* genly *Varti<sup>o</sup>; one MS of CVā Vardhi<sup>o</sup>; a<sup>2</sup>Vā Kīrti<sup>o</sup>. Bh* adds *tat-putraḥ; Vṣ* implies it.

<sup>39</sup> So *ACbklmMt: dMt chate; fgjnMt chatam; ceMt satam*.

<sup>40</sup> In *odefjMt bhūtvā; lMt bhāvyaḥ*.

<sup>41</sup> So *Vā* genly, *Bḍ; Ca<sup>4</sup>Vā aṣṭā<sup>o</sup>; jVā aṣṭi-trimśat; dVā taṣṭāṭṭaṣa*.

<sup>42</sup> In *jmVā satam; dhVā tatam; gVā samā*.

<sup>43</sup> In *gVā rājā*.

<sup>44</sup> In *gMt prāṇaṣṭhāḥ; bMt prāṇanyāḥ; fMt prāṇāmdyāḥ; lMt prothotāḥ*.

<sup>45</sup> So *Vā* genly, *Bḍ: a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>kmVā, Vṣ Prād<sup>o</sup>. Bh Pradyotanāḥ; dBh Prād<sup>o</sup>*.

<sup>46</sup> So *Vā. Bḍ nrpāḥ*. Similarly *Vṣ—* ity ete aṣṭa\*-trimśad\*-uttaram abda\*-śatam pañca Pradyotāḥ pṛthivīm bhokṣyanti: where \**aVṣ ṣat, hVṣ dvā; † bhkVṣ vimśad; † jVṣ ardda, hVṣ aṣṭa, and kVṣ arū*, all corruptions of *abda*. *Bh* says—

pañca Pradyotanā ime  
aṣṭa\*-trimś\*-ōttara-śatam bhokṣyanti  
pṛthivīm nrpāḥ:  
where \**fmBh aṣṭā; † mBh vimś*.



*Śisunāgas.*

*Text*—AMt 272, 6–13<sup>a</sup>; AVā 99, 314<sup>b</sup>–322<sup>a</sup>; Bḍ iii, 74, 127<sup>b</sup>–135<sup>a</sup>.

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 3; GBh xii, 1, 5–8<sup>a</sup>.

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

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

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

The Bḍ and Bh reading *ṣasty-uttara-śata-trayam* (see note <sup>46</sup>) can also mean 163, if it represents a Pkt original of (something like) *ṣaṭṭhy-uttara-sataṁ tao*, but means 360 if taken as correct Skt. The former interpretation seems preferable, because this expression is used with *varṣāṇi* in Bḍ and with *samāh* in Bh, and these combinations do not constitute correct Skt but would be good in Pkt: still an ambiguity does appear there. It seems to have affected the two other versions. The Vā reading (see note <sup>46</sup>) taken as Pkt means 'hundred, three, plus sixty-two', but this is an impossible style of reckoning, and the only tenable construction is to read it as correct Skt meaning 362. As this is an impossible figure, I would suggest that the *dvi* is a corruption of *abda*<sup>1</sup>, that the initial *a* blended with or was elided after the word that represented *varṣāṇi* in the Pkt original<sup>2</sup>, and that the remaining *bda* was mistaken for *dvā* (or *dvi*). If this suggestion be tenable, the Vā reading agreed with Mt and meant 163. The Vṣ following upon the ambiguity and mistake says explicitly '362 years' in correct Skt.

<sup>1</sup> Compound consonants are sometimes inverted in the MSS, see note <sup>43</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Such elisions do take place in Pkt, and appear in Sanskrit, cf. p. 15, note <sup>29</sup>; p. 17, note <sup>31</sup>; *Various local dynasties*, note <sup>18</sup>, *infra*; and to that cause are no doubt due the elisions in the middle of the following lines, AVā 88, 81, 115; 94, 21:—

apadhvaṁs-ēti bahuśo 'vadat krodha-  
samanvitaḥ.  
devaiḥ sārddham mahātejā 'nugrahāt tasya  
dhimataḥ.  
rathī rājā 'py anucaro 'nyo 'gāc caiv-  
ānudrśyate.

Instances might be easily multiplied from the Purāṇas.

Hatvā<sup>1</sup> teṣāṃ yaśaḥ kṛtsnam Śisunāgo<sup>2</sup> bhaviṣyati  
Vārāṇasyāṃ sutam sthāpya<sup>3</sup> | Vārāṇasyāṃ sutas tasya<sup>4</sup>  
śrayiṣyati<sup>5</sup> Girivrajam | sa yāsyati<sup>6</sup> Girivrajam<sup>7</sup>  
Śisunāgas ca<sup>8</sup> varṣāṇi catvāriṃśad bhaviṣyati  
Kākavarṇaḥ<sup>9</sup> sutas tasya<sup>10</sup> ṣaṭ-triṃśat<sup>11</sup> prāpsyate mahim<sup>12</sup>  
ṣaṭ-triṃśac caiva<sup>13</sup> varṣāṇi | tatas tu vimśatiṃ<sup>14</sup> rājā  
Kṣemadharmā<sup>15</sup> bhaviṣyati | Kṣemadharmā<sup>16</sup> bhaviṣyati 5  
catvāriṃśat<sup>17</sup> samā rājyam<sup>18</sup> Kṣatraujāḥ<sup>19</sup> prāpsyate tataḥ<sup>20</sup>  
aṣṭa-vimśati<sup>21</sup> varṣāṇi<sup>22</sup> Vimbiśāro<sup>23</sup> bhaviṣyati<sup>24</sup>  
Ajātasatrur<sup>25</sup> bhavitā pañca<sup>26</sup>-vimśat samā nṛpaḥ  
pañca<sup>27</sup>-vimśat<sup>28</sup> samā rājā Darśakas<sup>29</sup> tu bhaviṣyati

<sup>1</sup> In a°Vā hṛtvā; kVā hate; cMt kṛtvā.  
<sup>2</sup> So nMt, Bḍ. Vṣ, Bh agree: nMt Śisunāgo here. Mt, Vā genly Śisunāko; bMt Śigru°; eMt Susṛuvāko here; kVā Śisuko; kVṣ Śisunāma.  
<sup>3</sup> So Mt: jMt °sthāpyo; df Mt tu samsthāpya.  
<sup>4</sup> So Vā and Bḍ.  
<sup>5</sup> So Mt genly; so bMt ante, see p. 18, but śrayiṣyati here: cenMt vrayiṣyati; dfgmMt adhyāsyati, jMt 'dhiṣṭhās°; lMt tavyameti.  
<sup>6</sup> So a°a°a°dVā, 3 MSS of CVā; bfgjlmVā so y°: hVā yo y°; kVā [so yosya] yo y°. Bḍ samy°: a°Vā, 3 MSS of CVā samprāpsyati.  
<sup>7</sup> In klVā °vratam.  
<sup>8</sup> So Bḍ. Vā Śisunākasya for °nākas ca, as in fMt. Mt genly Śisunākas tu; egMt Śisru° (g, ca); bMt Śigru°.  
<sup>9</sup> So Mt, Bḍ. Vṣ, Bh agree; lMt Kākevo°: kMt and fBh Kākavarṇaḥ; nMt Kāṣṇi-varmaḥ. Vā Śakavarṇaḥ; fVā Śavarna.  
<sup>10</sup> Vṣ, Bh corroborate.  
<sup>11</sup> So Vā, bcdfgjMt, Bḍ: eMt ṣaṭ-triṃśat, which suggests ṣaṭ-vimśat, as in Mt genly: nMt ṣaṭ-giṃśat (= ṣaṭ-vimśat).  
<sup>12</sup> So Mt, eVā (which has only these two words). Vā, Bḍ ca bhaviṣyati.  
<sup>13</sup> So Mt genly (jMt °c-āpi): bceMt °sati ca (b omits ca); nMt ṣaṭ-giṃśati (= ṣaṭ-triṃśati) ca.  
<sup>14</sup> So Vā and Bḍ.  
<sup>15</sup> So Mt genly. CMt °dhamā; nMt °dhanvā; dMt Śyemadharmā, where ś is dialectic variation in writing of kh which = kṣ: bMt +Lemacarmā.  
<sup>16</sup> So eVā, Bḍ. Vṣ, Bh agree. Vā genly

°varmā; bVā °vama; lVā °cam: dehlpsBh °dhamā, and yet say the next king was Kṣetradharma-ja; similarly fBh Kṣemadhanvā and °dharma-ja. Vṣ adds tat-putraḥ; Bh tasya sutaḥ.  
<sup>17</sup> So Vā, ceknMt, Bḍ. Mt genly caturvimśat, dMt °sati.  
<sup>18</sup> So Vā, bMt. Bḍ rāṣṭraṃ; cMt rājā. Mt genly so 'pi.  
<sup>19</sup> So Vā genly, Bḍ. Vṣ genly agrees; bdfglVā °trojāḥ: eVā Kṣetrojā, mVā °jah, kVā °yāḥ. Bh Kṣetrajā; kBh °trata; qBh Kṣetra. Mt mostly Kṣemajit; gMt °mavit; fMt °māmvit; dMt °mābh; kMt °mārvi; ceMt °mārciḥ; nMt Hemajit. Bh adds Kṣemadharmaja; Vṣ implies it.  
<sup>20</sup> So Vā, Bḍ. Mt mahim; nMt mahi.  
<sup>21</sup> So Mt. Vā °sat (bVā °se). Bḍ aṣṭa-triṃśat.  
<sup>22</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bḍ samā rājā, eVā °nṛpaḥ.  
<sup>23</sup> There is great variation in this name: aVṣ Vinviśāra; jVṣ Vimis°. Vṣ genly Vidmis°. Bḍ, Bh, hlVṣ Vidhis°. Vā, kVṣ Vivis°; bVṣ Suvindus°; mMt Vidusāno; jMt Vindumāno, bfglMt °duseno: dMt Bindunāso. Mt genly Vindhyaśeno, nMt Vidli°: kMt Kṣemadharmā. Vṣ adds tat-putro.  
<sup>24</sup> After this line Mt inserts the two lines about Kāṇvāyana and Bhūmimitra of the Kāṇvāyana dynasty (see infra), and repeats them in their proper place there. It is a clear error of misplacement.  
<sup>25</sup> So all: nMt Ajātās°; kVā Ajas°. Bh adds sutas tasya.  
<sup>26</sup> So Vā, Bḍ. Mt genly sapta; ceknMt sapta; bMt aṣṭa.  
<sup>27</sup> So Vā, Bḍ. Mt catur.

Udayī<sup>30</sup> bhavitā tasmāt<sup>31</sup> trayas-trimśat samā nrpaḥ 10  
 sa vai pura-varam rājā prthivyām Kusum-āhvayam<sup>32</sup>  
 Gaṅgāyā dakṣiṇe kūle<sup>33</sup> caturthe 'bde<sup>34</sup> kariṣyati  
 catvārimśat<sup>35</sup> samā<sup>36</sup> bhāvyo rājā<sup>37</sup> vai Nandivardhanaḥ<sup>38</sup>  
 catvārimśat trayas<sup>39</sup> caiva Mahānandī<sup>40</sup> bhaviṣyati  
 ity ete bhavitāro<sup>41</sup> vai<sup>42</sup> Śaisunāgā nrpā daśa<sup>43</sup> 15  
 śatāni<sup>44</sup> trīṇi varṣāṇi<sup>45</sup> ṣaṣṭi-varṣ-ādhikāni tu<sup>46</sup>  
 Śisunāgā<sup>47</sup> bhaviṣyanti<sup>48</sup> rājānaḥ kṣatra-bandhavaḥ<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Bḍ, a<sup>3</sup>Vā trimśat.

<sup>29</sup> Mt genly *Vamśakas*; eMt *Vams°*; eMt *Vas°*; nMt *Viś°*; jMt *Vasyagas*; kMt *Śakas c-aiva* (omitting *tu*). Vā *Darśakas*. Bḍ, Vṣ, Bh *Darbhaka*; fBh *Dambh°*. *Darśaka* seems the most central form.

<sup>30</sup> There is great variation in this name. Mt genly *Udāsi*; nMt *Udātir*; lMt *Udam-bhī*; dfMt *Udāmbhī*; gMt °*bhīr*; bMt *Udābhīr*. Ca<sup>2</sup>Vā *Udāyī*; a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>3</sup>Vā, Bḍ *Udayī*, bVā °*yaṃ*; kVā *Tradapī* (an easy misreading); jMt *Tedāmnī*; mVā *Uda*. Vṣ genly *Udayāsava*, acfgjkVṣ °*yana*, lVṣ °*ya*: bVṣ *Anaya* (or *Dan°*); hVṣ *Ovaya*. Bh *Ajaya* or *Ājaya*, (but see note<sup>39</sup>). *Udayī* seems the best form.

<sup>31</sup> In a<sup>1-3</sup>Vā *yasmāt*; bMt *tasyās*; jMt *bhūpās*.

<sup>32</sup> This line and the next only in Vā, Bḍ.

<sup>33</sup> In a<sup>2</sup>bVā *kone*; kVā *ko[va]ne*.

<sup>34</sup> So Vā. Bḍ 'hni: eVā *caturatpram* (for *catur-abdam*?).

<sup>35</sup> So Mt, a<sup>3</sup>kVā, Bḍ. Vā genly *dvā-catvārimśat*, with a syll. too much (*dvā* cancelled in *dVā*): eVā *dvi-c°*.

<sup>36</sup> In eVā *satir*.

<sup>37</sup> *Rājā* wanting in eVā.

<sup>38</sup> So all: kVā *Rand°*; nMt *Nandivardanaḥ*. Bh gives him the patronymic *Ājeya*; qBh *Ājñeya*: see note<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> CVā *trayam* (which AVā adopts); jMt *bhayam*; nMt *tataś*.

<sup>40</sup> So Mt, Vā genly. Vṣ agrees: Bh °*diḥ*; bjMt, kVā °*dā*; nMt *Mahānandī*; fVā *Mahānandī*. Bḍ *Sahānandīr*. Bh adds *utas tataḥ*.

<sup>41</sup> In eVā *saṅkhyayā bhavitārā*.

<sup>42</sup> In a<sup>1-4</sup>Mt 'tra.

<sup>43</sup> So Vā, except that it gives the name as *Śaisunākā*; mVā *Saisu°*; gVā *Saisukās ca*: see note<sup>47</sup>. The correct number of kings is ten, as Vā, Bḍ, Vṣ, Bh say (see notes<sup>46</sup>

and<sup>48</sup>). Mt is confused. Its original reading was probably *daśa vai Śisunāka-jāḥ*, but, since the first two Kāṇvāyana kings were erroneously inserted (see note<sup>24</sup>), the number of names in it became 12, and attempts were made to reconcile the discrepancy: hence CGVedfgmMt boldly read *daśa dvau* (fg, bḍau) *Śisunāka-jāḥ*, eMt *daśādvā Śisru°*, kMt [*daśa*] *dvādaśa Śisru°*; jMt crp [*vai*] *daśa dve Śisvanekatāḥ*: other copies evade inconsistency by an indefinite statement, thus a<sup>1-4</sup>bM Mt *vamśe vai* (n, 'smīn) *Śisunākataḥ* (j, °*jāḥ*; b, *Sigrunākataḥ*); and eVā, which often agrees with Mt, *Śisunāg-ādayo nrpāḥ*. For Bḍ, Vṣ, Bh, see note<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> In bVā *etāni*.

<sup>45</sup> In eVā *varṣānāḥ* (for °*nām*). Mt genly *pūrnāni*; dMt *pūrbāni*: fMt omits this word.

<sup>46</sup> So Mt; cenMt *ca* for *tu*: bMt *ṣaṣṭir vā adhikāni ca*; jMt *ṣaṣṭi varṣāni kāni ca*. Vā genly *dvi-ṣaṣṭy-abhyadhikāni tu*; a<sup>1-3</sup>bM Vā *dvā°*; lVā *dvā-ṣaṣṭy-ābh°*; eVā *dvi-ṣaṣṭyas c-ādhik°*. Bḍ condenses this and the preceding line into one—

bhaviṣyanti ca varṣāni ṣaṣṭy-uttara-śata-trayam.

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

Śisunāgā \* *daś-aiv-aite ṣaṣṭy-uttara-śata-trayam*<sup>†</sup>

samā bhokṣyanti prthivīm, Kuru-śreṣṭha, Kalau nrpāḥ;

where \* *adrs*Bh *Śais°*; † *h*Bh *trayaḥ*. Vṣ agrees with Vā—

ity ete Śaisunāgā<sup>†</sup> daśa bhūmi-pālās trīṇi varṣa-śatāni dvi<sup>†</sup>-ṣaṣṭy-adhikāni bhaviṣyanti;

where † CVṣ *Śais°*; † kVṣ crp °*trīṇi varṣa-sahasrāni śatāni dve*. See discussion, p. 20.

<sup>47</sup> So Bḍ, eVā. Mt genly *Śisunākā*; eMt

*Early Contemporary Dynasties.*

*Text*—AMt 272, 13<sup>b</sup>-17 ; AVā 99, 322<sup>b</sup>-325 ; Bd iii, 74, 135<sup>b</sup>-138.

*Corresp. passages*—Vṣ and Bh, *nil*.

The Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa give the whole of this passage, except that the latter two have not got l. 8 and remove l. 2 to l. 8 : *j*Mt omits ll. 1, 5, 6 ; *a*<sup>2</sup>Vā ll. 2, 6, 7 ; *m*Vā ll. 6-8 (first half) ; and *hp*Mt and *a*<sup>4</sup>*h*Vā have nothing. Here *e*Vā gives ll. 1, 3, 4, 6 only, but long afterwards, out of place, namely after the first line about Viśvasphāṇi, inserts ll. 6, 7, 5, and 2 in modified form.

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

Etaiḥ<sup>1</sup> sārddham bhaviṣyanti tāvat<sup>2</sup>-kālam<sup>3</sup> nṛpāḥ pare<sup>4</sup>  
tulya-kālam bhaviṣyanti sarve hy ete<sup>5</sup> mahikṣitaḥ  
Aikṣvākaś catur-vimśat<sup>6</sup> Pañcālāḥ<sup>7</sup> sapta<sup>8</sup>-vimśatiḥ  
Kāśeyās<sup>9</sup> tu catur-vimśad<sup>10</sup> aṣṭā-vimśatir<sup>11</sup> Haihayāḥ<sup>12</sup>

Śiśru°. Vā, *k*Mt Śaiśu° ; *c*Mt Śausu° : *b*Mt Śiśunākād.

<sup>48</sup> So Mt, Vā. Bd *daś-aiṅv-aite*.

<sup>49</sup> So Mt, Bd ; *f*Vā °vāḥ. Vā, *d*Mt °bāndhavāḥ ; *f*Mt *vandhanāḥ* ; *b*Mt °vīcavaḥ with marg. note °*bandhavaḥ*. *CVā* confuses this with the first line of the following dynasties, reading—

Śaiśunākā bhaviṣyanti Tāvat-kālam nṛpāḥ  
pare  
rājānaḥ kṣatra-bāndhavāḥ etaiḥ sārddham  
bhaviṣyati :

and so *j*Mt which has the first line only, reading *yāvat-k*°. Hence perhaps the words *rājānaḥ kṣatra-bandhavaḥ* should be read with the following list.

<sup>1</sup> See above, note <sup>49</sup> : *k*Vā *ete*.

<sup>2</sup> So Vā, Bd. Mt *yāvat* ; *b*Mt *yāna* (with marg. note *yāvat*).

<sup>3</sup> So Vā, Bd, *fg*Mt : *d*Mt *kāli* ; Mt genly *Kali* ; *e*Mt *kila* ; *b*Mt *eka* (with marg. note *Kali*).

<sup>4</sup> *Ca te* in *g*Vā. For this half line *k*Vā have *rājānaḥ kṣatra-bāndhavāḥ* (see above, note <sup>49</sup>), and *k*Vā then adds as in the text.

<sup>5</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bd *sarva eva*.

<sup>6</sup> So *bfgm*Vā, Bd. Vā genly *Aikṣākavās* (*d*Vā °*vas*) ; *e*Vā *Ikṣvākavaś*. Mt genly *catur-vimśat* (*ce*Mt °*vimśas*, *bj*Mt °*vimśa*) *tath=Aikṣvākāḥ* ; *bcdfgj*Mt °*Ēkṣvākāḥ* ; *j*Mt °*mah-Ēkṣvākāḥ* ; and so *n*Mt *crp*. This number does not agree with the Aikṣvāku list, see p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> So *bcdfgjn*Mt, *a*<sup>1-2</sup>*bdfgm*Vā, Bd : other Mt and Vā *Pāñc*°.

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

<sup>9</sup> So Mt genly : *cek*Mt *Kāśeyās* ; *l*Mt, *e*Vā *Kāśayās* ; *b*Mt *Kāśasās* ; *dj*Mt *Kāleyās*. Vā genly, Bd *Kālakās*. See Appendix II, § ii.

Kaliṅgās<sup>13</sup> c̄aiva dvā-trimśad<sup>14</sup> Āsmakāḥ pañca-vimśatiḥ<sup>15</sup> 5  
 Kuravaś c̄āpi ṣaṭ-trimśad<sup>16</sup> aṣṭā-vimśati<sup>17</sup> Maithilāḥ  
 Śūrasenās<sup>18</sup> trayo-vimśad<sup>19</sup> Vītihoṭrās<sup>20</sup> ca vimśatiḥ<sup>21</sup>  
 ete sarve bhaviṣyanti eka-kālam<sup>22</sup> mahikṣitaḥ.

### Nandas.

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

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 4–7 ; GBh xii, 1, 8<sup>b</sup>–12.

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

All the versions are complete, except that *a*<sup>2</sup>*d*Mt omit ll. 6–10 ; *m*Mt l. 9 with a space ; *b*Vā ll. 7–9 (first half) ; *k*Vā ll. 2 (second half), 3, 7, 8 ; *h**p*Mt, *a*<sup>4</sup>*h*Vā, and *b**t*Bh have lost the whole ; and *l*Vṣ the matter of the last three Bh verses : *e*Vā omits the whole here, but long afterwards, out of place, inserts it after the first line about Viśvasphāpi.

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

<sup>10</sup> In *j*Mt °sā ; *ce*Mt °sa : *f*Mt blends this and the next number into one, thus *catur-vimśat tu*, and so *k*Mt *ṣaṭ-trimśat tu*.

<sup>11</sup> So *G*Vā<sup>1</sup>*a*<sup>2</sup>*a*<sup>3</sup>*n*Mt, violating the metre. Others save it thus, *b*Mt °ṣati ; *C**g*Mt, *e*Vā °ṣat tu ; *a*<sup>2</sup>*m*Mt °śās tu ; *j*Mt °sā tu ; *cde*Mt °śas tu : *l*Mt †ṣāti. Vā *catur-vimśat tu* ; *g*Vā, Bḍ °śas tu, where the number seems to be a mere repetition of the preceding number.

<sup>12</sup> In *j*Mt *Hehayāḥ* ; *e*Vā *Tehayāḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> So Mt genly, Vā : *fg*Mt *Kāl*° ; *l*Mt *Kalindaś* ; *e*Mt *Kaliṅśās*. Bḍ †*Ekaliṅgās*.

<sup>14</sup> So Mt genly. Vā reads this half line *dvā-trimśad vai Kaliṅgās tu* ; Bḍ *dvā-trimśad Eka*°. But *cen*Mt °*dvā-vimśa-d* ; *l*Mt °*catvārimśat* (with a syll. extra) ; *b*Mt °*catvārid* : *e*Vā reads this line—

Āsmakāḥ pañca-vimśac ca ṣaḍ-vimśac ca Kaliṅgakāḥ.

<sup>15</sup> So Mt ; *b*Mt *Āsmakāḥ*. Vā, Bḍ *pañca-vimśat tath-Āśakāḥ*, prob. Pkt for *tath-Āśmakāḥ* : *m*Vā crp : for *e*Vā see note<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> So Mt, Vā genly, Bḍ ; *n*Mt *ṣaḍ-vimśad* (= *ṣaṭ-trimśad*) ; *k*Vā merely *trimśad*. *Cb*Vā, *b*Mt *ṣaḍ-vimśad* : *e*Vā *pañcāśad* here, but afterwards (see p. 23) indefinitely *ūnavimśat tathā c-ābhūd*. These numbers do not agree with the Paurava list, see p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> So *fg*Mt, Vā, Bḍ. Mt genly °śās tu ; *dn*Mt °ṣat tu ; *b*Mt °śa tu : *e*Vā *varṣāny aṣṭādaś-aiva tu* here, but afterwards (see p. 23) agrees with the text.

<sup>18</sup> In *bc*Mt, *d*Vā *Sūras*° ; *n*Mt *Suras*°.

<sup>19</sup> In *ce*Mt, *e*Vā °śa ; *j*Mt °sā.

<sup>20</sup> In *ce*Mt *Vīta*° ; *e*Vā *Rūtihoṭrās*.

<sup>21</sup> In *e*Vā °tim.

<sup>22</sup> In *j*Mt *Kali-kāle*. See p. 23.

## Mt, Vā, and Bđ.

Mahānandi<sup>1</sup>-sutaś cāpi  
 sūdrāyām<sup>3</sup> Kalik-āmsā-jah<sup>4</sup>  
 utpatsyate Mahāpadmaḥ  
 sarva-kṣatr-āntako<sup>9</sup> nṛpaḥ  
 tataḥ prabhṛti rājāno  
 bhaviṣyāḥ sūdra-yonayaḥ  
 eka<sup>12</sup>-rāṭ sa<sup>13</sup> Mahāpadma  
 eka-cchattro<sup>15</sup> bhaviṣyati  
 aṣṭāśīti<sup>17</sup> tu varṣāni<sup>18</sup>  
 pṛthivyām ca bhaviṣyati<sup>19</sup>  
 sarva-kṣatram<sup>20</sup> ath-ōddhṛtya<sup>21</sup>  
 bhāvin-ārthena coditaḥ<sup>23</sup>  
 Sukalp-ādi<sup>24</sup>-sutā<sup>25</sup> hy aṣṭau<sup>26</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *fgnMt* °dī; *kBh* °da.

<sup>2</sup> This vocat. expletive has no doubt ousted some genuine word, which may have been *lubdhah*, because *Vṣ* genly describes him as *ati-lubdha*; *hVṣ* *lubdha*; *eVṣ* 'bhilubdha'; *djVṣ* *ati-buddha*; *kVṣ* *crp*.

<sup>3</sup> In *Bđ*, *jMt* °yāḥ; *bVā* *sūdrā vā*.

<sup>4</sup> So *Mt* genly; *dMt* °āmsu-jah; *cenMt* °āmsataḥ; *bkMt* °āmsakah; *fMt* °ām-jayah; *jMt* *kālikā..jah*. *Vā*, *Bđ* *kāla-samvṛtaḥ*; *eVā* °samvṛtaḥ; *bVā* *kāla-[pam]samvṛtaḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> So *ahrsBh*, *Vṣ*. *Bh* genly *sūdrī*.

<sup>6</sup> In *jVṣ* [*bha..rno*] *garbh-ōd*; *dVṣ* *jar-mod*.

<sup>7</sup> In *fBh* 'rdhah' apptly; cf. *Andhras*, note<sup>2</sup>. *Vṣ* has no corresponding word.

<sup>8</sup> *Vṣ* *Mahāpadmo Nandaḥ*: *IVṣ* °patma always.

<sup>9</sup> So *Mt*. *Vā* °āntare, altered in *dVā* to °āntako. *Bđ*, *eVā* °ānta-kṛn.

<sup>10</sup> *Vṣ* *akhīla-kṣatr-ānta-kārī*.

<sup>11</sup> *Tv* omitted in *adrBh*. *Vṣ* *sūdrā bhūmi-pālāḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> In *kVā* *saka*.

<sup>13</sup> In *cekMt* *rājā*; *mMt* *padma*; *fMt* *ehya*; *IVā* *su* for *sa*.

<sup>14</sup> In *dBh* °chattrā-; *jkBh* °kṣatrām; *fBh* *eka-cchattrām sa*.

<sup>15</sup> In *IMt* °kṣatro; *bMt* °mātro; *jMt* *ekas chatro*; *kVā* °kṣatro.

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

## Bh (with Vṣ).

Mahānandi<sup>1</sup>-suto rājan<sup>2</sup>  
 sūdrā<sup>5</sup>-garbh-ōdbhavo<sup>6</sup> balī<sup>7</sup>  
 Mahāpadma-patiḥ<sup>8</sup> kaścin  
 Nandaḥ kṣatra-vināśa-kṛt<sup>10</sup>  
 tato nṛpā bhaviṣyanti  
 sūdra-prāyās tv<sup>11</sup> adhārmikāḥ  
 sa eka-cchattrām<sup>14</sup> pṛthivīm  
 an-ullaṅghita-sāsanaḥ<sup>16</sup>  
 sāsiṣyati Mahāpadmo  
 dvitīya iva Bhārgavaḥ<sup>22</sup>  
 tasya c-āṣṭau<sup>27</sup> bhaviṣyanti

<sup>17</sup> So all genly: *AjklmMt* °tis; *cMt*, *dVā* °tim; *jVā* *aṣṭāśīti*. *CekIVā* *aṣṭā-vimśati* (omitting *tu*), which *AVā* adopts.

<sup>18</sup> In *cdfjgnMt* *sa v*; *eMt* *samv*; *bMt* *sahasrāni*.

<sup>19</sup> So *Mt* genly; *beejnMt* *tu bh*; *dMt* *sa bh*; *fgMt* *pṛthivī śobhayiṣyati*. *Vā*, *Bđ* *pṛthivīm pālayiṣyati*.

<sup>20</sup> In *Ca<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>gklVā* *kṣatra*; *a<sup>1</sup>Vā* *kṣetra*.

<sup>21</sup> In *CGVa<sup>3</sup>Mt* *ath-ōtsādya*, *IMt* *tath-ōt*; *ceMt* *ath-ōtpātya*, *a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>4</sup>bMt* *tath-ōt*. *Bđ* *samuddhṛtya*. *Ca<sup>1</sup>a<sup>3</sup>bgklVā* *hṛtoddhṛtya* or *hṛtodvṛtya* or corruptions of these; other *Vā* *haroddhṛtya*; *eVā* *athcvṛtya*; *dVā* *tato hatvā*. The correct reading may be *ath-ōtsādya*, or *ōtpātya* or *ōddhṛtya*.

<sup>22</sup> *Vṣ* *Paraśu-Rāma iv-āparaḥ*.

<sup>23</sup> So *Mt* genly (*cknMt* °noditaḥ): *bMt* *bhavit-ārth*; *jMt* *bhavitorth*. *Vā* genly, *Bđ* *bhāvino rithasya vai balāt*; *IVā* °thasyā mahābalāt (with a syll. extra); *kVā* °thamahābalāt; *a<sup>3</sup>Vā* °thān mahābalān: *eVā* *Viśvanāthasya vai balāt*. *Vā*, *Bđ* have the same expression in *AVā* 88, 80, 95; 101, 60; *Bđ* iii, 63, 79, 94; iv, 2, 59.

<sup>24</sup> So *Mt* mostly: *fgMt* *Sukulp*° or *Sukuly*°; *kMt* *Sulul*°; *blnMt* *Sumāly*°; *ceMt* *Kuśal*°; *eVā* *Sahaly-ādyāḥ*; *jMt* †*Satulyā vai*: *a<sup>3</sup>Vā* *samhasvāt sa*, *fVā* °srātstat, *mVā* °svāt (one syll. short); *dVā* *samhāsvās tat*: 3 MSS of *CVā* *sahasvāt tat*, 3 MSS of *CVā* and *a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>3</sup>Vā* °svās tat (which *AVā* adopts): *gVā* *hamsā-*

*Mt, Vā, and Bđ.*

samā dvādaśa te nrpāḥ<sup>28</sup>  
Mahāpadmasya paryāye<sup>30</sup>  
bhaviṣyanti nrpāḥ kramāt<sup>32</sup>  
uddharīṣyati tān sarvān  
Kauṭilyo vai dvir aṣṭabhiḥ<sup>35</sup>  
bhuktvā<sup>37</sup> mahīm<sup>38</sup> varṣa-śataṁ  
tato<sup>41</sup> Mauryān gamiṣyati<sup>42</sup>.

*Bh (with Vṣ).*

Sumālya-pramukhāḥ<sup>29</sup> sutāḥ  
ya imām bhokṣyanti mahīm<sup>31</sup>  
rājānaḥ sma<sup>33</sup> śataṁ<sup>34</sup> samāḥ  
nava Nandān dvijaḥ kaścit  
prapannān uddharīṣyati<sup>36</sup>  
teṣāṁ abhāve<sup>39</sup> jagatīm<sup>40</sup>  
Mauryābhokṣyanti<sup>43</sup> vai Kalau. 10

### *Mauryas.*

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

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 7–8 ; GBh xii, 1, 13–16<sup>a</sup>.

This dynasty is given by all five Purāṇas, but the account of it has suffered more than that of any other dynasty<sup>1</sup>. Three versions exist here, the earliest in the

*svās tat. Bđ tat-paścāt tat.*

<sup>28</sup> In *bfgMt* *śutā*; *eVā* *satā*.

<sup>29</sup> *Hy* omitted in *jMt*; *bMt* †*svamtyai*, corrected in margin to *hy aṣṭau*; *gVā* *hy* etc.

<sup>27</sup> In *dBh* *tataś c°*; *cBh* *yasya c°*; *gBh* *tasya tvāṣṭau*, *gBh* *tasyāvā°*. *Vṣ* *tasy-āpy aṣṭau sutāḥ*.

<sup>28</sup> In *jMt* *vai nrpāḥ*; *kMt* *samsmrtāḥ*.

<sup>29</sup> In *hklVṣ* *Sumāly-ādyāḥ*; *abVṣ* *Sumāl-ā°*; *Vṣ* genly *Sumāty-ā°*; *fgVṣ* *Sumaty-ā°*.

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

<sup>31</sup> In *dBh* *prthivīm*; *fBh* *ye bhokṣyanti mahīm etām*: v. r. in *GBh* *mahīm bhokṣyanti ya imām*.

<sup>32</sup> In *kMt* *nrp-ōttamāḥ*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ca* in *arsBh*.

<sup>34</sup> In *kBh* *taśam*. *Vṣ* agrees—

Mahāpadmaḥ tat-putrās ca ekam varṣa-śatam avanī-patayo bhaviṣyanti.

<sup>35</sup> So *Vā* genly: *jVā* *dvir aṣṭatīḥ*; *eVā* *dvi-ṣaṣṭībhiḥ*; *a<sup>1</sup>Vā* *mahābalaḥ*. *Bđ* agrees, but ends *dvija-rṣabhaḥ*, which may be the true reading (see *Bh* reading). *Mt* reads differently—

uddharīṣyati Kauṭilyaḥ samair dvādaśa-bhiḥ sutān:

where *bMt* ends *sutāḥ*; *cmMt* *sa tām*; *fMt* *sa tā*; *gMt* *śutam*; *jMt* *samāt*; *kMt* *kramāt*. For *dvādaśabhiḥ* read perhaps *dvija-rṣabhaḥ*. After this line *bfglnMt* insert the first line of the next dynasty.

<sup>36</sup> In *lBh* *prapannān uddharīṣyati*. *Vṣ* says—*nav-aiva\* tām Nandān<sup>†</sup> Kauṭilyo<sup>†</sup> brāhmaṇaḥ samuddharīṣyati*:

where \**hVṣ* *nava vai*, *jVṣ* *navai*, *kVṣ* *navaitā*, *aVṣ* *tath-aiva*; †*hVṣ* *tām pyāśokah*, *kVṣ* *Nandavala*; †*jkVṣ* *Koṭilyo*.

<sup>37</sup> In *fmVā* *bhuktā*.

<sup>38</sup> In *nMt*, *kVā* *mahā-*. *Bhuktā mahi* would be better.

<sup>39</sup> In *fBh* *abhāvāj*.

<sup>40</sup> In *dBh* *prthivīm*.

<sup>41</sup> In *eVā* *Nandair*.

<sup>42</sup> So *CGVa<sup>4</sup>Mt*, *eVā*, *mahi* being understood: *fMt* °*Mauryaṁ*°; *cMt* °*gaur yām*°; *eMt* °*gaur yām*°; *bgMt* °*mokṣam*°; *lMt* °*ekah*°; *a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>kMt* °*mokṣo bhaviṣyati*; *jMt* boldly paraphrases it, *prāpsyanti paramām gatim*. *Vā* differently; mostly *Nand-ēndrah<sup>o</sup>* sa *bhaviṣyati* (*dVā*, *sambhav<sup>o</sup>*): one MS of *CVā* *Nandendrah<sup>o</sup>*, and so *dVā* but altered to *nandanah*; *a<sup>3</sup>glVā* *Nandendrah<sup>o</sup>*; *a<sup>2</sup>fVā* *Nandr-ēndrah<sup>o</sup>*, so *mVā* *crp*; *bVā* *Nandethā<sup>o</sup>*; *kVā* *crp*. The true reading is prob. *Nand-ēndrah*, of which all the others are easy misreadings. *Bđ* *narendrah<sup>o</sup>*.

<sup>43</sup> Similarly *Vṣ*—*teṣāṁ abhāve Mauryāś<sup>†</sup>* ca *prthivīm* *bhokṣyanti*: where \**kVṣ* *So[da]-ryāḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> Because its great fame in Buddhism disgraced it in brahmanical eyes?

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

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

In the Matsya version, *jMt* omits lines 4, 5, 8, 9; *kMt* l. 8, and inserts l. 9 after l. 12 of the following *Suṅga* dynasty; *hpMt* want the whole. In the *Vāyu* version, *aVā* omits ll. 1-3; *kVā* ll. 12, 13; *gVā* has only ll. 1-5; *hVā* wants the whole. In *eVā* the account is omitted at first, and inserted long afterwards, out of place, after the first line about *Viśvasphāni*.

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

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

### Matsya.

Kauṭilyaś Candraguptam tu tato rājye 'bhīṣekṣyati <sup>1</sup>  
 ṣaṭ-triṃśat tu samā rājā <sup>2</sup> bhavit-Āśoka <sup>3</sup> eva ca  
 sapṭānām <sup>4</sup> daśa varṣāṇi tasya naptā bhaviṣyati (24)

<sup>1</sup> This line is found only in *bfglmMt* where it is misplaced (see p. 26, note <sup>35</sup>); *bMt* *Koṭīśaś Candraguptas*; *nMt* *Kauṭilyaś Candraguptasya tato rāṣṭre*; and *lMt* ends *rāṣṭre niveṣya*.

<sup>2</sup> But *cnMt* *°samā rājā tu (n, ṣaṭ-triṃśat = ṣaṭ-triṃśat)*; *bMt* *ṣaṭ-triṃśati samān rājā*.

<sup>3</sup> So *dfgkmMt*; *jMt* *°Āśaka*: *Mt* genly

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

<sup>4</sup> So *Mt* genly; *dMt* *†sapṭāno* (or *°nām*); *lMt* *†ṣaṭānām*. Can the true reading be *Suyasā*, who is named by *Vṣ* and *Bh*? Cf. *daśonah sapṭa* in *eVā* version, l. 7.



rājā Daśaratho<sup>5</sup> 'ṣṭau<sup>6</sup> tu tasya putro bhaviṣyati<sup>7</sup>  
 bhavitā nava varṣāni tasya putras ca<sup>8</sup> Sampratih<sup>9</sup> (25) 5  
 bhavitā Śatadhanvā<sup>10</sup> ca<sup>11</sup> tasya putras<sup>12</sup> tu ṣaṭ samāh<sup>13</sup>  
 Brhadrathas tu<sup>14</sup> varṣāni tasya putras ca<sup>15</sup> saptatih<sup>16</sup> (23)  
 ity ete daśa<sup>17</sup> Mauryās tu ye bhokṣyanti<sup>18</sup> vasundharām  
 sapta-trimśac-chatam<sup>19</sup> pūrṇam tebhyaḥ Śuṅgān<sup>20</sup> gamiṣyati<sup>21</sup> (26)

*eVāyu.*

Candraguptam nṛpaṁ rājye  
 Kōṭilyaḥ sthāpayiṣyati  
 catur-vimśat samā rājā  
 Candragupto bhaviṣyati  
 bhavitā Nandasāras<sup>23</sup> tu  
 pañca-vimśat samā nṛpaḥ  
 ṣaṭ-trimśat tu samā rājā  
 bhavit-Āśoka eva ca  
 tasya putraḥ Kulālas<sup>29</sup> tu  
 varṣāny aṣṭau bhaviṣyati

*Vā genly and Bd.*

Candraguptam nṛpaṁ rājye  
 Kautilyaḥ sthāpayiṣyati<sup>22</sup>  
 catur-vimśat samā rājā  
 Candragupto bhaviṣyati  
 bhavitā Bhadrāsāras<sup>24</sup> tu  
 pañca-vimśat samā nṛpaḥ  
 ṣaṭ-trimśat<sup>25</sup> tu<sup>26</sup> samā rājā<sup>27</sup>  
 Āśoko bhavitā nṛṣu<sup>28</sup>  
 tasya putraḥ Kunālas<sup>30</sup> tu  
 varṣāny aṣṭau bhaviṣyati 5

<sup>5</sup> In cMt °rath-aṣṭau : see note <sup>36</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Jyau in bMt ; dMt au.

<sup>7</sup> In a<sup>2</sup>kMt bhaviṣyanti ca tat-sutāḥ.

<sup>8</sup> Tu in bfgnMt.

<sup>9</sup> Mt genly ṣaptatih ; dnMt °ti. Emended to Sampratih as in eVā ; see note <sup>36</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> In nMt Śadadh° ; mMt Sudh°.

<sup>11</sup> Tu in bcdefgjnMt.

<sup>12</sup> Putras in a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>bdMt.

<sup>13</sup> In fgMt tat-samah ; lMt ṣaṣṭhamāḥ ; mMt padmapaḥ.

<sup>14</sup> In dMt °rathasya.

<sup>15</sup> In dejnMt tu ; bfMt putrasya.

<sup>16</sup> So Mt genly, probably a misreading of sapta vai in Pkt form ; see Vā, Bd, and Introdn. § 41 : eMt vimśatih.

<sup>17</sup> So all MSS, though they name only 6, or 7 at most.

<sup>18</sup> In bMt bhokṣyanti ca as in Vā, Bd.

<sup>19</sup> In cenMt sapta-vimśa-satam.

<sup>20</sup> In dMt Śuṅgān ; ceMt Śuṅgām ; kMt svargam ; bMt svargi ; lMt sarva.

<sup>21</sup> Vasundharā being understood : see p. 26, note <sup>42</sup> ; Śuṅgas, note <sup>83</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> Vṣ says—Kautilya eva Candraguptam rājye bhikṣyati ; where kVṣ has Kaudilya.

Bh says—

sa eva Candraguptam vai dvijo rājye 'bhikṣyati.

<sup>23</sup> So eVā, instead of Vindusāras.

<sup>24</sup> So Vā genly, Bd. Vṣ rightly Vindusāra. Bh Vāris° ; gBh Vāris° ; emBh Vārikāra. Both add, 'son of Candragupta' ; Vṣ tasy-āpi putro, Bh tat-suto.

<sup>25</sup> Śad-vimśat in Ca<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>Vā only, which AVā adopts.

<sup>26</sup> In gVā ca ; fmVā sa.

<sup>27</sup> In fmVā mahā-rājā.

<sup>28</sup> So Vā. Vṣ, Bh call him Āśokavardhana ; jVṣ Asoka° ; fBh Aloka° ; kVṣ Ayosoka° : see Appendix II, § 1. Bd Āśokānām ca tṛpti-daḥ, perhaps a play on the name.

<sup>29</sup> An easy misreading of Kunālas.

<sup>30</sup> So CVā here and in next line. But a<sup>1</sup>-bdfghlmVā, Bd Kusālas, jVā Kaśālas, which all have Kusāla- in next line, except bVā Nusāla- and lost in gVā. Vṣ, Bh call Āśoka's successor Suyāśas ; chVṣ Svay° ; gVṣ Stuy° ; bVṣ Sudhasāḥ. Kunāla is so named and said to have been Āśoka's son in Buddhist books, e.g. Divyāvadana, pp. 403, 406 ff, 430.

*eVāyu.*

Kulāla-tanayās c-āṣṭau  
bhoktāro Bandhupālitaḥ <sup>32</sup>  
Daśonaḥ sapta <sup>33</sup> varṣāṇi  
teṣāṃ naptā bhaviṣyati  
rājā Daśarathas tv <sup>35</sup> aṣṭau  
tasya putro bhaviṣyati  
bhavitā nava varṣāṇi  
tasya putras tu Sampratīḥ <sup>36</sup>  
Śālīsūkah <sup>37</sup> samā rājā  
trayodaśa bhaviṣyati  
sapta varṣāṇi <sup>38</sup> Devadharmā  
bhaviṣyati narādhipaḥ  
rājā Śatadhanuś c-āṣṭau  
tasya putro bhaviṣyati  
Vṛhadrathas tu varṣāṇi  
saptāśitim <sup>43</sup> bhaviṣyati

*Vā genly and Bḍ.*

Kunāla-sūnur aṣṭau <sup>31</sup> ca  
bhoktā vai Bandhupālitaḥ  
Bandhupālita-dāyādo  
daśa bhāv-Indrapālitaḥ <sup>34</sup>

10

bhavitā sapta varṣāṇi  
Devavarmā <sup>39</sup> narādhipaḥ  
rājā Śatadhanuś <sup>40</sup> c-āṣṭau <sup>41</sup>  
tasya putro bhaviṣyati  
Bṛhadrathas <sup>42</sup> ca varṣāṇi  
sapta <sup>44</sup> vai bhavitā nṛpaḥ

<sup>31</sup> In *dVā adau*, altered to *ādaḥ*; *bVā ādaḥ*: *mVā °sūnur* [*atrunur*] *aṣṭau*.

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

Kulāla-tanayās c-āṣṭau bhoktā vai Bandhupālitaḥ.

<sup>33</sup> Compare l. 3 of Mt version. There seems to be some metathesis.

<sup>34</sup> *Ca³a'klVā* read *daśamānīndrapālitaḥ*; *a¹a²fmVā daśa°*; *bdVā daśamānīnd°* (altered in *d* to *daśamānīnd°*); *jVā daśamānāndrapālitaḥ*. Bḍ *bhavitā c-Indrapālitaḥ*, which suggests that *Vā* reading should be *daśa bhāv-Indrapālitaḥ*, and I have emended it so: but it might also be *daś-ābdām Indra°* as suggested in *CVā*.

<sup>35</sup> Actually *carṣasamāsv*, no doubt for *Daśarathas tv* (see l. 4 of Mt), and I have emended it so, since *Vṣ* agrees in this name and places him after *Suyasas* (see note <sup>36</sup>): *cdVṣ Dāśaratha*; *bVṣ Daśaratna*. Bh omits him. Three of his records are extant, see Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, nos. 954–6, in *Epig. Ind. x*, Appendix.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. note <sup>9</sup>. *Sampratī* is the Sanskrit

form of Pali *Sāmpadī*. *Sāmpadī* was Kunāla's son (*Divyāvadana*, p. 430), and was established in the kingdom (*id.* p. 433, where his descendants are named). See SBE, xxii, 290 note, for *Sampratī*. *Vṣ*, Bh place a king *Saṅgata* here, which is no doubt another reading of the same name; *dBh Saṅgata*, an easy misreading of *Sampratī*. Bh adds 'son of *Suyasas*', *Suyasah-sutāḥ*.

<sup>37</sup> First *Śālīyūkah*, then corrected to *°śūkah*. *Vṣ*, Bh corroborate. Bh, *cdkVṣ Śālīsūka*; *Vṣ* genly, *sBh °śūka*; *jVṣ °śmūka*; *bVṣ °śūlla*: *lVṣ Śālasūka*. Bh genly *Śālīsūkas tatas tasya*; *jBh °kas tu Suyasah*, where *Suyasah* is meant for a genitive.

<sup>38</sup> Actually *varṣāṇi*; see Appendix I, § 1.

<sup>39</sup> In *bVā Dacav°*. *Vṣ*, Bh *Somasarman*.

<sup>40</sup> So Bḍ. *Vṣ*, Bh *Śatadhanvan*; *kBh Sata°*; *hBh Śata°*; *deVṣ Śāsa°*: *bVṣ Śatadharman*; *qBh †satayitvā*. *Vā Śatadharas*.

<sup>41</sup> So *Vā*. Bḍ merely *c-āpi*.

<sup>42</sup> So Bḍ. *Vṣ*, Bh agree; *cBh Ūhad°*. *Vā Vṛhadāśvas*, but has correct name *Bṛhadratha* in p. 31, l. 1: *mVā* omits *ca*.

<sup>43</sup> Sic.

<sup>44</sup> In *dVā sama*; *bVā samu*.

*eVāyu.*

ity ete nava Mauryās<sup>45</sup> tu  
ye bhokṣyanti vasundharām  
sapta-trimśac-chatam pūrṇam  
tebhyaḥ Śuṅgo<sup>50</sup> bhaviṣyati.

*Vā genly and Bḍ.*

ity ete nava<sup>46</sup> Mauryā vai<sup>47</sup>  
bhokṣyanti ca<sup>48</sup> vasundharām  
sapta-trimśac-chatam pūrṇam<sup>49</sup>  
tebhyaḥ Śuṅgo<sup>51</sup> gamiṣyati<sup>52</sup>. 15

*Śuṅgas.*

*Text*—AMt 272, 27–32<sup>a</sup>; AVā 99, 337–343<sup>a</sup>; Bḍ iii, 74, 150–156<sup>a</sup>.

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 9–11; GBh xii, 1, 16<sup>b</sup>–19<sup>a</sup>.

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

As regards MSS, *ce*Mt invert lines 4, 5; *ke*Mt omits ll. 1–6, 13 and inserts ll. 1, 2, 5, 6 at the end; *ne*Mt omits ll. 4, 5; *g*Vā has only l. 2; *e*Vā omits this dynasty here and inserts it long afterwards, out of place, after the first line about Viśvasphāṇi: *hp*Mt, *ke*Vā, and *be*Bh want the whole.

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

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

<sup>45</sup> Actually *nava Mlauryyās* (an easy misreading of *nava*): but it has mentioned 12 kings.

<sup>46</sup> So Vā, Bḍ: *nava* may have been substituted since they name only 9 kings. Vṣ names and says 10—

evam Mauryā \* daśa<sup>+</sup> bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti abda<sup>+</sup>-śataim sapta-trimśad<sup>+</sup>-uttaram: where \**k*Vṣ *Soryyā*, *l*Vṣ *Mauryā* [*dayo*], see Appendix II, § 1: \**j*Vṣ *adda*, *h*Vṣ *aṣṭa*, *k*Vṣ *arū*: \**h*Vṣ *viṃśad*. Bh says 10, though it names only 9—

Mauryā hy ete \* daśa nrpāḥ sapta-trimśac chat-ōttaram

samā bhokṣyanti pṛthiviṃ Kalau, Kurukul-ōdvaha:

where \**jr*Bh *tv ete*, *a*Bh *te te*: *d*Bh reads the first line thus—

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

<sup>47</sup> So Bḍ; *a*<sup>+</sup>Vā *Mūrjā vai*; *a*<sup>+</sup>*a*<sup>3</sup>*bk*Vā *Mūrtyā*<sup>o</sup>; *d*Vā *nava* [*Su*]Mūrtyā<sup>o</sup> (altered to *Naṃda-sambhūtā* wrongly): *fm*Vā *Mauryā ye*, *Cā*<sup>2</sup>*g*Vā *bhūpā ye*; *j*Vā *yoyā* (or *yopā*) *yo*.

<sup>48</sup> In *a*<sup>+</sup>*a*<sup>2</sup>*a*<sup>+</sup>*bd*Vā *ye bhokṣyanti*: *kl*Vā *yo*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Similarly Vṣ, Bh; see note<sup>46</sup>: *d*Vā *chataim* (altered to *chatāt*) *pūrṇāt*.

<sup>50</sup> Actually *Śuṅko*.

<sup>51</sup> So *a*<sup>+</sup>*bd**flm*Vā, Bḍ; *ke*Vā *Śuṅgo*; *CV*ā *tu gaur*: but *a*<sup>+</sup>*j*Vā *Śuṅgān*, which AVā adopts and seems preferable.

<sup>52</sup> *CV*ā *bhaviṣyati*. Vṣ says—

teṣāṃ ante \* pṛthiviṃ<sup>+</sup> Śuṅgā bhokṣyanti: where \**l*Vṣ *anvetām*; \**abh*Vṣ add *daśa*: *j*Vṣ *crp*. Bh omits this statement.

Puṣyamitras <sup>1</sup> tu senānir <sup>2</sup> uddhṛtya <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>4</sup> Bṛhadratham <sup>5</sup>	
kārayiṣyati <sup>6</sup> vai rājyaṁ	kārayiṣyati vai rājyaṁ
ṣaṭ-trimśati <sup>7</sup> samā nṛpaḥ	samāḥ ṣaṣṭim <sup>8</sup> sad-aiva <sup>9</sup> tu
Agnimitraḥ sutaś c-āṣṭau bhaviṣyati samā nṛpaḥ <sup>10</sup>	
bhavitāpi Vasujyeṣṭhaḥ <sup>11</sup>	bhavitā cāpi Sujyeṣṭhaḥ <sup>12</sup>
sapta <sup>13</sup> varṣāni vai nṛpaḥ <sup>14</sup>	sapta varṣāni vai tataḥ
Vasumitraḥ <sup>15</sup> suto <sup>16</sup> bhāvyo daśa varṣāni pārthivaḥ <sup>17</sup>	5
tato 'ndhrakaḥ <sup>18</sup> same dve tu <sup>19</sup> tasya putro bhaviṣyati <sup>20</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> So Mt genly, lVṣ. Vā genly, kMt, Bd, Vṣ *Puṣpa*<sup>o</sup>; ceMt, *dfklmVā Putra*<sup>o</sup> here, but *Puṣpa*<sup>o</sup> or *Puṣya*<sup>o</sup> in l. 3 (see note<sup>10</sup>); kVṣ *Prakhyā*<sup>o</sup> by an easy misreading: nMt *Puṣpamitrasya* (omitting *tu*): bVā *Putraḥ*. Bh omits him. Vṣ says—

tataḥ Puṣpamitraḥ senā-patiḥ svāminam hatvā rājyaṁ kariṣyati.

<sup>2</sup> In cMt *sa se*<sup>o</sup>; bVā *su-se*<sup>o</sup>; gMt *senā-sanir*; eMt omits *tu*.

<sup>3</sup> In bḥMt, eVā, *uddhatya*; ceknMt *samuddhṛtya* (omitting *sa*).

<sup>4</sup> So Mt, eVā: jMt *ca*. Vā genly *vai*: bdfmVā, Bd *tu*.

<sup>5</sup> So Vā, Bd, jMt. Mt genly *°thān*; eVā *°thah*: cekMt *sadā gṛhāt*.

<sup>6</sup> So Mt: jMt *kariṣyati sa*.

<sup>7</sup> So Mt genly; nMt *ṣaṭ-trimśati* (= *ṣaṭ-trimśati*). ACjkMt *ṣaṭ-trimśat tu*.

<sup>8</sup> So Vā, Bd.

<sup>9</sup> So Vā. Bd *sa c-aiva*. These readings are no doubt corruptions of *ṣaṭ-trimśad eva* in Pkt form.

<sup>10</sup> This line is only in Vā, Bd. Bd has—  
Agnimitro nṛpaś c-āṣṭau bhaviṣyati samā nṛpaḥ;

where the first *nṛpaś* should no doubt be *sutaś*. Vā reads—

Puṣpamitra-sutaś c-āṣṭau bhaviṣyanti samā nṛpaḥ;

where singulars have obviously been wrongly converted into plurals through misapplying *aṣṭau* to *suta* instead of to *samā*. It should be—

Puṣpamitra-sutaś c-āṣṭau bhaviṣyati samā nṛpaḥ;

as eVā shows by its reading—

tat-suto 'gnimitr-āṣṭau \* bhaviṣyati samā nṛpaḥ;

where read \*<sup>o</sup>mitro 'ṣṭau and <sup>+</sup>nṛpaḥ. Vṣ

and Bh name *Agnimitra*. Vṣ adds *asy-ātmaḥ*, 'son of Puṣyamitra'.

<sup>11</sup> So Mt genly: gjMt *bhavitā vai Vasuśreṣṭhaḥ*; fMt *°tā c-aiva Sus*<sup>o</sup>; ceMt *°tā c* (cMt *v*)=*Asurajyeṣṭhaḥ*; bMt *°tā c-āpi Sujyeṣṭhaḥ* (and lMt crp), as in Vā, Bd.

<sup>12</sup> So *a'afklmVā*, Bd. Vṣ genly and Bh agree. In eVā *Sajy*<sup>o</sup>; Ca<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>lVā *taj-jy*<sup>o</sup>; bVṣ *Sujeṣṭa*; jVā *Sudyetaḥ*; bāVā *Suṣaṣṭhaḥ* (altered in *d* to *Suṣṭhaṣṭhaḥ*); kVṣ *Jyeṣṭha*; hḥVṣ crp. *Sutaḥ* added in aBh.

<sup>13</sup> In bMt *sama*.

<sup>14</sup> In fḥjMt *tataḥ*.

<sup>15</sup> So all; except ceMt, a<sup>1-4</sup>Vā *°mitra*; lMt *Vasuputras*; jMt *Vāyumitras*; dMt *Sumitras tu*.

<sup>16</sup> So Vā genly, ceMt. Bd, eVā *tato*. Mt genly *tatā*.

<sup>17</sup> So Vā, Bd: beMt *vai nṛpaḥ*. Mt genly *vai tataḥ*. After this king kVṣ inserts a king *Vajramitra* besides the *Vajramitra* in l. 9.

<sup>18</sup> There is great variation in this name. Vā genly *'ndhrakaḥ*; kMt, a<sup>2</sup>Vā *'ndhakaḥ* (kVā *teṣāṁdhakaḥ*): 4 MSS of CVā *Dhrakaḥ*; fmVā *Dhrakaḥ*; 2 MSS of CVā *Vrkaḥ*: Mt genly *'ntakaḥ*; eMt *Taka*; jMt *Nukaḥ*; lMt *'ṣṭakaḥ*. All these should prob. be read with *avagraha*. Vṣ genly *Arḍraka*; bhVṣ *Odruka*. Bd *Bhadraḥ*; eVā *Madraḥ*. Bh genly *Bhadraḥ*; gBh *Bhad*<sup>o</sup>. *Andhraka* seems most probable.

<sup>19</sup> So Mt genly, bdefklmVā, Bd. Vā genly *samā*<sup>o</sup>; dMt *samā*<sup>o</sup>; ceMt *samā dvau tu*: but a<sup>1</sup>nMt *samāḥ sapta*; kMt *samohantus*.

<sup>20</sup> So Mt; jMt *putraḥ bhaviṣyataḥ*. This half line is in a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>klVā *bhaviṣyati suto 'sya vai*; bVā *°sutaṣya*<sup>o</sup>; defmVā *°sutaṣya*<sup>o</sup> (altered in *d* to *°sutaḥ sa*<sup>o</sup>); Ca<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>Vā *°sutaś ca*<sup>o</sup>. Bd *°nṛpaś ca vai*.

bhaviṣyati<sup>21</sup> samās<sup>22</sup> tasmāt<sup>23</sup>  
 trīṇy evaṃ<sup>27</sup> sa Pulindakah<sup>28</sup>  
 bhaviṣyati ca Yomeghas<sup>31</sup>  
 trīṇi varṣāṇi vai tataḥ  
 bhavitā Vajramitras tu<sup>34</sup>  
 samā rājā punar nava<sup>37</sup>  
 dvā-trimśat tu<sup>39</sup> Samābhāgaḥ<sup>40</sup>  
 Samābhāgāt tato<sup>42</sup> nṛpaḥ<sup>43</sup>  
 bhaviṣyati sutas tasya Devabhūmiḥ<sup>45</sup> samā daśa<sup>46</sup>

bhaviṣyati<sup>24</sup> samās<sup>25</sup> tasmāt<sup>26</sup>  
 tisra eva<sup>29</sup> Pulindakah<sup>30</sup>  
 rājā Ghoṣaḥ sutaś<sup>32</sup> cāpi  
 varṣāṇi bhavitā trayah<sup>33</sup>  
 sapta<sup>35</sup> vai Vajramitras<sup>36</sup> tu  
 samā rājā tataḥ punaḥ<sup>38</sup>  
 dvā-trimśad bhavitā cāpi<sup>41</sup>  
 samā Bhāgavato<sup>44</sup> nṛpaḥ 10

<sup>21</sup> So Mt: cMt °syanti.

<sup>22</sup> Samas in CMt.

<sup>23</sup> In bMt tasyās.

<sup>24</sup> So bdemVā, Bd. Vā genly °syanti.

<sup>25</sup> In lVā sutās: acdfyhjklmqrBh say sutah.

<sup>26</sup> In eVā tasya.

<sup>27</sup> So Mt genly: bnMt °eva; kMt trīṇi vai; dfjgmMt tisro vai. See Appendix I, § iii.

<sup>28</sup> So Mt mostly: bMt sa Pulindakah: mMt °Nunandanah, jMt Madhunan°; fgMt Marunan°; dMt Medhunanakah: kMt merely nṛpaḥ: ceMt read this half line trīṇi varṣāṇi vai tataḥ, giving no name.

<sup>29</sup> In eVā tripuśrava or triṇi°.

<sup>30</sup> So mVā. Bd and other Vā read the plural °kāḥ wrongly: eVā Mulindakah. Vṣ genly Pulindaka; lVṣ Pul°; kVṣ Praliṅgaka. Bh Pulinda.

<sup>31</sup> This line is only in dfjgmMt. So dfjgmMt, but fy omit ca: mMt °va Yomekha; jMt °sa Momeghas. Yome may be a misreading of Ghoṣa, see note<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Vā genly Ghoṣa (mVā Dhoṣa) sutaś, for Ghoṣaḥ sutaś, as Bh has. Bd and dVā Ghoṣaḥ tataḥ. Vṣ genly Ghoṣavasū; bVṣ Ghoṣaka; kVṣ Yoṣavasū; hVṣ by inversion Soghavamū; cBh Ghopa: eVā has a different line—

trīṇi varṣāṇi bhavitā rājā Ghoṣavasur nṛpaḥ.

<sup>33</sup> So Vā and Bd. See Appendix I, § iii.

<sup>34</sup> So Mt genly, eVā; eMt Vajamitras; kMt Yajnam°: fgMt bhaviṣyate Vajramitrah; jMt Vajramitras ca bhavitā.

<sup>35</sup> So Bd. Vā tato.

<sup>36</sup> So Bd. Bh and Vṣ genly agree: hBh Vajamitra; cBh Vajrā°; ekBh Vraja°; nBh Vaṇna°; fgVṣ Vakṣa°; cVṣ Vadrā°; pBh

Vajramindra. Vā genly Vikramitras; dVā Vikr°.

<sup>37</sup> So cMt; dfjgmMt navah; emMt navā: other Mt bhavah.

<sup>38</sup> So Vā, Bd; eVā catur-daśa.

<sup>39</sup> So Mt genly; cenMt ca for tu; dMt omits tu; bfgMt dvā-trimśati; jMt sa dvā-trimśat.

<sup>40</sup> Samabl° in cMt; eMt Samambh°.

<sup>41</sup> So Vā. Bd v-āpi.

<sup>42</sup> So Mt genly; bcMt Samabl°; kMt samā bhoktā°; jMt Samābhāg-ānugo.

<sup>43</sup> Vṣah in bMt, adding an extra king.

<sup>44</sup> So Vā, Bd. Bh and Vṣ genly agree; cemBh Bhagavato.

<sup>45</sup> So Mt, eVā, Bd. Vā Kṣemabhūmiḥ here but Deva° in the next list (l. 2). Vṣ Devabhūti. Bh Devabhūtir iti śrutah; gBh °bhūr iti viś°, but °bhūti afterwards.

<sup>46</sup> In eMt vaśah.

<sup>47</sup> So dfjgmMt, dVā, Bd, and 2 MSS of CVā: a°a°klVā and 4 MSS of CVā Śṛṅga; bVā Ścuṅga. Vā genly tuṅga: eVā Śaṅka; cMt Śuddha; eMt Śruddha. Mt genly kṣudra: jMt trayodaś-Āṅga; kMt has this half line, ity ete daśa Maurvās tu [me]. Vṣ says—

ity ete daśa\* Śuṅgā dvādaś°-ōttaram vaiṣa-śatam prthivīm bhokṣyanti; tataḥ Kaṇvān° eṣā° bhūr yāsyati:

where \*lVṣ dvādaśa; °aVṣ daś-; °lVṣ Kānvān; °kVṣ eyān. Bh has—

Śuṅgā\* daś-aite bhokṣyanti bhūmim° varṣa-sat-ādhikam

tataḥ Kaṇvān iyam bhūmir yāsyaty alpa-guṇān, nṛpa:

where °deBh Suṅgā, hBh Sumbhā; °cehklmBh daśa (marg. correction bhūmim° in jBh).

daśaite Śuṅga<sup>47</sup>-rājāno bhokṣyant-āmām<sup>48</sup> vasundharām  
śatam pūrṇam<sup>49</sup> daśa dve ca<sup>50</sup> tataḥ<sup>51</sup> Kaṇvān<sup>52</sup> gamiṣyati<sup>53</sup>.

*Kānvāyanas (Śuṅgabhr̥tyas).*

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

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 12; GBh xii, 1, 19<sup>b</sup>-21.

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

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

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

Amātyo Vasudevas<sup>1</sup> tu bālyād vyasaninām nṛpam<sup>2</sup>

<sup>48</sup> In *d*Mt °*syante tām*; *b*Mt °*syantī eva*; *j*Mt *bhojyante te*.

<sup>49</sup> In *b*Mt *śara-pūrṇa-*.

<sup>50</sup> So *Vā*, *Bd*: *fmVā darā dve ca*; *bVā tdaśaraddava*. Mt *śate dve ca*: *j*Mt reads this line—

aṣṭā-trimś-ādhikā samyag varṣāṇām śata-pañcakam.

<sup>51</sup> So Mt. *Vā*, *Bd* *tebhyaḥ*.

<sup>52</sup> *Bd* *Kaṇvam*; *eVā* *Kaṇho*; *mVā* *Kaṅga*; *bfVā* *Kaṇvā*; *dVā* *Kaṇvo*. *Vā* genly *kiṁ vā*: *a'aVā Śaikam*. Mt genly *Śuṅgān*; *n*Mt *Śuṅgam*; *ce*Mt *tuṅgo*; *d*Mt *Śuṅgād gāna*: *a'b*Mt *svargam*, °*gī*, °*ga*; *fg*Mt boldly read this half line, *tatas te svarga-gāmīnaḥ*. *Kaṇvān* seems the correct word, if we read *gamiṣyati*.

<sup>53</sup> *Mahī* being understood, see p. 28, note <sup>21</sup>. But *bt*Mt, *eVā* *bhaviṣyati*; *cen*Mt *hanīṣyati*, which would be good, if we read *tataḥ Śuṅgān hanīṣyati*.

<sup>1</sup> So Mt genly, *eVā*, *Bd*: *dm*Mt *Vās*°; *b*Mt *Vasudevasya* (omitting *tu*). *Vā* genly

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

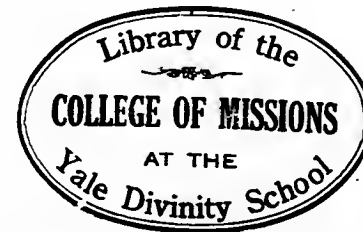
Devabhūtim tu Śuṅga-rājānam vyasaninām\* tasyaiv-āmātyaḥ Kaṇvo<sup>†</sup> Vasudeva-nāmā nipātya<sup>‡</sup> svayam avanim bhoktā: where \**kVṣ vyavaśinām*; <sup>†</sup>*IVṣ Kāṇvo*, *kVṣ Kāśvā*; <sup>‡</sup>*IVṣ Vāsudeva-nām-āpatya*. Bh has—

Śuṅgam hatvā Devabhūtim\* Kaṇvo mātyas<sup>†</sup> tu<sup>‡</sup> kāminam svayam kariṣyate rājyam<sup>§</sup> Vasudevo mahā-matiḥ:

where \**h*Bh °*bhrtim*, *l*Bh °*hūtim*; <sup>†</sup>*d*Bh *Kaṇv-āmātyas*; <sup>‡</sup>*k*Bh *śu*; <sup>§</sup>*d*Bh *ca bhokṣyate rājyam*, *q*Bh *kariṣye rājyam ca*. See p. 32, note <sup>45</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> So *Vā* genly, *Bd*: *fvā bālya-vy*°; *eVā* *balad vyesaninām nṛpaḥ*; *lvā balyānd vasati nṛpam*. But *a'a'a'cefjklm*Mt *prasahya* (*cen*, °*hyā*) *vyasanī* (*n*, °*nīr*; *l*, °*nā*) *nṛpam* (*l*, °*paḥ*; *a'a'a'cek*, °*pa*); where the true reading should be *prasahya vyasanīm nṛpam*, see Appendix I, § ii. *CGVB*Mt corrupt it to *prasahya hy avanim nṛpaḥ*;

F



Devabhūmim ath-ōtsādyā <sup>3</sup>	Devabhūmim <sup>4</sup> tath-ōtpātya <sup>5</sup>
Śauṅgas <sup>6</sup> tu <sup>7</sup> bhavitā nṛpaḥ	Śuṅgeṣu <sup>8</sup> bhavitā nṛpaḥ
bhaviṣyati samā <sup>9</sup> rājā nava <sup>10</sup>	Kāṅvāyano <sup>11</sup> dvijaḥ <sup>12</sup>
Bhūmimitraḥ <sup>13</sup> sutas tāsya <sup>14</sup>	caturdaśa <sup>15</sup> bhaviṣyati
Nārāyaṇaḥ <sup>16</sup> sutas tāsya <sup>17</sup>	bhavitā dvādaśa samās <sup>18</sup>
bhavitā dvādaśaiva tu	tasmān Nārāyaṇo nṛpaḥ
Susārmā <sup>19</sup> tat-sutaś <sup>20</sup> c-āpi	bhaviṣyati daśaiva tu <sup>21</sup>
ity <sup>22</sup> ete Śuṅga-bhṛtyās <sup>23</sup> tu	catvāras <sup>24</sup> Tuṅga-kṛtyās <sup>25</sup> te
smṛtāḥ <sup>26</sup> Kāṅvāyanā <sup>27</sup> nṛpāḥ	nṛpāḥ Kāṅvāyanā <sup>28</sup> dvijāḥ

and *a'djm*Mt amend it to *prasaḥya vyasan-ātūram*. The expression *vyasanā nṛpaḥ* occurs in AVā 88, 122.

<sup>3</sup> So Mt genly: *ceMt* Pkt *ath-ōchādya*; *fyMt* *tat-ōtsādyā*.

<sup>4</sup> So Bd. Vā °bhūmis wrongly: *bVā* *Dera-bhūmi[samādesādesete]s*. See p. 32, note <sup>45</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> So *a'1a'3a'Vā*; *flmVā* *tat-ōtpātya*; *kVā* *†tathānpātya*; *dVā* *tathonyadya*, *bVā* °*nyadhā*; Vā genly *tato 'nyas ca*. But *eVā* *ath-ōddhṛtya* or °*dhatya*. Bd *tato hatvā*.

<sup>6</sup> So *ACdmMt*: *jMt* *Soṅgas*; *kMt* *Śuṅgaḥ*; *cfjMt* *Suṅgaḥ*; *eMt* *Sugaḥ*; *eVā* *Subhaḥ*; *bMt* *Saurah*; *nMt* *Śuṅgaḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> In *bceknMt*, *eVā* *sa*; *fyMt* *sam-*.

<sup>8</sup> So *a'mVā*, Bd. Vā genly *Śrñ°*; *fVā* *Muñ°*.

<sup>9</sup> Altered in *dVā* to *hanisyati sa vai*. This line occurs previously in Mt, see p. 21, note <sup>24</sup>: *jMt* there *daśa ṣaṭ ca samā*, here *dvijo daśa samā*; *kMt* there has this half line, *catvāriṃśat samā rājyaṇ*.

<sup>10</sup> So Mt, Vā: *bMt* *amva* here, but *nava* earlier. Bd *pañca*.

<sup>11</sup> So Mt genly here and in the earlier passage. Bd, *nMt* *Kaṅ°*. Corruptions are many, as *eMt* *Kāṅvāyata*; *kMt* *Kampāyana*, *Kaṅthā°*; *lMt* *Kaṅthāyana*, *Kanmā°*; *fgjMt* *Kāṣṭhāyana*, *Kāṣṭā°*; *dMt* *Kāsvāyate*; *bMt* *Kācāyate*. Vā genly, *ckMt* *Kaṅthāyana*; *dVā* *Kaṅta°*; *bVā* *Kaṅtapanu*; *eVā* *Kaṅthāmana*; *kVā* *Kaṅcayana*; *fmVā* and 2 MSS of *CVā* *Kāṅgāyana*; &c. Vṣ, Bh *Kaṅva*, see note <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> So *a'1a'3cejklMt*; *bdfjMt* *dvijāḥ*: other Mt *nṛpāḥ* redundantly, and so all Mt in earlier passage. Vā, Bd *tu saḥ*. Vṣ, Bh *svayam*.

<sup>13</sup> So Mt genly, Bd, Vṣ. This line occurs previously in Mt, see p. 21, note <sup>24</sup>; where *cMt* *Bhūmiputraḥ*, *eMt* °*putraḥ*. Vā, *mMt* *Bhūtimitraḥ*. Bh, *abVṣ* *Bhūmitra*; *cBh* *Bhūrm°*: *IVṣ* *Bhūmiputra*.

<sup>14</sup> In *nMt* *sutasya*; *mMt* *tatasya*. Vṣ adds *tat-putro*; Bh *tasya putras*.

<sup>15</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bd *catur-vimśad*.

<sup>16</sup> *CMt* *Nārāthanaḥ*; *nMt* *Nārāyaṇa*. Vṣ, Bh agree; *gBh* *Pārāy°*.

<sup>17</sup> So Bh *tasya sutah*.

<sup>18</sup> So *bdfmVā*, Bd. Vā genly Pkt *samā*.

<sup>19</sup> So Mt genly, Vā, Bd. Vṣ agrees: *cjVṣ* *Susarman*; *dVā* *Susānmatih*; *eVā* *Sudharmā*. Bh omits him, but *gBh* has preserved him thus (also mentioned as v. r. in *GBh*)—

*Pārāyanasya bhavitā Susārmā nāma viśrutah*.

<sup>20</sup> In *IVṣ* *tasy-ātmaḥ*; *kVṣ* *Nārāyanasy-ānujaḥ*.

<sup>21</sup> So Mt. Vā *samā daśa*. Bd *catuḥ-samāḥ*.

<sup>22</sup> In *bMt* *ya*.

<sup>23</sup> So Mt genly: *kMt* *Śrñ°*; *cfjMt* *Suñ°*; *lMt* *Suga°*; *jMt* *Cāṅga°* or *c-Āṅga°* (see p. 32, note <sup>47</sup>); *bMt* *Muṅganṛtyās*; *eMt* *Bhūṅgaratyās* (omitting *tu*).

<sup>24</sup> So *eVā*. Vā genly *caturas*: see Appendix I, § iv.

<sup>25</sup> So Vā genly; *bVā* °*kr[trā]tyās*; *dVā* °*lāṅtyās*: *eVā* nearly correctly *Śuṅga-vṛtyās*: see Appendix II, § iii. For Bd, Vṣ, Bh see note <sup>42</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> In *eMt* *smutuḥ*; *mMt* *sthitāḥ*.

<sup>27</sup> With variations (see note <sup>11</sup>), as *eMt* *Kaṅjāy°*; *lMt* *Kaḡvayata*.

<sup>28</sup> Amended. Vā *Kaṅthāyanā* with vv. rr.

catvāras tu <sup>29</sup> dvijā hy ete <sup>30</sup>

Kaṇvā <sup>31</sup> bhokṣyanti vai <sup>32</sup> malīm  
catvārimśat pañca <sup>33</sup> caiva <sup>34</sup>

bhokṣyantīmām vasundharām  
ete <sup>35</sup> praṇata-sāmantā

bhaviṣyā dhārmikāś ca ye

yeṣām <sup>36</sup> paryāya<sup>37</sup>-kāle tu <sup>38</sup>

bhumir Āndhrān gamiṣyati <sup>40</sup>.

bhāvyaḥ praṇata-sāmantāś  
catvārimśac ca pañca ca

10

teṣām paryāya-kāle tu <sup>39</sup>

bhūr Andhrānām <sup>41</sup> bhaviṣyati <sup>42</sup>.

### Andhras.

*Text*—AMt 273, 1–17<sup>a</sup>; AVā 99, 348–358<sup>a</sup>; Bḍ iii, 74, 160<sup>b</sup>–170.

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

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

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

<sup>29</sup> So jMt. Mt genly *catvārimśad*; bdnMt °śa: see Appendix I, § iv.

<sup>30</sup> But jMt omits *hy*; nMt omits *hy ete*: bMt cite (for *c-aite*).

<sup>31</sup> So Mt genly: Cf<sub>gm</sub>Mt *Kāṇvā*; nMt *Kaṇvo*; eMt *Kāvo*; lMt *Kaḡvo*.

<sup>32</sup> In lMt crp: jMt reads this half line, *bhokṣyante pṛthivīm imām*.

<sup>33</sup> So Mt genly: bMt °rimśa *naḡham* (or *nadyam*).

<sup>34</sup> In jMt *c-aite*.

<sup>35</sup> So Mt genly: jMt *gate*.

<sup>36</sup> In bcdef<sub>ijkn</sub>Mt *teṣām*.

<sup>37</sup> In lMt *payoja*.

<sup>38</sup> So Mt genly: eMt *kāleṣu*.

<sup>39</sup> So Vā genly: ClVā *kāleṣu*, bδVā *kal°*.

<sup>40</sup> So Mt genly; fMt *An°*: gMt *Andhrām*, cMt °rā. This half line is in a<sup>2</sup>bnMt *bhūmir* (*n, mūmir*) *iddhā bhaviṣyati*; lMt *mūmir i bh°* (short); jMt *bhūmiḥ sāmīdrā* (for *s-Āndhrā?*) *bh°*.

<sup>41</sup> All Vā readings are crp, and this is an emendation. *Bhūr* is represented thus,

a<sup>3</sup>a<sup>4</sup>Vā *tur*; Ca<sup>2</sup>gklVā *tar*; a<sup>1</sup>Vā *ter*; fmVā *star*; bδVā *ster* (altered to *ter* in *d*). *Andhrānām*, or rather its Pkt form *Andhrāna*, is represented thus, a<sup>1</sup>f<sub>gm</sub>Vā *Andhrā nu*; a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>bδVā *Andhā nu*; Ca<sup>2</sup>gklVā *Andhā tu*. But eVā has Mt reading crp, *bhumiv-Antān gamiṣyati*.

<sup>42</sup> Bḍ and Bh have not got the concluding lines (5 in Mt, 3 in Vā). Bḍ has—

Kāṇvāyanās tu catvāras catvārimśac ca  
pañca ca  
samā bhokṣyanti pṛthivīm punar Andhrān  
gamiṣyati.

Bh similarly—

Kāṇvāyanā \* ime bhumiṁ catvārimśac ca  
pañca ca  
śatāni trīṇi bhokṣyanti varṣānām<sup>†</sup> ca Kalau  
yuge :

where \*j<sub>l</sub>Bh *Kaṇ°*; †qBh *varṣāni*. Vṣ says—  
ete Kāṇvāyanās\* catvārah pañca-catvārimśad-varṣāni bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti:  
where \*eVṣ *Kaṇv°*, kVṣ *Kāśv°*.



The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata, and Viṣṇu all say there were 30 kings, though they do not give 30 names. The Vā MSS name only 17, 18, or 19, and *eVā* which is the fullest names only 25; Brahmāṇḍa only 17; Bhāgavata 23; and Viṣṇu 24, or 22 and 23 in two MSS. The Matsya says there were 19 kings, but 3 MSS (*dgn*) actually name 30, and the others vary from 28 to 21. Before noticing the differences in them and the other authorities, it will be convenient to set out the list of the kings, of whom 30 are clearly named; and 30 is no doubt the correct number.

1 Simuka	11 Skandasvāti	21 Cakora
2 Kṛṣṇa	12 Mṛgendra	22 Śivasvāti
3 Śrī-Śātakarṇi (Śrī-Mallak°)	13 Kuntala	23 Gautamīputra
4 Pūrṇotsaṅga	14 Svātivarna	24 Pūlomā
5 Skandhastambhi	15 Pūlomāvi (Padumān)	[24a Śātakarṇi]
6 Śātakarṇi	16 Ariṣṭakarṇa	25 Śivaśrī
7 Lambodara	17 Hāla	26 Śivaskandha
8 Āpīlaka (Divilaka)	18 Mantalaka or Patalaka	27 Yajñaśrī
9 Meghasvāti	19 Purīndrasena	28 Vijaya
10 Svāti	20 Sundara Śātakarṇi	29 Caṇḍaśrī
		30 Pūlomāvi

The lists in the MSS stand thus, omitting at present no. 24a who is mentioned only in *eVā*. Mt MSS name the following (*fgm*Mt calling no. 15 Pūlomāvi a second Meghasvāti), the numbers within brackets denoting those who are omitted:—*CGV* have 27 kings (nos. 2, 5, 15 omitted); *a*<sup>1</sup>*a*<sup>2</sup>*a*<sup>3</sup>*a*<sup>4</sup> 28 (5, 15); *b* 27 (9, 20, 22); *c* 27 (2, 5, 20); *e* 25 (2, 5, 20, 23, 24); *f* 27 (24, 25, 29); *j* 24 (5, 7, 8, 18, 19, 29); *k* 21 (5, 9–11, 20–23, 29); *l* 20 (2, 5, 9, 12, 13, 20–24); *m* 27 (1, 2, 5); *n* 29 (20); *d* 30, and repeats 6–10; *g* 30, and repeats 10–14 and 15 (with correct name Pūlomāvi): *hp*Mt have nothing. All Vā MSS, other than *ehVā*, name nos. 1–3, 6–8, 15–23, 27–30; except that *Ca*<sup>2</sup>*a*<sup>3</sup>*f* omit no. 21; *k* no. 8; *l* 8, 21; *m* 21, 30; *h* has lost the first part and begins with no. 19: *a*<sup>1</sup>*a*<sup>2</sup> apparently insert no. 8 twice; *m* repeats 3, 6 after no. 8. All these Vā name no. 20 Sundara merely as Śātakarṇi.

But *eVā* is peculiar and its list is broken up into three sets. It begins thus, nos. 11, 18, 19, 20 (calling him Sundara), 21; then reverting mentions 12–15, 24a, 25–30; and long afterwards (see p. 35) names 1–4, 6–10 (corrupting no. 9's name). It thus omits 5, 16, 17, 22–24, yet makes its total 25 by including 24a, who is considered further on.

*Bd* names 1–3, 6, 8, 15–20, 22, 23, 27–30. *Vṣ* mentions 1–4, 6–9, 15–30; but *bVṣ* omits 4, 6; *kVṣ* no. 21; *lVṣ*, 28, 29. *Bh* names 1–4, 7–9, 15–20; but *bBh* have nothing.

All the authorities keep the order of the kings as in the above list, except that 5 Mt MSS show three discrepancies. Two are small, namely, (1) *d*Mt mentions 6–10 and immediately repeats them; (2) *n*Mt inverts nos. 5 and 6, and mentions no. 19 twice, first after no. 13 and again in his proper place. The third discrepancy concerns nos. 10–15: *g*Mt names these in their place and repeats them after no. 29; and *b*Mt omit them from their place and insert them (*l* omitting 12, 13) after no. 29. These discrepancies appear to be mere mistakes due to carelessness, or to lacunae or disarrangements of leaves in the MSS copied.

Every king in the list (except 24a) is mentioned by most of the MSS of at least two Purāṇas, except nos. 5, 10–14. No. 5 occurs only in Mt, but 5 MSS name him. Nos. 10–14 are mentioned only by Mt and *eVā*; but no. 14 appears in

them all ; nos. 10, 11 in all except *lMt* ; and nos. 12, 13 in all except *lMt*. They seem to be genuine, and help to constitute the total number 30. The general consensus then establishes the number, names, and order in the above list.

No. 24a, Śātakarṇi, mentioned only in *eVā*, is not no. 20, who is called Śātakarṇi merely in all other *Vā* MSS and in *Bd*, for *Mt*, *Vā*, *Bd*, and *eVā* agree that the latter reigned only one year (p. 41, l. 23), while the description of the former in *eVā* is l. 28 on p. 42, and assigns 29 years to him. There is no line like it except l. 32 about Yajñaśrī, but he is not apparently Yajñaśrī whom *eVā* mentions in his proper place. According to the *eVā* list he should come presumably either immediately after no. 15, or immediately before no. 25 Śivaśrī. The only indication I can find bearing upon this puzzle occurs in *IVs*, which regards Śātakarṇi Śivaśrī as two, (1) Śātakarṇi, (2) Śivaśrī (see p. 42, note <sup>1</sup>), and so places a Śātakarṇi exactly in one of the two positions required by *eVā*. If this Śātakarṇi then be real, his place would be 24a. A line found in only one MS should not be rejected straight away (see *Introdn.* § 31), hence I have included him in the list in that position by l. 28 ; but, since his existence is vouched for by no other authority and he would raise the number of the kings to 31, that line is enclosed in brackets. If he is genuine, we may suppose that the total 30 is a round number.

Many of the kings bore the name Śātakarṇi, and it is spelt in many ways, the first part as *Śāti*, *Śānta*, *Śānti*, *Śita* (with *s* often instead of *ś* in these forms), and the latter part as *karni*, *karna*, *koṇa*, *varna*, &c. It is needless to state all such variations in the text and notes, and the form *Śātakarṇi* is adopted because it agrees best with the *Pkt* form *Sātakani* generally found on coins. The names *Svātikarna* and *Svātivarna* occur sometimes and seem to be merely variants of it (see notes <sup>57</sup>, <sup>61</sup>, <sup>65</sup>). All these forms may obviously be Sanskritizations of that one *Pkt* name.

Prof. Rapson's 'Indian Coins, Andhras, &c.' elucidate this dynasty partially. I have not attempted, as it is not my function here, to identify the names in this list with those mentioned in inscriptions and on coins, except those of the first three kings who seem clear. The first king, whose correct name was Simuka Sātavāhana, is mentioned in Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, no. 1113 (*Epig. Ind.* x, Appendix) ; the second Kṛṣṇa or Kanha in *id.* no. 1144 ; and the third Śrī-Śātakarṇi in *id.* nos. 346, 1114. In other inscriptions the following kings are mentioned—Gotamīputa Siri Sātakani, nos. 1123, 1125 ; Siri Sivamaka Sada, no. 1279 ; Sati (= Śakti ?) Sirimata, no. 1112 ; Vāsīthīputa Siri Puḷumāvi, nos. 1106, 1124 (and probably 1100) ; Siri Puḷumāvi, no. 1248 ; Vāsīthīputa Siri Puḷumāyi, nos. 1122-3 ; Vāsathīputa Catarapana Satakani, no. 1120 ; Gotamīputa Siri Sātakani, no. 1123, and Sadakani, no. 1125 ; Sivakhada (or Sadakhada) Nāga siri, no. 1186 ; Gotamīputa Siri Yaña, nos. 987, 1024, 1146, 1340 ; Vasīthīputa Caḍasāta, no. 1341 ; and Māḍharīputa Sirivira Purisadata of the Ikhākus, nos. 1202-4 (see note <sup>73</sup>).

It may be noted that one line in certain *Mt* MSS differs from all the others in its expression, namely, l. 30 about Yajñaśrī (see note thereto). He is spoken of there in the present tense, *kurute* : see *Introdn.* § 21, note.

The total of the individual reigns (excluding no. 24a) is only 442½ years, even if we take the longest periods wherever there is a difference ; but the whole duration is said to have been 460 years in *Mt*, 411 in *Vā*, and 456 in *Bd*, *Vs*, and *Bh*. The addition of no. 24a would increase the first total.

Kaṇvāyanāms<sup>1</sup> tato bhṛtyāḥ<sup>2</sup>  
 Suśarmāṇaḥ<sup>5</sup> prasahya<sup>6</sup> tam<sup>7</sup>  
 Śuṅgānām<sup>9</sup> c-aiva yac cheṣam<sup>10</sup>  
 kṣapitvā tu<sup>13</sup> balīyasah<sup>14</sup>  
 Śisuko 'ndhraḥ<sup>17</sup> sa-jātīyaḥ<sup>18</sup>  
 prāpsyat'āmām vasundharām  
 trayo-vimśat<sup>20</sup> samā rājā Simukas<sup>21</sup> tu bhaviṣyati<sup>22</sup>

Kaṇvāyanam<sup>3</sup> ath'ōddhṛtya<sup>4</sup>  
 Suśarmāṇam prasahya tam<sup>8</sup>  
 Śuṅgānām<sup>11</sup> c'āpi yac chiṣtam<sup>12</sup>  
 kṣapayitvā<sup>15</sup> balam tadā<sup>16</sup>  
 Sindhuko hy Andhra-jātīyaḥ<sup>19</sup>  
 prāpsyat'āmām vasundharām

<sup>1</sup> This line is in Mt. This name is often corrupted as in p. 34, note<sup>11</sup>; and first vowel is long or short. In nMt °yanāms; fMt °yanī; Mt genly °yanās, which should be °yanāms, as the accus. is required.

<sup>2</sup> So dfykMt; bMt tadā°: jMt tato bhṛtyān. Mt genly tato bhūpāḥ. But eMt tadodhṛtya; eMt tad-ōddhṛtya; so nMt crp. Bhṛtyāḥ is prob. correct, cf. Vṣ, Bh; the plural here may refer to 'Simuka and his fellow-tribesmen' in l. 3. Vṣ says—

Suśarmāṇam Kaṇvam\* ca bhṛtyo<sup>†</sup> balāt<sup>†</sup> Śīpraka<sup>†</sup>-nāmā hatvā<sup>||</sup> Andhra<sup>||</sup>-jātīyo vasudhām bhokṣyati:

where \*kVṣ Kāṇvam, bVṣ Kāṇvāyanam; †aVṣ sa-bhṛtyam, jVṣ sva-bhṛtyo, bVṣ sad-bhṛtya-, kVṣ sa bhūtyam; †aVṣ balat, bVṣ balam, lVṣ vali, jVṣ balavān, kVṣ va'ākṣi; †bVṣ Chiptaka, aVṣ Śivika, kVṣ Pulaka, lVṣ Pucchaka; || bVṣ hatva-r; || lVṣ Andha, bVṣ Am[ptyam]pra, kVṣ hy Andha, jVṣ Śudhra. Bh says—

hatvā Kāṇvam\* Suśarmāṇam tad-bhṛtyo<sup>†</sup> vṛṣalo balī<sup>†</sup>

gām bhokṣyaty Andhra<sup>||</sup>-jātīyaḥ kañcit || kalam a-sattamaḥ:

where \*rBh Kāṇvam; †kBh tadvatyo; †ftBh vṛṣabho° (f strictly vṛṣabhordhatī, cf. p. 25, note<sup>7</sup>); †dBh Andhri, fBh anya; || eBh kiñcit.

<sup>3</sup> This line in Vā, Bḍ. Bḍ Kanv°. Vā genly Kanṭh°: other variations similar to those in p. 34, note<sup>11</sup>. Bḍ, Ca<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>eVā °yanam; a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>3</sup>bdfgklmVā °yanān.

<sup>4</sup> So Ca<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>eVā, Bḍ: a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>4</sup>klVā at-ōd° or at-ōdvṛtya; fgmVā ato dhṛtya; dVā tat-ōddhṛtya (Pkt).

<sup>5</sup> In jMt °ṇeh; bcnMt °ṇam; lMt °ṇa; gMt °sarmāṇam.

<sup>6</sup> In a<sup>2</sup>nMt pragṛhya.

<sup>7</sup> CbdjMt tām; gMt tām; fMt tvām.

<sup>8</sup> In eVā Sudharmāṇam prasahyataḥ.

<sup>9</sup> So Mt; bMt Sumnānām; ceknMt sutā°; jMt Aṅgārā.

<sup>10</sup> In eMt c-aiva dṛṣam; fMt c-aiva sarveṣām.

<sup>11</sup> This line is in Vā, not in Bḍ. Ca<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>Vā Śṛṅg°.

<sup>12</sup> In eVā yac cheṣah; fmVā defective.

<sup>13</sup> So Mt mostly: dMt kṣayitvā sa; ceMt kṣipitvā sa; lMt jṛyitvā tu: fjmMt kṣapayitvā, jMt kṣep°, bMt krp°.

<sup>14</sup> In eMt balāyasah; jMt mahīyasām.

<sup>15</sup> CVā kṣayayitvā.

<sup>16</sup> In eVā balī tathā, dVā °tadā.

<sup>17</sup> So Mt genly; dMt °dhrah; jMt °ddhra; nMt °dhra; kMt °va; bMt °yah: dMt Śīsurko° here, Śīśukas in next line; eMt Śīśruk-Āndhraḥ; fjmMt Śīkhukas tu; lMt Kīmsukrodhaḥ. The correct name is Simuka (Rapson, 'Indian Coins, Andhras, &c.' pp. xviii, xlvi). It was misread as Śīsuka, and then Sktzd (1) as Śīsuka, and (2) as Śīśuka whence Śīkhuka, by dialectical variation of ṣ and kh. Śimuka could be misread as Śīpraka which Vṣ has, see note<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> In kMt sa-jāt°.

<sup>19</sup> So Vā, Bḍ: eVā Chismako hy a-jātīyaḥ.

<sup>20</sup> So CdfgjMt, Vā, Bḍ. Mt genly °vimśa: eVā reads this line—

sa trayo-vimśati rājā bhavitā Chismakah samāḥ

<sup>21</sup> I put the correct name here to combine Mt, Vā, Bḍ, which read it as above: eMt Śīśukas; eMt Śīmsukah.

<sup>22</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bḍ bhavitā tv atha; dVā omits tv; mVā °tv a[rka]ḥam; gVā bhavitā[s] tathā.

Kṛṣṇo<sup>23</sup> bhrātā yavīyāms tu<sup>24</sup> | Kṛṣṇo<sup>25</sup> bhrātāsyā<sup>26</sup> varṣāni  
 aṣṭādaśa<sup>27</sup> bhaviṣyati | so 'smād daśa<sup>28</sup> bhaviṣyati 5  
 Śrī-Śātakarnīr<sup>29</sup> bhavitā tasya putras<sup>30</sup> tu vai daśa<sup>31</sup>  
 Pūrnotsaṅgas<sup>32</sup> tato<sup>33</sup> rājā varṣāny<sup>34</sup> aṣṭādaśaiva tu  
 Skandhastambhis<sup>35</sup> tathā<sup>36</sup> rājā varṣāny<sup>37</sup> aṣṭādaśaiva tu  
 pañcāśataṃ<sup>38</sup> samāḥ ṣaṭ ca<sup>39</sup> Śātakarnīr<sup>40</sup> bhaviṣyati  
 daśa caṣṭau ca<sup>41</sup> varṣāni tasya<sup>42</sup> Lambodaraḥ<sup>43</sup> sutah<sup>44</sup> 10  
 Āpīlako<sup>45</sup> daśa dve ca<sup>46</sup> tasya putro-bhaviṣyati

<sup>23</sup> Mt genly the Pkt nomin. form *Kṛṣṇa*; jMt *Kṛṣṇā*. Vṣ says—*Kṛṣṇa-nāmā tad-bhrātā*. Bh says—

*Kṛṣṇa-nām-ātha tad-bhrātā bhavitā prthivī-patīḥ*.

See Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. xix, xli.

<sup>24</sup> In fgMt *ca*.

<sup>25</sup> So *a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>dgVā*, Bḍ: *eVā Kṛṣṇā*; *bVā kṛṣṭau*: *a<sup>2</sup>Vā Tvaṣṭo*; *fmVā Tvaṣṭro*; *CjklVā aṣṭau*.

<sup>26</sup> So *bdeVā*, Bḍ: *a<sup>1</sup>-fjgkmVā*, 3 MSS of *CVā bhrātasya*; *lVā*, 2 MSS of *CVā bhrātāś ca*; 1 MS of *CVā smāta-ya*.

<sup>27</sup> So all Mt; but nMt *aṣṭām daśa*, see *Introdn.* § 40.

<sup>28</sup> So *a<sup>2</sup>-bdfykmVā*, Bḍ: *lVā so smā d<sup>o</sup>*; *eVā so 'ṣṭād<sup>o</sup>*; *Ca<sup>1</sup>jVā tasmād d<sup>o</sup>*; see *Introdn.* § 40.

<sup>29</sup> This name is spelt variously, see p. 37. *Vā* genly *°Śātakarnīr*. Bḍ, Vṣ *°Śāntakarnīr*. But *bcdem* *°Mālakarnī*, nMt *°kanī* (easy misreadings); Mt genly *°Mallakarnī*; jMt *°Śātakarnīr*, kMt *°parṇi*. Bh *°Śāntakarna*, fBh *°varṇa*.

<sup>30</sup> Bh, lVṣ agree, *tasya putras*: *fyjMt putrās*.

<sup>31</sup> So Mt genly; *bceknMt samāḥ*. *Vā*, Bḍ *mahān*.

<sup>32</sup> This line is only in Mt, *eVā*. So Mt genly; *fMt Pūrnotsarga*; *cMt Pūrnotsaṅgas*, *eMt °sagas*: *eVā* reads this line—

*Pūrnotsantu ca varṣāni bhavit-āṣṭādaśa-iva tu*.

Vṣ *Pūrnotsaṅga*; jVṣ *°sam[mr]ga*; hVṣ *Pūrnotsaṅga*; lVṣ *Vasukarnnotsaṅga*. Bh *Paurṇamāsa*, and adds *tat-sutah*.

<sup>33</sup> *Tu vai* in *bcenMt*.

<sup>34</sup> *Samā* in nMt.

<sup>35</sup> This line is only in *bdfgnMt*. So *fgMt*; *dMt °stabhis*; *bMt Svīrasvanis* (an easy

misreading); nMt *°Sovastuti*, and inverts him and the next king.

<sup>36</sup> *Tapā* in nMt.

<sup>37</sup> *Samā* in nMt.

<sup>38</sup> So *Vā*, *CedemMt*; jMt *°satāḥ*. Bḍ, *bfgMt °sat tu*; *AklMt °sac ca*.

<sup>39</sup> *Ṣaṭ kar* in *eVā*; *eMt ṣaḍu*; nMt omits *ca*.

<sup>40</sup> No marked variations in this name: nMt inverts him and the preceding king; *mVā* repeating the line reads *tasya putro*. Bh omits him.

<sup>41</sup> *Daśa vāsaiva* in *bMt*.

<sup>42</sup> In *eVā* [*bhavitā*] *tasmāl*.

<sup>43</sup> This line only in Mt and *eVā*. Bh and Vṣ agree in the name.

<sup>44</sup> Bh agrees, *tat-putras*: *eVā nṛpaḥ*.

<sup>45</sup> Mt genly *Āpīlako*; *cfgMt Apīl<sup>o</sup>*; *eMt Apīl<sup>o</sup>*; nMt *Apīl<sup>o</sup>* or *Apīl<sup>o</sup>*; *bMt +Aryāmtako*: *eVā Āpīlako*. But *gVā Āpīlavā*; *fVā*, 3 MSS of *CVā Āpol<sup>o</sup>*; *jVā Āpol<sup>o</sup>*; 1 MS of *CVā Apal<sup>o</sup>*; *mVā Ārpāl<sup>o</sup>* or *Āryāl<sup>o</sup>*; *a<sup>1</sup>-<sup>4</sup>Vā*, 2 MSS of *CVā Āpādaba-*; *bdVā Āpīstavā*. Bḍ *Āpolavo*. *Āpīlaka* seems the best form: the third syll. *ta* in Mt names may be a misreading of *la*, and may be read either way in nMt. Vṣ genly reads *tasmād* before this name, and it was aptly often read as Pkt *tasmā* with the final *d* applied to the name; thus lVṣ *Dāpīlaka* (though it interposes *ca*), and *cdkVṣ (tasmādīvilakāḥ) Iviṭ<sup>o</sup>* or *Diviṭ<sup>o</sup>*; hence *afgVṣ Diviṭ<sup>o</sup>*, *CVṣ Diviṭ<sup>o</sup>*: *hVṣ Divila*; *jVṣ Vilaka*; *bVṣ Divānīka*. Bh genly (reading *d* in Gupta script as *c*) *Civilaka* or *Cibiṭ<sup>o</sup>*, *aqsbh °līka*; *fBh Cīlibaka*, *dBh °bika*; *cBh Cībilīka*, *Vīcīlaka*; *rBh Vivīlaka*, *hBh Yiṭ<sup>o</sup>* or *Ghīl<sup>o</sup>* and *Civiṭ<sup>o</sup>*. *BBh Vikala* aptly.

<sup>46</sup> So Mt; *cenMt tu*. *Vā* genly, Bḍ *dvādaśa vai*, which is equally good: *a<sup>1</sup>-<sup>4</sup>Vā*, 2 MSS of *CVā +-ddhodaśa<sup>o</sup>*.

daśa c-āṣṭau ca varṣāni Meghasvātir <sup>47</sup> bhaviṣyati	Ātir bhaviṣyati nṛpo
Svātiś ca bhavitā <sup>48</sup> rājā <sup>49</sup>	varṣāni dvādaśa-aiṣva tu <sup>52</sup>
samās <sup>50</sup> tv aṣṭādaśa-aiṣva <sup>51</sup> tu	Skandasvātiḥ samās tasmāt
Skandasvātiś <sup>53</sup> tathā rājā	sapta <sup>55</sup> rājyaṁ kariṣyati
saptā-aiṣva tu <sup>54</sup> bhaviṣyati	
Mrgendraḥ <sup>56</sup> Svātikarṇas <sup>57</sup> tu <sup>58</sup> bhaviṣyati samās trayah <sup>59</sup>	
Kuntalaḥ <sup>60</sup> Svātikarṇas <sup>61</sup> tu <sup>62</sup> bhavit-āṣṭau samā <sup>63</sup> nṛpaḥ	
eka-samvatsaram <sup>64</sup> rājā Svāti-varṇo <sup>65</sup> bhaviṣyati	
ṣaṭ-trimśad <sup>66</sup> eva <sup>67</sup> varṣāni	catur-vimśat <sup>68</sup> tu varṣāni
Pulomāvir <sup>69</sup> bhaviṣyati	Pulomāvir <sup>69</sup> bhaviṣyati
bhavit-Āriṣṭakarṇas <sup>70</sup> tu varṣānām pañca-vimśatiḥ <sup>71</sup>	

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<sup>47</sup> This line only in Mt, eVā. So Mt genly; jMt °svāmī; CMt Medhasvātir; nMt Samghasvāri, an easy misreading; ceMt Samghas c-āpi. Vṣ, Bh Meghasvāti, jVṣ Maghas°; kVṣ Meghaghāti. The name has been corrupted in eVā which reads—

daśa c-āṣṭau ca bhavitā so 'ṣṭādaśa bhaviṣyati.

<sup>48</sup> This line only in Mt: bMt Svātir bhaviṣyate, nMt Svāmī bh°; gMt, in repeating the line, Svāmī bh°: ceMt sa eva bhokṣyate.

<sup>49</sup> In bMt ramyā.

<sup>50</sup> In celnMt samā: bMt manās, so gMt in repeating.

<sup>51</sup> In cenMt aṣṭau daś-aiṣva (omitting tu).

<sup>52</sup> This line is in eVā only. Introd. § 40.

<sup>53</sup> So Mt, mostly. CMt °svātiś misprinted as °racātiś: bcenMt and gMt (in repeating) Skandhasvātiś, dMt °svāmīś; lMt Skamvastrāniś (an easy misreading).

<sup>54</sup> Misread as sam-aiṣva tva in gMt (repeated), °tvam in bMt; cenMt sapta c-aiṣva.

<sup>55</sup> This line in eVā only; thus, Skandasvātiḥ samāt tasmā samā, where samā is misreading for sapta.

<sup>56</sup> This line only in Mt, eVā: bMt Bhagendraḥ; eVā Mahen°; jMt naren°.

<sup>57</sup> So Mt genly: fgMt °varṇas, but gMt repeats as in text; nMt Sātikarṇas; eVā Sātakarṇis.

<sup>58</sup> In eMt mu: after this nMt adds by mistake and superfluously varṣāni pañca-vimśati (from l. 19).

<sup>59</sup> In eVā samā-trayam.

<sup>60</sup> This line only in Mt, eVā: bMt Kuśalaḥ; jMt Kṣettulaḥ.

<sup>61</sup> In nMt Sāntik°; eVā Sātakarṇis.

<sup>62</sup> Ca in ceMt, and gMt in repeating.

<sup>63</sup> In jMt °aṣṭā samo.

<sup>64</sup> But bcjlnMt °samvatsaro, eMt °se v°, gMt (in repeating) śakasamv°.

<sup>65</sup> This line only in Mt, eVā. So ACbdlMt: cejMt °karṇo; fgmMt °kono, gMt (in repeating) °varṇo; dMt °keno; eVā °ṣeno; kMt Syātiseno; nMt Sātikarṇo.

<sup>66</sup> This line is in Mt, except ACMt: lmMt ṣaṭ-trimśad; gMt (in repeating) ṣaṭ-vimśad; nMt ṣadgimśa (= ṣaṭ-vimśa).

<sup>67</sup> So dmMt and gMt (in repeating): lMt deva; jkMt c-aiṣva; cenMt tv eva; bfgMt dve ca.

<sup>68</sup> So Vā, Bḍ: eVā °trimśat.

<sup>69</sup> This name has been greatly corrupted. So bdklnMt; gMt (in repeating) °vi: ceMt Pulomāvid; jMt Sulomāvir (an easy misreading). In Vā: dgkVā Padumāvir (or, as it may be read in dgVā, Yadu°; and so a°a°lVā and 3 MSS of CVā): then by easy misreadings, bVā Paṭu° (or Ya°); eVā Patramātir (or Ya°); fVā Ṣaṭumāvir; 4 MSS of CVā Ṣaḍu°; mVā Ṣaṭu° or Ṣadu°; jVā Ṣadrarmāvi; a°lVā and 2 MSS of CVā ṣaṭ samā vai (by attempt at emendment). By regarding the final vi (in Pkt) as an expletive (= vai or api), hjVṣ Padumān or Paṭu°; abcdegklVṣ Paṭu°; Bḍ Paṭumānś ca; other Vṣ Padhumān. Then arBh Vatamāna; Bh genly Aṭa°; nBh Aṭha°; mBh Anḍa°; dBh Ara°; sBh Raca°. For this name fmMt substitute (a second) Meghasvātir; and gMt Bhegha°.

<sup>70</sup> There is great variation in this name

tataḥ saṁvatsarān pañca <sup>72</sup> Hālo <sup>73</sup> rājā bhaviṣyati	20
pañca Mantalako <sup>74</sup> rājā <sup>75</sup>	pañca Pattalako <sup>74</sup> rājā <sup>76</sup>
bhaviṣyati samā nṛpaḥ <sup>77</sup>	bhaviṣyati mahābalaḥ <sup>78</sup>
Purīndraseno <sup>79</sup> bhavitā	bhāvyaḥ Purikaṣeṇas <sup>80</sup> tu
tasmāt saumyo bhaviṣyati <sup>81</sup>	samāḥ so 'py eka-vimśatim <sup>82</sup>
Sundarah <sup>83</sup> Śātakarnis <sup>84</sup> tu	Śātakarnir <sup>85</sup> varṣam ekam
abdam <sup>86</sup> ekam bhaviṣyati	bhaviṣyati narādhipaḥ
Cakoraḥ <sup>87</sup> Śātakarnis <sup>88</sup> tu ṣaṇ māsān <sup>89</sup> vai bhaviṣyati <sup>90</sup>	

Vā genly *bhavitā Nemikṛṣṇas*; *dVā* °Nemi-*kasmā*; *mMt* °Nauvikṛṣṇas; *dMt* °Naurik°; *jMt* °Nārik°; *kMt* °Saurik°; *fgMt* °ṣṭauvik°; *eMt* °Gaurak°; *eMt* °Gaurakṛtsvas. *ACMt* *bhavit-Āriktavarnas*; *bIMt* °Āriktakarnas; *nMt* °Āriṣṭakarnis. *Vṣ* *Āriṣṭakarmā*; so *aBh.* *Bd* *bhavit-Āriṣṭakarmā*. *Bh* *Āriṣṭakarmā*. It is impossible to extract the correct name out of this confusion, and I have adopted *Āriṣṭakarna* as the most central form.

<sup>71</sup> So *a¹a²a³bdfgVā*: *Vā* genly, *bMt*, *Bd* °*tīm*. *Mt* *varsāni* . . . *tih*; *jMt* reads this half line, *ṣaṇ-māsān vai bhaviṣyati*.

<sup>72</sup> So *Mt.* *Vā*, *Bd* *saṁvatsaram pūrṇam*.  
<sup>73</sup> So all, except *IVṣ* *Hala*; *Bh* *Hāleya*; *rBh* *Hālela* or *Hālena*; *eBh* *Hālaya*.

<sup>74</sup> There is great variation in this name. *ACbMt* *Mandulako*; *eMt* *Mantalako*, *eMt* °*laṁko*; *IMt* *Menulake*; *fgknMt* *Mandalako*; *dMt* *Mandako*; *mMt* *Kundalako*. Then *kVṣ* *Pantalaka* or *Patt°*; *Vṣ* genly *Patt°*; *IVṣ* *Pitt°*; *deVṣ* *Putt°*; *jVṣ* *Pakṣat°*; *aVṣ* *Prabhul°* (or *Prattal°*?). *Bd* *Pattallaka*. *Bh*, losing the first syll., *Talaka* (see Appendix II, § vi); *aBh* *Tanaka*; *hBh* *Halaka*; *dBh* *Sūt°*. *Vā*, by losing the third syllable, *Saptaka*; *fVā* *Saptaṁka*; *bdVā* *Masaka* (misreading of *Maptaka*?). *eVā* reads this half line, *pañc-aivabhā . . ko rājā*. *Mantalaka* or *Pattalaka* seems the most likely form, from which the other readings might have been derived by misreadings. *Bh* says, *tasya c-ātmapajā*.

<sup>75</sup> So *Mt*, *eVā*: *bMt* *rākṣo*.

<sup>76</sup> *Vā*, to compensate for the lost syllable in *Saptaka*, and by the meaning of *sapta*, reads *rājāno* and turns the two following words into plurals: *mVā* *rānā* [maṁ]no. *Bd* *nāma*. The correct reading must be *rājā*.

<sup>77</sup> So *Mt*, *eVā*, where *nṛpaḥ* is redundant, cf. line 26.

<sup>78</sup> So *Bd*. *Vā* °*ṣyanti mahābalāḥ*.

<sup>79</sup> This line is in *Mt*. So *Mt* genly; *CMt* °*seno* or °*seni*; *nMt* *Purīndraseno* and *Purīdra°*; *bMt* *Purānda°*: *hVṣ* *Pulīndrāsana* (for °*drasena*); *abkVṣ* °*dasena*; *IVṣ* *Pullas°*; *Vṣ* genly, *eVā* *Pravillas°*; *deVṣ* *Pravilas°*; *jMt* *Pravilis°*; where *pra* may be a misreading of *pu*.

<sup>80</sup> This line is in *Vā*, *Bd*. So *a¹-fglmVā*; *bdVā* *Purīkuseṇas*; *kVā* *Purīkāṣeṇas*; *jVā* *Purīkhenus*; *CVā* *Putrikaseṇas*. Then *dBh* *Purīṣaseru* (where *s* and *bh* are much alike); *arsBh* °*bheru*; *eghijklmnpqBh* °*bhoru*; other *Bh*, *Bd* °*bhāru*. These variations suggest the name *Puruṣaseṇa*. A king *Purīsadata* of the *Ikhākus* is mentioned, see p. 37.

<sup>81</sup> So *Mt* genly: *bMt* *sāmyo°*; *nMt* *saimyo°*, °*yar°*; *dMt* *seno°*. *Saumyo* cannot well be a king, though the line says so on its face, because in this dynasty two kings are never put together in a single line without any mention of their reigns. *Saumyo bhaviṣyati* is probably a corruption, see Appendix II, § iii.

<sup>82</sup> So *Ca²fjkmVā*, *Bd*; *a¹a²a³bdhlVā* °*tih*; *gVā* °*ti*: *eVā* reads this half line *samā dvādaśa bhū-tale*.

<sup>83</sup> This line is in *Mt*, *eVā*. *Vṣ* *Sundara*: *fgMt* *Sundharah*. *Bh*, *IVṣ* *Sunandana*.

<sup>84</sup> Usual variations, see p. 37.

<sup>85</sup> So *Vā*, *Bd*, with variations, but no personal name: 1 MS of *CVā* *Śāntakīrttir*.

<sup>86</sup> In *eVā* *varṣam*; *jMt* .. *tam*.

<sup>87</sup> So *Mt* genly, *eVā*. *Vā* genly *Cakāra*. *Vṣ*, *Bh* *Cakora*; *gpBh* *Cakara*; *hVṣ* *Cā[kā]-kāra*. But *eMt* *Rājāda*; *nMt* *rājā vai*: *bMt* reads this half line *rājā vaṁśyo vikarṇas ca*: *IVṣ* merely *Śātakarni*.

aṣṭā-vimśati <sup>91</sup> varṣāni Śivasvātir <sup>92</sup> bhaviṣyati 25  
 rājā ca Gautamīputra <sup>93</sup> eka-vimśat tato <sup>94</sup> nṛpaḥ <sup>95</sup>  
 aṣṭā-vimśaḥ <sup>96</sup> sutas <sup>97</sup> tasya Pulomā vai <sup>98</sup> bhaviṣyati  
 [ek-ōna-trimśatim bhāvyaḥ Śātakarṇis tatho nṛpaḥ] <sup>99</sup>  
 Śivaśrīr <sup>1</sup> vai Pulomā tu <sup>2</sup> sapt-aiiva <sup>3</sup> bhavitā nṛpaḥ <sup>4</sup>  
 Śivaskandhaḥ <sup>5</sup> Śātakarṇir <sup>6</sup> bhavit-āsy-ātmajaḥ samāḥ <sup>7</sup> 30  
 nava-vimśati <sup>8</sup> varṣāni | ek-ōna-vimśatim <sup>9</sup> rājā  
 Yajñaśrīḥ <sup>10</sup> Śātakarṇikaḥ <sup>11</sup> | Yajñaśrīḥ <sup>12</sup> Śātakarṇya atha <sup>13</sup>

<sup>98</sup> So Vā, cdefgjnMt, Vṣ, with variations. Mt genly Svātikarṇas. Instead of this name Bh genly vatako yatra; rBh vattikā°; nBh (and BBh?) navamo°; jBh cavako° altered to vatako°; GgBh bahavo°; dBh batako (or ṣatako) yasya. Read vatako yasya?

<sup>89</sup> In bdeMt māso; eVā ṣat samān.

<sup>90</sup> So Mt. Vā genly vai narādhipaḥ; eVā bhavitā nṛpaḥ; kVā vi[ta] narādhipaḥ.

<sup>91</sup> So Mt, bmVā, Bd. Vā genly, jMt °vimśat tu.

<sup>92</sup> So Mt, dVā, Bd. Vṣ, Bh agree: IVṣ °svātiḥ; aVṣ Śivaḥ Svātiḥ; fgMt Śikhasvātir; kBh Śiras°; jMt Śiraḥs°. Ca'djVā Śiva-svāmī; a°-bfghkVā °svāmīr; mVā °svāmīr. Bh calls him arindamaḥ.

<sup>93</sup> In beMt, bVṣ Gotamīp°. Vṣ, Bh Gomatīp°; IVṣ Gomati. Mt adds hy.

<sup>94</sup> So dfgjMt, a°Vā; cmMt °vimśa°. AmMt eka-vimśaty ato; CMt aka-v° by misprint: bMt, a°a°a°bd fghklmVā eka-vimśattamo; CjVā, Bd °vimśat samā. Eka-vimśattamo, '21st king', can hardly be right, because he is not 21st in any list except AMt where two preceding kings are omitted; and he can only be made 21st by omissions.

<sup>95</sup> So Mt, bdfghlmVā, Bd, though it is redundant. AjkVā nṛṣu.

<sup>96</sup> This line only in Mt: dgMt °sa; bjMt °sat; CMt °sati.

<sup>97</sup> In nMt tutas; jMt tatas; bMt samas.

<sup>98</sup> CbMt Sulomā vai; but beMt Pulomā tu in next line. Vṣ Pulimān; IVṣ Puḥ; aVṣ Kul°. Bh Purimān; kBh Puri°; fBh Putri°. The name should no doubt be Pulomāvir. Vṣ adds, tat-putraḥ.

<sup>99</sup> This line only in eVā: see p. 37.

<sup>1</sup> This line only in Mt, eVā. So Mt genly: ceMt °srī; nMt °svā; bMt Śivasvīr; jMt

Śirogrīvaḥ (omitting vai). Vṣ Śātakarṇī Śivaśrīḥ; IVṣ makes this two kings, tasy-āpi Śātakarṇīḥ tatas Śivaśrīḥ (see p. 37): dBh Sacasirā; nBh Midasirāḥ; Bh genly Medas°; kBh Medās°; fBh Medas°. This half line in eVā is, Śirasī putra Ávis tu.

<sup>2</sup> So Mt genly; cMt °māḥ tu; bgMt °māsu. But jMt °māt tu; CMt Sulomāt tu.

<sup>3</sup> In bMt samaiva; eVā catasre.

<sup>4</sup> In eVā samāḥ.

<sup>5</sup> This line only in Mt, eVā. So Mt genly. Vṣ, afmnrBh agree: cBh °skadhra; dfjMt, Bh genly, hVṣ °skandah (altered in sBh to °skandha); bVṣ °svanda; kVṣ °sunda; jMt Śiraskandho, eVā °skandah.

<sup>6</sup> So cdefgmnMt, eVā; bMt Sāmak°. AClMt Śātikarṇād; kMt Śalaiḥkarṇikā; jMt Nṛpaskando.

<sup>7</sup> So cdejnMt; bMt defective vin-āsy°; fgMt bhāvī tasy°. AClmMt bhavitā hy āt°: eVā bhaviṣyati samā nṛpaḥ. No number is mentioned. Perhaps Mt should read, bhāvī tasmāt trayo samāḥ (see Appendix I, § iii), and eVā bhaviṣyati samās trayah.

<sup>8</sup> So Mt: jMt °vimśat tu; fgMt °śivāt tu: bcelnMt read this line—

nava varṣāni Yajñaśrīḥ \* kurute' Śāta-karṇikaḥ †:

where \* bMt °snīḥ; † bMt kurune, nMt kusate; † ceMt °karṇinā, lMt Sātavarṇitā, bMt Śaḥsakarṇikaḥ.

<sup>9</sup> So Vā, Bd: bdghVā °trimsatam; kVā trikonatrisatam.

<sup>10</sup> Mat genly Yajñaśrīḥ; dlMt °srī; jMt Yajñah Śrī.

<sup>11</sup> In kMt Śātakarṇinā.

<sup>12</sup> So Ca°ejVā; mVā Yajñah Śrīḥ. Bd Yajñah Śrī: a°a°a°bfjIVā Yajuhśrī-ḥ; dhkVā Yajuhśrī-ḥ. Vṣ, Bh Yajñaśrīḥ with

śaḍ eva <sup>14</sup> bhavitā <sup>15</sup> tasmād <sup>16</sup> Vijayas <sup>17</sup> tu samā nrpaḥ <sup>18</sup>	Daṇḍāśrīḥ <sup>22</sup> Śātakarnī ca
Caṇḍāśrīḥ <sup>19</sup> Śātakarnī <sup>20</sup> tu <sup>21</sup>	tasya putraḥ samās trayāḥ <sup>23</sup>
tasya putraḥ samā daśa	
Pulomāvīḥ <sup>24</sup> samāḥ sapta <sup>25</sup> anyas teṣām <sup>26</sup> bhaviṣyati	34
ek-ōna-vimśatir hy ete <sup>27</sup>	ity ete vai nrpās trimśad <sup>28</sup>
Āndhrā <sup>29</sup> bhokṣyanti vai mahīm	Andhrā <sup>30</sup> bhokṣyanti ye <sup>31</sup> mahīm
teṣām varṣa-śatāni syuṣ	samāḥ śatāni catvāri
catvāri ṣaṣṭir <sup>32</sup> eva ca.	pañca śaḍ vai tath-aiva ca <sup>33</sup> .

marg. alteration °sāra in aBh; sBh °śīla, altered to °śrī: kVṣ Svṅaśrīs. Bh adds tat-sutas.

<sup>13</sup> In eVā °api: 2 MSS of CVā Sāmakarny atha.

<sup>14</sup> In eVā etc.

<sup>15</sup> In jMt nacidā (misreading of bhavitā in old Bengali script?).

<sup>16</sup> In bcnMt yasmād; eVā vastu.

<sup>17</sup> So all: but deVṣ Vijaya; bMt, jVṣ Vijas; eVā dvijaḥ yaśu (omitting tu); bVṣ Dvijajña; lBh Vinaya. Bh says, tat-suto.

<sup>18</sup> So Vā, Bd. Mt genly samās tataḥ; bcnMt samām°; fgjMt [sa] samā daśa.

<sup>19</sup> So Mt genly; cMt Caḍāśrīḥ; egMt Vandā°; bMt Candratīḥ. Vṣ genly Candrasrīḥ; cVṣ Cadra°: dBh Candrasīja, frBh °vīja, aBh °vīrya, Bh genly °vijñāḥ.

<sup>20</sup> Mt genly Śāntikarnas, with variations; bgMt Śāmakarnīs.

<sup>21</sup> So Mt, eVā. Vā, Bd ca.

<sup>22</sup> So Vā. Bd Daṇḍa-Śrī-.

<sup>23</sup> In eVā samās trayam; a<sup>1</sup>Vā samāśrayaḥ.

<sup>24</sup> So eVā, aVṣ; lVṣ °māvī. Bd °mūriḥ. Vṣ genly °māciḥ; cdefjkVṣ °mārciḥ; hVṣ °mādi; bVṣ Anulomāvīḥ. Bh genly Salomadhīḥ; mBh Sul°; kBh Mal° (all easy misreadings).

<sup>25</sup> Mt genly Pulomā sapta varṣāni; CbdmMt Sul°; where the last syll. of the name has been probably regarded as a particle and ousted by the change of Pkt varṣā to Skt varṣāni. Vā genly Pulov-āpi.

<sup>26</sup> So Mt, Vā genly: eMt antyes°, nMt antas°, cMt amnyas°; all mistakes for antyas teṣām, probably the true reading, cf. p. 12, l. 22; p. 18, note 7. Ca<sup>2</sup>fVā tanyeṣām ca (f omits ca). Bd tatas c-aīṣām; eVā san tasmād.

<sup>27</sup> So Mt, genly: fgMt °sati°; dMt °satis c-ēte; jMt °śad ete ca; nMt ek-ōnā-navatīm hy ete, ceMt ṭekānā-n°.

<sup>28</sup> So Vā, Bd: mVā omits this line.

<sup>29</sup> So Mt genly: cfjnMt Andhrā; dMt Andhrān; bMt nrpā.

<sup>30</sup> In eVā akṣā.

<sup>31</sup> So Vā. Bd, gVā vai.

<sup>32</sup> So Mt: nMt ṣaṣṭir, bMt ṣaṣṭim: jMt reads this line—

dvādaś-ādhikam eteṣām rājyam śata-catuṣṭayam.

<sup>33</sup> This line is in Vā, Bd: not in mVā. So Vā genly: hVā pañca śaḍ va°: bdfgkVā °ṣaṭ ca°; eVā °ṣaṭ sapta c-aiva hi. Bd pañcāśat ṣaṭ tath-aiva ca. Vṣ says—

evam ete trimśat\* catvāry abda<sup>+</sup>-śatāni ṣaṭ-pañcāśad<sup>+</sup>-adhikāni pṛthivīm bhokṣyanti: where \*kVṣ omits trimśat; †hVṣ aṣṭa; ‡lVṣ ṣaś pañcā[da]śad. Bh says—

ete trimśan\* nrpatayaś catvāry abda<sup>+</sup>-śatāni ca

ṣaṭ pañcāśac ca pṛthivīm bhokṣyanti, Kuru-nandana:

where \*aBh has vimśan written above; †gBh aṣṭa.



*Various Local Dynasties.*

*Text*—AMt 273, 17<sup>b</sup>-24 ; AVā 99, 358<sup>b</sup>-365 ; Bđ iii, 74, 171-179<sup>a</sup>.

*Corresp. passages*—CV§ iv, 24, 13-16 ; GBh xii, 1, 29-32<sup>b</sup>.

The account of these dynasties consists of three parts, the first of which summarizes the number of kings in each dynasty and the second states its duration, while the third adds certain subsequent kings. In the first part the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa agree generally, but in the second the Matsya has one version and the two others another. Here the dynastic matter in the Matsya ends, and the third part is found only in the two others. The Bhāgavata gives the first part in verses which are much like the texts of those Purāṇas, only the concluding portion of the second, and a very brief notice of the third. In the first part therefore the two versions are printed side by side. In the second part the Matsya version and that of the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa are compared side by side, but in the third there is only the text common to those two. The Bhāgavata statements in both these parts are given in the notes. The Viṣṇu in prose agrees closely with the Bhāgavata.

The Vā and Bđ mention the dynasties in the second part in the same order that all three Purāṇas observe in the first part, but the Mt verses are disarranged in the second part, and are re-arranged here in that order for convenience. This involves no tampering with its text, because each line is complete in itself and independent, except ll. 12, 13 which compose a couplet forming verse 22 and which remain undisturbed ; hence the Mt verses are placed here thus, 23<sup>b</sup>, 24<sup>a</sup>, 20<sup>b</sup>, 21<sup>b</sup>, 20<sup>a</sup>, 21<sup>a</sup>, 22<sup>ab</sup>, 23<sup>a</sup>, 24<sup>b</sup>.

The Mt is generally complete ; but eMt omits ll. 12-14 ; fMt l. 8 ; gMt repeats ll. 3, 4 after l. 10 ; hMt omits ll. 4, 5 ; iMt have nothing. ACVā omit ll. 7, 8, but AVā mentions them in a note ; most other copies give them ; a<sup>4</sup>Vā omits ll. 7 (second half)-9 (first half) ; mVā ll. 1-3, but they are added in the margin. Of Bh versions j omits ll. 1-5, but they are added in the margin ; k have nothing.

These local dynasties are all classed together as more or less contemporaneous. The number of years assigned to them must be considered according to the remarks in Introdn. §§ 42 ff., and with reference to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. when the account was first compiled as preserved in the Mt, for the revised versions in Vā and Bđ did not revise the periods<sup>1</sup>. If those remarks be sound, the Śrīparvatīya Andhrabhṛtyas had at that time reigned 52 years, or (if we read *dviḥ pañcāśatam*) possibly 100 roundly, according to Mt ; while the Vā and Bđ reading is no doubt corrupt and should perhaps be 112 or 102 years. The Ābhīras had then reigned 67 years, the Gardabhilas 72 years, the Śakas 183 years, the Yavanas 87 or 82 years, and the Tuṣāras 7,000 or 500 according to the proper construction of the sentences but perhaps 107 or 105 is really meant. The 13 Gurundas or Murundas had then reigned half of the quadruple of 100 years, that is 200, according to Mt, or 350 according to Vā and Bđ, but the latter is probably a corruption of the former

<sup>1</sup> Except in l. 6, if Mt reading *dvi-pañcā-* | to *daśa dve ca satam ca vai* ; see Introdn. *satam* is right, and if we emend Vā and Bđ § 41.

reading, for Vṣ and Bh say precisely 199 years. The 11 Hūnas or Maunas had then lasted 103 years.

Mention of these races is found in the inscriptions; thus Ābhīras in Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, nos. 963, 1137 (Epig. Ind. x, Appendix) and Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 14; Śakas, Lüders' list, nos. 1123, 1135, 1137, 1148, 1149, 1162, and perhaps 1001-2, and FGI p. 14; Yavanas, Lüders' list, nos. 669, 965, 1093, 1123, 1140, 1154, 1156; Murundas in FGI, p. 14, and Murundadevī, *id.*, pp. 128, 132, 138; Hūnas, FGI, pp. 56, 148, 206. A Vākātaka prince Vindhyaśakti is mentioned in Kielhorn's Inscriptions of Northern India, no. 622 (Epig. Ind. v, Appendix).

*Mt, Vā, Bḍ.*

Andhrānām<sup>1</sup> samsthite rājye<sup>2</sup>  
teṣām bhṛty-ānvayā<sup>3</sup> nṛpāḥ<sup>4</sup>  
sapt-aiv-Āndhrā<sup>6</sup> bhaviṣyanti  
daś-Ābhīrās<sup>7</sup> tathā nṛpāḥ<sup>8</sup>  
sapta Gardabhinas<sup>9</sup> c-āpi  
Śakās c-aṣṭādaś-aiva tu<sup>12</sup>  
  
Yavan-aṣṭau<sup>16</sup> bhaviṣyanti  
Tuṣārās<sup>18</sup> tu<sup>19</sup> caturdaśa

*Bh (with Vṣ).*

Sapt-Ābhīrā Āndhrabhṛtyā<sup>5</sup>  
  
daśa<sup>10</sup> Gardabhino<sup>11</sup> nṛpāḥ  
Śakāḥ<sup>13</sup> ṣoḍaśa<sup>14</sup> bhūpālā  
bhaviṣyanti ati-lolupāḥ<sup>15</sup>  
tato 'ṣṭau Yavanā<sup>17</sup> bhāvyaś  
caturdaśa ca Tuṣkarāḥ<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So *cdfnMt, Vā, Bḍ.* Mt genly *Āndh°*; *jMt sandh°: eVā Arthānām.*

<sup>2</sup> So *cdefgknMt; jMt sāsthite°; bMt sam-  
śrite°*; other Mt *samsthita°: eVā samsthite  
vaṁśe. Vā, Bḍ samsthitāḥ pañca*; so *mVā*  
(defective).

<sup>3</sup> So *dfjkMt, eVā; lMt -atrayā; jMt  
†dady-ānvayā.* Mt genly *bhṛty-ānvaye*;  
*bMt -adyaso.* But *fmVā vaṁśāḥ svayāḥ*  
(for *vaṁś-ānvayāḥ?*), *Vā genly °samāḥ. Bḍ*  
*vaṁśyās ca ye.*

<sup>4</sup> So Mt: *fmVā punāḥ. Vā, Bḍ punāḥ.*  
<sup>5</sup> Bh genly *Āvabhṛtyā; eBh Av°; aBh  
°c-Av°; fBh Āvabhṛthyā. Vṣ* rightly *An-  
dhra-bhṛtyāḥ sapt-Ābhīrā; lVṣ Āndh°.*

<sup>6</sup> So Mt; *eVā sapta c-Āndhrā. Vā, Bḍ*  
*sapt-aiva tu; hVā °nu.*

<sup>7</sup> So Mt, Vā, genly, Bḍ: *dVā. °Ābhīrās;*  
*eVā dār-Ābhīrās, dMt var°; jMt var-  
Ādhīrā; bMt nāv-Āmīrās; lMt nāv-Ābhīrā:*  
*mMt, hVā* defective; *fgMt Ābhīrās ca.*

<sup>8</sup> So Mt mostly: *Vā, Bḍ tato°: dnMt  
nṛpās tathā, eMt bhṛtās°, cMt mṛtās°, fgMt  
vṛṣās°: jMt nṛpās tadā.*

<sup>9</sup> So Vā, *bcknMt, Bḍ: eMt Marā°, but*

when repeated *Gardabhīlās* as in Mt genly:  
*lMt Kardabhīlā; jMt Gatabhṛtās.*

<sup>10</sup> Vṣ agrees.  
<sup>11</sup> So Bh genly, *alVṣ: kVṣ °nā; pBh  
Garbhātino. Vṣ* genly *Gardabhīlāḥ bhū-  
bhūjo, hVṣ °bhikā°: qBh †daśardagabhino;*  
*jVṣ, eBh crp.*

<sup>12</sup> So Mt genly; *jMt Śakāsāṣṭ°: bMt Śakās  
c-aiva daś°, cenMt Śākyās°, but eMt* in  
repeating reads as in text: *lMt †Kośaiva  
daś°.* But *eVā tath-aṣṭādaśa vai Śakāḥ;*  
*Vā, Bḍ tato 'tha daś°: kVā* has *Thakāḥ.*

<sup>15</sup> So Vṣ. Bh *Kaṅkāḥ; cBh Kān°.*  
<sup>14</sup> Vṣ agrees.  
<sup>15</sup> So Bh mostly: *cefjgklnqBh ca lo°; hBh  
na lo°.*

<sup>16</sup> By double sandhi (= *Yavanāḥ aṣṭau*);  
*fmVā Yāv°: fgmMt Yavanās ca.* This half  
line is in *jMt aṣṭau tu Yavanā dhīrās, in  
eVā tath-aiva Yavanā aṣṭau.*

<sup>17</sup> Vṣ agrees: *jBh Javanā.*  
<sup>18</sup> In *jMt Tuḥkhārās; cMt Tuṣāgās.*  
<sup>19</sup> So Vā, *eMt, Bḍ. Mt ca; jMt omits.*  
<sup>20</sup> So *BaeghjlmpqBh: dsBh °Tuḥkharāḥ,*  
*rBh °Tuṣārāḥ, nBh and v.r. in GBh °Puṣka-*

*Mt, Vā, Bđ.*

trayodaśa {Guruṇḍās} <sup>21</sup> ca  
{Muruṇḍās} ca  
{Hūṇā <sup>24</sup> hy ek-ōna-vimśatiḥ <sup>25</sup>.  
{Maunā <sup>24</sup> hy ekādaśaiva tu <sup>26</sup>.}

*Mat.*

Āndhrāḥ <sup>29</sup> Śrīparvatīyās <sup>30</sup> ca  
te dvi-pañcāśataṁ <sup>32</sup> samāḥ  
sapta-ṣaṣṭis <sup>35</sup> tu varṣāṇi <sup>36</sup>  
daś-Ābhīrās <sup>38</sup> tathāiva ca <sup>39</sup>  
sapta Gardabhilā <sup>41</sup> bhūyo <sup>42</sup>  
bhokṣyant-īmām vasundharām <sup>45</sup>  
śatāni trīṇy aśītim ca <sup>47</sup>  
Śakā hy <sup>49</sup> aṣṭādaśa <sup>50</sup> aiva tu

*sāh.* GbftBh *Turuṣkakāḥ*, cBh <sup>o</sup>karāḥ. CVṣ  
*caturdaśa Tukhārāḥ*, bdefghjVṣ <sup>o</sup>Tuṣārā,  
aVṣ <sup>o</sup>Tukhāvā, lVṣ <sup>o</sup>Kharā.

<sup>21</sup> Both forms are well supported. Mt  
genly, Bđ *Guruṇḍās*; nMt *Gar*<sup>o</sup>. Vā genly,  
jMt *Mar*<sup>o</sup>; jVā, mMt *Mur*<sup>o</sup>; fVā *Mer*<sup>o</sup>.  
Others, fgMt *Pur*<sup>o</sup>; cdMt *Puraṇḍās*; eMt  
*Purañjās*: 4 MSS of CVā *Mananīās*, which  
ACVā adopt; eVā *Raṇḍās* with *tu* for *ca*.  
*Guruṇḍa* occurs in Bhaviṣya iii, 5, 32, where  
it is said Vraja-bhāṣā, Mahārāṣṭri, Yāvanī,  
and Guruṇḍikā are the four Mleccha bhāṣās.  
For *Muruṇḍa* see p. 45. Cf. notes <sup>65</sup>, <sup>66</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> So Vṣ, dfgmBh and v.r. in GBh. Bh  
genly *bhūyo daśa*, an easy misreading; jVṣ  
omits.

<sup>23</sup> So Bh genly; dBh *Sur*<sup>o</sup>: aBh *Surāṇḍās*,  
sBh *Subā*<sup>o</sup>. Vṣ *Muṇḍās*, prob. error for  
*Muruṇḍās*, which lVṣ has.

<sup>24</sup> Both names are well supported. Mt  
genly *Hūṇā*; jMt *Hūṇā*; lMt *Janā*; eVā  
*Yaunā*; Vā, Bđ, bMt *Maunā*: nMt *smṛtā*.  
See note <sup>76</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> So Mt; dMt *c-ēk*<sup>o</sup>: ceMt omit *hy*.

<sup>26</sup> So eVā, Bđ. Vā *hy aṣṭādaś*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> So Bh, Vṣ: hBh *Monā*; aBh *Maulā*.

<sup>28</sup> Vṣ agrees.

<sup>29</sup> In gMt *An*<sup>o</sup>; dfMt *Andhā*; jMt *yuktā*;  
bMt reads this half line *Andhākṣāḥ par-*  
*vatīyās ca*.

<sup>30</sup> So cdfjkmnMt; lMt omits *Śrī*. ACMt

*Bh (with Vṣ).*

trayodaśa <sup>22</sup> Guruṇḍās <sup>23</sup> ca  
Maunā <sup>27</sup> ekādaśaiva <sup>28</sup> tu. 5

*Vā, Bđ.*

Andhrā <sup>31</sup> bhokṣyanti vasudhām  
śate <sup>33</sup> dve ca śataṁ <sup>34</sup> ca vai  
sapta-ṣaṣṭim ca varṣāṇi <sup>37</sup>  
daś-Ābhīrās tato <sup>40</sup> nṛpāḥ  
sapta Gardabhinaś <sup>43</sup> caiva <sup>44</sup>  
bhokṣyant-īmām dvi-saptatiḥ <sup>46</sup>  
śatāni trīṇy aśītim ca <sup>48</sup>  
bhokṣyanti <sup>51</sup> vasudhām Śakāḥ

*Śrīpār*<sup>o</sup>; eMt <sup>o</sup>parvatīyās.

<sup>21</sup> In eVā *Randhrā*.

<sup>22</sup> So ACbklMt: cefgmnMt *te dve pañca*  
*śataṁ*, dMt *dve pañca ca śataṁ*: jMt *ta dve*  
*pañca daś-āpi ca* for this half line.

<sup>23</sup> In fmVā *śataṁ*; kVā *śato*. Read prob-  
ably *daśa*; see Introdn. § 41.

<sup>24</sup> In kVā *dva ca*<sup>o</sup>; eVā *dve 'rddha-śataś*.

<sup>25</sup> In eeMt <sup>o</sup>ti; nMt <sup>o</sup>ī.

<sup>26</sup> In cenMt *sahasrāṇi*.

<sup>27</sup> This line is in a<sup>1-2</sup>bdefghklmVā, Bđ;  
first half in a<sup>4</sup>Vā, *sapta-ṣaṣṭi śatān-īha*.  
Not in ACjVā, but mentioned in note to  
AVā: a<sup>1-2</sup>blVā <sup>o</sup>ṣaṣṭi<sup>o</sup>; eVā *tu* for *ca*.

<sup>28</sup> In fmVā *daśabhīrās*, jMt <sup>o</sup>bhī . . s: kMt  
*Darbharomā*.

<sup>29</sup> In bcenMt *tatas tu vai*.

<sup>30</sup> In eVā *tatho*.

<sup>31</sup> In bcenMt <sup>o</sup>bhīno; jMt <sup>o</sup>bhrto.

<sup>32</sup> But better bcegnMt *bhūpā*.

<sup>33</sup> This line is in a<sup>1-2</sup>bdefghklmVā, Bđ. Not  
in ACjVā, but in note to AVā.

<sup>34</sup> In ekVā *c-āpi*.

<sup>35</sup> Sic: read *dvi-saptatim*?

<sup>36</sup> In eVā, Bđ <sup>o</sup>tim.

<sup>37</sup> In bgjMt *aśītiś ca*; cenMt *trīṇi ca tathā*.

<sup>38</sup> In bāgVā <sup>o</sup>aśītiś *ca*; fmVā *trīṇi 'śītiś*  
*ca*; eVā *trīṇi varṣāṇām*: a<sup>4</sup>Vā omits this  
half line, see note <sup>37</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Mt genly *śatāny*, jMt *tathā hy*, no  
doubt corruptions of *Śakā hy*, and I have

Mat.

Yavanāṣṭau bhaviṣyanti <sup>52</sup>  
 sapt-āsitim <sup>54</sup> mahim imām  
 sapta varṣa<sup>55</sup>-sahasrāni <sup>56</sup>  
 Tuṣārānām <sup>58</sup> mahi smrtā  
 śatāny ardha<sup>60</sup>-catuṣkāni <sup>61</sup>  
 bhavitavyās <sup>62</sup> trayodaśa <sup>63</sup>  
 Guruṇḍā <sup>65</sup> Vṛṣalaiḥ <sup>66</sup> sārdham <sup>67</sup>  
 bhokṣyante<sup>69</sup> Mleccha<sup>70</sup>-sambhavāḥ<sup>71</sup>  
 śatāni trīṇi bhokṣyante <sup>73</sup>  
 Hūṇā hy <sup>74</sup> ekādaśaiva tu <sup>75</sup>

Vā, Bd.

aṣīti dve ca <sup>63</sup> varṣāni  
 bhoktāro Yavanā mahim 10  
 pañca varṣa-śatān-īha <sup>67</sup>  
 Tuṣārānām <sup>69</sup> mahi smrtā  
 śatāny ardha-caturthāni  
 bhavitāras trayodaśa <sup>64</sup>  
 Muruṇḍā <sup>68</sup> Vṛṣalaiḥ <sup>66</sup> sārdham  
 bhāvyaṅyā <sup>72</sup> Mleccha-jātayaḥ  
 śatāni trīṇi bhokṣyante <sup>73</sup>  
 Maunā <sup>76</sup> ekādaśaiva tu <sup>77</sup>

emended it so: *bclnMt* †*nava*; *eMt* †*naca*.

<sup>50</sup> So *Mt* genly: *bceM* *c-āṣṭau*<sup>o</sup>; *lMt* *v-āṣṭau*<sup>o</sup>; *jMt* *Andhā*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> In *a*<sup>1-3</sup> *defgmVā*<sup>o</sup> *te*.

<sup>52</sup> Sic: better *ca bhokṣyanti*.

<sup>53</sup> So *behVā*; *a*<sup>2</sup> *gIVā* *aṣītir*<sup>o</sup>: *mVā* *āṣīti*<sup>o</sup>; *dVā*, *Bd* *āṣīti*<sup>o</sup>; *fVā* *āṣītir*<sup>o</sup>. *Ca*<sup>1</sup> *a*<sup>1</sup> *a*<sup>1</sup> *ckVā* *aṣītim* *c-aiiva*.

<sup>54</sup> So *AlmMt*; *CbMt* <sup>o</sup> *ti*: but *cemnMt* *sam-āṣīti-m*, *dMt* *āṣītim*; see *Introdn.* § 40. Others, *gMt* *samsāsyanti*; *fMt* *samsās*<sup>o</sup>; *kMt* *samsās*<sup>o</sup>; *jMt* *prasās*<sup>o</sup> (see p. 16, note <sup>78</sup>).

<sup>55</sup> In *bMt* *varṣasyātu*; *lMt* *varṣānām* (one syll. short).

<sup>56</sup> So all *Mt*: read *śatān-īha* ?

<sup>57</sup> In *eVā* *śatānikām*.

<sup>58</sup> In *jMt* *Tuḥkhār*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> In *eVā* *Tuṣārānām* *tu*.

<sup>60</sup> *CcMt* <sup>o</sup> *ardhām*: *bMt* *śatam ardha-*; *kMt* *śat-ardha-*.

<sup>61</sup> In *bcjknMt* *caturthāni*.

<sup>62</sup> In *cMt* <sup>o</sup> *vyam*; *jMt* *samaṁtās ca*.

<sup>63</sup> In *mMt* *trayo nṛpāḥ*; *bnMt* *caturdaśa*.

This line and the next go together.

<sup>64</sup> See note <sup>52</sup>. This line and the next go together.

<sup>65</sup> *ACbMt* *Guruṇḍā*; *nMt* *Gar*<sup>o</sup>; *gMt* *Kur*<sup>o</sup>; *mMt* *Mur*<sup>o</sup>; *fMt* *Muc*<sup>o</sup>; *lMt* *Puru-ṣā* *ndā*; *ckMt* *Puruḍā*; *dMt* *Su* *[dvi]* *ruṇḍā*; *jMt* *Sudandā*.

<sup>66</sup> In *nMt* *dṛṣ*<sup>o</sup>; *ejVā* *prṣ*<sup>o</sup>; *blMt* *vṛṣabhāiḥ*.

<sup>67</sup> In *cMt* *sarvair*.

<sup>68</sup> *Bd*, *ghklVā* *Guruṇḍā*; *a*<sup>2</sup> *dfmVā* *Mur*<sup>o</sup>; *Ca*<sup>1</sup> *a*<sup>1</sup> *bVā* *Mar*<sup>o</sup>; *a*<sup>1</sup> *Vā* *Pur*<sup>o</sup>: *jVā* *Mumujā*;

*eVā* *Aṣandā*. Regarding these *Vṣ* says—

ete pṛthivīm trayodaśa\* varṣa-śatāni<sup>†</sup> nava<sup>†</sup>-navaty-adhikāni bhokṣyanti:

where \* this means the 13 *Guruṇḍas*, and so *lVṣ* *ete trayodaśa pṛthivīm*; yet it has affected *śatāni*; but *dVṣ* *ete pṛthivīm Ābhīr-ādyā Maun-āntā ek-ṣm-āṣītir ātā* [sic] *ṣoḍaśa*: <sup>†</sup> *kVṣ* *śata-varṣāni*: <sup>†</sup> *dhjVṣ* omit *nava*. *Bh*, in consequence of the misreading *bhūyo daśa* (see note <sup>22</sup>), says 10, and applies it wrongly to the period instead of to the kings—

ete bhokṣyanti pṛthivīm daśa varṣa-śatāni ca

nav-ādhikāni ca navatim \* :

where \* *cBh* omits this half line.

<sup>69</sup> In *fgMt* *slaukṣyante*.

<sup>70</sup> In *lMt* *muru*; *jMt* *vṛṣa*.

<sup>71</sup> In *fgMt* *samyuvāḥ*; *cMt* *jātayaḥ*; *lMt* *jantavaḥ*.

<sup>72</sup> So *AflmVā* by double sandhi for *bhāvyaḥ anyāḥ*: *jVā* *bhāvya-ānā*; *gVā* <sup>o</sup> *ānye*; *bhVā* <sup>o</sup> *ārya*; *dVā* *bhāvyaś te*; *kVā* *bhāvya[nye]ś te*, showing influence of both readings: *eVā* *tath-ānye*. *Bd* *bhokṣyante*.

<sup>73</sup> In *bceM* *Mt*, *Ca*<sup>1</sup> *Vā*, <sup>o</sup> *ti*.

<sup>74</sup> All *Mt* *varṣāny* with no name: no doubt a corruption of *Hūṇā hy* (see l. 5), and I have emended it so.

<sup>75</sup> In *bMt* *†ekādaśāni ca*; *fgMt* *aṣṭādaśaiva tu*: see l. 5.

<sup>76</sup> So *Bd*, see l. 5: *eVā* *Yaunās tv*. *Vā* genly *Mlecchā*. *CVā* *Sneccā* by misprint.

<sup>77</sup> *Vṣ* says—*tataś ca Paurā*\* *ekādaśa bhūpatayo* *'bda*<sup>†</sup>-*śatāni trīṇi mahim bhokṣyanti*:

<i>Mat.</i>	<i>Vā, Bḍ.</i>	
teṣ-ūtsanneṣu <sup>78</sup> kālena <sup>79</sup>	tac-channena ca <sup>80</sup> kālena <sup>79</sup>	
tataḥ Kilakilā nṛpāḥ <sup>81</sup> .	tataḥ Kolikilā vṛṣāḥ <sup>82</sup> .	15

*Vā and Bḍ.*

tataḥ Kolikilebhyaś <sup>83</sup> ca Vindhyaśaktir <sup>84</sup> bhaviṣyati  
samāḥ ṣaṅ-ṇavatiḥ <sup>85</sup> jñātvā <sup>86</sup> pṛthivīm tu <sup>87</sup> sameṣyati <sup>88</sup>.

*Dynasties of Vidiśā, &c.*

*Text*—Mt nil; AVā 99, 366–372; Bḍ iii, 74, 179<sup>b</sup>–185.

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 17; GBh xii, 1, 32<sup>b</sup>, 33.

The Vāyu gives the whole, and the Brahmāṇḍa all except line 7. The Viṣṇu is concise but not clear, and the Bhāgavata has only three obscure lines: they mention no names except where stated in the notes. Among MSS *a<sup>2</sup>fmVā* omit l. 7; *eVā* l. 11; *kVā* and *bḍBh* have nothing.

There are references to the people of Vidiśā, Vediśā, in Kielhorn's 'Inscriptions of Northern India' (Epig. Ind. v, Appendix), namely, Sāñchi inscriptions, nos. 187–524 *passim*; Bharaut inscriptions, nos. 712–885 *passim*. For Vindhyaśakti see p. 45; and as regards Pravīra, a successor of Vindhyaśakti, named Pravarasena, is mentioned with his five successors, *op. cit.*, no. 622. As regards Nakhavān, king

where \**hVṣ* *Maunā*, *kVṣ* *Pauravā*; \**hVṣ* *aṣṭa*. Bh says—

Maunā \* ekādaśa kṣitim

bhokṣyanty abda<sup>1</sup>-śatāny aṅga<sup>1</sup> trīni:  
where \**aBh* *Maulā*, *cBh* omits this half  
line; \**gBh* *aṣṭa*; \**hBh* *amtra*, altered in  
*dBh* by later hand to *śatān pañca*; *fBh*  
omits this line.

<sup>78</sup> So Mt genly; *bMt* †*naiṣu chatreṣu*:  
*cdjMt* *teṣ-ūtsanneṣu*; *gMt* *teṣ-ūcchinneṣu*;  
*fMt* *teṣu cch<sup>o</sup>*: *kMt* *teṣ-ūtsaveṣu*.

<sup>79</sup> In *bcdēfjgmMt* *kāleṣu*; *eVā* *sarceṣu*.

<sup>80</sup> So Vā genly; *dVā* †*tachāsanaś ca*: *eVā*  
*teṣ-ūtsanneṣu*. *Bḍ* *teṣu cchinneṣu*.

<sup>81</sup> So Mt, *eVā*: *lMt* *Kilāk<sup>o</sup>*; *fgMt* *Kilik<sup>o</sup>*:  
*dMt* *Kilakalā*, *jmMt* *kilau*.

<sup>82</sup> So Vā genly; *bVā* *Ko[ti]lākikā<sup>o</sup>*, but  
*Kolikilebhyaś* in next line. *Bḍ* *Kilakilo*  
*nṛpāḥ*. *Vṣ* says (*hVṣ* omits)—

teṣu channeṣu \* *Kailakilā<sup>1</sup>* Yavanā bhū-  
patayo bhaviṣyanti:  
where \**deVṣ* *cchinneṣu*, *bVṣ* *putreṣu*, *jVṣ*

*ksetreṣu*, *fgkVṣ* *teṣ-ūcchanneṣu*, *lVṣ<sup>o</sup>* *ūtsan-  
neṣu*; *bVṣ* add *ṇunah*, *kVṣ* *purah*: \**akVṣ*  
*Kelik<sup>o</sup>*, *lVṣ* *Kaikilā*, *bVṣ* *Kaiśilānā*. Bh  
says—

taiḥ samsthite \* tataḥ

Kilikilāyām<sup>1</sup> nṛpatayo:

where \**eBh* *ṭaiḥ*, *gBh* *ṭam*, *fBh* omits this  
line: \**apsBh* *Kilak<sup>o</sup>*, *emBh* *Kalik<sup>o</sup>*, *lBh*  
*Kalimk<sup>o</sup>*, *hjBh* *Kimlimk<sup>o</sup>*, *fBh* *Kinkilāyām*.

<sup>83</sup> So Vā: *eVā* *Ke<sup>o</sup>*; *Bḍ* *Kilak<sup>o</sup>*: *kVā*  
*Pholikolabhyaś*.

<sup>84</sup> *Vṣ* agrees,—*mūrdh<sup>1</sup>-ābhiṣiktas* *teṣām*  
*Vindhyaśaktiḥ<sup>1</sup>*: where \**lVṣ* *a-mūrdh<sup>o</sup>*;  
\**lVṣ* *Vinda<sup>o</sup>*. Bh omits.

<sup>85</sup> In *bVā* *samā yayāvati*; *kVā* *samān*  
*parnamatiḥ*.

<sup>86</sup> In *eVā* *bhūtvā*. *Bḍ* *c-aiva*.

<sup>87</sup> So *dfghkmVā*, *Bḍ*; *bVā* *nu*. Vā genly *ca*.

<sup>88</sup> But 2 MSS of *CVā* *sa bhokṣyati*; *kVā*  
merely *sah*, but adds *moṭāmpāmām* (for  
*Maunānām* ?) *samāpti*: *eVā* reads this half  
line *pṛthivī tu gamiṣyati*.

Nahapāna (see note <sup>11</sup>) is mentioned, *id.* nos. 1099, 1131-5, 1174; Purikā in nos. 782, 812, 837-9, and JRAS, 1910, p. 445. Bhogin may perhaps bear some allusion to Bhogavardhana, nos. 264, 266, 373, 572, 797. For Nahapāna see JRAS, 1910, p. 820; 1912, p. 785.

Nrpān <sup>1</sup> Vaidisakāms <sup>2</sup> cāpi <sup>3</sup> bhaviṣyāms tu <sup>4</sup> nibodhata  
 Śeṣasya Nāga-rājasya putraḥ para-purañ-jayaḥ <sup>5</sup>  
 Bhogī bhaviṣyate rājā <sup>6</sup> nrpo Nāga<sup>7</sup>-kul-ōdvahaḥ <sup>8</sup>  
 Sadācandras <sup>9</sup> tu Candrāmsō <sup>10</sup> dvitīyo Nakhavāms tathā <sup>11</sup>  
 Dhanadharmā <sup>12</sup> tataś cāpi caturtho <sup>13</sup> Vaṅgaraḥ <sup>14</sup> smṛtaḥ 5  
 Bhūtinandas <sup>15</sup> tataś cāpi Vaidise tu <sup>16</sup> bhaviṣyati  
 Śuṅgānām <sup>17</sup> tu kulasyānte <sup>18</sup> Śisunandir <sup>19</sup> bhaviṣyati  
 tasya bhrātā <sup>20</sup> yaviyāms tu namnā Nandiyasāḥ <sup>21</sup> kila  
 tasyānvaye bhaviṣyanti <sup>22</sup> rājānas te trayas <sup>23</sup> tu vai  
 dauhitraḥ <sup>24</sup> Śisuko <sup>25</sup> nāma Purikāyām <sup>26</sup> nrpo 'bhavat <sup>27</sup> 10

<sup>1</sup> So Bd, a<sup>1-3</sup>bdefghVā and 1 MS of CVā: other Vā *vṛṣān*.

<sup>2</sup> Vaidisik° in eVā; a<sup>1</sup>Vā Vaidesik°: gVā ca disak°.

<sup>3</sup> Bd c-ātha; eVā c-aiva.

<sup>4</sup> So bdfhVā, Bd, mVā crp. Vā genly ca.

<sup>5</sup> So a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>bdeghVā, 2 MSS of CVā: other Vā *svara-pur°*. Bd *sura-pur°*. Vṣ tataḥ *Purañjayah*, i.e., after *Vindhyaśakti*: IVṣ *tataḥ param Pur°*; abkVṣ *Para-pur°*; hVṣ *Purānpur°*.

<sup>6</sup> In eVā *ṣyati nrpo*, a<sup>3</sup>Vā *tato*.

<sup>7</sup> In bdhVā *Nāma*.

<sup>8</sup> This half line in eVā is *Nāga-loka-samudbhavaḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> In a<sup>1</sup>Vā *putras C°*: eVā *Dāmadhandras*. Vṣ *Rāmacandra*; bhVṣ *Vāma°*.

<sup>10</sup> So Vā genly. Bd *āmsur*; jVā *āso*; eVā *ābho*: dVā *Vaṁdāmsō*.

<sup>11</sup> In bdhVā *tataḥ*; gVā *tu saḥ*: eVā *Nakha-pāna-jah* (see above), which may be the true reading.

<sup>12</sup> In eVā *Vakhampāta*. Vṣ *Dharmaḥ*; IVṣ *Dharmavarmā*.

<sup>13</sup> In bghjVā *the*; dVā *tham* or *tho*.

<sup>14</sup> Vā genly *Vimsajah*; jVā *vimsah bhūmī* (with excess syll.). Bd, IVā *vamsajah*: eVā, cVṣ *Vaṅgavaḥ*: bfgjVṣ *Vaṅgara*; lVṣ *garā*; aVṣ *gāra*; dBh *gari*; rBh *gira*; Bh genly *giri*; aBh *kiri*: mBh (misreading *v* as *tr*) *Trāṅgiri*, eBh (*Va*) *Tuṅgiri*; cBh *Bhṛṅgiri*:

*hVṣ Vagara*; kBh *Vāgiri*. Vṣ genly *Va-rāṅga*: kVṣ *Urddara* (or *Dur°*). *Vaṅgara* seems the most central form.

<sup>15</sup> So Vā, Bd: eVā *Bhūmī°*. Bh genly *Bhūtananda* (inverting him and *Vaṅgara*), lVṣ *nandi*, pBh *manda*: qBh *Bhṛthananda*: kVṣ *Kṛtanandi*, Vṣ genly *nandana*.

<sup>16</sup> So Bd. Vā genly *vai dese tu* (bVā *nu*): a<sup>3</sup>Vā *vaiṣe sa tu*; eVā *tvaiṣogaiṣo* or *vaiṣig°*.

<sup>17</sup> So a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>ghlVā: eVā *Śuṅkā°*; bdVā *Śṛṅgā°*. Vā genly *Āṅgā°* (see p. 32, note <sup>47</sup>).

<sup>18</sup> So eVā. Vā genly *nakulasyānte*: CjVā *nandanasy°*, which AVā adopts.

<sup>19</sup> So eVā; akVṣ, Bh agree: eVṣ *Suṣi°*; gVṣ *Suṣir°*. Vṣ genly *Suṣi°*; lVṣ *Suṣu°*; bhVṣ *Sukhi°*. Vā *Madhu°*.

<sup>20</sup> So bhklVṣ, Bh, *tad-bhrātā*.

<sup>21</sup> So Vā, Bd, Vṣ genly: fmVā *Mandiy°*; dVṣ *Nandriy°*; hVṣ *Randiy°*; bVṣ [Ra] *Nandiy°*; jVṣ *Nandipāsāḥ*. Bh *Yāsonandi*; hBh *Yāṣi°*.

<sup>22</sup> In eVā *tasyānvavāye bhavitā*.

<sup>23</sup> In mVā *taṁ trayas*; bdVā *tatra yas*; hVā *tan-nayas*.

<sup>24</sup> In bdVā *dauhitryaḥ*: CVā *dohitraḥ*, fVā *dail°*.

<sup>25</sup> So Vā; Vṣ agrees. Bd *Śisiko*; jVṣ *Śibhuka*; kVṣ *Śuṣika*; lVṣ *Śukra*.

<sup>26</sup> So Vā genly: dVā *kāyā*, eVā *kāyo*. Bd *Purikāyām*; gVā *Ripuk°*: see above.

<sup>27</sup> In dVā *bhavit*.

Vindhyaśakti<sup>28</sup>-sutaś cāpi Pravīro<sup>29</sup> nāma vīryavān<sup>30</sup>  
bhokṣyate<sup>31</sup> ca samāḥ ṣaṣṭim<sup>32</sup> purīm Kāñcanakām ca vai<sup>33</sup>  
yakṣyate<sup>34</sup> vājapeyais<sup>35</sup> ca samāpta-vara<sup>36</sup>-dakṣinaih.  
tasya putrās tu<sup>37</sup> catvāro bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ<sup>38</sup>.

### *Dynasties of the Third Century, A.D.*

*Text*—Mt nil ; AVā 99, 373-382<sup>a</sup> ; Bḍ iii, 74, 186-193.

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 17, 18 ; GBh xii, 1, 34-37<sup>b</sup>.

The Vāyu gives the whole, and the Brahmāṇḍa all except the last three lines. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata are condensed and not clear ; but they are fuller about Viśvasphūrji, and the Bhāgavata version is placed on the right side by side with the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa version in ll. 10-14.

Among MSS *a<sup>2</sup>fmVā* want ll. 17-19 ; *eVā* gives ll. 1-10, then inserts the last part of the *Early Contemporary Dynasties* (p. 23), all the Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kāṇvāyanas and the first 12 lines of the Andhras, by reason of a large displacement, and then gives ll. 12-19 here, omitting l. 11 : *kVā* and *btBh* have nothing.

Bāhlikas are mentioned in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 141 ; Puṣyamitras, *id.* p. 55 ; Māhiṣatī (= Māhiṣmatī), pp. 375, 497-8, 501, and JRAS, 1910, pp. 444, 867. For other geographical information my Translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Index) may be consulted.

Vindhyakānām<sup>1</sup> kule 'tite<sup>2</sup> nṛpā vai Bāhlikās<sup>3</sup> trayah<sup>4</sup>  
Supratīko<sup>5</sup> Nabhīras<sup>6</sup> ca<sup>7</sup> samā bhokṣyanti<sup>8</sup> trimśatim<sup>9</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Vindhiś* in *gVā* ; see p. 45.

<sup>29</sup> So *Vā*, Bḍ. Vṣ says *Śisuka-Pravīrau* ca ; *IVṣ Śukra-Pravīras* ca. Bh merely *Pravīrakah*. See p. 48.

<sup>30</sup> Vṣ adds—ete \* varṣa-śataṁ ṣaḍ<sup>†</sup> varṣāṇi bhaviṣyanti : where \* *IVṣ etasmād* ; <sup>†</sup> *IVṣ ṣaś pañca*. Bh says—

ity ete vai<sup>†</sup> varṣa-śatam bhaviṣyanty adhi-  
kāni ṣaḥ :

where <sup>†</sup> *cBh ity evaṁ te [ya]*, *arBh bhokṣyanty ete*, v.r. in *GBh yukṭā ete*.

<sup>31</sup> So *bdghmVā*, Bḍ. *Vā* genly *bhokṣyanti*, *eVā °te*, which may apply to Śisuka and Pravīra ; plural instead of dual, cf. next dynasties, l. 2.

<sup>32</sup> In *bdgVā ṣaṣṭih*.

<sup>33</sup> In *bḍmVā purī°* ; *mVā* ends *nav* : *eVā Pulakāmś Calakāmś ca vai*.

<sup>34</sup> So Bḍ. *CVā °ti*. *Vā* genly *yakṣyante*,

*a<sup>4</sup>Vā °ti*. The sing. is clearly right, but see note <sup>31</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> In *eVā vājimedhaiś*.

<sup>36</sup> In *eVā samāpte bahu-*.

<sup>37</sup> In *eVā ca* ; see p. 48.

<sup>38</sup> In *eVā su-mūrtayah*. Vṣ *tataḥ tat-putrāḥ trayodaś-aiva (IVṣ -aite)*. Bh *teṣāṁ trayodaśa sutāḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> In *eVā Karmakānām*.

<sup>2</sup> So *Vā* genly : *fVā kulīnīte* ; *mVā kulīnā-tena*. Bḍ *kulān-ānte*, Pkt for *kulānām ante*.

<sup>3</sup> So *CeghmVā*. Bh, *IVṣ* agree : *kBh Vah°*. Vṣ genly *Bāhlikās* : *cjlBh Bāhlikāḥ* ; *dkVṣ Vāhikāḥ*. *AbḍjVā Vāhnikās* ; *fVā Vāhri°* ; Bḍ *Vāhi°* : *hBh Vāhni°*.

<sup>4</sup> Vṣ agrees.

<sup>5</sup> In *hVā °tāko* ; *dVā Suprako*.

Śakyamān-ābhavad<sup>10</sup> rājā Mahiṣiṇām<sup>11</sup> mahī-patiḥ  
 Puṣyamitrā<sup>12</sup> bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitrās<sup>13</sup> trayodaśa<sup>14</sup>  
 Mekalāyām<sup>15</sup> nṛpāḥ sapta<sup>16</sup> bhaviṣyant-īha saptatim<sup>17</sup> 5  
 Kośalāyām<sup>18</sup> tu<sup>19</sup> rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ<sup>20</sup>  
 Meghā iti<sup>21</sup> samākhyātā<sup>22</sup> buddhimanto nav-aiva tu  
 Naiṣadhāḥ<sup>23</sup> pārthivāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanty ā-Manu-ksayāt<sup>24</sup>  
 Nala-varṁśa-prasūtās te vīryavanto mahābalāḥ<sup>25</sup>

<sup>6</sup> In *bdVā Nabhāras* (altered in *d* to *Nabha*°); *eVā Nnaratīvas*. *Bd Gabhīras*.

<sup>7</sup> So *bdefghmVā*, *Bd*. Other *Vā tu*.

<sup>8</sup> *CVā*, *Bd bhokṣyati*.

<sup>9</sup> So *Ca<sup>1</sup>jVā*, *Bd*: *a<sup>2</sup>-f<sup>1</sup>gmVā °tiḥ*; *bdhVā °tiḥ* (altered in *d* to *vimśatiḥ*): *eVā vimśa-tim*.

<sup>10</sup> In *a<sup>1</sup>-jVā* and 3 MSS of *CVā Śakyamā nāma vai*: other MSS divide it into two. For first part, *flmVā Śakyamānā*, *ghVā Śakyā°*, *dVā Śakyā°*, *bVā Śikyā°*; 3 MSS of *CVā Śakyamīmā*; *eVā Sākṣonāmān*: *Bd Śāṅkamāno*. For second part, *Bd*, *eVā bhavad*; *ghlmVā* and 3 MSS of *CVā bhavo*; *bVā bhavi*; *fVā savo* or *tavo*; *dVā viya*. From all these variations I have adopted *Śakyamān-ābhavad*.

<sup>11</sup> *Bd*, *a<sup>1</sup>Vā* and 3 MSS of *CVā Māh°*; *IVā Mahiṣ°*; *eVā Mahiṣyānām*.

<sup>12</sup> *Vā* genly, *Bd Puṣpa°*; *a<sup>1</sup>Vā Putra°*: *eVā Pundramindrā*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ca<sup>2</sup>IVā Paṭṭa°*; *a<sup>3</sup>Vā Paṭu°*; *gVā Paṭu°* or *Padu°*; *hVā Yadu°*; *a<sup>1</sup>Vā Puṭa°*; *bVā Paṭa°*; *fmVā Ṣaṭṭu°*; *eVā Padumindrās*. *Bd ṣaṭ Strimitrās*. Others short, *dVā Yāmitrās*, *a<sup>1</sup>Vā ṣaṇ m°*, *jVā Sadamīs*. *Paṭu-mitrās* seems the most central form.

<sup>14</sup> In *gVā tath-aiva ca*. *Vṣ* says—

tataḥ\* Puṣpamitra'-Paṭumitrās' trayo-  
 daśa':

where \**bVṣ* adds *castrayaḥ*; \**IVṣ Puṣya°*, *aVṣ Puṣā°*; \**klVṣ Paṭa°*, *bjVṣ Yadu°*, *hVṣ Pahu°*, *aVṣ Paṭumitr-ādyās*, *CVṣ Padhumi-tra-Padmamitrās*; \**hVṣ sarva-varṇeṣu balavān jayo bhaviṣyati trayodaśa*, as if *trayodaśa* belongs to the following words. *Bh* says—

Puṣpamitro\* 'tha rājanyo Durmitro' 'sya'  
 tath-aiva ca:

where \**dfBh Puṣya°*; \**dBh Damitro*; \**ahBh 'tha*.

<sup>15</sup> In *gVā Mekalāyā*, *bdVā Mik°*; *hVā Mikalayā*.

<sup>16</sup> *Vṣ* says—*Mekalās\* ca sapta<sup>1</sup> Kośalā-yām<sup>2</sup> tu nav-aiva<sup>3</sup> bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti*: where \**dVṣ Mekalyās*, *hVṣ Meka[kā]lāḥ*; \**IVṣ sapt-Āndhrāḥ*, *hVṣ Āndhra*, *kVṣ ātra*, and *hklVṣ* add *tataś ca*; \**IVṣ sapta Kauśalāḥ*; \**IVṣ nava*, *hVṣ tath-aiva*, *kVṣ tayeva*. *Bh* says, agreeing with some of these readings—

eka-kālā ime bhūpāḥ\* sapt-Āndhrāḥ<sup>1</sup> sapta  
 Kauśalāḥ<sup>2</sup>:

where \**dBh bhūmeḥ*; \**cmBh Āmbhrāḥ*, *kBh Āmprā*; \**arsBh Koś*, *fBh Kaus°*, *dBh Koś°*. Cf. *eka-kālā* here with the error *Mekakālāḥ* in *hVṣ*.

<sup>17</sup> So *eVā*; *Bd °ṣyanti ca saptatiḥ*. But *a<sup>1</sup>-bdghlVā °ṣyanti-iti santatiḥ*; *fmVā °ṣyanti santatiḥ* (short); *CjVā °ṣyanti ca sattamāḥ*, and *CVā* mentions *santatiḥ*.

<sup>18</sup> So *eVā*; *dVā Koś°*. *Vṣ*, *Bh* agree, see note <sup>16</sup>. *Vā* genly, *Bd Kom°*.

<sup>19</sup> *Ca* in *eVā*.

<sup>20</sup> In *gVā narādhipāḥ*.

<sup>21</sup> In *hVā Medyā*; *eVā* either; *a<sup>1</sup>Vā Medhā-tiḥi*.

<sup>22</sup> In *eVā °khyāto*.

<sup>23</sup> *Vṣ* says—*Naiṣadhās\* tu tāvanta<sup>1</sup> eva<sup>2</sup> bhūpatayo bhaviṣyanti*:

where \**kVṣ Śaiṣarās*; \**IVṣ tata*; \**bklVṣ* stop here: *hVṣ* omits the whole. *Bh* says—

Vaidūra\*-patayo bhāvya<sup>1</sup> Naiṣadhās<sup>2</sup> tata  
 eva hi:

where \**cjBh Vaidūrya*, *GBh Vidūra*; \**GBh Naiṣadhās*. See p. 50.

<sup>24</sup> In *eVā °ṣyanti manuṣyayāt*.

<sup>25</sup> In *gVā mahāyaśāḥ*, *Pkt* plural.



Māgadhānām<sup>26</sup> maḥa-vīryo  
 Viśvasphāṇir<sup>28</sup> bhaviṣyati  
 utsādyā pārthivān sarvān  
 so 'nyān varṇān<sup>31</sup> kariṣyati  
 Kaivartān<sup>33</sup> Pañcakāṁś<sup>34</sup> c-aiva  
 Pulindān brāhmaṇāṁś tathā  
 sthāpayiṣyati<sup>37</sup> rājāno<sup>38</sup>  
 nānā<sup>41</sup>-deśeṣu te janā<sup>42</sup>  
 Viśvasphāṇir<sup>45</sup> mahā-sattvo  
 yuddhe Viṣṇu-samo bali<sup>48</sup>  
 Viśvasphāṇir<sup>50</sup> nara-patiḥ klīv-ākṛtir ivocyate<sup>51</sup>

Māgadhānām tu<sup>27</sup> bhavitā  
 Viśvasphūrjīḥ<sup>29</sup> purañ-jayaḥ<sup>30</sup> 10  
 kariṣyaty aparān<sup>32</sup> varṇān  
 Pulinda-Yadu<sup>35</sup>-Madrakān<sup>36</sup>  
 prajāś c-ābrahma<sup>39</sup>-bhūyiṣṭhāḥ<sup>40</sup>  
 sthāpayiṣyati<sup>43</sup> durmatīḥ<sup>44</sup>  
 vīryavān kṣatram<sup>46</sup> utsādyā<sup>47</sup>  
 Padmavatyām<sup>49</sup> sa vai puri  
 15

<sup>26</sup> In *bdghmVā* Mag°; *eVā* Magadhāyān.

<sup>27</sup> In *adBh* ca.

<sup>28</sup> So *a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>fglmVā*, *Bd*. *Vā* genly °*sphāṇir* here, but °*sphāṇir* in l. 14; *bhVā* °*sphāṇir*; *eVā* °*sphācir*; *jVā* *Viṣyaphāṇi*.

<sup>29</sup> So *Bh* genly: *gBh* °*sphūrjīḥ*; *rBh* °*sphurjīḥ*; *ahBh* °*sphūrṭi*; *cBh* °*skurtsīḥ*; *nBh* *Viśva[va]sphaṇji*. *Vṣ* says—

Māgadhāyām\* Viśvasphaṭika-sañjō 'nyān varṇān kariṣyati:

where \**acfjghkVṣ* Mag°.

<sup>30</sup> In *dBh* *paran-tapaḥ*.

<sup>31</sup> Defective in *dVā*, *pārthivān sāsvarṇān*, altered to *pārthivān so va kīrṇān*.

<sup>32</sup> So *dekmpqsBh*; *GafBh* *aparo*: *ghjlnrBh* °*ti paro*; *cBh* °*ti puro*. For *Vṣ* see note <sup>29</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> In *hVā* °*varttyān*; *fVā* °*vattyān*.

<sup>34</sup> So *Vā*; *jVā* *Nañc*°. *Bd* *Madrakāṁś*: *eVā* *Yapumāṁś* (or *Papu*°).

<sup>35</sup> In *cBh* *Yadra*; *kBh* *Yadru* (or *Padru*): *hBh* *Pulindāyavu*.

<sup>36</sup> *Vṣ* says—Kaivarta-Yadu\*-Pulinda-brāhmaṇān† rājye sthāpayiṣyaty utsādy-ākhilā-kṣatra-jātim: where \**bhVṣ* *Yadu* or *Padu*, *gVṣ* *Yadu* or *Paṭu*, *deVṣ* *Paṭu*, *kVṣ* *Paṭṭā*, *lVṣ* *Vaṭuḥ*, *aVṣ* *Kaṭu*, *CVṣ* *Kadhū*: †*CafVṣ* *brāhmaṇyān*, *bVṣ* *Pulind-ābrāhmaṇān*: †*kVṣ* *uchādyaśeṣa*.

<sup>37</sup> So *eVā*. *Vā* genly, *Bd* °*syanti*. The sing. is required by the sense and is corroborated by *Vṣ* and *Bh*; the plural is prob. a mistake through misunderstanding *rājāno*.

<sup>38</sup> So *Vā*, *Bd*: *eVā* *rājā tu*. Hence *rājāno* is obviously not a nomin., but the Pkt accus. plural and = *rājñāḥ* (see Pischel's

Prakrit Grammar, § 399), because Viśvasphāṇi had, as said above, overthrown all kings and it was he who created these miscellaneous kings. *Rājāno* should have been Sanskritized as *rājñāḥ* with some expletive for the lost syllable, but was mistaken for the nomin. and so remained unchanged.

<sup>39</sup> *C-ādharma* in *dBh*.

<sup>40</sup> *Bhūmiṣṭhā* in *aBh*.

<sup>41</sup> *Nānā* wanting in *eVā*.

<sup>42</sup> So *bhjVā* (altered in *d* to °*janāḥ*).

Here *te janā* are obviously not the nomin. but the Pkt accus. plural and = *tān janān* (Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 363, 425), because they refer to the Kaivartas, &c. Not being fully understood they appear Sanskritized as *te janān* in *Bd*; while they were mistaken for the nomin. and were Sanskritized as *te janāḥ* in *a<sup>1-4</sup>dfglmVā*. *CeVā* read *tejasā* (an attempted emendation?) which *AVā* adopts.

<sup>43</sup> But *gBh* °*syanti*.

<sup>44</sup> *Bhūpatiḥ* in *fBh*.

<sup>45</sup> *Vimvasphāṭir* in *eVā*.

<sup>46</sup> *Kṣetram* in *aBh*; *dBh* *akṛm*.

<sup>47</sup> But *asBh* *utsārya*; *fBh* *utpātya*.

<sup>48</sup> *Bd* °*sama-prabhāḥ*; *fjVā* °*prabho*; *mVā* °*prabhā*. After this line *dVā* inserts—

Viśvasphāṭi Kaivartyanām Chakāṁś c-aiva Pulindakān.

<sup>49</sup> *Padmāv*° in *cBh*: see p. 53, notes <sup>1, 2</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> So *Bd*, *bVā*. *Vā* genly °*sphāṇir*; *eVā* °*sphāṭir*.

<sup>51</sup> So *Vā* genly, *Bd*; *a<sup>1</sup>Vā* *ih-ocyate*; *eVā* *ath-oc*°: *gVā* †*klīvāvīkṛtirocyate*; *hVā* †*klī-*

utsādayitvā kṣatram tu <sup>52</sup> kṣatram anyat kariṣyati  
devān pitṛiṁś ca viprāṁś ca tarpayitvā sakṛt punaḥ <sup>53</sup>  
Jāhnavī-tīram āsādyā <sup>54</sup> śarīram yaṁsyate <sup>55</sup> balī  
sannyasya <sup>56</sup> sva-śarīram tu <sup>57</sup> Śakra-lokaṁ gamiṣyati.

*Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth Century.*

*Text*—Mt nil; AVā 99, 382<sup>b</sup>-388<sup>a</sup>; Bḍ iii, 74, 194-200<sup>a</sup>.

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 18; GBh xii, 1, 37<sup>c</sup>-40.

The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa give the whole of this passage except ll. 12-15. The Viṣṇu gives the whole fully in prose. The Bhāgavata has ll. 3, 4 (condensed into one) and 12-17, and agrees closely with the Viṣṇu. Ll. 12-15 are taken from it and placed on the right, to supplement the account given by the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa; and they appear to be old ślokaś because they agree closely with the older prose account of the Viṣṇu. Among MSS eVā has only ll. 1-6; hVā and bBh have nothing.

As regards Naiśadhas and Kosalas see p. 51; and for other peoples and countries my translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa may be consulted.

Nava Nākās<sup>1</sup> tu bhokṣyanti purīm Campāvatiṁ<sup>2</sup> nṛpāḥ  
Mathurām ca purīm ramyām Nāgā<sup>3</sup> bhokṣyanti sapta vai<sup>4</sup>  
anu-Gaṅgā<sup>5</sup> Prayāgaṁ ca Sāketam<sup>6</sup> Magadhāṁś<sup>7</sup> tathā  
etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante Gupta-vaṁśa-jāḥ<sup>8</sup>

vāttatirorācyate; bVā †klivāmratirācyate  
(short); dVā klivāsantatir ucyate.

<sup>52</sup> Uccādayitvā tat kṣatram in eVā: see note <sup>53</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Satsut punaḥ in hVā; bVā sasat°; dVā sat°; eVā yaithākramam.

<sup>54</sup> But dVā Jāhnavā-tīre prāsādya.

<sup>55</sup> Vā genly yasyate: a<sup>3</sup>Vā nyasate; eVā nyasya vai; dVā yāsyu, altered to yasma-jveta; gVā tyakṣate: tyakṣyate is suggested in CVā but it anticipates the next line. Yaṁsyate seems the best emendation.

<sup>56</sup> So Vā genly: bVā sa ny°; hVā samy°; gVā sa y°; eVā niḥkṣipyā: lVā reads this half line sasya sva-śarīram rūpaṁ.

<sup>57</sup> In hVā nu.

<sup>1</sup> So Vā. Bḍ Nāgās; eVā Rāndhās.

<sup>2</sup> Padmāvatiṁ in eVā: see l. 8. This line

and the next refer to different cities and dynasties, but Vṣ, reading Nāgas in both, condenses the two lines and the preceding mention of Padmavati (p. 52, l. 14) into one statement--

nava Nāgāḥ Padmāvatiyāṁ\* Kāntipurāyāṁ†  
Mathurāyāṁ‡:

where \*lVṣ Padmav° nāma puriyāṁ, jVṣ Pasāṁvanyāṁ; cVṣ Kāntip°, ajkVṣ Kāntāp°, bhVṣ Kāntyāṁ; †hVṣ Medhurāyāṁ. Bh nil.

<sup>3</sup> But dVā Nākā; hVā Nāmā; bVā Nānā; eVā Yavānā.

<sup>4</sup> In bVā sapta vi; dVā saptatim.

<sup>5</sup> So a<sup>1-4</sup>bdefghlmVā, Bḍ. CjVā° Gaṅgam.

<sup>6</sup> So a<sup>2</sup>dVā, Bḍ. CbfgmVā° tum; a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>lVā° tu; eVā Sāketa.

<sup>7</sup> In bVā Madhyagās; eVā Makhagās.

<sup>8</sup> So Vā genly: eVā Gupta°; bVā Guhya°. Bḍ sapta; lVā Maṇidhānya-jāḥ. Vṣ says—

Naiṣadhān<sup>9</sup> Yadukāmś<sup>10</sup> c̄aiva Śaisītān<sup>11</sup> Kālatoyakān<sup>12</sup> 5  
 etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante<sup>13</sup> Maṇidhānya-jāh<sup>14</sup>  
 Kośalāmś<sup>15</sup> c̄Āndhra-Pauṇḍrāmś<sup>16</sup> ca Tāmraliptān sa-sāgarān<sup>17</sup>  
 Campām c̄aiva<sup>18</sup> purīm ramyām bhokṣyante<sup>19</sup> Devarakṣitāh<sup>20</sup>  
 Kaliṅgā Mahiṣās c̄aiva Mahendra-nilayās ca ye<sup>21</sup>  
 etān janapadān sarvān pālayiṣyati vai Guhaḥ<sup>22</sup> 10  
 Strirāṣtram<sup>23</sup> Bhokṣyakāmś<sup>24</sup> c̄aiva bhokṣyate Kanak-āhvayaḥ<sup>25</sup>

Saurāṣṭr-Āvanti-Ābhīrās<sup>26</sup> ca  
 Śūdrā<sup>27</sup> Arbuda-Mālavāh<sup>28</sup>

snu-Gaṅgā Prayāgam Māgadhā\* Guptās†  
 ca † bhokṣyanti:

where \*hVṣ Māgadhān, kVṣ Māgadhā, jVṣ  
 Magadhā Suhmā; †lVṣ Guptāmś, aVṣ omits  
 Guptās ca; † here bVṣ adds Māgadhān, klVṣ  
 Magadhā. Bh says—

anu-Gaṅgām ā-Prayāgam guptām\* bho-  
 kṣyati † medinim †:

where \*fBh goptā; †hḡBh bhokṣyanti cor-  
 rectly; fBh vai mahīm.

<sup>9</sup> Naiṣadhān in Ca<sup>2</sup>djVā.

<sup>10</sup> In dghVā Yudakāmś or Pud<sup>o</sup>; eVā  
 Yadumāmś.

<sup>11</sup> In bVā Śaisījān; gVā Śaisikān; eVā  
 Śeśikān; hVā Śausītān.

<sup>12</sup> AVā °topakān (misreading y as p).

<sup>13</sup> Ca<sup>2</sup>jVā bhokṣyanti.

<sup>14</sup> So Vā; mVā °ja; Bḡ °jān: eVā Māla-  
 dhānyagaḥ. Vṣ similarly—

Naiṣāda\*-Naimiṣika\*-Kālatoyān† janapa-  
 dān† Maṇidhāra°-vaṁśā bhokṣyanti<sup>11</sup>:

where \*bhVṣ Naiṣadha, kVṣ Śaiṣara (see  
 p. 51, note<sup>23</sup>); †hVṣ Naimika; †abhVṣ  
 °yakān, lVṣ °yakā; †lVṣ °padā; †kVṣ °dhā-  
 raka, deVṣ °dhāna, lVṣ °dhānya, aVṣ  
 °dhānavāka, bVṣ °dhānavaka, cVṣ °dhā, hVṣ  
 Maṇadhanyaka; †acfkVṣ vaṁśyā°, lVṣ  
 vaṁśo bhokṣyati. Bh, jVṣ omit this.

<sup>15</sup> In fVā Kos°; dgVā Kośalās; bhVā  
 Chośalās.

<sup>16</sup> So ClVā, Bḡ: a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>jVā Pauḍ<sup>o</sup>; dVā  
 Poṇḍās; a<sup>2</sup>Vā Pāṇḍyās: hVā c-Ādhra-  
 Poḍrās, bVā °Potās: mVā c-Ādha-Pau-  
 ḍrāmś, fVā °Pauṇḍrās: gVā c-ānupādās.

<sup>17</sup> In fmVā Tāma°: dVā Tāmralipt-ānu-  
 sāgarān, bghVā Tāma°, lVā Nāma°.

<sup>18</sup> In bhVā [Paṁ]Campām cica; dVā  
 Paṁcapānci.

<sup>19</sup> Ca<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>ffVā °ṣyanti; hVā °ṣyate.

<sup>20</sup> So a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>glmVā; bVā Daiva°. Ca<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>ffVā  
 Devarakṣitām, hVā Daiva°. Vṣ similarly—

Kośal\*-Auḍra\*-Puṇḍraka\*-Tāmraliptān†  
 samudratata-purīm ca Devarakṣito rakṣi-  
 ṣyati<sup>11</sup>:

where \*hVṣ Kośalam, cgVṣ Koyāl-, lVṣ  
 Kaulpa; †hVṣ Udra, jVṣ Ēdra, kVṣ Ōtra,  
 lVṣ Loddhra; †lVṣ Puṇḍra, bcVṣ Puḍraka,  
 wanting only in dejVṣ; †acgjkVṣ Tāma°;  
 †lVṣ rakṣati. Bh nil.

<sup>21</sup> In gVā tathā.

<sup>22</sup> Vṣ similarly—

Kaliṅga\*-Mahiṣika\*-Māhendrabhaumā†  
 Guhām† bhokṣyanti:

where \*bVṣ puts nakṣatra before Kaliṅga;  
 †defjkVṣ °śaka, lVṣ °śa, hVṣ Māheya-Kaccha;  
 †hVṣ °drān°, lVṣ °drabhaumān correctly,  
 jkVṣ °drabhaumān; †blVṣ Guhā correctly,  
 jVṣ Guhām, hVṣ omits. Bh nil.

<sup>23</sup> So Ca<sup>2</sup>jVā; Bḡ °stra-: a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>bdffghlmVā  
 Strirāṣyam. AVā Strī by misprint.

<sup>24</sup> So bdfhmVā; gVā Bhokhya°; lVā Bho-  
 kṣa°; ACjVā Bhakṣya°: Bḡ Bhoja°.

<sup>25</sup> In jVā °āhvaye. Vṣ says—

Strirāṣya\*-Trairāja\*-Mūṣika\*-janapadān  
 Kanak-āhvayā bhokṣyanti<sup>1</sup>:

where \*alVṣ omit; †so CgkVṣ, but bhVṣ,  
 °rāṣya, aVṣ Tepirāṣya, cfVṣ omit; †cVṣ  
 Mūṣivā, hVṣ Mūkhika, lVṣ Muṣita, akVṣ  
 Mṛṣika; †lVṣ °āsvayo bhokṣyati. Bh, dejVṣ  
 omit this.

<sup>26</sup> So Bh. Vṣ similarly—

Saurāṣṭr-Āvanti\*-Śūdrān† Arbuda-Maru-  
 bhūmi\*-viṣayāmś ca vrāty-ādvij\*-Ābhīra°-  
 śūdr-ādyā bhokṣyanti:

where \*hVṣ Saurāṣṭr-Āvasca; †fVṣ Śūdra,  
 abVṣ Śūdr-(aVṣ Śūr-)Ābhīrān, hVṣ Bhadr-  
 Ābhīrā, kVṣ Sur-Ābhīr-Ārb°; †hVṣ °bhū,  
 bVṣ Maru, kVṣ Mēvabhūmi; †or vrātyā  
 dvij-, bhVṣ vrātya dvij-, aVṣ vrajñe°, kVṣ

tulya<sup>34</sup>-kālam bhaviṣyanti  
sarve hy ete mahikṣitaḥ  
alpa-prasādā hy anṛtā<sup>38</sup>  
mahā-krodhā hy adhārmikāḥ.

vrāty-ādvijā<sup>29</sup> bhaviṣyanti  
śūdra-prāyā janādhipāḥ  
Sindhos tataṁ Candrabhāgām<sup>30</sup>  
Kauntīm<sup>31</sup> Kāsmīra-maṇḍalam  
bhokṣyanti śūdrā vrāty-ādyā<sup>32</sup>  
Mlecchāś ca ābrahma<sup>33</sup>-varcasāḥ 15  
tulya-kālā ime<sup>35</sup> rājan  
Mleccha<sup>36</sup>-prāyās ca bhūbhṛtaḥ<sup>37</sup>  
ete<sup>39</sup> dharm-anṛta-parāḥ<sup>40</sup>  
phalgu-dās tivra-manyavaḥ.

### Evils of the Kali Age.

*Text*—AMt 273, 25-34 ; AVā 99, 388<sup>b</sup>-412 ; Bḍ iii, 74, 200<sup>b</sup>-224.

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 18-29 ; GBh xii, 1, 41-2, 23.

After having thus brought the dynasties down to the early part of the 4th century A.D., these Purāṇas launch out into a prophetic description of the future evils of the Kali age, and the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa deal with them at great length. It is unnecessary to set out these passages, because they merely embody gloomy brahmanic forecasts, which were no doubt based on actual calamities, but which have no historic value except in so far as they may portray, more or less really, miseries which the country underwent in lawless times. But the first portion of the description appears to depict the unsettled condition of the country in the early part of the 4th century, and this alone is presented here. The references for it are—AMt 273, 25, 26<sup>a</sup> ; AVā 99, 388<sup>b</sup>-393<sup>a</sup> ; Bḍ. iii, 74, 200<sup>b</sup>-203 ; CVṣ iv, 24, 18, 19 ;

rājye 'bhiṣikt- ; || jVṣ Ā[ā]bhāra, aVṣ Ātira.  
But IVṣ has only Saurāṣṭrā ; deVṣ nil.

<sup>27</sup> So Bh, except GBh Śūrā.

<sup>28</sup> In fBh Abhyuda-Pālavāḥ.

<sup>29</sup> Or vrātyā dvijā.

<sup>30</sup> So Bh. Vṣ similarly (IVṣ omits)—

Sindhutaṭa-Dārvikorvi\*-Candrabhāgā-  
Kāsmīra<sup>†</sup>-viṣayān<sup>†</sup> vrātyā<sup>†</sup> Mlecch<sup>||</sup>-ādayaḥ  
śūdrā bhokṣyanti :

where \* fVṣ Dārvikorvī, cVṣ °kovī, jVṣ °kevi,  
gVṣ °kocām ; aVṣ Dārvikorvī, kVṣ Davi<sup>°</sup>,  
bVṣ Deva<sup>°</sup> ; hVṣ Davakorthā : † kVṣ Rasmīva :  
† fhjkVṣ viṣayam ca, cVṣ viṣaya : † abcfhjVṣ  
vrātya-, kVṣ rājyā : || bhVṣ Mleccha-śūdr,  
kVṣ Mlekṣa-śūdr.

<sup>31</sup> In glhrBh °ā : cBh Kaute ; dBh Kau-  
cīm ; fBh Kāmūcī.

<sup>32</sup> In eBh vrātyās te, cf Bh °ca : dBh śūdrās  
c-āntyā (one syll. short).

<sup>33</sup> In afraBh Mlecchā abr<sup>°</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> So Vā, Bḍ : IVā kalpa.

<sup>35</sup> Vṣ similarly—

ete ca tulya-kālāḥ sarve pṛthivyām bhū-  
bhṛto bhaviṣyanti \* :

where \* IVṣ bhokṣyanti.

<sup>36</sup> Mlekṣa in cBh.

<sup>37</sup> In rBh bhūpateḥ.

<sup>38</sup> In dVā a-nṛpā ; bVā hi nṛpāḥ.

<sup>39</sup> In fBh nṛpā.

<sup>40</sup> So Bh ; so jBh, altered from dharmā  
nṛpatayaḥ : fBh dharmaparāḥ. Vṣ says—  
alpa-prasādā vṛhat-kopāḥ sarva\*-kālam  
anṛt-ādharma-rucayaḥ :  
where \* ejVṣ sarve.

GBh xii, 1, 41-43. Of this account the Matsya contains only lines 1, 10; the Brahmāṇḍa omits ll. 4-6. The Vāyu contains the whole, but *fVā* omits ll. 4-6; *fj*kMt omit l. 10; *hp*Mt, *kVā* have nothing. *Vṣ* has nothing corresponding to ll. 1-3.

A further description of the evils is given afterwards, see p. 57.

Bhaviṣyantāha<sup>1</sup> Yavanā dharmataḥ kāmato 'rthataḥ  
nāiva mūrdh-ābhiṣiktās te<sup>2</sup> bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ  
yuga-doṣa-durācārā<sup>3</sup> bhaviṣyanti nṛpās tu te  
strīnām bāla<sup>4</sup>-vadhenāiva hatvā cāiva parasparam  
bhokṣyanti Kali-śeṣe<sup>5</sup> tu vasudhām pārvhivās tathā<sup>6</sup> 5  
udit-ōdita-vaṁśās<sup>7</sup> tu<sup>8</sup> udit-āstamitās<sup>9</sup> tathā  
bhaviṣyantāha<sup>10</sup> paryāye kālena<sup>11</sup> pṛthivīkṣitāḥ  
vihinās tu<sup>12</sup> bhaviṣyanti dharmataḥ kāmato 'rthataḥ  
tair vimisrā janapadā<sup>13</sup> Āryā Mlecchās ca<sup>14</sup> sarvaśaḥ<sup>15</sup>  
viparyayeṇa vartante<sup>16</sup> kṣayam eṣyanti<sup>17</sup> vai prajāḥ. 10

<sup>1</sup> In *deh*jVā °ṣyanti ha.

<sup>2</sup> In *eVā* tu.

<sup>3</sup> In *eVā* °doṣā durātmano.

<sup>4</sup> In *Ca*<sup>3</sup>Vā bala : *eVā* strī-bāla-go-vadham  
*kṛtvā*, *dVā* °bāla-bandhanais cāiva. *Vṣ*  
similarly—

strī-bāla-go-vadha-kartāraḥ\* para-sv-  
ādāna+rucayo+ 'lpa-sārāḥ :  
where \* *kVṣ* °bālāmāradha-rucayo ; + *hVṣ*  
°ādātāro, *kVṣ* parabhyaādānaka, *jVṣ* paras-  
para-dāma ; + *hVṣ* 'rucayo. Bh says—

strī-bāla-go-dviija-ghnās ca para-dāra-  
dhan-ādr̥tāḥ\* :

where \* *dh*Bh °ādr̥tāḥ, *eBh* °ādr̥tāḥ.

<sup>5</sup> In *eVā* bhaviṣyanti Kali-śeṣam.

<sup>6</sup> In *gVā* tadā.

<sup>7</sup> In *eVā* uditiditi-vaṁśās. *Vṣ* says—  
udit-āstamita-prāyāḥ ev-alp-āyuso mahe-  
cchā aty-alpa\*-dharmās ca+ bhaviṣyanti :  
where \* *ef* *Vṣ* °ch-āty-alpa, *hj* *Vṣ* °ch-ālpā, *lVṣ*  
°chās c-ālpā ; + *jVṣ* inserts na. Bh says—

udit-āstamita-prāyā alpa-sattv-ālpak-  
āyusaḥ  
a-saṁskṛtāḥ kriyā-hiṁā rajasā tamas-  
āvr̥tāḥ.

<sup>8</sup> *Ca*<sup>2</sup>*j*lVā te.

<sup>9</sup> In *eVā* uditv-āst°.

<sup>10</sup> In *bdh*jVā °ṣyanti ha.

<sup>11</sup> In *fVā* kālam na.

<sup>12</sup> In *eVā* vihitās te ; *dVā* vihatās tu.

<sup>13</sup> In *l*Mt samādānu.

<sup>14</sup> So Mt genly ; *bf* Mt, *eVā* Ārya-M° ; *l*Mt  
*varṣā* M° ; *a*<sup>1</sup>Mt Mleccha-prāyās ca ; *j*Mt ā-  
Mlecchās cāiva. *Vā* genly, *Bd* Mlecch-  
ācārās ca, *fVā* °āvārās°, *dVā* °āvāṇās°.  
*CVā* Snech° (misprint). *Vṣ* says—

taīs ca vimisrā\* janapadās tac-chīla-  
vartino' rāj-āśraya-śugmiṇo Mlecchās c-  
Āryās+ ca viparyayeṇa vartamānāḥ prajāḥ  
kṣapayisyanti :

where \* *lVṣ* vimisritā ; + *lVṣ* chīl-ānuvart° ;  
+ *kVṣ* Mlecch-ācāryās, *lVṣ* °ācārās ; *hVṣ* omits  
all after Mlecchās. Bh says—

prajāḥ te bhakṣayisyanti Mlecchā rājanya-  
rūpiṇāḥ  
tan-nāthās te janapadās tac-chīl-ācāra-  
vādināḥ  
anyonyato rājabhiīs ca kṣayam yāsyanti  
piditāḥ.

<sup>15</sup> In *a*<sup>1</sup>*bgjk*Mt sarvataḥ.

<sup>16</sup> In *c*Mt °ta ; *gn*Mt, *dg*Vā °taḥ : *eVā* reads  
this half line, *paryāyai vartamānānām*.

<sup>17</sup> So Mt : *g*Mt kṣapayisyanti. *Vā*, *Bd*  
nāsayisyanti.

*Chronological and Astronomical Particulars.*

*Text*—AMt 273, 35–52<sup>a</sup>; AVā 99, 413–430; Bḍ iii, 74, 225–243.

*Corresp. passages*—CVṣ iv, 24, 30–42; GBh xii, 2, 24–34.

Concluding passages containing chronological and astronomical particulars about the Kali age are found, more or less full, in all the five Purāṇas. Here the Viṣṇu relinquishes its prose, and both it and the Bhāgavata adhere to an old śloka version (which the Viṣṇu introduces with the phrase *atr-ōcyate*), similar to the version of the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmāṇḍa, but containing some verses not found in those three Purāṇas. Hence it is convenient to divide this subject into three parts.

The first part contains matter which is common to those three Purāṇas, and which the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata give partially. The passages are these—AMt 273, 35–45<sup>a</sup>; AVā 99, 413–423; Bḍ iii, 74, 225–236<sup>a</sup>; CVṣ iv, 24, 30–33; GBh xii, 2, 24–28<sup>a</sup>. The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa give the whole, the Matsya all except the first two lines, and the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata have ll. 1, 2, 4–6, 18–20, 22.

Then those three Purāṇas insert 8 or 9 lines alluding to the evils of the age, which may be omitted, and eVāyu omits most of them. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata offer instead other verses giving further particulars, and these constitute the second part, namely—CVṣ iv, 24, 34–39; GBh xii, 2, 28<sup>b</sup>–32. The verses in the Bh have been slightly re-arranged to correspond to the Vṣ.

The Purāṇas all unite again in the old śloka version and this forms the third part. The passages are—AMt 273, 49<sup>b</sup>–52<sup>a</sup>; AVā 99, 428<sup>b</sup>–430; Bḍ iii, 74, 241–243; CVṣ iv, 24, 40–42; GBh xii, 2, 33–34. All give the whole, except that the Bhāgavata omits ll. 39, 40; but as there is considerable divergence, the Mt version and that of Vā and Bḍ are printed side by side, and the Vṣ and Bh versions are given in the notes.

As regards MSS cMt omits ll. 21–23; eMt ll. 21–23, 39 (second half)–41 (first half); jMt ll. 15–17, 19; kMt ll. 6–9, 18; lMt ll. 12–15; nMt ll. 13, 14; a<sup>2</sup>Vā ll. 11–14; eVā l. 16; hVā ll. 1, 2 (first half); mVā ll. 11, 13, 15, and places 12 after 14; hpMt, kVā, and tBh have nothing.

It is no part of the scope of this edition to discuss these chronological and astronomical particulars, beyond what is noticed in the Introdn. § 25, and in the notes to the translation of this passage, *infra*.

Yadā candraś<sup>1</sup> ca sūryaś ca tathā<sup>2</sup> Tiṣya<sup>3</sup>. Bṛhaspati  
eka-rāśau<sup>4</sup> sameṣyanti<sup>5</sup> tadā Kṛta-yugam bhavet<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In mVā *vamśa vamśas*.

<sup>2</sup> In jVṣ *yathā*; bVṣ, fBh *yadā*.

<sup>3</sup> Śukra in hVṣ.

<sup>4</sup> Ca<sup>2</sup>-<sup>4</sup>bfyhj|Vā *rātre*; mVā *rāve*: kVṣ *etair amśesu*.

<sup>5</sup> So eVā, Vṣ, Bh; lVṣ *sah-ēṣyanti*. Vā

genly, Bḍ *bhaviṣyanti*; CVā *bharīṣyanti* (misprint).

<sup>6</sup> So Vā, Bḍ: eVā, Vṣ, arBh *bhaviṣyati tadā* (bdefgjVṣ *tataḥ*) *Kṛtam*; hVṣ gives the line twice and ends first *kṣayam* and then *Kaliḥ*. Bh *tadā bhavati tat Kṛtam*.

eṣa<sup>7</sup> vaṁśa<sup>8</sup>-kramaḥ kṛtsnaḥ<sup>9</sup> kīrtito yo<sup>10</sup> yathā-kramam<sup>11</sup>  
 atitā vartamānās ca tathāiv-ānāgatās<sup>12</sup> ca ye<sup>13</sup>  
 Mahāpadm<sup>14</sup>-ābhiṣekāt tu<sup>15</sup> | yāvat Parikṣito<sup>16</sup> janma  
 yāvaj janma<sup>17</sup> Parikṣitaḥ | yāvan Nand-ābhiṣecanam 5  
 evaṁ<sup>18</sup> varṣa<sup>19</sup>-sahasraṁ tu jñeyam<sup>20</sup> pañcāśad-uttaram<sup>21</sup>  
 Pulomās tu<sup>22</sup> tathā-Āndhrās tu<sup>23</sup> | pramāṇaṁ vai tathā vaktum<sup>24</sup>  
 Mahāpadm-āntare<sup>25</sup> punaḥ<sup>26</sup> | Mahāpadm-āntaram<sup>27</sup> ca yat<sup>28</sup>  
 antaram tac<sup>29</sup> chatāny<sup>30</sup> aṣṭau ṣaṭ-trimśat<sup>31</sup> tu<sup>32</sup> samās tathā<sup>33</sup>  
 tāvat<sup>34</sup> kāl-āntaram bhāvyaṁ<sup>35</sup> Andhr-ānt-ādyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ<sup>36</sup>

<sup>7</sup> So Vā, Bḍ, *beden*Mt. *ACfgjklm*Mt *evaṁ*.  
<sup>8</sup> In *eVā eva*.  
<sup>9</sup> So Mt, *bdeh*Vā. Vā genly *kṛtsnaṁ*; *e*Mt *kṛtaḥ praśnaḥ*, *c*Mt *kṣataḥ*.  
<sup>10</sup> So Mt genly; *cen*Mt 'yam': *eVā vā*.  
 Vā, Bḍ *vo*.  
<sup>11</sup> Mt *mayā kramāt*.  
<sup>12</sup> So *Cfgj*Mt, Vā, Bḍ, Vṣ. Mt genly reads the whole line in the nomin. sing., and *b*Mt the first half in locat. sing. Bh says—  
 ye 'tita vartamānā ye bhaviṣyanti ca pāṛthivāḥ:  
 but *de*Bh *ye bhaviṣyanti pāṛthivāḥ* for the second half.  
<sup>13</sup> In *fg*Mt *tu ye*. After this line Vṣ inserts this line—  
 ete vaṁśeṣu bhūpālāḥ kathitā muni-sattama.  
 Bh inserts this line—  
 te ta uddeśataḥ proktā vaṁśīyāḥ\* Soma-Sūryayoh:  
 where \**f*Bh *vaṁśayoh*, *adr*Bh *vaṁśa-jāḥ*.  
<sup>14</sup> This line is in Mt, Vā, Bḍ. So Mt. Bḍ *Mahānand-*, Vā *Mahādev-*, which both no doubt = *Mahāpadm-*; see l. 7.  
<sup>15</sup> Bḍ *ṣek-āntam*.  
<sup>16</sup> This line is in Vṣ, Bh. So Vṣ. Bh *ārabhya bhavato* equivalently.  
<sup>17</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bḍ *janma yāvat*.  
<sup>18</sup> So Mt, *eVā*: *ln*Mt *ekam*; *kVṣ* *ete*: others *etad*.  
<sup>19</sup> In *celn*Mt *eva*; *b*Mt *eka*.  
<sup>20</sup> Bh *śatam*; *j*Bh *śatam*.  
<sup>21</sup> So Mt genly, Vā, Bḍ: *cej*Mt *śat-ōttaram*, *b*Mt *śato trayam*: *ln*Mt, *bVṣ* *pañca-śat-ōttaram*. But *eVā*, Vṣ, Bh *pañcāśad-ōttaram*.  
<sup>22</sup> This line is in Mt. So *fjm*Mt; *bcen*Mt *te*; *g*Mt *Pulobhās tu*; *eVā* also *Pulomā ca*. *ACdkl*Mt *Pulomās tu*. The correct reading

would seem to be *Pulomāt tu*, referring to the last Andhra king.  
<sup>23</sup> So *ACdkl*Mt; *b*Mt *Āndhrās tu*; *fg*Mt *tato 'ndhrās tu*; *j*Mt *tath-Āndhrās tu*; *n*Mt *tathā c-Āndhra*; *c*Mt *tathārv-Āndhrā*; *e*Mt *tathārvākaḥ*. The correct reading seems to be *tath-Āndhrāt tu*.  
<sup>24</sup> This line is in Vā, Bḍ. So *a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>dfghl*Vā, Bḍ; *mVā* *°vaktu*; 3 MSS of *CVā* *°vaktam* (= Pkt *vuttam*!); *a<sup>2</sup>jVā*, 3 MSS of *CVā* *°c-ōktam*: *eVā* (see note <sup>22</sup>) *tato vaktum*; *bVā* *yathā vaktur*. *Vuttam* is most prob. the original Pkt word, and all these are attempts to Sanskritize it without infringing sandhi.  
<sup>25</sup> In *b*Mt *-ōttare*.  
<sup>26</sup> In *j*Mt *purah*.  
<sup>27</sup> So Vā. Bḍ *-ōttaram*.  
<sup>28</sup> In *eVā* *yataḥ*.  
<sup>29</sup> So Vā. Bḍ *ca*. Mt genly *anantaram*; *j*Mt *antare ṣaṭ*. This half line in *l*Mt is *nā[nā]ntaram pakṣatāny aṣṭau*; in *b*Mt *tanāntastāṣṭānāmātyau*.  
<sup>30</sup> In *e*Mt *śatā*.  
<sup>31</sup> So also *n*Mt *ṣaḍtriṁśat* (= *ṣaṭ-trimśat*); *d*Mt *śastr*<sup>o</sup>: *b*Mt, *a<sup>2</sup>bVā* *ṣaḍ-vimśac*, *dVā* *ṣaḍ-v*<sup>o</sup>; *hVā* *ṣaṭtriṁśac* or *ṣaḍr*<sup>o</sup>.  
<sup>32</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bḍ *ca*.  
<sup>33</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bḍ *smṛtāḥ*.  
<sup>34</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bḍ *etat*.  
<sup>35</sup> So Mt, *efm*Vā, Bḍ; *c*Mt *bhāvya*. Vā genly *bhāvya*.  
<sup>36</sup> So *a<sup>2</sup>-fghm*Vā, Bḍ; *bd*Vā *c-Ān*<sup>o</sup>. *Ca<sup>1</sup>j*Vā *Andhr-āntā ye* (*l* omits *ye*) *pra*<sup>o</sup>; *eVā* *sandhān bhāvyaḥ pra*<sup>o</sup>. Mt genly *Āndhr-āntād ā-Parikṣitaḥ*; *fg*Mt *Andhr*<sup>o</sup>; *cen*Mt *kṣatr*<sup>o</sup>: *b*Mt *śamābhātrādāyarakṣināt*, *j*Mt *athādyā dīpitās tataḥ*. Mt reading is corrupt, because from Parikṣit to the end of the Andhras comprises the two periods in

Bhaviṣye<sup>37</sup> te prasaṅkhyātāḥ<sup>38</sup> purāṇa-jñaiḥ śrutarṣibhiḥ<sup>39</sup> 10  
 saptarṣayas tadā<sup>40</sup> prāṁsu<sup>41</sup> | saptarṣayas tadā prāhuḥ<sup>42</sup>  
 pradīpten-āgninā<sup>43</sup> samāḥ<sup>44</sup> | Pratīpe rājñi<sup>45</sup> vai śatam<sup>46</sup>  
 sapta<sup>47</sup>-vimśati-bhāvyanām<sup>48</sup> | sapta-vimśaiḥ śatair<sup>49</sup> bhāvya<sup>50</sup>  
 Āndhrān-ānte<sup>51</sup> 'nvagāt<sup>52</sup> punaḥ<sup>53</sup> | Andhrān-ānte<sup>54</sup> 'nvayāḥ<sup>55</sup> punaḥ<sup>56</sup>  
 saptarṣayas tu vartante<sup>57</sup> | sapta-vimśati<sup>58</sup>-paryante<sup>59</sup>  
 yatra<sup>60</sup> nakṣatra-maṇḍale | kṛtsne nakṣatra-maṇḍale

ll. 5-8. The reckoning is from the end of the Andhras onwards into the future.

<sup>37</sup> So Mt: cMt °syai; lMt omits. Vā, Bḍ bhaviṣyais; bVā na divyais.

<sup>38</sup> So Mt genly: celnMt °samākhyaṭāḥ; jMt, eVā tat prasaṅkhyātām. Ca'a'a'jVā, Bḍ tatra saṅkhyātāḥ; a'Vā °khyātām; bdfghlmVā °khyānām: bMt naṣṭa-saṅkhyānāḥ.

<sup>39</sup> In lMt [śu]śrū[ṣa]tārṣibhiḥ; bMt surarṣibhiḥ; jMt maharṣibhiḥ: ceMt purāṇe śrutisarṣibhiḥ.

<sup>40</sup> In bdefgjnMt tathā.

<sup>41</sup> This line is in Mt. So ACdkmMt: eMt pāmśru (or yā°); cMt pāsu; nMt prāyuh or prāpuḥ; bMt āyuh; fgMt te syuh; jMt vācyāḥ. These readings and Vā, Bḍ readings appear to be crp. It seems necessary to the sense of this whole passage that some lunar constellation should be meant here, and the true reading may perhaps be Puṣye. Puṣya as the constellation in Pratīpa's time might tally with Maghā in Parīkṣit's time (see ll. 22, 24) about a century and a half later; see JRAS, 1910, p. 28.

<sup>42</sup> So Vā; gVā prāhu. Bḍ prāptāḥ: eVā [ca] tathākhyās ca.

<sup>43</sup> So Mt genly: dMt pradīpen°; kMt pratāpten°; jMt pradīptā c-āgni vai. Mt appears to be crp.

<sup>44</sup> So ACImMt: cdefgknMt samam; bMt samam; jMt śase.

<sup>45</sup> So Vā genly; hVā °rojñi; eVā °rājñ: dVā Pratīpam rājñi, altered to Pratīpa-rājñi. Bḍ pitrye Parīkṣite (omitting vai).

<sup>46</sup> In fjVā vimśatam; eVā samsthite. All the readings of this line in Mt, Vā, and Bḍ are no doubt attempts to Sanskritize an old Prakrit śloka, which was obscure. Perhaps the true reading should be, having regard to the forms of letters in the old scripts—  
 saptarṣayas tadā Puṣye Pratīpe rājñi vai  
 samam:

cf. samam in l. 19; or śatam, see l. 22.

<sup>47</sup> This line is in Mt: cMt saptā; bnMt aṣṭā.

<sup>48</sup> So ACkMt: cdefgjnMt bhāvyaena; bMt bhāvvena.

<sup>49</sup> So Vā genly, Bḍ: dVā °vimśati tair; bhVā °vimśatair (short): eVā saptā-vimśe śate, prob. the true reading.

<sup>50</sup> In eVā bhāvye.

<sup>51</sup> So ACmMt for first 3 syll.: dMt Andh° fgMt Adh°: bcenMt astrānām; jkMt astrēnām. For last syll. cefgjnMt te; ACbmMt tu; dMt tvam. The whole is clearly Āndhrān-ānte, see note <sup>54</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> In kMt 'nvagā, ceMt °gāt, nMt °gat: fMt 'ndhakāt; gMt dhakāt; jMt 'ṣṭakā; ACMt yadā; bdmMt tataḥ. The correct word seems to be 'nvagāt (aorist of anugā) or 'nugāḥ, the former meaning '(the cycle) followed on again', and the latter '(the Seven Ṛṣis were) following on again'. The readings are thus equivalent, but the former seems preferable, because the v appears to be original, and was easily misread as dh in the Gupta script, while yadā and tataḥ are obvious emendations.

<sup>53</sup> In jMt sudhāḥ.

<sup>54</sup> For first 3 syll. Vā, Bḍ Āndhrānām, hVā °nā; eVā mantrānām. For fourth syll. Vā, Bḍ te. The whole is clearly Āndhrānāmte, which means Āndhrān-ānte, Pkt for Āndhrānām ante, as the sense shows. But mVā reads this half line Adhā saṅkhyayā smṛtam, which belongs partly to l. 15.

<sup>55</sup> So a'hVā, Bḍ; and dVā (altered from tvayāḥ); gVā 'nvayā; eVā 'nvayāḥ. Vā genly tvayā.

<sup>56</sup> In bVā punat; gVā yutaḥ; a'Vā śubhāḥ.

<sup>57</sup> This line is in Mt. So CGVa'a'mMt; dMt °pravartante: jMt saptarṣay-ēti paryante: a'a'bMt sapta-vimśati-paryante, ceMt °paryanta-h, kMt °paryataḥ, fgMt °parjanya.

<sup>58</sup> This line is in Vā, Bḍ: eVā °vimś-ēti or vimśe 'ti.



saptarṣayas tu tiṣṭhanti <sup>61</sup> paryāyena <sup>62</sup> śataṁ śataṁ <sup>63</sup>  
saptarṣiṇāṁ yugaṁ hy etad <sup>64</sup> divyayā saṅkhyayā smṛtam <sup>65</sup> 15  
māsā <sup>66</sup> divyāḥ <sup>67</sup> smṛtāḥ <sup>68</sup> ṣaṭ ca <sup>69</sup> divy-ābdāni tu <sup>70</sup> sapta hi <sup>71</sup>  
tebhyāḥ <sup>72</sup> pravartate kālo <sup>73</sup> divyāḥ saptarṣibhis <sup>74</sup> tu vai <sup>75</sup>  
saptarṣiṇāṁ <sup>76</sup> tu <sup>77</sup> yau pūrvau <sup>78</sup> dṛśyete <sup>79</sup> uditau niśi <sup>80</sup>  
tayor madhye tu nakṣatraṁ <sup>81</sup> dṛśyate yat <sup>82</sup> samaṁ divi <sup>83</sup>  
tena saptarṣayo <sup>84</sup> yuktā jñeyā <sup>85</sup> vyomni śataṁ samāḥ <sup>86</sup> 20  
nakṣatrāṇāṁ ṛṣiṇāṁ ca <sup>87</sup> yogasyaitan <sup>88</sup> nidarśanam

<sup>59</sup> In *dVā paryate*; *bVā payate*.

<sup>60</sup> In *bcdefgMt kṛtsne*.

<sup>61</sup> In *bMt bhidyanti*.

<sup>62</sup> In *fMt paryāye sā*.

<sup>63</sup> In *fMt sataṁ satam*; *dMt śataḥ śatam*; *a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>3</sup>dfglVā śatāc chatam*; *bjVā śatān śatam*; *mVā śatā satam*: *a<sup>1</sup>bMt sataṁ samāḥ*.

<sup>64</sup> So *Vā*; *eVā hy ete*; *Bd tv etad*; *fgMt yuge hy etad*, *kMt <sup>o</sup>ete*: *bhVā sugaṁ hy etad*. But *bMt tu paryanta*, *cenMt <sup>o</sup>paryāye*. *Mt genly upary etat*.

<sup>65</sup> So *Vā*, *Bd*: *cenMt tat smṛtaṁ divya-saṅkhyayā*; *kMt smṛtaṁ vai divya-saṅkhyayā*, *ACMt <sup>o</sup>sañjñayā*; *fgMt smṛtaṁ divyaṁ tu saṅkhyayā*; *bmMt <sup>o</sup>sañjñayā*, and *dMt crp*.

<sup>66</sup> So *Bd*. *Vā genly sā sā*; *jVā sāṣa*; *mVā sāpa*; *hVā sayā*; *fVā s[ā]ya*. *Mt samā*; *nMt samo*; *eMt kṣado*; *cMt tado*. Instead of this line *eVā* has two other lines—

ṣaṣṭir daivata-yugānāṁ caika saptabhir  
epi ca  
triṁśac c-ānyāni varṣāni smṛtaḥ saptarṣi-  
vatsarah.

<sup>67</sup> So *Mt*, *Bd*. *Vā divyā*: *nMt ditās*; *ceMt ditvāt*.

<sup>68</sup> *Vā smṛtā*; *bcfglnMt tathā*.

<sup>69</sup> So *Bd*. *Mt*, *Vā ṣaṣṭir* erroneously.

<sup>70</sup> So *ACjklMt*; *cnMt <sup>o</sup>ca*; *eMt divy-āṣṭāni ca*. *Bd divy-ābdās c-aiva*. *Vā divy-āhnās c-aiva*: *bdmMt <sup>o</sup>dhāni tu (b, ca)*, *fgMt <sup>o</sup>dhāniś ca*.

<sup>71</sup> So *Bd*: *cdefgnMt*, *gVā saptati-h*; other *Mt*, *Vā genly saptabhīḥ*; *jVā saptāmih*: *bhVā saptāṇabhīḥ*, where in *bVā ṇabhīḥ* represents *tebhyāḥ* in next line.

<sup>72</sup> So *Vā*, *Bd*, *bccklnMt*: *eVā ebhyaḥ*; other *Mt ebhīḥ*: *dVā* reads this half line *pravartate mahān kālo*.

<sup>73</sup> In *kMt pravartitaḥ<sup>o</sup>*, *dMt pravartane<sup>o</sup>*; *bMt <sup>o</sup>tite kāle*.

<sup>74</sup> In *cenMt saptarṣitas*.

<sup>75</sup> So *Mt*, *eVā*. *Vā*, *Bd taiḥ*.

<sup>76</sup> In *fgMt sapta-sṛṣaṁ*.

<sup>77</sup> In *ACdkmMt*, *Vṣ genly*, *aBh ca*.

<sup>78</sup> So *CGVa<sup>m</sup>Mt*, *Bd*, *Vṣ*, *Bh*; *arBh pūrvau yau*. *Vā ye pūrvā* (altered in *dVā* to *yau pūrvau*), *akVṣ <sup>o</sup>pūrve*: *a<sup>1-2</sup>bcdefglnMt*, *eVā yaḥ pūrvam*, *kMt <sup>o</sup>pūrva*, *jMt <sup>o</sup>pūrve*. The dual is right as there are two stars, and see next line.

<sup>79</sup> So *CGVa<sup>m</sup>Mt*, *Bd*, *Vṣ*, *Bh*, *dVā*. *Vā genly dṛśyante*; *ehVā*, *aVṣ dṛśyate*. For this half line *a<sup>1-2</sup>bcdejklnMt* read *udyan (l, udyat*; *j, mudyan*; *k, sudhan) vai dṛśyate niśi (j, divi*; *k omits)*: *fgMt udyūte dṛśyate niśi*.

<sup>80</sup> *CGVa<sup>m</sup>Mt hy uditau niśi*; *eVā hy uditō*. *Vṣ*, *Bh uditau divi*; *aVṣ <sup>o</sup>bhyudita<sup>o</sup>*; *jkVṣ*, *jBh uditō*; *gBh uditē*. *Vā*, *Bd uttarā-diśi*.

<sup>81</sup> So *Mt genly*, *Bd*; *fgMt <sup>o</sup>madhye <sup>ti</sup>*; *eVā <sup>o</sup>madhye ca [tam]<sup>o</sup>*; *bMt <sup>o</sup>mādye tu rajataṁ*. *Bh*, *bIVṣ tayos tu madhye nakṣatraṁ*; *Vṣ <sup>o</sup>madhya-nak<sup>o</sup>*; *kVṣ <sup>o</sup>madhyamaṁ kṣatraṁ*. In *a<sup>2</sup>Vā tato madhye ca nakṣatraṁ*; *Vā genly <sup>o</sup>madhyena ca kṣetraṁ*; *bhVā <sup>o</sup>cākṣetraṁ* (altered in *d* to *ca nakṣatraṁ*); *mVā crp*.

<sup>82</sup> In *nMt yaḥ*; *eVā*, *bVṣ*, *dfkqBh tat*; *ceMt sa*; *bMt ca*.

<sup>83</sup> *Vṣ*, *Bh niśi*.

<sup>84</sup> *Bh ten-aīta ṛṣayo*; *aberBh ten-aiva<sup>o</sup>*; *fBh tena vai<sup>o</sup>*.

<sup>85</sup> So *Vā*, *Bd*; *IVā <sup>o</sup>yayā*. *Mt genly jñeyā yuktā*, *jMt <sup>o</sup>muktā*, *bdMt <sup>o</sup>bhuktā*; *IMt devā yuktā*. *Vṣ*, *Bh yuktās tiṣṭhanty*, *aVṣ <sup>o</sup>muktās<sup>o</sup>*; *kVṣ <sup>o</sup>muktāsthityanty*; *fBh yuktā bhavanty*.

<sup>86</sup> In *bVā śate<sup>o</sup>*. *Vṣ*, *Bh abda-sataṁ nṛṇām*; *hVṣ*, *gBh aṣṭa-ś<sup>o</sup>*; *kVṣ aka-ś<sup>o</sup>*.

<sup>87</sup> In *eVā ca sarveṣāḥ*.

<sup>88</sup> So *Mt*, *Vā genly*: *bdgVā yogasy<sup>o</sup>*. *Bd*

saptarṣayo Maghā-yuktāḥ<sup>89</sup> kāle Pāriksite<sup>90</sup> śatam<sup>91</sup>  
Andhr-ānte<sup>92</sup> tu<sup>93</sup> catur-vimśe<sup>94</sup> bhaviṣyanti<sup>95</sup> śatam samāḥ<sup>96</sup>.

*Viṣṇu.*  
te tu Pāriksite kāle  
Maghāsv āsan<sup>97</sup> dvijottama

tadā pravṛttaś ca<sup>99</sup> Kalir dvādaś-ābda<sup>1</sup>-śat-ātmakaḥ  
yad-aiva bhagavad-Viṣṇor  
amśo yāto<sup>3</sup> divam dvija<sup>4</sup>  
Vasudeva-kul-ōdbhūtas  
tad-aiva Kalir āgataḥ<sup>6</sup>

yāvat sa pāda-padmābhyām  
pasparś-ēmām vasundharām  
tāvat pṛthvi-pariṣvaṅge  
samartho n-ābhavat Kalih  
gate sanātanasy-āmśe<sup>10</sup>  
Viṣṇos tatra bhuvo<sup>11</sup> divam<sup>12</sup>  
tatyāja s-ānujo rājyam  
Dharma-putro Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ

*Bhāgavata.*  
te tvadiye dvijāḥ kāle  
adhunā c-āśritā<sup>98</sup> Maghāḥ  
yadā devarṣayaḥ sapta  
Maghāsu vicaranti hi 25

Viṣṇor bhagavato<sup>2</sup> bhānuḥ  
Kṛṣṇ-ākhyo 'sau<sup>5</sup> divam gataḥ

tad-āviśat Kalir lokam  
pāpe yād ramate janāḥ<sup>7</sup>  
yāvat sa pāda-padmābhyām  
sprśann āste<sup>8</sup> Ramā-patiḥ  
tāvat Kalir vai pṛthivīm  
parākrāntum na c-āśakat<sup>9</sup> 30

*bhogasy°*: hVā yogyasya tan; bMt tu yogasy-  
ēti; nMt reads this half line yāgasy-ēti  
darśayan.

<sup>89</sup> Bđ hy ath-āyuktāḥ: fgMt mayā hy  
uktāḥ, dMt may-āpy°; eVā mayā proktāḥ.

<sup>90</sup> In jMt this half line is kālena paritoṣitāḥ,  
kMt °tam.

<sup>91</sup> In nMt śrutam; bMt kṣutan; fgMt  
same; mMt divi.

<sup>92</sup> So a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>4</sup>ghVā; lVā Andh-°, bVā Adhm-°,  
dVā Adhry-°; eVā Andhān-ānte (omitting  
tu) in Pkt form, see note<sup>94</sup>. Ca<sup>2</sup>jmVā, Bđ  
Andhr-āmśe, fVā Adhr°. Mt genly brāh-  
manās (= saptarṣayaḥ ?); CMt °nas; fgMt  
°nam.

<sup>93</sup> So Mt genly; jMt ca. Vā genly, Bđ sa-  
°sa; jMt, dVā °so; nMt °śad.

<sup>94</sup> In fMt, dVā °gyati.  
<sup>95</sup> So Mt, Bđ; fMt satam°; dVā sate°  
(altered to gate°): jmMt, fVā sate mama,

bhMt °manā, gMt °matā: eVā śatan tadā;  
lVā same matā. AVā mate mama.

<sup>97</sup> In bVṣ Maghās c-āsan; kVṣ †Maghā-  
dyāsan; ajVṣ crp.

<sup>98</sup> In gBh hy āśritā.

<sup>99</sup> So Vṣ. Bh tu.

<sup>1</sup> In hVṣ, gBh aṣṭa; lVṣ ātma.

<sup>2</sup> In dBh Viṣṇus tu bhagavān.

<sup>3</sup> In abVṣ jāto; kVṣ amśa-jāto.

<sup>4</sup> In kVṣ dvijottama.

<sup>5</sup> In sBh sa: dBh Kṛṣṇo 'sau; eBh  
†Kṛṣṇasyotsau aptly.

<sup>6</sup> In blVṣ °aiv-ātr-āgataḥ Kalih.

<sup>7</sup> In dBh manāḥ.

<sup>8</sup> In fBh āśid.

<sup>9</sup> In fBh v-ās°; kqrBh c-āsakṛt.

<sup>10</sup> In deVṣ -ānte.

<sup>11</sup> In kVṣ tvayo; aVṣ divo.

<sup>12</sup> In ahVṣ divi.

## Viṣṇu.

viparītāni dr̥ṣṭvā ca  
nimittāni sa Pāṇḍavaḥ  
yāte Kṛṣṇe cakārātha  
so 'bhīṣekam Parikṣitaḥ<sup>13</sup>  
prayāsyanti yadā c̣aite  
Pūrv-Āśādhām maharṣayaḥ  
tadā Nandāt<sup>15</sup> prabhṛty<sup>16</sup> eṣa<sup>17</sup>

## Bhāgavata.

yadā Maghābhyo<sup>14</sup> yāsyanti  
Pūrv-Āśādhām maharṣayaḥ 35  
Kalir vṛddhim gamiṣyati<sup>18</sup>.

yasmin Kṛṣṇo divaṁ yātas<sup>19</sup> tasminn eva tad-āhani<sup>20</sup>  
pratipannaṁ Kali-yugaṁ<sup>21</sup> tasya saṅkhyāṁ nibodhata<sup>22</sup>  
catuḥ-śata<sup>23</sup>-sahasraṁ tu  
varṣāṇām<sup>24</sup> vai<sup>25</sup> smṛtam budhaiḥ<sup>26</sup>  
ṣaṣṭi-varṣa<sup>28</sup>-sahasrāṇi  
saṅkhyātam<sup>29</sup> mānuṣeṇa tu<sup>30</sup>

sahasrāṇām śatān-āha  
trīṇi mānuṣa-saṅkhyayā<sup>27</sup>  
ṣaṣṭim c̣aiva sahasrāṇi  
varṣāṇām ṭūcyate<sup>31</sup> Kaliḥ<sup>32</sup> 40

<sup>13</sup> So all V<sub>g</sub>, but CV<sub>g</sub> °kṣite.

<sup>14</sup> In bBh °bhyām; dBh Maghāto.

<sup>15</sup> In jV<sub>g</sub> °Nanda, eBh °Nandāt; dBh tadā tadā: rBh tato Nandāt.

<sup>16</sup> In deV<sub>g</sub> prabhūm.

<sup>17</sup> In bjkV<sub>g</sub>, eBh eva.

<sup>18</sup> In cBh kariṣyati.

<sup>19</sup> In eVā divā jāta: jMt reads—

yadā Kṛṣṇaṣ chavi yātaḥ śuklo Nārāyaṇaṣ tathā.

<sup>20</sup> So Mt, eVā, V<sub>g</sub>, Bh. Vā, Bḍ tadā dine, altered in dVā to tad-āditaḥ.

<sup>21</sup> So Mt, eVā, V<sub>g</sub>, Bh. Vā, Bḍ °pannaḥ °yugaḥ.

<sup>22</sup> So Vā, Bḍ. V<sub>g</sub> °nibodha me. Mt pra-mānam̄ tasya me śṛṇu; lMt prapannaṁ°. Bh iti prāhuḥ purā-vidah; dBh iti-r-āhuḥ°, see Appendix I, § ii.

<sup>23</sup> So Mt; jMt śatā; eMt śatī: a<sup>2</sup>Mt ṣaṣṭi; dmMt ṣaṭ (one syll. short).

<sup>24</sup> In bMt varṇāni: eMt reads this half line tadā sandhyā pravartate.

<sup>25</sup> In cMt yat; fgjkMt tat; dMt tu; bMt na (for nu?).

<sup>26</sup> In jMt tathā.

<sup>27</sup> So Vā, Bḍ.

<sup>28</sup> So bjklnMt; a<sup>1-3</sup>dmMt ṣaṣṭir°; cfgMt ṣaṣṭim. ACMt catvāry aṣṭa-

<sup>29</sup> In bfgnMt °khyātā; dMt °khyāte.

<sup>30</sup> In jMt tat.

<sup>31</sup> So Bḍ, fVā; gVā tyūc°; bVā tuc°; dVā tucyāta, altered to tu smṛtaḥ; mVā rūvyate (for r-ucyate?), see Appendix I, § ii. Vā genly ucyate.

<sup>32</sup> Instead of this and the preceding line V<sub>g</sub> has these lines—

trīṇi lakṣāni varṣāṇām\* dvija mānuṣa'-saṅkhyayā

ṣaṣṭim c̣aiva sahasrāṇi bhaviṣyaty eṣa vai Kaliḥ:

where \*hV<sub>g</sub> varṣāni; †IV<sub>g</sub> varṣāṇān dvija. Bh omits this statement.

<sup>33</sup> In gMt divya-. CVā divye.

<sup>34</sup> So a<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>cfjgklmnMt: CGVa<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>bdMt °saṅkhyā°; jMt tathā sandhy-āpav°, unless it = °sandhyā prav°.

<sup>35</sup> So Vā genly: fmVā °āmsam̄ hi kīrtite, Bḍ °āmsē°; jVā °sandhyā sihā kīrtite. But glVā °sandhy-āmsa hi kīrtiyate, a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>3</sup>Vā °sandhyā sā hi°, bhVā °sandhyā sā hi [tā]°: dVā for this half line (with clerical errors uncanceled) saṁdvedhīś ca iti tathā saṁdhyā saṁdhy-āmsa sahita kīrtiyate: eVā sa-sandhy-āmsam̄ udāhṛtam. For this line V<sub>g</sub> reads— śatāni tāni divyāni sapta pañca ca saṅkhyayā\*:

where \*hV<sub>g</sub> divyayā; but sandhyayā appears to be the correct word since 1200

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divyaṃ varṣa-sahasraṃ tu tadā sandhyā pravartate <sup>34</sup> niḥśeṣe tu <sup>36</sup> tadā <sup>37</sup> tasmin <sup>38</sup> Kṛtaṃ vai pratipatsyate <sup>39</sup> .	divyaṃ <sup>33</sup> varṣa-sahasraṃ tu tat-sandhy-āṃśam prakīrtitam <sup>35</sup>
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divine years include the two sandhyās. Bh  
says—

divy-ābdānāṃ \* sahasr-ānte caturthe tu†  
punaḥ Kṛtaṃ :

where \* *gkp*Bh *āṣṭānām*; † *e*Bh *caturthena*.

<sup>36</sup> This line is in Mt, Vā, Bd, Vṣ. So Mt,  
*e*Vā. Vā, Bd °*ca*; *d*Vā *naiḥśeṣe ca*. Vṣ  
*niḥśeṣeṇa, j*Vṣ °*śeṣanām*.

<sup>37</sup> Vṣ *tatas*.

<sup>38</sup> In *j*Mt *tasya*.

<sup>39</sup> So Mt, Vā, Bd. Vṣ *bhaviṣyati punaḥ*  
(*a*Vṣ *tadā*) *Kṛtaṃ*. Bh adds—

*bhaviṣyati yadā \* nṛṇām mana ātma-*  
*prakāśakam*†:

where \* *adqr*Bh and v. r. in *G*Bh *tadā*; † *c*Bh  
*ātm-āp*°.



## TRANSLATION

This translation is close to the original though not absolutely literal, and generally combines the various versions where they supplement one another. Words in italics are not expressed in the original but are supplied to complete the meaning. The notes deal only with the salient points, and for the rest reference must be made to the notes to the original text.

### *Preface.*

Listen as I narrate all future *events*, as Vyāsa, unwearied in work, proclaimed to me formerly, both the future Kali age and the manvantaras also. Thus I will first declare now the kings who are to be, both those descended from Aila<sup>1</sup> and the Ikṣvākus and also the kings descended from Sudyumna<sup>2</sup>, among whom the splendid kṣatriya stock of the families of Aila and Ikṣvāku is brought to an end. I will proclaim all those kings *as* mentioned in the Bhaviṣya *Purāna*. Moreover *there will be* other kings besides them, who shall arise, kṣatriyas, pāraśavas<sup>3</sup>, śūdras, and others who will be foreigners; Andhras, Śakas and Pulindas, Cūlikas and Yavanas, Kairvartas, Ābhīras and Śavaras, and others who will be of Mleccha origin; Pauravas, Vītihoṭras, Vaidīśas, five<sup>4</sup> Kosalas, Mekalas, Kośalas<sup>5</sup>, Paundras, Gaunardas, and Svasphrakas, Sunidharmas, Śakas, Nīpas and others who will be of Mleccha race. I will declare those kings according to the total of their years<sup>6</sup> and by name.

### *Pauravas.*

Abhimanyu's son by Virāṭa's daughter Uttarā was Parīkṣit. Parīkṣit's son was king Janamejaya who was very righteous. From Janamejaya was born valiant Śatānīka. Śatānīka's son was valiant Aśvamedhadatta.

From Aśvamedhadatta was born a victorious son, righteous Adhiśimakṣṇa<sup>7</sup>, who now *reigns* great in fame.

Adhiśimakṣṇa's son will be king Nicakṣu<sup>8</sup>. When the city Hastināpura is carried away by the Ganges, Nicakṣu will abandon it and will dwell in Kauśāmbī.

<sup>1</sup> That is the Pauravas.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 2, note <sup>15</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> A mixed caste said to be descended from a brahman father and śūdra mother.

<sup>4</sup> This would seem to be meant for Pañcālas.

<sup>5</sup> The people of Mahākosala apptly.

<sup>6</sup> Or Mt, 'according to their succession'.

<sup>7</sup> Or *Aśimakṣṇa*.

<sup>8</sup> Or *Vivakṣu*. Vā *Nirvaktra*. Bh *Nemicaakra*.

He will have eight sons of great might and valour. His eldest son *will be* Uṣṇa<sup>1</sup>; after Uṣṇa Citraratha is remembered; after Citraratha Śucidratha<sup>2</sup>; and after Śucidratha Vṛṣṇimat<sup>3</sup>; and after Vṛṣṇimat Suṣeṇa will be a pure king. After Suṣeṇa Sunītha<sup>4</sup> will be king; after Sunītha will be Ruca<sup>5</sup>; after him will be Nṛcakṣus<sup>6</sup>. Nṛcakṣus' heir will be Sukhībala<sup>7</sup>; and Sukhībala's son will be king Pariplava<sup>8</sup>; and Pariplava's son will be king Sunaya<sup>9</sup>. His heir Medhāvin will be king; and Medhāvin's son will be Nṛpañjaya. Durva<sup>10</sup> *will be* his son; and Tigmatman his son. After Tigma will be Bṛhadratha; after Bṛhadratha Vasudāna<sup>11</sup>; after Vasudāna Śātānika; after him will be Udayana<sup>12</sup>; and after Udayana will be the warrior king Vahīnara<sup>13</sup>; and Vahīnara's son will be Daṇḍapāni<sup>14</sup>. After Daṇḍapāni Nirāmitra<sup>15</sup>; and after Nirāmitra Kṣemaka.

These 25 kings will exist born of Pūru's race. In this connexion this genealogical verse was sung by ancient brahmans—'The race honoured by gods and rishis, from which sprang brahmans and kṣatriyas, will verily on reaching Kṣemaka reach its end in the Kālī age.' Thus has been correctly proclaimed this Paurava race, *the offspring* of Pāṇḍu's wise son, high-souled Arjuna.

### Aikṣvākus.

Next I will declare *the race* of the high-souled Ikṣvākus. Bṛhadbala's heir was the warrior king Bṛhatkṣaya<sup>16</sup>. His son was Urukṣaya<sup>16</sup>; after Urukṣaya was Vatsavyūha<sup>17</sup>; after Vatsavyūha Prativyoma<sup>18</sup>.

His son is Divākara<sup>19</sup> who now rules the city Ayodhyā in Madhyadeśa.

Divākara's *successor* will be famous Sahadeva. Sahadeva's heir *will be* high-minded Bṛhadāśva<sup>20</sup>; his *successor* will be Bhānuratha<sup>21</sup>; and his son will be Pratitāśva<sup>22</sup>; and Pratitāśva's son will be Supratika<sup>23</sup>. His son *will be* Marudeva<sup>24</sup>, and his son Sunakṣatra. After Sunakṣatra will be victorious Kinnarāśva<sup>25</sup>; and Antariṣa will be Kinnarāśva's great son. After Antariṣa *will be* Suparna<sup>26</sup>; and

<sup>1</sup> Mt *Bhūri*.

<sup>2</sup> Bh *Kaviratha* and *Kuv*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Or *Vṛṣṇimat*. Vā *Dhṛtimat*.

<sup>4</sup> Vā *Sutīrtha*.

<sup>5</sup> Vṣ *Rca*.

<sup>6</sup> Vā *Tricakṣa*.

<sup>7</sup> Vṣ *Sukhābala*. Bh *Sukhānala*.

<sup>8</sup> Or *Paripluta* or *Parīṣṇava*.

<sup>9</sup> Mt *Sutapas*.

<sup>10</sup> Mt *Urva*. Vṣ *Mṛdu*. Gr *Hari*.

<sup>11</sup> Mt *Vasudāman*. Gr *Sudānaka*. Bh *Sudāsa*.

<sup>12</sup> Gr *Udāna*. Bh *Durdamana*.

<sup>13</sup> Or *Mahīnara*. Vṣ *Ahīnara*.

<sup>14</sup> Vṣ *Khaṇḍapāni*.

<sup>15</sup> Vṣ *Naramitra*. Bh *Nimi*.

<sup>16</sup> For the variations in these names see p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Mt *Vatsadroha*. Bh *Vatsavyūha*. Vṣ inserts a king *Vatsa* before him.

<sup>18</sup> Vā *Prativyūha*.

<sup>19</sup> Bh *Bhānu Divārka*.

<sup>20</sup> Mt *Dhruvāśva*.

<sup>21</sup> Bh *Bhānumat*. Mt *crp*.

<sup>22</sup> Mt *Pratīpāśva*. Bh *Pratikāśva*. Gr *Pratīvya*.

<sup>23</sup> Mt *Supratīpa*. Vā *Supratīta*. Gr *Pratītaka*.

<sup>24</sup> Vā *Sahadeva*.

<sup>25</sup> Or *Kinnara*. Bh *Puṣkara*.

<sup>26</sup> Mt *Suṣeṇa*. Vṣ *Suvarṇa*. Bh *Sutapas*.

after Suparna Amitrajit<sup>1</sup>. His son *will be* Bṛhadbhrāja<sup>2</sup>. Dharmin<sup>3</sup> is remembered as his son. Dharmin's son will be Kṛtañjaya. Kṛtañjaya's son will be wise Raṇañjaya<sup>4</sup>; and after Raṇañjaya will be Sañjaya, a warrior king. Sañjaya's son *will be* Śākya. After Śākya *will be* king Śuddhodana<sup>5</sup>. Śuddhodana's son will be Siddhārtha; Rāhula<sup>6</sup> *will be* his son. After him will be Prasenajit<sup>7</sup>. After him will be Kṣudraka. After Kṣudraka will be Kulaka<sup>8</sup>. After Kulaka Suratha is remembered; and Suratha's son Sumitra will be the last king.

These Aikṣvākus have been declared, who will exist in the Kali age; born in Bṛhadbala's lineage they will enhance their family, being warriors and learned, true to their word, self-restrained. *These* kings who were ancient have been all declared. In this connexion this genealogical verse was sung by ancient brahmans—'This race of the Ikṣvākus will terminate with Sumitra; on reaching king Sumitra it will indeed reach its end in the Kali age.' Thus has been declared the kṣatriya stock descended from Manu, and that descended from Aila.

*Bārhadrathas.*

Next I will declare the Bārhadrathas of Magadha, who are kings in Sahadeva's lineage in Jarāsandha's race, those past, those existing and also those who will exist. I will declare them according to their prominence: listen as I speak.

When the Bhārata battle took place and Sahadeva was slain, his heir Somādhi<sup>9</sup> became king in Girivraja; he reigned 58 years. In his lineage Śrutaśravas was 64 years<sup>10</sup>. Ayutāyus reigned 26 years<sup>11</sup>. His *successor* Niramitra enjoyed the earth 40 years<sup>12</sup> and went to heaven. Suksatra<sup>13</sup> obtained the earth 56 years. Bṛhatkarmān<sup>14</sup> reigned 23 years.

Senājī<sup>15</sup> is now enjoying the earth the same number of years<sup>16</sup>.

Śrutañjaya will be for 40 years, great in strength, large of arm, great in mind and prowess. Vibhu will obtain the earth 28 years<sup>17</sup>; and Śuci will stand in the kingdom 58 years. King Kṣema will enjoy the earth 28 years. Valiant Suvrata<sup>18</sup> will obtain the kingdom 64 years. Sunetra will enjoy the earth 35 years<sup>19</sup> (*or*

<sup>1</sup> Mt calls him *Sumitra* also.

<sup>2</sup> Mt, Vṣ, Bh *Bṛhadrāja*. Vā *Bharadvāja*.

<sup>3</sup> Mt *crp*.

<sup>4</sup> Gr *Dhanastraya*. Vā *apptly* inserts a king *Vrāta* before him.

<sup>5</sup> Vṣ *Kruddhodana*.

<sup>6</sup> Vṣ *Rātula*. Gr *Bāhula*. Bh *Lāṅgala*. Mt *Puṣkala*.

<sup>7</sup> Gr *Senajit*.

<sup>8</sup> Vā *Kṣulika*. Vṣ *Kuṇḍaka*. Gr *Kuḍava*. Bh *Raṇaka*.

<sup>9</sup> Bḍ, some Vṣ, Gr *Somāpi*. Vṣ *genly* *Somāmi*. Bh *Mārjāri*.

<sup>10</sup> Vṣ *Śrutavat*. Bḍ, many Vā, 67 years.

<sup>11</sup> Mt *Apratīpin*. Mt, some Vā, 36 years.

<sup>12</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 100 years.

<sup>13</sup> Vā *Sukṛita*. Mt *Surakṣa*. Bh *Suna-*  
*kṣatra*.

<sup>14</sup> Bh *Bṛhatsena*. Gr *Bahukarmaka*.

<sup>15</sup> Bh *Karmajit*.

<sup>16</sup> That is, 23 years. Mt, 50.

<sup>17</sup> Vṣ, Bh *Vipra*. Vā, Bḍ *merely nṛpa*, and  
say 35 years.

<sup>18</sup> Vā *genly Bhuvata*. Mt *Anuvrata*.

<sup>19</sup> Some Mt, 25 years.



Dharmanetra<sup>1</sup> will be 5 full years). And Nirvṛti<sup>2</sup> will enjoy this earth 58 years. Trinetra will next enjoy the kingdom 28 years (or Suśrama's<sup>3</sup> sovereignty will last 38 years). Dṛdhasena will be 48 years<sup>4</sup>. Mahīnetra<sup>5</sup> will be resplendent 33 years (or Sumati will next obtain the kingdom 33 years). Sucala will be king 32 years<sup>6</sup>. King Sunetra<sup>7</sup> will next enjoy the kingdom 40 years. King Satyajit will enjoy the earth 83 years<sup>8</sup>. And Viśvajit will obtain this earth and be 25 years<sup>9</sup>. Ripuñjaya<sup>10</sup> will obtain the earth 50 years.

These 16 kings are to be known as the future Bṛhadhrathas; and their kingdom will last 723 years<sup>11</sup>. And these 32 kings are the future Bṛhadhrathas; their kingdom will last full 1000 years indeed.

### *Pradyotas.*

When the Bṛhadhrathas, Vītihoṭras and Avantis have passed away, Pulika<sup>12</sup> will kill his master and anoint his own son Pradyota, by force<sup>13</sup> in the very sight of the kṣatriyas. He (Pradyota) will indeed have the neighbouring kings subject to him and be destitute of good policy<sup>14</sup>. He, an excellent man<sup>15</sup>, will be king 23 years. Pālaka will then be king 24 years<sup>16</sup>. Viśākhayūpa will be king 50 years<sup>17</sup>. Ajaka<sup>18</sup> will have the kingdom 21 years<sup>19</sup>. His son Nandivardhana will be 20 years<sup>20</sup>.

Those 5 kings after enjoying the earth | Those 5 sons, the Prādyotas, will endure 138 years<sup>22</sup>.  
52 years perished<sup>21</sup>.

### *Śīsūnāgas.*

Śīsūnāga will destroy all their prestige and will be king. Placing his son in Benares he will make Girivraja his own abode<sup>23</sup>. Śīsūnāga will reign 40 years. His son Kākavarṇa will obtain the earth 36 years<sup>24</sup>. Kṣemadharman will be king next 20 years<sup>25</sup>. Kṣatraujas will obtain the earth 40 years<sup>26</sup>. Vimbisāra will be

<sup>1</sup> Bh *Dharmasūtra*. Vṣ, Gr *Dharma*.

<sup>2</sup> Vā, Bḍ, merely *nṛpati*.

<sup>3</sup> Bh *Śama*: Vā *Suvrata*.

<sup>4</sup> Mt *Dyumatseṇa*. Vā, Bḍ, 58 years, crp.

<sup>5</sup> Some Mt, merely *Netra*.

<sup>6</sup> Mt *Acala*. Vṣ, Bh, Gr *Subala*. Vā, 22 years; Bḍ, 40.

<sup>7</sup> Vṣ *Sunūta*. Bh *Sunūtha*. Gr *Nūta*.

<sup>8</sup> Mt, 80 years.

<sup>9</sup> Vā *Vṛajit*, 35 years.

<sup>10</sup> Vā, Bḍ *Ariñjaya*. Gr *Iṣuñjaya*.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 17, note <sup>99</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Vā *Munika*. Vṣ *Sunika*. Bḍ, Bh *Śunaka*.

<sup>13</sup> Or 'Pulika's offspring'. Mt has the

name *Bālaka* for Pradyota.

<sup>14</sup> Or (some copies) 'will not act righteously'.

<sup>15</sup> Or (some copies) 'sickly in mind'.

<sup>16</sup> Mt, 28 years.

<sup>17</sup> Mt, 53 years.

<sup>18</sup> Bh *Rājaka*. Vṣ *Janaka*. Mt *Sūryaka*.

<sup>19</sup> Vā, 31 years.

<sup>20</sup> Vā *Vartivardhana*. Mt, 30 years.

<sup>21</sup> So Mt; some copies, 152 years.

<sup>22</sup> So Vā, Bḍ, Vṣ, Bh.

<sup>23</sup> So Mt. Vā, Bḍ seem to mean the same.

<sup>24</sup> Vā *Śakavarṇa*. Mt, 26 years.

<sup>25</sup> Mt, 36 years.

<sup>26</sup> Bh *Kṣetrajña*. Mt *Kṣemajit*, 24 years.

king 28 years<sup>1</sup>. Ajātaśatru will be king 25 years<sup>2</sup>. Darśaka will be king 25 years<sup>3</sup>. After him Udayin<sup>4</sup> will be king 33 years. That king will make as his capital on the earth Kusumapura on the south bank of the Ganges in his fourth year<sup>5</sup>. Nandivardhana will be king 40 years<sup>6</sup>. Mahānandin<sup>7</sup> will be 43 years.

These will be the 10 Śaisunāga kings<sup>8</sup>. The Śisunāgas will endure 360 (or better, 163<sup>9</sup>) years, being kings with kṣatriya kinsfolk.

### *Early Contemporary Dynasties.*

Contemporaneous with these *aforesaid* kings there will be other kings; all these *following* kings will endure an equal time: *namely*, 24 Aikṣvākus<sup>10</sup>, 27 Pañcālas<sup>11</sup>, 24 kings of Kāśi, 28 Haihayas<sup>12</sup>, 32 Kaliṅgas, 25 Aśmakas, 36 Kurus<sup>13</sup>, 28 Maithilas, 23 Śūrasenas, and 20 Vitihotras. All these kings will endure the same time.

### *Nandas.*

As son of Mahānandin by a sūdra woman will be born a king<sup>14</sup>, Mahāpadma (Nanda<sup>15</sup>), who will exterminate all kṣatriyas. Thereafter kings will be of sūdra origin. Mahāpadma will be sole monarch, bringing all under his sole sway<sup>16</sup>. He will be 88 years on the earth<sup>17</sup>. He will uproot all kṣatriyas<sup>18</sup>, being urged on by prospective fortune<sup>19</sup>. He will have 8 sons, of whom Sukalpa<sup>20</sup> will be the first; and they will be kings in succession to Mahāpadma for 12 years.

A brahman Kauṭilya will uproot them all; and, after they have enjoyed the earth 100 years, it will pass to the Mauryas.

<sup>1</sup> All vary in this name. Bḍ 38 years. After him Mt erroneously inserts the first two Kāṇvāyana kings: see *Kāṇvāyanas*, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Mt, 27 years.

<sup>3</sup> Bḍ, Vṣ, Bh *Darbhaka*. Mt *Vaṁśaka*, 24 years.

<sup>4</sup> Vṣ *Udayāśva*. Mt *Udāsin*. Bh *Ajaya*.

<sup>5</sup> This statement is in Vā, Bḍ.

<sup>6</sup> Vā, 42 years.

<sup>7</sup> Bḍ *Sahānandi*.

<sup>8</sup> Many copies of Mt say 12, because of the mistake mentioned in note<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> So Mt according to its real meaning aptly: corrupted by Bḍ and Bh to 360; by Vā and Vṣ to 362.

<sup>10</sup> For their list, see p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 25.

<sup>12</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 24.

<sup>13</sup> For their list, see p. 64, prob.

<sup>14</sup> Mt says aptly, he will be 'born as a portion of Kali'. Vā and Bḍ say, he will be 'enveloped by Fate'.

<sup>15</sup> So Vṣ and Bh.

<sup>16</sup> Vṣ, Bh, 'his rule will be untransgressed'.

<sup>17</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 'he will protect the earth 88 (or some copies, 28) years'.

<sup>18</sup> Vṣ, Bh, 'like a second Paraśu-Rāma'.

<sup>19</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 'urged on by predestination', aptly.

<sup>20</sup> Or *Sahalya*. Vṣ *Sumātya*. Bh *Sumālyā*.

*Mauryas.*

Kauṭilya will anoint Candragupta as king in the realm. Candragupta will be king 24 years<sup>1</sup>. Vindusāra will be king 25 years<sup>2</sup>. Aśoka will be king 36 years. His son Kunāla will reign 8 years<sup>3</sup>.

*Mt and eVā.*

Kunāla's son Bandhupālita will enjoy the kingdom 8 years<sup>1</sup>. Their grandson Daśona will reign 7 years<sup>4</sup>. His son Daśaratha will be king 8 years. His son Samprati will reign 9 years. Śālīśūka will be king 13 years<sup>5</sup>. Devadharman will be king 7 years<sup>6</sup>. His son Śata-dhanvan will be king 8 years<sup>6</sup>. Bṛhad-ratha will reign 70 years<sup>8</sup>.

These are the 10 Mauryas<sup>9</sup> who will enjoy the earth full 137 years. After them it will go to the Śuṅgas<sup>10</sup>.

*Vā genly and Bđ.*

Kunāla's son Bandhupālita will enjoy the kingdom 8 years. Bandhupālita's heir Indrapālita will reign 10 years.

Devavarman will be king 7 years. His son Śatadhanus will be king 8 years. Bṛhadratha will be king 7 years<sup>7</sup>.

These 9 Mauryas will enjoy the earth full 137 years. After them will go the Śuṅga<sup>11</sup>.

*Śuṅgas.*

Puṣyamitra the commander-in-chief will uproot Bṛhadratha and will rule the kingdom as king 36 years<sup>12</sup>. His son Agnimitra will be king 8 years. Vasujyeṣṭha<sup>13</sup> will be king 7 years. His son Vasumitra will be king 10 years. Then his son Andhraka<sup>14</sup> will reign 2 years. Pulindaka will then reign 3 years. His son Ghoṣa<sup>15</sup> will be king 3 years. Next Vajramitra will be king 9 years<sup>16</sup>. Bhāgavata<sup>17</sup> will be king 32 years. His son Devabhūmi<sup>18</sup> will reign 10 years.

These 10 Śuṅga kings will enjoy this earth full 112 years. From them the earth will pass to the Kaṇvas.

<sup>1</sup> Mt wants this statement.

<sup>2</sup> Mt omits. All except Vṣ vary this name.

<sup>3</sup> Mt omits. Vṣ, Bh mention *Suyasas* instead.

<sup>4</sup> Mt, 'his (i.e. Aśoka's) grandson', but the text is crp.

<sup>5</sup> Mt wants this statement.

<sup>6</sup> So also Vṣ, Bh: *eVā Śatāmdhanus*. Mt, 6 years.

<sup>7</sup> Vā *Vṛhadāśva*, but *Vṛhadratha* at beginning of next dynasty.

<sup>8</sup> So Mt genly; *eVā*, 87.

<sup>9</sup> So also Vṣ, Bh: *eVā*, 9.

<sup>10</sup> But *eVā*, 'after them will be the Śuṅga'.

<sup>11</sup> Or, 'the earth will go to the Śuṅgas'.

<sup>12</sup> Vā, Bđ, 60 years.

<sup>13</sup> Vā, Bđ, Vṣ, Bh *Sujyeṣṭha*.

<sup>14</sup> Mt *Antaka*. Bđ, Bh *Bhadra-ka*. Vṣ *Ādraka*.

<sup>15</sup> Vṣ *Ghoṣavasū*. Mt crp *Yomegha*.

<sup>16</sup> Bđ, 7 years. Vā no term.

<sup>17</sup> Mt *Samābhāga* aptly, but text crp.

<sup>18</sup> Vā *Kṣemabhūmi* here, but *Devabhūmi* in next dynasty.

*Kāṇvāyanas (Śuṅgabhrtyas).*

The minister Vasudeva, forcibly overthrowing the dissolute king Devabhūmi because of his youth, will become king among the Śuṅgas<sup>1</sup>. He, the Kāṇvāyana, will be king 9 years<sup>2</sup>. His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years<sup>3</sup>. His son Nārāyaṇa will reign 12 years. His son Suśarman will reign 10 years<sup>4</sup>.

These are remembered as the Śuṅgabhrtya Kāṇvāyana kings. These 4 Kāṇva brahmins will enjoy the earth; for 45 years they will enjoy this earth. They will have the neighbouring kings in subjection and will be righteous. In succession to them the earth will pass to the Andhras.

*Andhras.*

The Andhra Simuka<sup>5</sup> with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and him (Suśarman), and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain this earth. Simuka will be king 23 years. His younger brother Kṛṣṇa will next reign 10 years<sup>6</sup>. His son Śrī-Śātakarṇi will reign 10 years<sup>7</sup>. Then Pūrṇotsaṅga will be king 18 years<sup>8</sup>. Skandhastambhi will be king 18 years<sup>8</sup>. Śātakarṇi will reign 56 years; his son Lambodara 18 years<sup>8</sup>. His son Āpīlaka<sup>9</sup> will reign 12 years. Meghasvāti will reign 18 years<sup>8</sup>. Svāti will be king 18 years<sup>10</sup>. Skandasvāti will be king 7 years<sup>8</sup>. Mṛgendra Svātikarṇa will reign 3 years<sup>8</sup>. Kṛntala Svātikarṇa will be king 8 years<sup>8</sup>. Svātivarṇa will be king one year<sup>8</sup>. Pulomāvi will reign 36 years<sup>11</sup>. Ariṣṭakarṇa<sup>12</sup> will reign 25 years. Then Hāla will be king 5 years<sup>13</sup>. Mantalaka<sup>14</sup> will be a powerful king 5 years. Purikaṣeṇa will reign 21 years<sup>15</sup>. Sundara Śātakarṇi will reign one year. Cakora Śātakarṇi will reign 6 months. Śivasvāti will reign 28 years. King Gautamīputra will be king next 21 years. His son Pulomā<sup>16</sup> will reign 28 years<sup>8</sup>. [Śātakarṇi will be king 29 years<sup>17</sup>.] Śivaśrī Pulomā<sup>18</sup> will be king 7 years<sup>8</sup>. His son Śivaskandha Śātakarṇi will be king three<sup>19</sup> years<sup>8</sup>. Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇika will reign 29 years<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mt, 'will become the Śauṅga king'.

<sup>2</sup> Bḍ, 5 years.

<sup>3</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 24 years.

<sup>4</sup> Bḍ, 4 years.

<sup>5</sup> This is the name emended. Mt *Śisuka*.  
Vā, Bḍ *Sindhuka*. Vṣ *Śipraka*.

<sup>6</sup> Mt, 18 years.

<sup>7</sup> Vā, Bḍ, no number.

<sup>8</sup> This sentence is not in Vā genly nor Bḍ.

<sup>9</sup> Much variation in this name.

<sup>10</sup> Or *Āti*, 12 years. Not in Vā, Bḍ.

<sup>11</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 24 years. Much variation in

this name.

<sup>12</sup> Much variation in this name.

<sup>13</sup> Vā, Bḍ, one year.

<sup>14</sup> Or *Pattalaka*. Bh *Talaka*. Vā *Saptaka*.

<sup>15</sup> Mt *Purīndrasena*, but no number.

<sup>16</sup> Properly *Pulomāvi*.

<sup>17</sup> A doubtful line found only in *eVā*.

<sup>18</sup> Or 'after Puloma Śivaśrī'.

<sup>19</sup> Conjectural emendation; no number mentioned.

<sup>20</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 19 years.

After him Vijaya will be king 6 years. His son Caṇḍasrī Sātakarṇi will reign 10 years<sup>1</sup>. Another<sup>2</sup> of them Pulomāvi will reign 7 years.

These 30 Andhra kings<sup>3</sup> will enjoy the earth 460 years<sup>4</sup>.

### *Various Local Dynasties.*

When the kingdom of the Andhras has come to an end *there will be* kings belonging to the lineage of their servants: 7 Āndhras<sup>5</sup>, and 10 Ābhīra kings; also 7 Gardabhins<sup>6</sup>, 18 Śakas<sup>7</sup>. There will be 8 Yavanas, 14 Tuṣāras<sup>8</sup>, 13 Muruṇḍas<sup>9</sup>, 11 Mannas<sup>10</sup>.

The Śrīparvatīya Āndhras will endure 52 years<sup>11</sup>; the 10 Ābhīra kings 67 years; the 7 Gardabhins will enjoy the earth 72 years<sup>12</sup>; the 18 Śakas<sup>13</sup> 183 years. The 8 Yavanas<sup>13</sup> will enjoy this earth 87 years<sup>14</sup>. The earth is remembered as belonging to the Tuṣāras 7000 years<sup>15</sup>. The 13 future Muruṇḍas<sup>16</sup> along with low caste men, *all* of Mleccha origin, will enjoy it half 400 years<sup>17</sup>. The 11 Maunas will enjoy it 103 years<sup>18</sup>. When they are overthrown by Time there will be Kilakila kings<sup>19</sup>.

Then after the Kilakilas Vindhyaśakti<sup>20</sup> will reign. He will enter upon the earth after it has known *those kings* 96 years<sup>21</sup>.

### *Dynasties of Vidiśā, &c.*

Hear also the future kings of Vidiśā. Bhogin, son of the Nāga king Seṣa, will be king, conqueror of his enemies' cities<sup>22</sup>, a king who will exalt the Nāga family. Sadācandra<sup>23</sup>, and Candrānśa *who will be* a second Nakhavant<sup>24</sup>, then Dhanadharman<sup>25</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Vā, Bḍ *Dandaśrī*, 3 years.

<sup>2</sup> Or 'the last'.

<sup>3</sup> Mt, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Bḍ, 456; Vā crp, but apptly the same.

<sup>5</sup> Bh and Vṣ *Andhra-bhrtyas*.

<sup>6</sup> Or *Gardabhīlas*.

<sup>7</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 10. Bh, Vṣ, 16. Bh calls them *Kaṅkas*.

<sup>8</sup> Or *Tukhāras* or *Tuṣkaras*.

<sup>9</sup> Mt, Bḍ, Bh *Guruṇḍas*. Vṣ *Muṇḍas* (for *Muruṇḍas*).

<sup>10</sup> Vā genly, 18. Mt, 19 *Hūnas*.

<sup>11</sup> Or possibly 'twice 50'. Vā, Bḍ crp but probably 112 or 102.

<sup>12</sup> Mt *Gardabhīlas*, but no term.

<sup>13</sup> Vā and Bḍ no number.

<sup>14</sup> Vā and Bḍ, 82.

<sup>15</sup> Vā, Bḍ, 500; but prob 107 and 105 are meant respectively.

<sup>16</sup> See note<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> That is, 200 years; Vṣ, Bh say 199. Vā, Bḍ erroneously, 350.

<sup>18</sup> Mt *Hūnas*.

<sup>19</sup> Vṣ says they were Yavanas.

<sup>20</sup> Vṣ says he was a Kilakila.

<sup>21</sup> This seems to be the mesning; but literally, 'he after having known 96 years will enter upon the earth'. But perhaps *samesyati* may mean 'he will come to an end' (= *saṁsthāsyati*, see p. 8, note<sup>63</sup>), for, though *sam-i* does not have that meaning, yet *samaya* has it. The sentence would then be, 'After having known the earth 96 years he will come to his end.'

<sup>22</sup> Vṣ treats the word *purāñjaya* as his name.

<sup>23</sup> Vṣ *Rāmacandra*.

<sup>24</sup> Or 'Nakhapāna's offspring' in *eVā*.

<sup>25</sup> Vṣ *Dharma*.

and Vaṅgara<sup>1</sup> is remembered as the fourth. Then Bhūtinanda will reign in the Vaidīśa kingdom.

When the family of the Śuṅgas<sup>2</sup> ends, Śīsunandi<sup>3</sup> will reign. His younger brother was named Nandiyāśas<sup>4</sup>. In his lineage there will be 3 kings. His daughter's son named Śīśuka was king in Purikā.

Vindhyaśakti's valiant son, named Pravira, will enjoy the city Kāñcanakā 60 years, and will sacrifice with vājapeya sacrifices replete with choice largesse. His 4 sons will be kings.

*Dynasties of the Third Century, A.D.*

When the family of the Vindhyaśaktis has passed away, there will be 3 Bāhlika kings. Supratika and Nabhīra<sup>5</sup> will enjoy the earth 30 years. Śakyamāna<sup>6</sup> was king of the Mahiṣis. There will be 13 Puṣyamitras<sup>7</sup> and Paṭumitras<sup>8</sup>. In Mekalā 7 kings<sup>9</sup> will reign 70 years. In Kosalā there will be 9 very powerful and wise kings celebrated as 'Meghas'. All the kings of Niṣadha<sup>10</sup>, born in the family of Nala, valiant and very powerful, will exist till the termination of the Manus<sup>11</sup>.

Of the Māgadhas the king will be very valiant Viśvasphāni<sup>12</sup>. Overthrowing all kings he will make other castes kings, namely, Kaivartas, Pañcakas<sup>13</sup>, Pulindas, and brahmans. He will establish those persons as kings in various countries. Viśvasphāni the magnificent will be mighty, Viṣṇu's peer in battle<sup>14</sup>. King Viśvasphāni is called eunuch-like in appearance. Overthrowing the kṣatriya caste he will create another kṣatriya caste. After gratifying the gods, the pitrs and brahmans once and again, he will resort to the bank of the Ganges and subdue his body; after resigning his body he will go to Indra's world.

*Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth Century.*

Nine Nāka<sup>15</sup> kings will enjoy the city Campāvati; and 7 Nāgas will enjoy the charming city Mathurā. Kings born of the Gupta race will enjoy all these territories, namely, along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa, and the Magadhas. Kings born from Maṇḍhānya<sup>16</sup> will enjoy all these territories, namely, the Naiṣadhas, Yadukas, Śaiśitas<sup>17</sup>, and Kālatoyakas. The Devarakṣitas will enjoy the Kośalas, Andhras<sup>18</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Bh *Vaṅgiri*. Vṣ *Varāṅga*. Vā *Vimśaja*. Bḍ, 'born in the race'.

<sup>2</sup> Many Vā *Aṅgas*.

<sup>3</sup> Vṣ genly *Suśinandi*. Vā *Madhun*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Bh *Yāsonandi*.

<sup>5</sup> Bḍ *Gabhīra*.

<sup>6</sup> Bḍ *Śaṅkamāna*.

<sup>7</sup> Or *Puṣpamitras*. Bh names one of them as *Durmitra*.

<sup>8</sup> Vṣ adds *Padmamitras*.

<sup>9</sup> Bh says *Andhras*.

<sup>10</sup> Bh calls them 'lords of Vaidūra' also.

<sup>11</sup> Or perhaps, 'as long as Manu's race'.

<sup>12</sup> Bh *Viśvasphūrji*. Vṣ *Viśvasphatika*.

<sup>13</sup> Bḍ *Madrakas*. Vṣ *Yadus*. Bh both.

<sup>14</sup> Bh says his city will be *Padmavati*.

<sup>15</sup> So Vā; but Bḍ, Vṣ *Nāgas*.

<sup>16</sup> Vṣ *Maṇḍhāra*.

<sup>17</sup> Or *Śaiśījas* or *Śaiśikas*. Vṣ *Naimiṣikas*.

<sup>18</sup> Vṣ *Oḍras*.

and Paundras, the Tāmraliptas and coast-folk and the charming city Campā<sup>1</sup>. Guha will protect all these territories, *namely*, the Kalingas, Mahiṣas, and the inhabitants of the Mahendra mountains. He who is named Kanaka will enjoy Strīrāṣṭra<sup>2</sup> and the Bhokṣyakas<sup>3</sup>. The Saurāṣṭras, Āvantyas and Ābhīras, the Śūdras<sup>4</sup>, Arbudas and Mālavas<sup>5</sup>, *there* the kings will be outcaste dvijas and non-dvijas, mostly śūdras. Śūdras, outcaste dvijas and others, and Mlecchas destitute of Vedic holiness will enjoy the Sindhu's bank, the Candrabhāgā, Kauntī<sup>6</sup> and the Kāśmīra' realm.

All these kings will be contemporaneous, niggards in graciousness, untruthful, very irascible and unrighteous.

### *Evils of the Kali Age.*

There will be Yavanas here by reason of religious feeling *or* ambition *or* plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed, but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruption of the age. Massacring women and children<sup>7</sup> and killing one another, kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the Kali age. Kings of continual upstart races, falling as soon as they arise, will exist in succession through Fate. They will be destitute of righteousness, affection, *and* wealth. Mingled with them *will be* Ārya and Mleccha folk everywhere<sup>8</sup>: they prevail in turn; the population will perish.

### *Chronological and Astronomical Particulars.*

#### *All the Purānas.*

When the moon and the sun and the constellation Tiṣya and Brhaspati shall come together in the same zodiacal sign, then may the Kṛta age be.

This is the entire series of genealogies which has been declared in due order—the kings who have passed away, and those who exist *now*, and those who are future.

Now from Mahāpadma's<sup>9</sup> inauguration to Parikṣit's birth, this *interval* is indeed known as 1050 years<sup>10</sup>. Moreover in the interval which *elapsed* from the *last* Andhra king Pulomāvi to Mahāpadma—that interval *was* 836 years. An equal space of time *is still* future; subsequent *kings* beginning from the end of the

<sup>1</sup> Vṣ *Samudrataṭa-purī*.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Strīrājya*.

<sup>3</sup> Bḍ *Bhojakas*. Vṣ *Mūṣikas*.

<sup>4</sup> Or *Śūras*.

<sup>5</sup> Vṣ *Marubhūmi*.

<sup>6</sup> Vṣ *Dārvikorvī* in various forms.

<sup>7</sup> Bh adds 'cattle and brahmans'; and

says 'they will ravish other people's wives and riches'. Vṣ similarly.

<sup>8</sup> Vṣ adds 'they will be audacious through royal support'.

<sup>9</sup> Bḍ *Mahānandī*. Vṣ, Bh *Nanda*. Vā *Mahādeva*.

<sup>10</sup> Vṣ, Bh, 1015 years.

Andhras are declared *therein*. They have been enumerated in the *Bhaviṣya Purāna* by śrutarṣis who knew the ancient stories.

The Great Bear<sup>1</sup> was situated equally with regard to the lunar constellation Puṣya<sup>2</sup> while Pratīpa<sup>3</sup> was king. At the end of the Andhras, who will be in the 27th century *afterwards*, the cycle repeats *itself*<sup>4</sup>. In the circle of the lunar constellations, wherein the Great Bear revolves<sup>5</sup>, and which contains 27 constellations in its circumference<sup>6</sup>, the Great Bear remains 100 years in (*i.e.* conjoined with) each in turn. This is the Cycle of the Great Bear, and is remembered as *being*, according to divine reckoning, 6 divine months and 7 divine years. According to those constellations divine time proceeds by means of the Great Bear. The two front stars of the Great Bear, which are seen when risen at night<sup>7</sup>, the lunar constellation which is seen *situated* equally between them in the sky<sup>8</sup>, the Great Bear is to be known as conjoined with that constellation 100 years in the sky. This is the exposition of the conjunction of the lunar constellations and the Great Bear. The Great Bear was conjoined with the Maghās in Parikṣit's time 100 years. It will be in (*i.e.* conjoined with) the 24th constellation<sup>9</sup> 100 years at the termination of the Andhras.

*Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata.*

The Great Bear was in (*i.e.* conjoined with) the Maghās in Parikṣit's time; then began the Kali age comprising 1200 *divine* years<sup>10</sup>. When the portion of the lord Viṣṇu, which was born in Vasudeva's family and named Kṛṣṇa, went to heaven, then the Kali age set in. As long as he touched the earth with his lotus-feet, so long the Kali age could not encompass the earth. When that portion of the eternal Viṣṇu had departed from earth to heaven, Dharma's son Yudhiṣṭhira with his younger brothers relinquished his kingdom. That Pāṇḍava, beholding the adverse omens when Kṛṣṇa had departed, performed Parikṣit's inauguration. When the Great Bear will pass from the Maghās to Pūrvā Āṣādhā, then, starting from Nanda<sup>11</sup>, this Kali age will attain its magnitude.

<sup>1</sup> Called the 'Seven Rishis'.

<sup>2</sup> Or 'was in (*i.e.* conjoined with) Puṣya 100 years'. These readings are emendations, see p. 59, note <sup>46</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ancestor of Parikṣit in the seventh degree, see JRAS, 1910, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> This statement read with the preceding statements would imply that some 814 years are allowed for the interval between Pratīpa and Parikṣit: thus Pratīpa to Parikṣit 814 years, Parikṣit to Mahāpadma Nanda 1050 years, Mahāpadma to the last Andhra king 836 years—total 2700 years. Thus the period from Pratīpa to the end of the Andhras comprised a complete cycle of the Great Bear, and then the cycle began again.

<sup>5</sup> So Mt: explained in subsequent statements.

<sup>6</sup> So Vā, Bḍ.

<sup>7</sup> Or 'in the sky'; or 'in the northern region'.

<sup>8</sup> That is, according to the commentators, 'the constellation which is situated equally on a line drawn south and north between the two front stars (the two Pointers) of the Great Bear'.

<sup>9</sup> Apptly, either no. 24 in the order of reckoning the lunar constellations, or the 24th after the Maghās.

<sup>10</sup> Including the twilights.

<sup>11</sup> That is, the Great Bear was conjoined with Pūrvā Āṣādhā in Mahāpadma Nanda's time.



*All the Purāṇas.*

On the very day, on which Kṛṣṇa departed to heaven, the Kali age arrived. Hear its reckoning. It is remembered by the wise, as computed according to human reckoning, to be 360,000 years<sup>1</sup> or 1000 divine years. Then the twilight sets in. When that is completely finished, the Kṛta age will then arrive.

<sup>1</sup> Mt, 460,000 years.

## APPENDIX I

### *The Account was originally in Prakrit.*

Proof is offered here of the statement made in the Introduction, § 15, that the Sanskrit account as it stands in the Matsya, Vāyu, and Brahmānda is a Sanskritized version of older Prakrit śloka, as indicated by these peculiarities: *first*, certain passages violate the śloka metre, whereas in Prakrit form they would satisfy the metre; *secondly*, certain Prakrit forms actually occur, especially where they are required by the metre, which the corresponding Sanskrit forms would violate; *thirdly*, Sanskrit words occur at times in defiance of syntax, whereas the corresponding Prakrit forms would make the construction correct; *fourthly*, mistaken Sanskritization of names and words; *fifthly*, the copious use of expletive particles; *sixthly*, irregular sandhi. Those three Purānas will be dealt with first, and along with them such portions also of the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu as have preserved the old śloka uncondensed; but the main portions of these two Purānas consist almost entirely of a condensed redaction, and their character will be considered afterwards.

i. As an illustration of the first peculiarity, the Mt and Vā<sup>1</sup>, when naming the last Paurava king, end the line thus (p. 7)—*Nirāmitrāt tu (or ca) Kṣemakāḥ*, 'after Nirāmitra was Kṣemaka'; where the *tu* or *ca* in the fifth syllable should be short but is long by position before *kṣ*. No one composing in Skt could end a śloka line with *Kṣemaka*, but its Pkt form *Khemaka* satisfies the metre perfectly. There can be no doubt therefore that this line was composed in Pkt originally, and that the Skt redactor restored the Pkt name to its Skt form and in so doing overlooked the fact that the change violated the metre. The fault was however noticed afterwards, because *eVā* corrects it by altering the half line to *bhavitā Kṣemakas tathā* (p. 7, note <sup>1</sup>). Precisely similar is the mistake in the line that ends with *samā bhokṣyanti trīṃśatim*<sup>2</sup>, where no difficulty would occur in Pkt since *trīṃśati* would drop its *r* there<sup>3</sup>.

Again the Mt reads at the end of a śloka line, *aṣṭāvīṃśatir Haihayāḥ*<sup>4</sup>, where the fifth syllable is long by position contrary to rule; and here the literary Pkt form *viśati* without a termination would fit the metre. The Vā and Bḍ read instead *caturvīṃśat* (or *-vīṃśas*) *tu Haihayāḥ* and avoid the irregularity by reducing *vīṃśati*

<sup>1</sup> The Bḍ has lost this line in a large lacuna.

<sup>2</sup> P. 50 (*Dynasties of the 3rd Cent.*), l. 2; the differences of reading there do not affect this point.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase *ā-Manu-kṣayāt* in the Vā and Bḍ at the end of a line (p. 51, l. 8) does

not militate against this view, because the *kṣ* in the middle of this expression would have been *kḥh* in Pkt.

<sup>4</sup> P. 23, l. 4: *ḍMt* avoids the fault by reading *aṣṭāvīṃśati*, keeping as near to Pkt as possible.

to *vimśat* or *vimśa* and replacing the lost syllable by a superfluous *tu*, which is the nearest approach to it. This expedient is very common as will be seen in the notes.

Next may be cited cases where a half line has a syllable too much, which would disappear in Pkt, and the significance of these cases lies in the fact that the superfluity was unnecessary since good Skt equivalents were available, if the verse had been composed directly in Skt. Thus the Bh has a śloka prophesying Viṣṇu's incarnation as Kalki thus—

dharma-trāṇāya sattvena Bhagavān avatariṣyati<sup>1</sup>.

The second half line has a syllable too much, but the Pkt verb *otarissati* would exactly suit the metre and was no doubt the word used originally, as *dBh* (an old MS of 1407) shows by reading *Bhagavān vatarissati*, where *n* and *va* are separate letters. Many two-syllabled equivalents for *bhagavān* were available to suit the metre. Again *eVā* has for the first half of a line, *sapta varṇāni Devadharmā*<sup>2</sup>, where *varṇāni* is obviously a misreading of *varṣāni*, and there is a syllable too much; but the Pkt form *varṣā* or *vassā* satisfies the metre. To one composing in Skt *samāh* would have avoided all difficulty. Similarly *ōMt* has the first half of a line, *aṣṭāvimsati tathā varṣā* with a syllable too much<sup>3</sup>, but the Pkt *aṭṭhāvimsam* would rectify the metre; whereas one composing in Skt could have written simply *aṣṭāvimsati-varṣāni*, which is indeed the general reading of the Mt now. This instance may give us an insight into the process of Sanskritization, if, as the *ōMt* reading suggests, the original Pkt was *aṭṭhāvimsam tathā vassā*.

ii. Actual Pkt forms occur rather often. First may be cited the *Vā* and *Bḍ* line<sup>4</sup>—

sthāpayiṣyati rājāno nānā-deśeṣu te janā :

where *rājāno* and *te janā* are Pkt accusatives after the verb. They were misunderstood as nominatives, and the verb was altered to the plural in all copies of the *Vā* except *eVā*, and in the *Bḍ*. Similarly the Bh introduces the Bārhadratha dynasty with the old line<sup>5</sup>—

atha Māgadha-rājāno bhavitāro vadāmi te.

Here *rājāno* and *bhavitāro* are accusatives, hence the line is not Skt but is actually good Pali. *BrBh* correct the faults by altering *bhavitāro* to *bhāvino ye*. Again the Mt has a half line *prasahya hy avanīm nrpaḥ* in many copies, and *prasahya vyasanī nrpam* in some copies, while the corresponding reading of the *Vā* and *Bḍ* is *bālyād vyasanīnaṃ nrpam*<sup>6</sup>. The Mt reading should evidently be *prasahya vyasanīm nrpam*, and points to a Pkt original something like *pasajjha* (or *pasayha*) *vasanīm*<sup>7</sup> *napam*; but this when Sanskritized became *prasahya vyasanīnaṃ nrpam* with a syllable too much, and so was adjusted in two ways, (1) the half-Pkt form *vyasanīm* was used as an accus. in many copies and became corrupted to *hy avanīm*; or (2) the half line was emended to *prasahya vyasanāturam* in some copies. The *Vā* and *Bḍ* may have substituted *bālyād* (or *balād*?) for *prasahya* to rectify the metre.

Next may be cited a number of actual Pkt or half-Pkt words. All such forms cannot be deemed original, because the copyists, who were not always sufficiently literate, did write Pkt forms sometimes instead of Skt forms, but such deviations are

<sup>1</sup> Bh xii, 2, 16; omitted from p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> P. 29, l. 11, and note <sup>38</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> P. 19, note <sup>28</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> P. 52, l. 13 and notes.

<sup>5</sup> P. 14, note <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> P. 33, note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> This would be the correct accus. in Pkt, see Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 405.

trivial and obvious mistakes<sup>1</sup>. It is different however when the Pkt forms violate grammar or sandhi, or suit the metre, and such are these—*uccādayitvā* (p. 53, note<sup>52</sup>), *mahāyāsāḥ* as a nomin. plural<sup>2</sup> (p. 51, note<sup>25</sup>) and *varṣā* (see p. 78). There are also instances of the Pkt genit. plural in °āna (p. 35, note<sup>41</sup>), and of its blending with *ante* into °ān.ānte, namely *kulāndānte* (p. 50, note<sup>2</sup>) and *Andhrānānte* (p. 59, notes<sup>51, 54</sup>; p. 61, note<sup>92</sup>). Other words appear to be Pkt survivals and not copyists' errors, such as *aṭṭirimsat* (p. 19, note<sup>41</sup>), *athōchādyā* (p. 34, note<sup>3</sup>), *teṣūcchannesu* (p. 48, note<sup>82</sup>), *samā* for *samās* before *tasmāt* in Vā genly (p. 34, note<sup>18</sup>), and *Asakāḥ* in Vā and Bḍ (p. 24, note<sup>15</sup>). In an old verse (Bh has *papannān uharisyati* (p. 26, note<sup>36</sup>), which seems more than a mere clerical error. Mistakes precisely like these are found in Buddhist Skt.

The Bhāgavata has an old verse—

yasmin Kṛṣṇo divaṃ yātas tasminn eva tadāhani  
pratipannaṃ Kaliyugam iti prāhuḥ purāvidah.

The Mt, Vā, Bḍ, and Vṣ all have this verse, but read the last half line *tasya saṅkhyāṃ nibodhata* or in equivalent words<sup>3</sup>. The Bh reading appears to be the oldest version, because its verse is complete in itself and is obviously an old saying, whereas the last half line in the other authorities was evidently substituted to connect this statement with the following verse when this collective account was drawn up: the reverse is hardly credible. Further, one old Bh MS (*dBh*, dated 1407) reads *iti-r-āhuḥ purāvidah*, and this with its euphonic Pkt *r* is no doubt the original form, which in the process of Sanskritization was amended to *iti prāhuḥ* as in all the other Bh copies; here also the reverse is hardly credible. *Iti-r-āhuḥ* is the Pkt *iti-r-āhu*<sup>4</sup>. There are one or two other instances of an *r* inserted, which seems to be euphonic<sup>5</sup>; and it may possibly be that the final *r* in the nominatives of numerals is sometimes as much a euphonic Pkt *r* as a Skt *r* by sandhi<sup>6</sup>.

Similarly no doubt are to be explained the Bḍ reading of p. 62, l. 40 and the Vā readings in note<sup>31</sup> thereto. The reading in literary Pkt would have been something like *vassāna uccate Kali* or rather *vassāna-r-uccate Kali*. Turned into Skt, *varṣāṇām ucyate Kalih* was good and sufficient, yet notwithstanding, the desire for an expedient to prevent the hiatus persisted in the Sanskritization, for *mVā* has preserved the euphonic *r*, and *uḍḍyVā* inserted *tu* instead. These were no doubt the original forms of the Sanskritizations, but it was perceived that no such expedient was wanted, hence most copies of the Vā dropped it. The reverse is not credible.

Most common is the use of numerals with the Pkt freedom from case-terminations, as well as only half Sanskritized, such as—*aṣṭāsiti* and *aṣṭāsiti*<sup>7</sup>, and *vimśati* often both in the text and in the notes. Some of these instances might be due to the carelessness of copyists in omitting visarga or anusvāra, but that does not account for all such peculiarities, since they are found in carefully written MSS and are sometimes obligatory for the sake of the metre. Thus the Vā and Bḍ read as the last half line of a śloka, *aṣṭāvimśati Maithilāḥ*<sup>8</sup>, and this was no doubt the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. see p. 2, note<sup>16</sup>; p. 43, note<sup>27</sup>; and these are found even in Bh MSS, see p. 46, note<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> This is possible only in Pkt and does actually occur, see Pischel, *op. cit.* § 409.

<sup>3</sup> P. 62, ll. 37, 38 and notes.

<sup>4</sup> See Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 353, 518.

<sup>5</sup> See *hatva-r* in p. 38, note<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> As in p. 43, l. 36, where the accusative would be proper.

<sup>7</sup> P. 25, l. 5 and note<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> P. 24, l. 6.

original reading because *fgMt* have it also; but the *Mt* has generally altered *vimśati* to *vimśās* (or °*śat* or °*śa*) *tu*. The *Skt* form *vimśatir* would violate the metre, and the *Mt* has avoided the difficulty of Sanskritization by substituting *tu* for the final syllable. This is the converse of the first irregularity noticed above (p. 78), and many similar instances of *tu* substituted for a final *ti* will be found in the notes.

iii. Of the third class of peculiarities the following are instances. As the last half line of a śloka the *Vā* and *Bḍ* have in one place *varṣāni bhavitā trayah*<sup>1</sup>, and in another *tasya putraḥ samās trayah*<sup>2</sup>; and the *Mt* has in another place *bhaviṣyati samās trayah*<sup>3</sup>. In all these passages grammatical concord is violated, because (1) these are accus. expressions denoting duration of time, and (2) *varṣāni* is neuter, *samās* feminine, and *trayah* masculine and nomin.; but, if the *Pkt* *tao* be substituted for *trayah*, concord is established, because *tao* is both nomin. and accus. in all three genders<sup>4</sup>, and the metre also is satisfied. Such expressions could not have been composed in *Skt* originally. There can be no doubt that they were originally in *Pkt* and that, when the verses were Sanskritized, the exigencies of metre induced the redactor to convert *tao* into *trayah*, because the correct equivalents *trīni* and *tisraḥ* would not suit the metre<sup>5</sup>.

The same fault occurs in places where metre was not at stake. Thus all three *Purānas* read *catvāriṃśat trayas caiva* as the first half of a line<sup>6</sup>, where *samās* or *varṣāni* is implied and *trayas* is wrong as regards both gender and case. *CVā* attempts to rectify the discord by reading *trayam*. Similarly in another passage the *Mt* has *samās trīny evam*, while the *Vā* and *Bḍ* read *samās tisra eva*<sup>7</sup>. It is impossible to suppose that these wrong expressions were composed originally in *Skt*, and they are intelligible as perfunctory Sanskritizations of *Pkt* expressions containing the numeral *tao*, or *trīni* which also is of all three genders<sup>8</sup>. Similarly we find the phrase *ṣaṣṭy-uttara-śata-trayam* used with *varṣāni* in the *Bḍ* and with *samāḥ* in the *Bh*<sup>9</sup>. Other instances are *saptaṣaṣṭis tu varṣāni*<sup>10</sup>, and *aṣṭāṣṭis tu varṣāni*<sup>11</sup>, where the case is wrong; *ye cānye Mleccha-jātayah*<sup>12</sup> which *eVā* has corrected to *yās cānyā*<sup>13</sup>; and perhaps *divyābdāni*<sup>14</sup> where the correct *divyābdās* was as easy as in the *Bḍ*.

iv. Some forms of names look strange as *Skt* but are readily intelligible if they are mistaken Sanskritizations of *Pkt* forms. Thus the name *Śiśunāga* as found in the *Bḍ*, *Vṣ*, and *Bh* appears as *Śiśunāka* in the *Mt* and *Vā*<sup>14</sup>. *Śiśunāga* as *Pkt* might naturally be Sanskritized as *Śiśunāka*, because a *Pkt* *g* often represents a *Skt* *k*: otherwise it is difficult to see how the form *Śiśunāka* could have arisen. Similarly *eVā* has *Śuṅka* and *Śaṅka* for *Śuṅga*<sup>15</sup>; *eka-kṣatro* appears instead of *eka-cchatro*, and *eka-kṣaṭrām* instead of *eka-cchatrām*<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. 32, l. 8. The *Mt* reads correctly *trīni varṣāni*.

<sup>2</sup> P. 43, l. 32. The *Mt* reads differently, *samā daśa*.

<sup>3</sup> P. 40, l. 15. The *Vā* and *Bḍ* omit this, except *eVā* which alters it to *samā-trayam*.

<sup>4</sup> Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, § 438.

<sup>5</sup> Unless he recast the line, which was obviously not attempted, except by *Mt* in the first instance, see note<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> P. 22, l. 14 and notes.

<sup>7</sup> P. 32, l. 7; but *dfgjmMt* alter it to *tisro vai*.

<sup>8</sup> Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, § 438.

<sup>9</sup> P. 22, note<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> P. 46, l. 7.

<sup>11</sup> P. 25, note<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> P. 3, l. 11 and note<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> P. 60, l. 16 and note<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> P. 21, ll. 1, 3; p. 22, ll. 15, 17; and notes thereto.

<sup>15</sup> P. 30, note<sup>50</sup>; p. 32, note<sup>47</sup>; p. 49, note<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> P. 25, l. 4 and notes<sup>14, 15</sup>.

In this class may be mentioned certain incorrect forms : thus the Vā generally reads *caturas* instead of *catvāras* in p. 34, l. 7 (note <sup>20</sup>), where the Pkt *caūro* may have been used as a nomin. though it is strictly accus.<sup>1</sup> So the Mt generally has *catvārimsad* instead of *catvāras ca* (or *tu*), which would be an intelligible mistake if the Pkt was *cattāri ca*, for *cattāri* though neuter was often used as masculine<sup>2</sup>. The plural verb *bhokṣyanti* instead of the dual in p. 50 (*Dynasties of the 3rd Cent.*), l. 2, would be correct in Pkt but not in Skt.

Vernacular names had to be Sanskritized and so developed strange forms ; compare for instance *Simuka* in p. 38, note <sup>17</sup>, and other Andhra names.

Attention may also be drawn to p. 59, l. 11, where all the divergent readings are obviously attempts to Sanskritize one and the same original Pkt statement that was puzzling.

v. The fifth class of peculiarities is a very noticeable feature of these texts, namely, the copious use of particles as mere expletives, such as *tu*, *hi*, *ca*, *vai*, &c., and especially *tu*. The lines in which two such particles occur are too numerous to be mentioned, but three and even four are sometimes found in a single line, and the following lines are cited as most illustrative :—

bhavitā cāpi Sujyeṣṭhaḥ sapta varṣāni vai tataḥ<sup>3</sup>  
 Svātis ca bhavitā rājā samās tv aṣṭādaśaiva tu<sup>4</sup>  
 Śivaśrīr vai Pulomā tu saptaiva bhavitā nṛpaḥ<sup>5</sup>  
 sapta Gardabbinaś cāpi tato 'tha daśa vai Śakāḥ<sup>6</sup>  
 trayodaśa Muruṇḍāś ca Maunā hy ekādaśaiva tu<sup>7</sup>  
 saptaśaṣṭis tu varṣāni daś-Ābhīrās tathaiva ca<sup>8</sup>  
 śatāni trīṇy aśitīm ca Śakā hy aṣṭādaśaiva tu<sup>9</sup>  
 Pulomās tu tath-Āndhrās tu Mahāpadmāntare punaḥ<sup>10</sup>.

One cannot imagine that these verses were composed originally either in Skt or in Pkt with so many expletives, when the authors could easily have improved their verses by employing appropriate words denoting 'reign' or 'exist' or 'relationship'. No one composing in Skt would mar his verse and proclaim his literary poverty by such shifts ; but these blemishes are readily intelligible, if the verses were originally in Pkt as chronicles of the past and were converted into Skt prophecies. Future tenses are longer than past tenses, and if they could not be fitted into the place of the past tenses, it would have been natural to substitute expletives. Thus it may be conjectured that the second, fifth, sixth, and seventh lines ended originally with a past verb corresponding to *abhavat* or *abhavan*. Again, Pkt forms are sometimes longer than their Skt equivalents, and the substitution of the latter would have been compensated for by adding an expletive ; thus in the third line *Śivaśrīr vai* no doubt stands for the Pkt *Sivasiri*, and in the eighth line *Pulomās tu tath-Āndhrās tu* probably mean the ablat. case and stood originally something like *Pulomādo tath-Āndhrādo*, or *Pulomamhā tath-Āndhrāmhā*.

It has been noticed above (pp. 78, 80) that the particle *tu* is used sometimes to compensate for the loss of the final syllable of *vimśati* and *trīṃśati*. When the full forms of these words vitiated the metre, they were reduced sometimes to *vimśat*

<sup>1</sup> Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 439.

<sup>2</sup> P. 35, note <sup>22</sup>. Pischel, § 439.

<sup>3</sup> P. 31, l. 4, Vā and Bḍ.

<sup>4</sup> P. 40, l. 13, Mt.

<sup>5</sup> P. 42, l. 29, Mt and eVā.

<sup>6</sup> P. 45, note <sup>12</sup>, Vā and Bḍ.

<sup>7</sup> P. 46, l. 5, Vā and Bḍ.

<sup>8</sup> P. 46, l. 7, Mt.

<sup>9</sup> P. 46, l. 9, Mt.

<sup>10</sup> P. 58, l. 7, Mt.

or *viṃśa*, and *triṃśat* or *triṃśa* and the lost syllable was replaced by an expletive *tu*. This expedient is very common and many instances of it will be found in the notes. Indeed it is hardly too much to say that the occurrence of *tu* throughout the account, if not required by euphony (see next para.), almost certainly indicates a lost syllable, and in many cases *tu* in the Mt and *eVā* has been altered to *ca* in the Vā and Bḍ as an improvement. Other instances of compensatory expletives may be surmised in the notes, such as these—*Suseṇas c-Āntarikṣāc ca* (p. 10, l. 13) is hardly explainable unless the second *ca* has replaced the lost syllable of the Pkt ablative; and *Dharminah sa* (p. 11, l. 15) no doubt stands instead of the Pkt genitive *Dharminassa*.

The use of expletives was however carried beyond necessary requirements, and they are often inserted merely to prevent two vowels from coming together, as *tv* in the second of the above-cited lines, and *hy* in the fifth and seventh lines. Skt sandhi did not require this device, but it is intelligible in Pkt. This superfluity is found in the Bh also, where it has not condensed the older ślokas, as in *sūdra-prāyās tv adhārmikāh* (p. 25, l. 3).

vi. The instances of irregular sandhi may be divided into two classes; *first*, those in which the form it takes resembles Pkt sandhi and is unnecessary, because regular Skt sandhi would have been proper and sufficient; and *secondly*, those in which it consists of double sandhi in order to contract the words for the metre.

Of the first class may be cited *varṣāni 'kārayat* instead of *varṣāny akārayat* (p. 15, note <sup>29</sup>); *trīni 'śitīś* for *trīny aśitīś* (p. 46, note <sup>48</sup>); *Daśarathāṣṭau* instead of *Daśaratho 'ṣṭau* (p. 28, note <sup>5</sup>); and *Agnimitrāṣṭau* for *Agnimitro 'ṣṭau* (p. 31, note <sup>10</sup>). Such sandhi can be explained through Pkt, and it is difficult to understand how any one composing in Skt could have adopted it; nor is it probable as a copyist's error.

The second class is commoner, and we find—*bhaviṣyāṣṭau* for *bhaviṣyāh aṣṭau* (p. 5, l. 10); *bhaviṣyōḍayanās* for *bhaviṣyāh Udayanās* (p. 7, l. 23); *Yavanāṣṭau* for *Yavanāh aṣṭau* (p. 45, l. 4; p. 47, l. 10); and *bhāvyaṅyāh* for *bhāvyaḥ anyāh* (p. 47, l. 13). Here ordinary sandhi would have given a superfluous syllable, and the double sandhi rectifies the metre; but the significance of it is that it was easily avoidable in Skt, because the first two phrases might have been written *bhāvino 'ṣṭau* and *bhavit-Ḍdayanās*. The simplest explanation seems to be, that the conversion of the Pkt past tense into the Skt future was made perfunctorily, and overloaded the verse with a superfluous syllable which was adjusted by the double sandhi. The third phrase would have been *Yonā aṭṭha* in Pkt, and the Sanskritization of *Yonā* into *Yavanāh* produced the difficulty of the extra syllable. Attempts at improvement were made; see p. 45, note <sup>16</sup>. There are many similar instances, such as *tatōtsādya* and *tatōtpātya* (p. 34, notes <sup>3, 5</sup>); *atōddhṛtya* and *tatōddhṛtya* (p. 38, note <sup>4</sup>).

Crisis of this kind is ordinarily explained as *ārṣa-sandhi*, but this explanation is manifestly untenable here <sup>1</sup>. All these irregularities are readily intelligible on the two suppositions, that Pkt words were converted into their Skt equivalents, and that past tenses were changed to futures, with the metrical difficulties that naturally ensued.

vii. All these peculiarities are found in the Mt, Vā, and Bḍ throughout, and show that their version must have been composed originally in Pkt ślokas and that the ślokas were Sanskritized for incorporation in the Bhaviṣya, from which the Mt

<sup>1</sup> In the Purāṇas what is called *ārṣa-sandhi* is really Prakrit sandhi; see p. 20, note <sup>2</sup>.

and Vā confessedly, and the Bḍ impliedly, borrowed their accounts (see Introdn. §7). The Prakritisms which have been cited are not mere casual variations, for such might be due to the ignorance or carelessness of copyists, but have an important *raison d'être* in the verse in many cases. The same conclusion holds good for the Vṣ and Bh in the passages where they have preserved the old śloka form.

viii. The main part of the Viṣṇu account is in prose and, not being affected by the exigencies of metre, runs in ordinary Skt, and displays no verbal peculiarities. It contains the same matter found in the Vā and Bḍ but in a condensed shape, and closes its account where they end, so that it must have been composed directly in Skt from them or their original, the revised version in the Bhaviṣya, for it is not probable that its account was a new and independent compilation, when the compilations in those Purāṇas were available. A difference may be noticed in its account to this extent that the dynastic matter is generally narrated in curt sentences, often without regard for sandhi<sup>1</sup>, and that the subsequent matter of the evils of the Kali age is in ordinary good prose Skt with a predilection for compound phrases. Hence it would seem that the dynastic portion was an earlier and somewhat crude condensation, and that the latter portion was an addition made with regard to the canons of good prose.

ix. The Bhāgavata account, which is mainly a condensation, is evidently a later redaction. Peculiarities of the kinds noticed above do not appear therein, but it is in good Sanskrit, and phrases occur in it which indicate that it must have been composed directly in Skt. Two are especially significant. A śloka line ends with the words *ekādaśa kṣitim* (p. 48, note<sup>77</sup>), where the *śa* is long by position before *kṣ* as it should be, but would not have been long in Pkt in which *kṣ* would have become *kh*; so that this line must have been composed in Skt and not in Pkt. Similarly another line ends *iti śrutah* (p. 32, note<sup>45</sup>), where the second *i* is long by position in Skt but would not have been so in Pkt.

x. The Garuḍa has no Prakritisms except in some of the names, and these are too uncertain a basis on which to argue, for those Prakritisms might be original or might be due to the carelessness of copyists, yet one name certainly seems somewhat suggestive<sup>2</sup>. All that is clear is that its account is the last and concisest redaction, that it was probably composed afresh in Skt, and that it makes frequent use of the termination *ka* for the sake of the metre. Its treatment of the name Adhisimakṛṣṇa suggests that it was composed from a bare list of kings, for it divides the name into two, *Adhisima* + *ka* (ending one line) and *Kṛṣṇa* (beginning the next line)<sup>3</sup>—which seems inexplicable unless it had only a prose list and chopped the names up into groups for each line.

<sup>1</sup> As in p. 18, note<sup>7</sup>; p. 30, note<sup>46</sup>; and in these curt sentences *tasyāpi Aśoka-vardhanaḥ, tataś ca Ariṣṭakarmā, and tasmāt Yajñasrīḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Drdhasenaka* appears as *Dathasenaka* in

*abGr*, which may be a faulty Sanskritization of the Pkt *Dadhasena* + *ka*, though it might also be the form of that name in one kind of Pkt; see p. 16, note<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 4, note<sup>10</sup>.



## APPENDIX II

### *The Oldest Scripts used in the Account.*

Mistakes are found in the MSS, which can, it seems, be only explained satisfactorily by supposing that they arose out of misreadings of the ancient scripts (see Introdn. § 26). Some mistakes are obviously mere clerical blunders, but others cannot be accounted for naturally in that way. Kharoṣṭhī being the oldest Indian script that we know of, mistakes that could be traced to misreadings of its letters would be most significant. Such instances may singly be open to some distrust, but collectively they would have cumulative force; and without pronouncing a positive opinion, it does yet seem to me that certain misreadings do point to Kharoṣṭhī as their source. Such mistakes may prevail in many MSS, if they passed undetected from the beginning; otherwise they may only occur in single MSS, having been corrected in all the others.

i. First may be cited an instance from the V<sub>§</sub>, because it affords the best illustration of a misreading that seems significant, though the V<sub>§</sub> does not contain the oldest version. It calls Aśoka generally Aśokavardhana, but kV<sub>§</sub> has *Ayośoka-vardhana* (p. 28, note <sup>28</sup>). Here *yo* is obviously a misreading of *śo*; the copyist read the *śo* as *yo* and wrote *yo*, then he (or some one else) perceived the mistake and wrote or inserted *śo* in the copy, but the *yo* was not cancelled and the erroneous name *Ayośoka* remained and was repeated till it appears in kV<sub>§</sub>. Now *śo* could not be mistakenly read as *yo* in any Indian script except Kharoṣṭhī, and in that *śo* and *yo* were often written so much alike, that it is very difficult at times to say merely from the shape which letter was meant. Hence it seems reasonably certain that this passage in the Viṣṇu must have been originally taken from a Kharoṣṭhī MS. Had this mistake occurred in verse, the extra syllable would probably have been detected and the error corrected, but there was no such check in the prose of the V<sub>§</sub>, and the mistake might have been followed in one copy (from which was descended kV<sub>§</sub>) though rectified in others.

Other misreadings of *ś* and *y* occur, namely—*Ayoda* for *Aśoka* in lMt<sup>1</sup>, where the second misreading of *k* as *ā* might have arisen later in the Gupta script<sup>2</sup>; *Māgadhēso* in jMt<sup>3</sup> where the more general readings are *Māgadhā ye*, *Māgadhō yo* or *Māgadhēya*; *Koyāla* in cgV<sub>§</sub><sup>4</sup> for *Kośala*, where *yā* might easily be read for *śa* because Kharoṣṭhī often did not distinguish between long and short vowels; and *Sāliyūka* in eVā for *Sāliśūka*<sup>5</sup>; *Mauryā dayo daśa* in lV<sub>§</sub><sup>6</sup>, where *daśa* was probably first misread and written as *daya*, which was afterwards amended so as to read *Mauryā-ālayo* incorrectly.

ii. Some similar variations seem to point to the same conclusion. The Mt

<sup>1</sup> P. 27, note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See Bühler's Ind. Palaeog., Table IV, cols. xxi, xxiii, and Table V, cols. viii, ix.

<sup>3</sup> P. 14, note <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> P. 54, note <sup>20</sup>. *Koyāla* is an error in writing, different from *Ko'āla* which was

a variation of *Kauśalya* in pronunciation; see Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes, Alger, 1905, p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> P. 29, note <sup>37</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> P. 30, note <sup>46</sup>.

reading, *Kāśeyās*, appears in *djMt* as *Kāleyās*; and the mistake of *l* for *ś* seems best explainable by their similarity in Kharoṣṭhī. The *Vā* and *Bḍ* read *Kālakās*, which is probably a similar misreading of the equivalent name *Kāśakās*<sup>1</sup>.

iii. Two other letters which might be confused in Kharoṣṭhī but not in any other script are *k* and *bh*, and there are some variations which seem to have so originated. The *Vā* generally, and the *Mt* sometimes, have *Tvūga* instead of *Svūga*<sup>2</sup>, a misreading the cause of which is not clear<sup>3</sup>, but the name *Svūgabhrtya* is generally corrupted to *Tvūgakrtya* in the *Vā*, while *eVā* alone among the *Vā* MSS has preserved it nearly right as *Svūgavṛtya*<sup>4</sup>. Here it seems certain that *bh* was misread as *k* in a Kharoṣṭhī MS. The converse appears to be the cause of the faulty *Mt* reading in p. 41, line 22, where *saumyo bhaviṣyati*, with no mention of the length of the reign, seems to be a misreading of the *Vā* and *Bḍ* reading *so 'py eka-viṃśatiṃ*, for, while *saumyo* might be a later mistake and emendation for *sopye*, *bhaviṣyati* could be a misreading of *ka-viṃśati* in Kharoṣṭhī only. The two forms would be *bhaviṣṣati* and *ka-viṣati* in Pali and probably also in literary Pkt, and these two would be almost identical in Kharoṣṭhī which generally wrote long and short vowels alike and doubled letters as single.

iv. As regards Brāhmī, I have not found any variations of importance which can be assigned definitely to misreadings of it, and there is not the same scope for detecting such errors, because there is more resemblance between Brāhmī and Gupta letters than between them and Kharoṣṭhī. All the mistakes that I have detected, which might be attributed to misreadings of Brāhmī letters, might equally well, or even better, be attributed to misreadings of Gupta letters. Hence it seems to me, speaking with diffidence, that no light is thrown by Brāhmī on the age of the account or the MSS, and that, so far as the negative argument is of weight, Brāhmī writing played no part in the early MSS of these dynastic accounts. If this be so, the accounts passed from Kharoṣṭhī into the Gupta script.

v. If these explanations of these variations be reasonable and not fanciful, it appears that the *Mt*, *Vā*, and *Vṣ* all betray the fact that their accounts were originally copied from MSS written in Kharoṣṭhī. This script was in use till A.D. 300, or perhaps even half a century later<sup>5</sup>. This conclusion would, as regards the *Mt* and *Vā*, agree with the period assigned to them<sup>6</sup>. There is no further indication regarding the date of the *Vṣ*, and as Kharoṣṭhī MSS would have lasted some centuries, the *Vṣ* account might well be later and yet have been extracted from such a MS. There has been no opportunity of testing the *Bḍ* account in this way, because I have not been able to collate any MS of it; and the printed edition betrays no misreadings of this kind; but it is so closely like the *Vā* that the same conclusion probably holds good for it.

vi. Nor have I found any variations in the Bhāgavata which point to misreadings of Kharoṣṭhī or even of Brāhmī. I have noticed only two peculiarities which may perhaps be significant.

In the list of Andhra kings Hāla was succeeded by a king whose name consisted of four syllables, the best supported forms of which are Mantalaka or

<sup>1</sup> P. 23, note <sup>9</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> P. 32, note <sup>47</sup>; p. 33, note <sup>52</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps through the Pkt form *Svūga*; *s* carelessly made might be read as *t* in Kharoṣṭhī. The mistake is ancient as it is

found so widely.

<sup>4</sup> P. 34, note <sup>25</sup>; *vṛtya* might be a modern misreading of *krtya*.

<sup>5</sup> JRAS, 1907, pp. 184-5.

<sup>6</sup> See Introdn. §§ 21-24.

Pattalaka<sup>1</sup>. The Bh calls them *Hāleya* and *Talaka* respectively, *Hāleya* ending the first half of a line and *Talaka* beginning the second half, thus:—

Aniṣṭakarmā Hāleyas Talakas tasya cātmajah.

These two names seem to be mistakes for *Hāla* and *Pattalaka*, the *pa* being misread as *ya*. If so, the wrong division of these two names in the middle of a line seems only explicable on the supposition that the Bh prepared this verse from a bare prose list of kings and divided the letters of the two names incorrectly. If this suggestion has any validity, it would appear that the Bh could not have been composed till after the time when *y* approximated to *p* in shape, that is, after the 7th century A.D.

The other instance is the name of the Andhra king *Āpīlaka*, which appears in the Bh generally as *Civilaka*. The probable genesis of the changes in the name is suggested in p. 39, note<sup>45</sup>, and the fact that seems significant here is that the compiler of the Bh account apparently drew his information from a *Vs* account in which he misread the initial *ā* as *c*. This mistake could arise only in the Gupta script and not very well before the 7th century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

### APPENDIX III

#### *Janamejaya's Dispute with the Brahmans.*

The dispute between the Paurava king Janamejaya<sup>3</sup> and Vaiśampāyana and other brahmans is narrated in *AMt* 50, 57<sup>b</sup>-65 and *AVā* 99, 250-256 and gives us an instance of how the text was revised<sup>4</sup>. The *Mt* version, which is the oldest, says the king made a successful stand against them for some time, but afterwards gave in and, making his son king, departed to the forest (according to custom); but the *Vā* version has abridged the inconvenient verses, and says he perished and the brahmans made his son king. This alteration may have been made (1) either in the *Bhaviṣya* when it was revised, and so passed into the *Vāyu*<sup>5</sup>, or (2) in the *Vāyu* itself; but it is impossible to decide this point, because *eVā* and the *Bd*, which would have thrown much light on it, have unfortunately lost this passage in lacunae. What is clear is that a story of royal opposition to brahmanic claims was modified early in the 4th century A.D. to maintain brahmanic prestige.

As regards MSS, *bdhpMt* omit l. 6, read l. 9 instead of it and omit l. 9 from its place; *cefyjnMt* omit l. 9; *kMt* ll. 9, 20; *lMt* ll. 6-9; *mMt* reads l. 9 instead of l. 6, as well as in its proper place; *a<sup>1</sup>dhVā* omit ll. 11-13; *lVā* ll. 11-13, 18-20; *kVā* ll. 14, 15; *lVā* ll. 16, 17; and *efjmVā* want the whole.

<sup>1</sup> P. 41, l. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, Table IV.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 4, l. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See *Introdn.* §§ 24, 30.

<sup>5</sup> See *Introdn.* § 23.

*Matsya.*

Janamejayaḥ Parikṣitaḥ  
putraḥ parama-dhārmikah<sup>1</sup>  
brahmāṇaṁ<sup>2</sup> kalpayāmāsa  
sa vai<sup>3</sup> vājasaneyakam<sup>4</sup>  
sa<sup>6</sup> Vaiśampāyanaenaiva<sup>7</sup>  
śaptaḥ<sup>9</sup> kila<sup>10</sup> maharṣinā  
na sthāsyatīha<sup>12</sup> durbuddhe<sup>13</sup>  
tavaitad vacanam bhuvī  
yāvat sthāsyasi tvaṁ loke<sup>14</sup>  
tāvad eva<sup>16</sup> prapatsyati<sup>16</sup>  
kṣatrasya vijayam jñātvā<sup>19</sup>  
tataḥ prabhṛti sarvaśaḥ  
abhigamya sthitāś<sup>20</sup> caiva<sup>21</sup>  
nrpaṁ ca Janamejayam  
tataḥ prabhṛti śāpena  
kṣatriyasya tu yājinaḥ<sup>25</sup>  
utsannā<sup>26</sup> yājino<sup>27</sup> yajñe<sup>28</sup>  
tataḥ prabhṛti sarvaśaḥ  
kṣatrasya<sup>29</sup> yājinaḥ<sup>30</sup> kecic<sup>31</sup>  
chāpāt<sup>32</sup> tasya mahātmanah

<sup>1</sup> This is l. 2 on p. 4.  
<sup>2</sup> In *fhMt* *brāhmanam*, *jMt* *brah°*.  
<sup>3</sup> In *cnMt* *makhe*; *jMt* *makham*; *eMt* *makha*.  
<sup>4</sup> In *cfjMt* °*yikam*; *kMt* °*yake*.  
<sup>5</sup> In *a°a°dhkVā* °*yakān*.  
<sup>6</sup> In *hMt* *taṁ*.  
<sup>7</sup> In *cejnMt* °*yane caiva*.  
<sup>8</sup> So *a°a°a°bdghVā*. *Ca°kVā* *asapatnam*.  
<sup>9</sup> In *benMt* *saptaḥ*; *hMt* *śaptaṁ*; *lMt* *śapuh*.  
<sup>10</sup> In *eMt* *kali*.  
<sup>11</sup> So *Ca°IVā*: but *a°a°a°bdghkVā* °*yanam*.  
<sup>12</sup> In *bdMt* °*iti*.  
<sup>13</sup> In *jMt* *durbuddheḥ*.  
<sup>14</sup> So *CGVa°a°Mt*: *lMt* *vai loke*; *enMt* *loke tvaṁ*; *a°a°kMt* *loke smin*; *eMt* *lokesu*. But *bdfgmpMt* *sthāsyāmy ahaṁ loke*, and *jMt* *crply*.  
<sup>15</sup> In *hMt* *etat*.  
<sup>16</sup> So *CGVa°a°Mt*; *mpMt* °*paśyati*; *eMt* °*yaśyati*; *dMt* °*śatsyati*; *jkMt* °*vatsyati*; *a°a°cfghMt* °*vartsyati*; *nMt* °*vaśyati*; *lMt* °*vatsyasi*.

*Vāyu.*

Parikṣitas tu dāyādo  
rājāsīj Janamejayaḥ<sup>1</sup>  
brāhmanān kalpayāmāsa  
sa vai vājasaneyikān<sup>5</sup>  
asapat taṁ<sup>8</sup> tadāmarṣād  
Vaiśampāyana<sup>11</sup> eva tu  
na sthāsyatīha durbuddhe  
tavaitad vacanam bhuvī  
yāvat sthāsyāmy ahaṁ loke  
tāvan naitat<sup>17</sup> praśasyate<sup>18</sup> 5  
  
abhitāḥ<sup>22</sup> samsthitaś<sup>23</sup> cāpi  
tataḥ sa<sup>24</sup> Janamejayaḥ

<sup>17</sup> In *a°Vā* *naiva*.  
<sup>18</sup> So *Ca°a°IVā*: but *a°a°gVā* *prapatsyati*; *bdhkVā* °*paśyati*.  
<sup>19</sup> In *fgjMt* *jñātvam*: *bdhmpMt* substitute l. 9 for this line; see note <sup>26</sup>.  
<sup>20</sup> In *bcdefgjMt* *sthitāś*.  
<sup>21</sup> *Caivam* in *cnMt*.  
<sup>22</sup> In *bhVā* †*praviṣṭiḥ*; *dVā* †*pracittitaḥ*.  
<sup>23</sup> In *dhVā* *sa sthitāś*.  
<sup>24</sup> In *hVā* †*taka sa*; *bVā* †*takasaj*; *dVā* †*tak sa*.  
<sup>25</sup> In *cnMt* *yājinaḥ*; *bdfgjmpMt* *vājinaḥ*; *hMt* *rājinaḥ*.  
<sup>26</sup> So *ACMt*: *bdhpMt* omit this line, see note <sup>19</sup>, but *mMt* has it here also. In *bdMt* *uchannā*; *mMt* *trasyannā* above, *utsannā* here; *hMt* *utkalasya*.  
<sup>27</sup> In *bdmpMt* *vājino*; *hMt* *rāj°*.  
<sup>28</sup> In *dhmpMt* *yajñe*.  
<sup>29</sup> In *lMt* *kṣatra[ya]sya*.  
<sup>30</sup> In *lMt* *yājinaḥ*, *fgMt* *vāj°*: *bdjmpMt* *vājinaḥ*, *hMt* *rāj°*.  
<sup>31</sup> In *cnMt* *kaścit*.  
<sup>32</sup> In *djMt* *chāpām*.

*Matsya.*

paurṇamāseṇa<sup>33</sup> haviṣā  
 iṣṭvā tasmin<sup>34</sup> prajāpatim  
 sa<sup>35</sup> Vaiśampāyanenaiva  
 praviśan<sup>37</sup> vāritas<sup>38</sup> tataḥ<sup>39</sup>  
 Parikṣitaḥ snto 'sau vai<sup>42</sup>  
 Pauravo Janamejayaḥ  
 dvir aśvamedham āhr̥tya<sup>43</sup>  
 mahā-vājasaneyakam<sup>44</sup>  
 pravartayitvā tam sarvam<sup>46</sup>  
 ṛṣir<sup>47</sup> vājasaneyakam<sup>48</sup>

vivāde<sup>56</sup> brāhmanaiḥ sārddham  
 abhiśapto vanaṁ yayau  
 Janamejayaḥ Chatānikas  
 tasmā jajāne sa vīryavān<sup>58</sup>  
 Janamejayaḥ<sup>59</sup> Śatānikam  
 putram rājye 'bhiṣiktavān<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> In dMt pūrṇa°.

<sup>34</sup> In fMt dr̥ṣṭvā°; eMt iṣṭvā te 'smin; dMt i tasmin; nMt iti 'smin.

<sup>35</sup> In a²a°ceknMt tam; jMt te; hMt tad; lMt tad[e].

<sup>36</sup> In gVā °taḥ paśye (for paśyet?).

<sup>37</sup> In fMt °viśat; cMt °viśen; dMt °viśan.

<sup>38</sup> In hMt nāvitas.

<sup>39</sup> In mpMt tataḥ.

<sup>40</sup> Sic: read tadvad dh̥ṣṭam?

<sup>41</sup> In a²a°gVā mukhe.

<sup>42</sup> In Cbd̄fpMt so vai, cenMt yo°: hMt tataḥ śāpāt.

<sup>43</sup> In jMt āhr̥tya; pMt āruhya.

<sup>44</sup> So Cbd̄h̄jlpMt; AefgknMt °yakaḥ, cMt °yikaḥ.

<sup>45</sup> In gVā °yikam.

<sup>46</sup> In ch̄jMt tat°; fgMt tān sarvān.

<sup>47</sup> So bdefgklnpMt: ACmMt ṛṣim; jMt ṛser: hMt reads this half line svavarcā (for kharvaś ca?) Janamejayaḥ.

*Vāyu.*

paurṇamāsyena haviṣā  
 devam iṣṭvā prajāpatim  
 vijñāya samsthito 'paśyat<sup>36</sup>  
 tadvadhiṣṭam<sup>40</sup> vibhor makhe<sup>41</sup>  
 Parikṣit-tanayaś cāpi  
 Pauravo Janamejayaḥ  
 dvir aśvamedham āhr̥tya  
 tato vājasaneyakam<sup>46</sup>  
 pravartayitvā tad brahma  
 trikharvī<sup>49</sup> Janamejayaḥ 15  
 kharvam<sup>60</sup> Aśvaka<sup>61</sup>-mukhyānām  
 kharvam<sup>62</sup> Aṅga-nivāsinām  
 kharvam<sup>63</sup> ca Madhyadeśānām  
 trikharvī<sup>64</sup> Janamejayaḥ  
 viśādād<sup>66</sup> brāhmanaiḥ sārddham  
 abhiśastaḥ<sup>67</sup> kṣayaṁ yayau  
 tasya putraḥ Śatāniko  
 balavān satya-vikramaḥ  
 tataḥ sutam<sup>60</sup> Śatānikam  
 viprās tam abhyaṣecayan<sup>62</sup>. 20

<sup>48</sup> In cMt °yikam; efgjklMt °yakaḥ.

<sup>49</sup> So Ca²a°bgVā; a¹Vā °kharvī: with dialectic variation of kh and ṣ, glVā °ṣarvī, a²Vā °ṣairvī; dVā °svarcā; hVā °svacī.

<sup>50</sup> In ghVā sarvam.

<sup>51</sup> In gVā and one MS of CVā Aśmaka.

<sup>52</sup> In gVā sarvam.

<sup>53</sup> In ghVā sarvam.

<sup>54</sup> In dVā °kharvā; hVā °kharvī; gVā °ṣarvī; kVā °ṣadyī.

<sup>55</sup> In bdpMt °dam; jMt °do.

<sup>56</sup> In a²kVā viśādo.

<sup>57</sup> In hVā °śataḥ.

<sup>58</sup> In jMt su-v°; after this line jMt inserts Mt l. 6 on p. 4.

<sup>59</sup> In nMt °jayā; hMt tatas te tu.

<sup>60</sup> In dVā tam tu.

<sup>61</sup> In hMt viprā rāj°, altered to putram tasyābhyāṣecayat.

<sup>62</sup> In dghVā tasyābhy°. CVā tam abhyaṣecayat.

## INDEX

This Index contains all the names mentioned in this work, except those that are obviously erroneous or untrustworthy. The following abbreviations are added to distinguish the names; and all names that are not so distinguished are the names of kings or princes :—

*b* = brahman.  
*c* = country.  
*d* = dynasty.  
*f* = family.  
*k* = king or prince.  
*mt* = mountain.

*p* = people.  
*pat* = patronymic.  
*q* = queen.  
*r* = river.  
*t* = town.

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