

**THE CHRONOLOGY OF INDIA:  
From Mahabharata to Medieval Era**

**Volume I**



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From Mahabharata to Medieval Era**

**Volume I**

**VEDVEER ARYA**



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*Dedicated to my father...*

### Transliteration (ISO 15919)

अ	a	आ	ā	इ	i	ई	ī
उ	u	ऊ	ū	ऋ	ṛ	ॠ	ṝ
ए	e	ऐ	ai	ओ	o	औ	au
अं	m̐	अः	ḥ				

क	ka	ख	kha	ग	ga	घ	gha	ङ	ṅga
च	ca	छ	çha	ज	ja	झ	jha	ञ	ña
ट	ṭa	ठ	ṭha	ड	ḍa	ढ	ḍha	ण	ṇa
त	ta	थ	tha	द	da	ध	dha	न	na
प	pa	फ	pha	ब	ba	भ	bha	म	ma
य	ya	र	ra	ल	la	व	va		
श	śa	ष	ṣa	स	sa	ह	ha		

# Volume I

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## PREFACE

Prior to the colonial era, Indians traditionally followed a well-established chronological history as narrated in the Puranas starting from the Mahabharata era to the Gupta period. The regnal periods of the Brihadratha, Pradyota and Sisunaga dynasties of the Magadha Empire given in the Puranas clearly indicate that Mahapadma Nanda founded his Nanda dynasty 1500 years after the Mahabharata war. Evidently, the traditional chronology places Buddha in the 19th century BCE and Chandragupta Maurya in the beginning of the 16th century BCE.

When colonial historians identified Sandrokottus with Chandragupta Maurya and dated him as the contemporary of Alexander, they started questioning the authenticity of the traditional chronology. Unfortunately, the traditional historians could not convincingly explain the chronological anomalies pointed out by the colonial historians. Consequently, the date of Buddha nirvana has been brought forward by 1380 years and fixed around 483 BCE.

In fact, the complex problems in Indian chronology arise from a misunderstanding of the epochs of ancient Indian eras. I have discovered that the Kurtakoti copper plate dated Saka 530 refers to a total solar eclipse occurred on 9th May 53 BCE in Northern Karnataka which conclusively establishes that the Saka era commenced in 583 BCE and the Sakanta era commenced in 78 CE. Historians mistakenly mixed up these two epochs which led to a chronological error of 660 years. Out of two contemporary copper plates found at Pranaveshvara temple, Talagunda, one plate is dated in the Saka era whereas, another is dated in the Sakanta era.

Apart from this error of 660 years, later Jain historians inadvertently identified Ujjain King Chandragupta, a disciple of Bhadrabahu with the Maurya King Chandragupta which made Mahavira, a contemporary of Buddha. In reality, Buddha attained nirvana 675 years before the year of Mahavira nirvana. Puranas and the Burmese inscriptions clearly indicate that Buddha attained nirvana in 1864 BCE. Recent excavations at Lumbini and the radiocarbon samples collected from the Trench C5 at the center of the Buddhist shrine at Lumbini indicate an earliest date of 1681 BCE. Thus, there is a chronological error of 1380 years in dating of Buddha nirvana due to mixing up of two different epochs of Saka and Sakanta eras and the mistaken identification of Chandragupta, the disciple

of Bhadrabahu. The dating of Buddha nirvana in 1864 BCE also validates the traditional date of Adi Sankaracharya in the 6th century BCE.

There are numerous anomalies in the modern chronological history of ancient India that need dedication, erudition and patience but unfortunately for us, 'eminent historians' preferred to brush inconvenient data aside rather than promoting honest, unbiased research to resolve them. Western historians nurtured a bias towards the traditional chronology of ancient India to further their own political and academic interests and the majority of the historians of independent India carried forward the same legacy, patronised by the certain sections of political establishment.

The entire edifice of the chronology of ancient India was erected on false foundations during the colonial period. While many scholars attempted to expose the fallacy of the distorted Indian chronology with reference to the Puranic chronology, unfortunately none studied the chronological content of the inscriptions comprehensively to reconcile with Puranic and astronomical inputs. The present research work is completely based on the comprehensive study of the chronological content of the inscriptions. During the course of my research, I have discovered the exact epochs of various ancient Indian eras that conclusively uphold the authenticity of the Puranic chronology and expose the fallacy of the chronology given in the modern textbooks of Indian history. There is a serious need to re-write the entire history of ancient India with reference to the newly discovered epochs of the ancient Indian eras. I hope indologists and historians may review and evaluate my research work on the chronology without bias and prejudice.

I express my profound gratitude to respected K.N. Govindacharya ji for his inspirational guidance. My sincere thanks to Dr G. Satheesh Reddy, Secretary, Department of Defence R&D and Chairman, DRDO for being a constant source of great motivation. My special thanks to Sh. Raj Vedam, Sh. Ravindranath Kaul, Sh. Sudhir Nathan, Sh. Vutukur Srinivas Rao, Sh. Sandeep Sarkar and Ms. Dipti Mohil Chawla for their valuable suggestions and sustained encouragement. I also thank Sh. Sanjay Sharma, Sh. Shamit Khemka and Sh. Paritosh Agrawal for extending all support in design of cover page and publication of this book. I thank Ms. Kalyani Prashar for her efforts in editing the manuscript. I also thank Sh. Vinod Yadav for his creative contribution in the type-setting, design and printing of this book. Finally, I thank my wife Sandhya for her support, encouragement and patience during the time of writing of this book.

## Abbreviations

ARIE	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy
ARSIE	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
BISM	Bharat Itihasa Samœodhan Mandala
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CPIAPGM	Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum
EA	Epigraphica Andhrica
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica
EI	Epigraphia Indica
EZ	Epigraphia Zeylanica
IA	Indian Antiquary
IE	Indian Epigraphy
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JAHRS	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of Bombay Bengal Royal Asiatic Society
JBISM	Journal of Bharat Itihasa Samsodhan Mandala
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JESI	Journal of Epigraphic Society of India
JKU	Journal of Karnataka University
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society

KI	Karnataka Inscriptions
MAR	Mysore Archaeological Report
MJLS	Madras Journal of Literature and Science
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research journal
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of Mystic Society
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
SMHD	Sources of Medieval History of Deccan (Marathi)
BCE	Before Common Era
CE	Common Era
CV	Chaitradi Vikrama era
KV	Karttikadi Vikrama era
LS	Laksmanasena Samvat

# 1

## Introduction

Indian civilization, the oldest continuous civilization of the world had possibly its origin around ~14500 BCE. The chronological history from Manu (14500 BCE) to the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE) has already been discussed in my book titled “*The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahabharata*”. We will now explore the chronological history of India starting from the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE) to the medieval period in this book. The Purāṇas relate the chronology of Magadha Empire from the Bṛhadratha dynasty to the Gupta dynasty. There is also enough of epigraphic, archaeological and literary evidence for the critical study of the Indian chronology starting from the date of Buddha’s nirvāṇa. The epochs of various Indian eras referred to in the inscriptions and literary sources are the sheet anchors for arriving the true chronology of India.

Unfortunately, by the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, the exact epochs of certain ancient eras were forgotten. This led to many inconsistencies and contradictions in our chronology. In the last 235 years, Western historians and their followers took advantage of these inconsistencies and distorted the entire chronology of ancient India. They concocted many false theories and managed to take modern Indian historical research in the direction that suited their purpose.

As a matter of fact, the chronic and complex problems in the study of ancient Indian chronology arise from a misunderstanding of the epochs of various eras. As unanimously accepted by all historians, inscriptions are the most valuable source of ancient Indian chronology but the inscriptional or epigraphic evidence is available only after the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha. For the period beyond the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha,

only literary evidence is available. Indian inscriptions generally record the date with reference to the epoch of a particular era. Interestingly, many Indian inscriptions contain verifiable details of the dates. Since ancient Indians evolved many astronomical siddhāntas, they seem to have followed different schemes of calendars for the purpose of referring to dates. The tithi, nakśatra, intercalation, weekday, etc., mentioned in the inscriptions can be verified with reference to the specific calendric siddhānta applied in those days.

Indian calendric siddhāntas have been revised and updated from time to time. Therefore, certain details like adhika tithi, intercalation, etc., may not be in line with the currently available Indian calendric siddhāntas. Interestingly, many inscriptions refer to solar and lunar eclipses occurred on the dates that are eternally verifiable astronomical events. Therefore, I have considered the references to solar and lunar eclipses as the strongest evidence to calculate the exact epoch of the era referred to in the inscriptions. Based on the study of solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions, I was able to determine that the Śaka era and the Śakānta era commenced in two different epochs. Also, Kārttikādi Vikrama era and Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in two different epochs.

In general, by the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, Indians had come to accept that the Śaka or Śakānta era commenced in 78 CE and that the Kārttikādi or Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE. 'Eminent' historians of modern times also believed in these two epochs only, though they knew that many references of solar or lunar eclipses in the inscriptions cannot be explained by these two epochs. They simply conjectured that Indians referred to certain solar eclipses themselves on the basis of calculations though the eclipses were not visible in India. As ancient Indians keenly observed the eclipses and performed rituals after the occurrence of eclipses, it is totally absurd to conclude that Indian kings performed rituals after the occurrence of solar eclipses that were not visible to them. Actually, a section of historians never honestly attempted to study the epoch of various eras with reference to Puranic chronology. Since Western historians rejected the Puranic history of ancient India as mythology, a certain section of historians also blindly followed them. Consequently, the entire chronology of ancient India got distorted.



I have attempted to study the epoch of various eras with reference to the eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions. According to my study, the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE whereas the Śakānta era commenced in 78 CE. Similarly, I have found that the Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718 CE whereas the Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE. Based on these epochs, I have also discovered the exact epoch of other ancient eras and presented the chronology of ancient India with reference to epigraphic and literary evidence in the forthcoming chapters. Interestingly and very gratifyingly, I found that the most of the epigraphic evidence is in agreement with the literary evidence.

The epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa is also one of the most important sheet anchors of Indian history. The study of epigraphic and literary evidence reveals that Buddha attained nirvāṇa at least six centuries before the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa but later Jain historians like Hemachandra mistakenly identified Chandragupta of Ujjain, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu with Chandragupta Maurya. This mistaken identification had not only contracted the date of Buddha nirvāṇa by ~664 years but also made Buddha contemporary of Mahāvira. Historians have assumed only one epoch of the Śaka era (78 CE) but the epigraphic evidence suggests that the epoch of the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE whereas the epoch of the Śakānta era commenced in 78 CE. This mix-up of two different epochs has also contracted the Indian chronology by ~660 years.

The Persian historians unambiguously mention that Zoroaster flourished few centuries after the date of Buddha but historians have fixed the date of Buddha after the lifetime of Zoroaster which is a serious anomaly in the modern chronology of world history. Moreover, historians have miserably failed to explain the so-called short chronology given in numerous Buddhist sources. The Burmese literary sources and inscriptions indicate the difference of ~1182 years between the epochs of Theravada Buddhism and the Śakaraj era (583 BCE) but historians have concocted that the epoch of the Śakaraj era and the epoch of the Burmese era (638 CE) are identical. In reality, the Śaka era (583 BCE) has been referred to as the Śakaraj era in the Burmese sources. Thus, the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) plays a crucial role in fixing the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa. Eminent historians have fixed the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483

BCE considering the contemporaneity of Buddha and Mahāvira and the only epoch of the Śaka era (78 CE) but the comprehensive study of Indian, Nepali, Sri Lankan, Burmese and Tibetan sources indicates that Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE and the epoch of Jinachakka or Theravada Buddhism commenced in 1765 BCE.

The epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) also helps in determining the exact date of the Mahābhārata war. The Aihole inscription of the early Chālukya King Pulakeśin II dated in Śaka 556 elapsed (27 BCE) explicitly mentions that  $30 + 3000 + 100 + 5 = 3135$  years elapsed up to 27 BCE from the year of Mahābhārata war, which means  $3135 + 27 = 3162$  BCE was the year of the Mahābhārata war.<sup>1</sup> Western historians distorted the statement of Aihole inscription “*Sahābda-śata-yukteṣu*” into “*Saptābda-śata-yukteṣu*” and calculated that  $30 + 3000 + 700 + 5 = 3735$  years elapsed and not 3135 years. Considering the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE), historians have arrived the year 3102 BCE [ $3735 - (556 + 78) = 3102$ ] and concluded that Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihole inscription, referred to the epoch of Kaliyuga era as the epoch of the Mahābhārata war. None of the Indian literary sources refers to the epochal year of Kaliyuga as the year of the Mahābhārata war. Therefore, the reading “*Sahābda-śata-yukteṣu*” must be the correct version. Thus, the Aihole inscription tells us that 3135 years elapsed from “*Bhāratāt Āhavāt*” meaning “the war of Bharatas”, i.e., the Mahābhārata war. Thus, the year of the Mahābhārata war was 3162 BCE as recorded in the Aihole inscription.

King Yudhiṣṭhira ascended the throne after the Mahābhārata war in 3162 BCE. The epoch of the Mahābhārata war and the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era came into use. Ancient Indians also followed a Saptarṣi calendar and hypothetically assumed that the Saptarṣis (Great Bear) reside hundred years in one Nakśatra constellation and complete one cycle of 27 Nakśatras in 2700 years. Ancient Indians used this cycle of Saptarṣis as a calendar. The epoch of the Saptarṣi calendar commenced in 6777 BCE considering the position of Saptarṣis in Aśvinī Nakśatra during 6777-6677 BCE. According to Vṛddha Garga and Varāhamihira, the Great Bear was in Maghā constellation during 3176-3076 BCE.

The Purāṇas were pure chronicles in ancient times but they have evolved into veritable encyclopaedias after the era of Rāmāyaṇa. Most of

the Purāṇas available today were updated during the period from 500 BCE to 100 CE. *Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa* was updated in the later Mughal period. These Purāṇas provide valuable information about the chronology of royal dynasties of Magadha from the Mahābhārata war to the period of the Gupta dynasty.

	In CE
1. Br̥hadratha dynasty	3162-2162 BCE
2. Pradyota dynasty	2162-1984 BCE
3. Śiśunāga dynasty	1984-1664 BCE
4. Nanda dynasty	1664-1596 BCE
5. Maurya dynasty	1596-1459 BCE
6. Śuṅga dynasty	1459-1346 BCE
7. Kaṇva dynasty	1346-1301 BCE
8. No central power	1301-828 BCE
9. Śātavāhana dynasty	828-334 BCE
10. Gupta dynasty	334-89 BCE

The present research work is all about reconstruction of the chronology of ancient India based on a critical study of the dates and eras referred to in inscriptions. I have considered the epigraphic evidence as primary and literary evidence as secondary. Surprisingly, I found that Western historians had unreasonably rejected many inscriptions as “spurious” or “forgery” because they do not fit into the chronology of ancient India as perceived by them. Instead of accepting the error in the identity of “Sandrokottus”, Western scholars not only distorted many historical facts brazenly but also concocted many myths and presented them as ‘historical facts’. Western scholars and colonial historians never made a serious and honest effort to reconcile Puranic chronology and the chronology derived from the epigraphic evidence. This resulted in entire body of modern Indian historical research being led in the wrong direction over the last 235 years.

During the study of inscriptions, I found that the chronology derived from the epigraphs is absolutely in line with the Puranic chronology. I also found that all inscriptions are genuine if we follow the real epochs of certain eras. For instance, majority of historians simply assumed that both the Śaka and the Śakānta eras commenced in 78 CE though the details of many inscriptions cannot be verified with reference to the epoch of 78

CE. The study of Indian inscriptions reveals two distinct epochs, i.e., the coronation of the Śaka king and the death of the Śaka king. The epoch of the death of the Śaka king commenced in 78 CE. Historians generally conclude that the epoch of 78 CE was earlier referred to as the coronation of the Śaka king and the same was referred to as the death of the Śaka king later. But it is an egregious blunder committed by the historians.

During the colonial era, Western scholars came to know about the Puranic chronology of ancient India but they could not bring themselves to believe it. Having been born and brought up in Christian society, their subconscious belief was likely based on the Biblical chronology. Their racial bias also probably did not allow them to accept the Puranic chronology that was older than the Biblical chronology. Western scholars completely rejected the Puranic chronology as mere mythology rather than history. They questioned the historicity of various royal dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas and declared the Rāmāyaṇa as fiction and the Mahābhārata as historical fiction. Interestingly, the same Western scholars selectively accepted the genealogy of some royal dynasties as mentioned in Purāṇas.

Unfortunately, only literary evidence is available for the history of ancient India beyond the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha. Moreover, in due course of time, Indians completely forgot the real epoch of certain eras creating more confusion in fixing the chronology of ancient India. Western scholars simply concluded that literary evidence was contrary to epigraphic evidence, hence not reliable. They rejected the Puranic chronology and stressed upon modern Indian historical research based on epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Some scholars like John Playfair and Hermann Jacobi have logically argued that the antiquity of Vedic civilization goes beyond 4300-4500 BCE but the majority of Western scholars simply brushed aside the irrefutable facts presented by them.

William Jones (1746-1794 CE) founded “The Asiatic Society” in Calcutta on 15<sup>th</sup> Jan 1784 CE and laid the foundation for modern Indian historical research. Western scholars were fascinated with the victories of Alexander from their childhood and started searching for traces of Alexander in the history of ancient India. Firstly, William Jones rather deliberately identified the “Sandrokottus” mentioned by the Greek

historians to be Chandragupta Maurya. Some scholars like Mr. Troyer rightly pointed out this mistaken identity but Western scholars upheld this mistaken identity as an eternal historical fact to facilitate the distortions in the chronology of ancient India.

The mistaken identity of “Sandrokottus” became the sheet-anchor theory for reconstructing the chronology of ancient India leading to numerous concoctions and distortions later on. A majority of Indian historians accepted this mistaken identity as an irrefutable historical fact because the epigraphic evidence of other dynasties based on the wrong epoch of eras also supported it.

Secondly, as Indian chroniclers completely forgot the epoch of certain eras by the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE, it was rather easy for a section of modern historians to draw erroneous conclusions about the dates and eras referred to in ancient inscriptions of India. The issue of the mistaken identity of “Sandrokottus” cannot be settled without an in-depth study of the eras referred to in the inscriptions.

The western historians have fixed the date of the ascension of ‘Sandrokottus’ around 322 BCE based on the date of Alexander and Seleucus contrary to the date of Chandragupta Maurya (1596-1572 BCE) given in Purāṇas. In reality, they were obnoxiously preoccupied to establish the myth of the contemporaneity of Chandragupta Maurya and Seleucus. The date of Buddha’s nirvāṇa has also been fraudulently brought forward to reconcile the dates of Alexander, Seleucus and Chandragupta Maurya. According to the Indian traditional chronology, Chandragupta Maurya had flourished many centuries before the date of Alexander and Seleucus. Ideally, the historians should reach the chronologies of India and Macedonia independently based on the sheet anchors and thereafter, the date and the identity of Chandragupta, the contemporary of Seleucus has to be chronologically established. But the western historians have ridiculously fixed the date of Chandragupta based on the Macedonian chronology and established it as the sheet anchor of Indian chronology. Scientifically, the date of Chandragupta must be arrived based on the sheet anchors of Indian chronology and not on the sheet anchors of Macedonian chronology.

Moreover, the dates of Alexander and Seleucus have been arrived based on the epoch of the Christian era (1 CE). I have conclusively established in my book titled *“The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction”* that the epoch of the Christian era is fictitious and not historical. It may be noted that the western historians blindly believed in the epoch of the Christian era (1 CE) and considered it as sheet anchor for arriving the chronology. Interestingly, the epoch of the Christian era (1 CE) was just a fictitious epoch of Easter calculus and has nothing to do with the birth year of Jesus. Seemingly, the epoch of the Christian era has been mistakenly assumed as the date of the incarnation of Jesus in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century CE. It, is therefore, totally absurd to fix the dates of Alexander and Seleucus based on a fictitious epoch of the Christian era.

I have conclusively established based on the archaeo-astronomical study of the Venus Tablet, the Sothic cycles, the epochs of Olympiad and the foundation of Rome city and the epoch of the Nabonassarian era that Jesus was born in 660 BCE and not in 1 CE. Thus, there is an error of 660 years in the chronology of world history because the western historians have reconciled the world chronology considering the fictitious epoch of the Christian era (1 CE) as the birth year of Jesus. Accordingly, there is also a similar chronological error in fixing of the dates of Alexander and Seleucus. The date of Mohammad and the epoch of Hijrah era also have to be reviewed considering the birth of Jesus in 660 BCE. Therefore, I would strongly recommend the readers to go through my book on the origin of the Christian era before reading the forthcoming chapters of this volume.

Considering the true epoch of Olympiad (1435 BCE) and the epoch of the birth of Jesus (660 BCE), I have arrived the date of Alexander around 990-982 BCE and the date of Seleucus around 972-940 BCE. The sheet anchors of Indian chronology, i.e., the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), the epoch of Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE) and the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) clearly indicate that King Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty flourished around 1596-1572 BCE and Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty reigned around 334-242 BCE. Therefore, Sandrokottus cannot be identified either with the Maurya king or the Gupta king. According

to Vāmana's Kāvyaḷaṅkārasūtravṛtti, Vasubandhu was the minister of King Chandraprakāśa, son of Chandragupta. Vasubandhu lived around 960-880 BCE 900 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). King Chandragupta of the Chandra dynasty reigned around 984-925 BCE and his capital was close to Prayāgabhadra on the confluence of Gangā and Yamunā rivers. Thus, chronologically, King Chandragupta of the Chandra dynasty was the contemporary of Seleucus.

The readers may have surprised and shocked to know about the chronological error of 660 years in the world history and in dating of Jesus' birth (660 BCE), Alexander (994-982 BCE) and Seleucus (972 – 940 BCE). I would, therefore, suggest that every reader should personally examine the evidence to understand why the epoch of the Christian era (1 CE) is not historical and it does not deserve to be a sheet anchor of world history. In fact, an Easter calculus had been based on the epoch of 1 CE but the Christians of the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE have mistakenly assumed this Easter epoch of 1 CE as the date of incarnation of Jesus. This erroneous assumption created a confusion about the date of the birth of Jesus. This was the reason why Abul Fazl said that the commencement of the birth year of Jesus; some Christians take to be the entry of the sun in Capricorn; others, from the 8<sup>th</sup> degree of the same. The difference of 8 degrees clearly indicates a chronological error of ~600 years in dating of Jesus' birth.<sup>2</sup> The western historians have blindly followed this corrupted tradition of Jesus' birth (1 CE) and established it as a sheet anchor for the western chronology. They have also referred to the fictitious epoch of 1 CE for reconciling the world chronology.

Eminent historians made three monumental blunders in arriving the Indian chronology that led to numerous chronological inconsistencies. Firstly, historians have assumed only one epoch of the Śaka era in 78 CE. Secondly, they have identified Sandrokottus with Chandragupta Maurya and brought forward the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE. Thirdly, they have blindly believed in the date of Alexander's death (323 BCE) considering the fictitious epoch of the Christian era (1 CE). These chronological blunders can be termed as the **CSB Problem** (C = Christ's birth year, S = Śaka era and B = Buddha nirvāṇa era) of Indian

chronology. It is extremely important to solve this CSB Problem to establish the true chronology of India. I have comprehensively discussed the epoch of the Śaka era and the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa in Chapter 2 and 3 of this volume respectively. I have already discussed the exact epoch of Christ's birth in my book titled "*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*".

Owing to these three main chronological blunders, the entire chronology of India has been distorted by eminent historians and many theories without any basis have been floated as historical facts in modern textbooks of Indian history. Indian chroniclers should share the blame for these concoctions and distortions as they forgot the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king (583 BCE) and mistakenly identified King Chandragupta of Ujjain, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu with King Chandragupta Maurya of Magadha Empire. Eminent historians have identified "Sandrokottus" with Chandragupta Maurya and some dubious scholars fraudulently concocted the theory of the Aryan invasion misleading the entire body of modern Indian historical research in a wrong direction over the last 235 years.

Moreover, eminent historians lack the knowledge of basic Sanskrit and that adversely affects the quality of Indian historical research. The Government of India should promote the compulsory teaching of Sanskrit to the students of Indian history to ensure the future of fundamental research in Indian history. Being a student of Sanskrit, I have studied the original text of various inscriptions instead of reading the English translations. Based on the study of the exact epoch of ancient Indian eras and the solar or lunar eclipses mentioned in inscriptions, I have attempted to reconstruct the chronology of India starting from the Mahābhārata era in the forthcoming chapters. The following epochs of eras have been revised with reference to the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). I have considered these important epochs as sheet anchors for arriving post-Mahābhārata chronology of India.



	<b>In CE</b>
1. The epoch of the Saptarṣi calendar	6777 BCE
2. The epoch of Kaliyuga in Saptarṣi calendar	3176 BCE
3. The epoch of Mahābhārata war and Yudhiṣṭhira era	3162 BCE
4. The epoch of Kaliyuga (Lāṭadeva's Sūrya Siddhānta)	3101 BCE
5. The epoch of Kashmiri Saptarṣi calendar	3076 BCE
6. The epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa	1864 BCE
7. The epoch of Theravāda Buddhism	1765 BCE
8. The epoch of Mahāvira nirvāṇa	1189 BCE
9. The epoch of Paraśurāma era	1176 BCE
10. The epoch of Licchavi era	966 BCE
11. The epoch of Āguptāyika era	950 BCE
12. The epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era	719 BCE
13. The epoch of the birth of Jesus Christ	660 BCE
14. The epoch of Gāṅgeya era	656 BCE
15. The epoch of Śaka era	583 BCE
16. The epoch of Sri Harsha era	457 BCE
17. The epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era	402 BCE
18. The epoch of Gupta era	334 BCE
19. The epoch of Chaitrādi Vikrama era	57 BCE
20. The epoch of Hijrah era	44-34 BCE
21. The epoch of Yazdajird era	32-29 BCE
22. The epoch of Bhaumakara era	75 CE
23. The epoch of Śākānta era	78 CE
24. The epoch of Early Kolamba or Kollam era	166-167 CE
25. The epoch of Nepali Saṁvat	218 CE
26. The epoch of Valabhi era	319 CE
27. The epoch of Chālukya Vikrama Saṁvat	415-416 CE
28. The epoch of Simha Saṁvat	450-451 CE
29. The epoch of Bengali Saṁvat	593 CE
30. The epoch of Bhāṭika Saṁvat	623-624 CE
31. The epoch of the Fasli calendar of the Yazdajird era	631 CE
32. The epoch of Burmese and Magi era	638 CE
33. The epoch of Later Kollam or Paraśurāma era	824 CE
34. The epoch of Newari Saṁvat	879 CE
35. The epoch of Śiva Simha Saṁvat	1109 CE or 1113 CE

I have already presented the pre-Mahābhārata chronology of India from the time of Manu to Mahābhārata war in my book titled “*The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahabharata*”. Based the scientific analysis of the archaeo-astronomical data, I have arrived the following pre-Mahābhārata chronology of India:

- Toba Super volcanic Eruption (~72000 BCE)
- Early Agriculture in India (~16000 BCE)
- Proto-Vedic Period (16000-14500 BCE)
- Vedic Period (14500-10500 BCE)
  - Ādiyuga : The Era of Early Manu Dynasty (14500-14000 BCE)
  - Devayuga: The Vedic Period (14000-11000 BCE)
  - The Great Flood in Vaivasvata Manu’s Kingdom (11200 BCE)
  - Vedic Sarasvati River lost in Thar Desert (10950 BCE)
  - Later Rigvedic Period (11500-10500 BCE)
  - Post-Vedic Sarasvati River started flowing westwards (10950-10000 BCE)
- The Post-Vedic Period (10500-6777 BCE)
  - The submergence of the city of Dvāravatī (9400-9300 BCE)
  - The recompilation of Avestā, i.e., Asurveda (7000 BCE)
  - The epoch of the end of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kṛta Yuga (6778-6777 BCE)
- The 28<sup>th</sup> Tretā Yuga (6777-5577 BCE)
  - The Rāmāyaṇa era (5677-5577 BCE)
  - The birth date of Sri Rāma (3<sup>rd</sup> Feb 5674 BCE)
- The 28<sup>th</sup> Dvāpara Yuga (5577-3176 BCE)
  - The epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira’s Rājasūya and his coronation in Indraprastha (3188 BCE)
  - The epoch of the Mahābhārata War and Yudhiṣṭhira Era (3162 BCE)
- The Epoch of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kaliyuga (3176 BCE) [Mahābhārata]
  - The epoch of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kaliyuga (3173-3172 BCE)[Āryabhaṭa]
  - The epoch of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kaliyuga (3101 BCE) [Lāṭadeva]
  - The submergence of Dwārakā city era in a tsunami (3126 BCE)
  - The disappearance of Post-Vedic Sarasvati and Dṛṣadvati Rivers (3000 BCE)



## 2

### The Epochs of Śaka Era (583 BCE) and Śakānta Era (78 CE)

The Śaka era was popularly used for dating in the ancient and medieval period inscriptions and literature in India, Nepal, Burma, Cambodia and Java (Indonesia). It is generally believed by the historians that the Śaka era commenced in 78 CE. There has been an interesting debate about the origin and originator of the Śaka era among historians. The epoch of the Śaka era is a settled issue for a majority of historians now. But I dare to re-open the debate. In fact, a divergence of opinion about the origin and originator of the Śaka era exists even today.

JF Fleet and F Kielhorn have established the theory based on existing Indian tradition that there is only one Śaka era that commenced in 78 CE. All 'eminent' historians have accepted this as eternal truth. TS Narayana Sastri<sup>1</sup> was the first who pointed out the existence of two eras in the name of Śaka. He attempted to prove that the old Śaka era commenced in 550 BCE and that the Śālivāhana Śaka era originated later in 78 CE. Prof Gulshan Rai<sup>2</sup> and Kota Venkatachalam<sup>3</sup> supported the theory of TS Narayana Sastry but V Thiruvankatacharya<sup>4</sup> proposed that the epoch of the Śaka era was in 551 BCE whereas Jagannatha Rao and CV Vaidya believed it was in 543 BCE. K Rangarajan proposed that it was in 523/522 BCE whereas some others speculated it to be 576 BCE. Though these scholars could not convincingly prove the epoch of the Śaka era, they successfully exposed the weak foundations of the theory of only one Śaka era. Evidently, there are two theories related to the epoch of the Śaka era.

1. The Śaka era and the Śakānta or Śakakālātīta era are identical and both commenced in 78 CE.

2. The Śaka era and the Śakānta era are not identical and the Śaka era originated much before 78 CE whereas the Śakānta era commenced in 78 CE.

Prof F Kielhorn published an article “On the dates of the Śaka Era in inscriptions” in 1894 and verified more than 370 references to the Śaka era with the presumption of 78 CE as the epoch.<sup>5</sup> He found that the calculation of about 140 dates “satisfy the requirements” whereas that of 70 dates was “unsatisfactory”. He also claimed that the details of more than 30 dates are doubtful and that around 100 dates contain no details for verification. Based on this analysis, JF Fleet and Kielhorn declared some of the inscriptions and texts as “spurious” because the details therein did not reconcile in the epoch of 78 CE. Surprisingly, Fleet and Kielhorn even alleged that some of these inscriptions are forgeries though at the same time accepting the information selectively from these sources. Unfortunately, Indian epigraphists and historians have also accepted these inscriptions as ‘spurious’ or ‘forgeries’ without any further verification.

In reality, western Indologists and their followers declared some of the inscriptions and texts as “spurious” because details therein did not reconcile with their biased approach to Indian chronology. In the light of epigraphic and literary data, I propose that historians need to correct their theories to solve the chronic chronological inconsistencies. Partial acceptance and partial rejection of epigraphic and literary data without any substantial proof should be rejected with contempt. Let us make one more serious effort to read the so-called ‘spurious’ or ‘forged’ inscriptions of the Śaka era to ascertain whether these are really spurious epigraphs or they run contrary to certain concocted theories.

While reading the inscriptions and texts of the Śaka era, we can easily distinguish two different ways of referring to the reckoning of the Śaka era. Some epigraphs unambiguously refer to the epoch of the Śaka era from the coronation of the Śaka king whereas some epigraphs refer to the epoch of the Śaka era from the killing of the Śaka king or the end of the Śaka era. The epigraphic and literary references of the Śaka era can be categorised as shown below:

**From the coronation of  
the Śaka king**

*Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiṣeka-saṁvatsare*  
*Śakavarṣeṣu-atīteṣu*  
*Śaka-bhūpa-kāla, Śakendra-kāla*  
*Śaka-nṛpa-kālāt or Śakānām kālāt*  
*Śaka-nṛpa-kālākrānta-saṁvatsara*  
*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātiteṣu, Śaka-nṛpa-kālātite*  
*Śakānāmapi bhūbhujām gateṣu abdeṣu*  
*Śaka-prthivīpateḥ varṣānām*  
*Śaka-nṛpa-samaye, Śaka-kṣītīśābda*  
*Śaka-Mahipati-vatsara-māne*  
*Śaka-kālād-ārabhya, Śakābdānām pramāṇe*  
*Śakābde, Śake*

**From the killing of the Śaka king  
or the end of the Śaka era**

*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣu*  
*Śaka-varṣātīta-saṁvatsare*  
*Jāte Śakābde tataḥ, Śakendre atigate*  
*Yāte kāle Śakānām,*  
*Śakānte, Śakāntataḥ*  
*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvat*

Any scholar with a basic knowledge of Sanskrit can make the distinction in the meaning of the references segregated above. Evidently, one set of references leads to the coronation of the Śaka king whereas other set of references leads to the end of the Śaka era. How can the totally different references “*Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiṣeka-saṁvatsara*” and “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara*” lead to the same epoch? Prima facie, the epigraphs that refer to “*Śaka-nṛpa-kāla*” denote an older epoch than the epigraphs that refer to “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara*”. Bhāskarāchārya, the author of Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, clearly mentions the existence of the Śaka era or Śakābda prior to 78 CE.

*Yātāḥ ṣaṇmanavo yugāni bhamitānyanyadyugāṅghritrayam,*  
*Nandādrīndugunās (3179) tathā Śakanṛpasyānte kalervatsarāḥ /*  
*Godrīndvadrikṛtāṅkadasranagagocandrāḥ (1972947179) Śakābdānvitāḥ*  
*Sarvesam kalitāḥ pitāmahadine syurvartamāne gatāḥ //<sup>6</sup>*

In this verse, Bhāskara states that 3179 years elapsed from the beginning of Kaliyuga to the end or killing of the Śaka king and 1972947179 years elapsed from the starting of Kalpa till the end of the Śaka king including the years of Śakābda, i.e., Śaka era. The phrase “*Śakābdānvitāḥ*” (including the years of the Śaka era) explicitly indicates the existence of the epoch of Śakābda or the Śaka era prior to 78 CE. Lallāchārya, the author of “*Śiṣyadhīvrddhidatantra*,” also clearly indicates that the Śakakṣītīśābda, i.e., Śaka era existed prior to 78 CE.

*“Nandādrīcandrānala (3179) samyuto bhavet,  
 Śakakṣītīśābda-gaṇo gataḥ kaleḥ /  
 Divākaraḥno gamāsa-samyutaḥ,  
 Khavahninighnasthitibhiḥ samanvitaḥ //”*

Elaborating the above verse, Mallikārjuna Sūri, a commentator on “*Śiṣyadhīvrddhidatantra*”, also makes similar statement as “*Śakanṛpābdagaṇaḥ sahasratrayeṇaikonaśītyadhika-śatena (3179) sahitaḥ Kaligatābda-gaṇo bhavati*”. It is evident that Lalla and Mallikārjuna Sūri explicitly state here that “3179 Kali years are elapsed including the years of the Śaka era.”

Thus, Indian astronomers like Bhāskara and Lalla clearly indicate the existence of an old epoch of the Śaka era prior to 78 CE. They refer to the epoch of 78 CE as the end of the Śaka king. The use of the words “*atīta*” or “*gata*” twice in the Surat plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkarāja<sup>8</sup> and the Kauthem plates of Western Chālukya King Vikramāditya<sup>9</sup> (*Śaka-nripa-kālātita-saṁvatsara-śateṣu.... atīteṣu*), “*Yaśastilaka Campū*” of Somadeva Suri (*Śaka-nripa-kālātita-saṁvatsara-śateṣu.... gateṣu*) and “*Lakṣaṇāvati*” of Udayana (*Atīteṣu Śakāntataḥ varṣeṣu*) unambiguously refers to the epoch of 78 CE as the era commenced from the end of the era of Śaka king. The Rājapura plates of Madhurāntakadeva<sup>10</sup> clearly refer to the epoch as “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātita-Saṁvat 987*” which indicates that “*Śaka-nṛpa-kāla-Saṁvat*” was a different epoch from “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātita-Saṁvat*”. Thus, the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king and the epoch of the end of the Śaka era are not the same but two different epochs.

It is evident that the epoch of the killing of the Śaka king commenced in 78 CE. Al Beruni, a Persian scholar, who visited India between 1017 CE and 1031 CE, wrote:<sup>11</sup>

“The epoch of the era of Śaka falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Aryāvarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas. .... The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to fight and killed him in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni.

Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers. .... Since, there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka; we think that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka.”

Thus, Al Beruni clearly indicates that the death of the Śaka king is the epoch of the Śaka era that commenced in 78 CE but he had no information about the era of the coronation of the Śaka king because it was not used by Indian astronomers at that time. Thus, 78 CE is the epoch of “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” or “Śakānta” era. It can never be the epoch of “Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhīṣeka-samvatsara”, i.e., the coronation of the Śaka king.

Now the question arises what is the epoch of the Śaka era that commenced from the coronation of the Śaka king? To answer this question, we have to study the verifiable details of inscriptions of the Śaka era carefully. I have based my verification of the date and time of eclipses on the comprehensive data on eclipses from the website of NASA.<sup>12</sup> The inscriptions of Early Chālukyas of Badami explicitly refer to the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king. The Kurtakoti copper plates of Early Chālukyas provide unambiguous leads to the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king that commenced in 583 BCE.

The selected text from the Kurtakoti copper plates:<sup>13</sup> “*Viditamastu sosmābhiḥ ba [va] trimśottara-pañca-śateṣu Śakavarṣeṣu atiteṣu, vijayarājya-samvatsare ṣoḍaśavarṣe pravartamāne, Kiśuvajala-mahānagara-vikhyāta-sthitasya Vaiśākha-Jyeṣṭha-māsa-madhyamāmāvāsyāyām bhāskaradine Rohiṇyarkṣe madhyāhnakāle Vikramādityasya..... mahādevatayorubhayoḥ Vṛṣabharāśau tasmin Vṛṣabharāśau Sūryagrahaṇa sarvamāsī (Sarvagrāsī) bhūte.....*”

While this inscription clearly mentions that the elapsed year in the Śaka era was the 530<sup>th</sup>, it has been erroneously read as the 532<sup>nd</sup> year assuming “*ba trimśottara*” as “*dvātrimśottara*”. Possibly, “*Viditamastvasmābhir vas-trimśottara*” was deciphered as “*Viditamastu sosmābhi ba.*” The phrase “*sosmābhirvaḥ*” may have been read as “*sosmābhi [ba]*”. If so, “*ba*” should not be part of “*trimśottara*” because “*asmābhir vas trimśottara [asmābhiḥ*

+ *vaḥ + trimśottara]*” is the correct expression in Sanskrit. Precisely, Walter Elliot and Dr. Burnell considered the date as Śaka 530 but JF Fleet insisted that the real date of the grant was Śaka 532. Unfortunately, the third plate which is now missing probably carried a footnote saying “In Śaka 530, on the eighth day of the sixteenth royal victorious year”.<sup>14</sup>

The Kurtakoti copper plates provide enough details for verification as “530 years of Śaka era elapsed, in the 16<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Vikramāditya, on the occasion of total solar eclipse around noon time, on the occasion of new moon day (*amāvāsya*) between *Vaiśākha* and *Jyeṣṭha* months, moon in *Rohiṇī Nakṣatra*, sun and moon both in Taurus sign (*Vṛṣabha Rāśi*), the total solar eclipse occurred in Taurus and the day was *Bhāskaradina*, i.e., Sunday.”

The Kurtakoti plates are dated in the year 530 elapsed from the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king. It refers to the total solar eclipse that occurred on the new moon day of the *Vaiśākha* month in Northern Karnataka which ended around noon. The following ten total solar eclipses occurred in Northern Karnataka (considering the latitude 15:55 N and longitude 75:40 E of Badami) during the period 1500 BCE to 1500 CE.

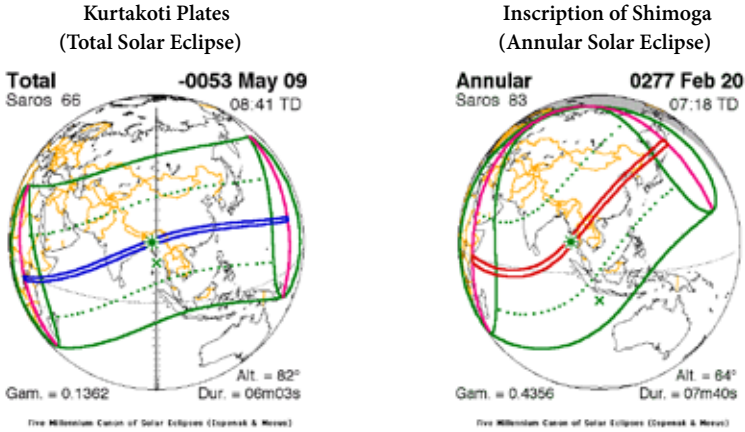
1. 13<sup>th</sup> Aug 1416 BCE
2. 27<sup>th</sup> Jul 1257 BCE
3. 4<sup>th</sup> Mar 180 BCE
4. 9<sup>th</sup> May 53 BCE
5. 27<sup>th</sup> Jan 111 CE
6. 25<sup>th</sup> Jun 754 CE
7. 20<sup>th</sup> Aug 993 CE
8. 23<sup>rd</sup> Jul 1134 CE
9. 6<sup>th</sup> Nov 1268 CE
10. 9<sup>th</sup> Dec 1322 CE

The data shows that there was only one total solar eclipse that occurred in Northern Karnataka on the new moon day of *Vaiśākha* month, i.e. 9<sup>th</sup> May 53 BCE that started at 09:04 hrs and ended at 11:45 hrs. The day was the new moon day of *Vaiśākha* month (between *Vaiśākha* and *Jyeṣṭha* months) and the moon was in *Rohiṇī Nakṣatra*. The Sun and the



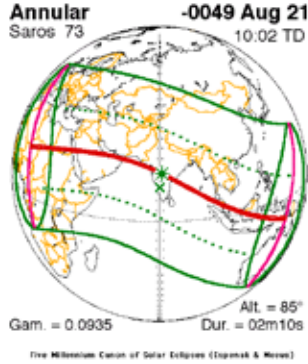
Moon were also in Vṛṣabha Rāśi, i.e., Taurus sign. The day was “Bhāskara dina” meaning Sunday but it was Wednesday in the Julian calendar. I have already established that Mayāsura wrote Sūrya Siddhānta on 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE and introduced the concept of seven day week. The first day of Mayāsura’s Sūrya Siddhānta calendar, i.e., 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE was Sunday. If we count the number of days from 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE, the day of 9<sup>th</sup> May 53 BCE was indeed Sunday. The western civilisations had adopted the same tradition of weekdays from India. I have also established that there is an error of four weekdays in the reconstructed Julian calendar because of the chronological error of 660 years.<sup>15</sup>

An inscription found in Shimoga district of Karnataka refers to an annular solar eclipse (*Valaya grahaṇa*) that occurred on *Chaitra Pratipadā*, i.e., the 1<sup>st</sup> *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month in the year 861 of the Śaka era.<sup>16</sup> Considering the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king in 583 BCE, 277-278 CE was the 861<sup>st</sup> year of the Śaka era and the annular solar eclipse occurred on 20<sup>th</sup> Feb 277 CE that ended at 11:39 AM. Interestingly, *Phālguna Amāvāsyā* ended at 11:00 AM and *Chaitra Pratipadā* started at the same time.



The selected text from the Hyderabad copper plates of Pulakeśin II:<sup>17</sup>  
*“Ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna-rājyābhiṣeka-saṁvatsare tritīye  
 Śakanṛpati-saṁvatsara-śateṣu catuśtriṁśatyadhikeṣu  
 pañcasvatīteṣu Bhādrapadāmāvāsyāyām Sūrya-grahaṇa-nimittam”*

This inscription also provides details for verification as “534 years of Śaka era elapsed, 3<sup>rd</sup> regnal year of Pulakeśin II, the occasion of solar eclipse on the new moon day (*amāvāsyā*) of *Bhādrapada* month.”



The details given in the Hyderabad copper plates also perfectly match the date 21<sup>st</sup> Aug 49 BCE. A Solar eclipse was visible in the Early Chālukya kingdom on 21<sup>st</sup> Aug 49 BCE starting at 10:42:47 hrs and ending at 14:19:26 hrs. The day was the new moon day of *Bhādrapada* month.

Based on the above verified dates of three solar eclipses, the year of coronation of the Śaka king can easily be calculated. The epoch of the Śaka coronation era ought to have commenced on *Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā* of 583 BCE, i.e., 20<sup>th</sup> Mar 583 BCE. It may be noted that the total and annular solar eclipses are the strongest evidences to fix the epoch of an era.

Now, let us verify the details of these three inscriptions. If the epoch of Śaka era is 78 CE, it follows that 20<sup>th</sup> Apr 608 CE (530 *years elapsed*) or 29<sup>th</sup> Apr 610 CE (532 *years elapsed*) would be the date of the Kurtakoti copper plates (Śaka 530 or 532), 31<sup>st</sup> Aug 612 CE would be the date of the Hyderabad copper plates (Śaka 534) and 23<sup>rd</sup> Feb 939 BCE would be the date of Shimoga inscription (Śaka 861). However, it has been established that a solar eclipse was not visible anywhere in India on these dates or any date from 608 CE to 612 CE. Therefore, JF Fleet and Kielhorn declared the Kurtakoti inscription as spurious because the data was contrary to their idea of Indian chronology. Interestingly, they have accepted the elapsed years mentioned in inscriptions as part of the chronology of early Chālukyas. This biased approach of JF Fleet and Kielhorn is nothing

but distortion. If JF Fleet and Kielhorn were honest, they ought to have accepted their inability to explain the solar eclipses mentioned in these epigraphs. Instead, in their biased chronology, they floated a distorted theory of palaeography to selectively reject certain epigraphs that were inexplicable as spurious or forgeries, thereby casting shadow on their intellectual integrity.

Evidently, the epoch of 583 BCE perfectly explains the above-mentioned epigraphic references of three solar eclipses whereas the epoch of 78 CE miserably fails to do so. There are many such epigraphic references of solar eclipses which cannot be explained with reference to the epoch of 78 CE. It is also observed that most of the inscriptions that refer to irregular eclipses are dated in the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king and not in the epoch of the end of the Śaka era. If we consider the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE as proposed above, most of the epigraphic references of irregular eclipses can satisfactorily be explained as attempted below.

### **Solar Eclipses Mentioned in the Inscriptions Dated in the Śaka Era (583 BCE):**

1. **The Kurtakoti Plates of Vikramāditya the elder:** *Śaka 530 elapsed (53-52 BCE), the new moon day of Vaiśākha month and total solar eclipse.* The date regularly corresponds to 9<sup>th</sup> May 53 BCE.
2. **The Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II:** *Śaka 534 elapsed (49-48 BCE), the new moon day of Bhādrapada month and solar eclipse.* The date regularly corresponds to 21<sup>st</sup> Aug 49 BCE.
3. **The Talamanchi Plates of Vikramāditya I:**<sup>18</sup> *The 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year, i.e., Śaka 582 elapsed (1-0 BCE), the new moon day of Śrāvaṇa month and solar eclipse.* The date regularly corresponds to 31<sup>st</sup> Jul 1 BCE.
4. **The Barsi Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishnarāja I:**<sup>19</sup> *Śaka 687 current (103-104 CE), the new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month and solar eclipse.* The date regularly corresponds to 22<sup>nd</sup> Jun 103 CE.
5. **The Talegaon Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishnarāja I:**<sup>20</sup> *Śaka 690 current (106-107 CE), the new moon day of Vaiśākha month and solar eclipse.* The date regularly corresponds to 21<sup>st</sup> Apr 106 CE.

6. **The Perjjarangi grant of Ganga Rājamalla I:**<sup>21</sup> *Śaka 741 elapsed (158-159 CE), Solar eclipse.* A solar eclipse was visible on 13<sup>th</sup> Jul 158 CE between 14.03 hrs and 15.19 hrs.
7. **The Shimoga Inscription:** *Śaka 861 current (277-278 CE), Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā, i.e., the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month and annular solar eclipse.* The date regularly corresponds to 20<sup>th</sup> Feb 277 CE.
8. **The Naregal inscription of Chālukya Jagadekamalla:**<sup>22</sup> *Śaka 872 elapsed (289-290 CE), Sādhāraṇa Saṁvatsara, Kārttika Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse.* The date regularly corresponds to 30<sup>th</sup> Nov 289 CE.
9. **An inscription of Chālukya Jagadekamalla:**<sup>23</sup> *Śaka 958, Dhātu Saṁvatsara, Kārttika Amāvāsyā, Śuddha Pratipadā, solar eclipse.* The date regularly corresponds 20<sup>th</sup> Nov 374 CE. (*This eclipse occurred from 15:52 hrs to 17:50 hrs. Amāvāsyā ended at 15:42 and Pratipadā started at the same time.*)
10. **The Nimbali inscription of Bhillama's Feudatory:**<sup>24</sup> *The 3<sup>rd</sup> Regnal year of Billama, i.e., Śaka 1110 (526-527 CE), the new moon day of Bhādrapada, solar eclipse and Saṁkramaṇa (Tulā Saṅkrānti).* The date regularly corresponds to 22<sup>nd</sup> Sep 526 CE.
11. **The Devur inscription of Jaitugi's feudatory:**<sup>25</sup> *Śaka 1118 (534-535 CE), solar eclipse during uttarāyaṇa.* The date corresponds to 29<sup>th</sup> Apr 534 CE.
12. **The Devangaon inscription of Jaitugi's feudatory:**<sup>26</sup> *Śaka 1121 (537-538 CE), solar eclipse on the new moon day of Māgha month.* The date corresponds to 15<sup>th</sup> Feb 538 CE.
13. **The Khedrapur inscription of Singhana:**<sup>27</sup> *Śaka 1136 (554-555 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Chaitra month.* The date corresponds to 19<sup>th</sup> Mar 554 CE.
14. **The Jettigi inscription of Krishna:**<sup>28</sup> *Śaka 1178 (594-595 CE), solar eclipse on the new moon day of Pauṣa month.* The date corresponds to 16<sup>th</sup> Jan 595 CE.

15. **The Hulgur inscription of Mahādeva:**<sup>29</sup> *Śaka 1189 (606-607 CE), solar eclipse on the new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month. The date corresponds to 11<sup>th</sup> Jun 606 CE.*

These are some examples of the epigraphic references of solar eclipses and the corresponding dates have been calculated in the epoch of 583 BCE. The details of 83 epigraphic references of solar eclipses related to the epoch of Śaka era have been given in **Appendix I**. Evidently, the epoch of 583 BCE successfully explains more than 90 per cent of the dates of solar eclipses.

Similarly, there are numerous epigraphic references of lunar eclipses but the lunar eclipses generally occur once or twice every year. However, the analysis of few references of lunar eclipses is given below. These are just few examples of verifying the astronomical details given in the inscriptions with reference to the epoch of 583 BCE.

#### **Lunar Eclipses Mentioned in the Inscriptions Dated in the Śaka Era (583 BCE):**

1. **The Altem Plates of Pulakeśin I:**<sup>30</sup> *Śaka 411 elapsed (172-171 BCE), the full moon day of Vaiśākha month, Viśākhā Nakśatra and lunar eclipse. The date corresponds to 19<sup>th</sup> Apr 172 BCE.*
2. **The Kendur Plates of Kīrtivarman II:**<sup>31</sup> *Śaka 672 current (88-89 BCE), the full moon day of Vaiśākha month and lunar eclipse. The date corresponds to 24<sup>th</sup> Apr 88 CE.*
3. **The Manne Plates of Govinda III:**<sup>32</sup> *Śaka 724 (140-141 CE), lunar eclipse and Puṣya Nakśatra. A lunar eclipse was visible on 11<sup>th</sup> Dec 140 CE from 19:57 hrs to 1:22 hrs.*
4. **The Manne Plates of Govinda III:**<sup>33</sup> *Śaka 732 elapsed (149-150 CE), the full moon day of Pauṣa month, Puṣya Nakśatra and lunar eclipse. A lunar eclipse was visible on 2<sup>nd</sup> Dec 149 CE in North Karnataka around 20:45 hrs to 22:11 hrs.*
5. **The Kottimba grant of Mārasimha:**<sup>34</sup> *Śaka 721 (139-140 CE), Śrāvaṇa, śuddha pūrṇimā, Dhaniṣṭhā Nakśatra, lunar eclipse. The date corresponds to 29<sup>th</sup> Jul 139 CE, Śrāvaṇa Pūrṇimā and the Nakśatra was Dhaniṣṭhā. A lunar eclipse was visible between 4:18 hrs and 5:51 hrs.*

6. **The Gattavadipura grant of Rājamalla III:**<sup>35</sup> *Śaka 826 elapsed (243-244 CE), Mārgaśīrṣa month, the full moon day, Mṛgaśīrā Nakṣatra, lunar eclipse.* A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible on 14<sup>th</sup> Dec 243 CE.
7. **The Patna inscription of Soideva:**<sup>36</sup> *Śaka 1128 elapsed (545-546 CE), the full moon day of Śrāvāṇa month and lunar eclipse.* The date corresponds to 6<sup>th</sup> Sep 545 CE.
8. **The Kolhapur Stone Inscription:**<sup>37</sup> *Śaka 1065 elapsed (482-483 CE), the full moon day of Māgha month and lunar eclipse.* The date corresponds to 10<sup>th</sup> Jan 483 CE. A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible at Kolhāpur from 4:34 hrs to 5:54 hrs.
9. **The Bamani Stone Inscription:**<sup>38</sup> *Śaka 1073 elapsed (490-491 CE), the full moon day in Bhādrapada Nakṣatra or Bhādrapada month and a lunar eclipse.* The date corresponds to 14<sup>th</sup> Sep 490 CE. A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible from 22:50 hrs to 00:52 hrs.

#### **Other Evidences of the Epoch of the Śaka Era (583 BCE):**

1. Cunningham and JF Fleet observed that certain ancient Indian almanacs show the period from 5<sup>th</sup> Apr 1886 CE to 24<sup>th</sup> Mar 1887 CE as corresponding to the Śaka year 1808 as Nirayana (sidereal) lunisolar year whereas other almanacs show the period from 6<sup>th</sup> Mar 1886 CE to 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 1887 CE as corresponding to Śaka year 1808 as Sāyana (tropical) lunisolar year. JF Fleet also confirms that the tables of these almanacs undoubtedly took the Śaka year 1808 as elapsed.<sup>39</sup> Evidently, there were two traditions in the Śaka calendar. Now the question is - if both Pañcāṅgas have followed the same epoch, how the beginning of the New Year differs by one month? Interestingly, JF Fleet argues that there was a long interval between the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king and the epoch of the killing of the Śaka king and therefore, these two epochs are not identical. Surprisingly, he quotes the inscription of Chālukya Maṅgalīśa which refers to “*Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiṣeka-saṁvatsare*” and states that the epoch of the Śaka era initially originated in an extension of regnal years

of the Śaka king. When astronomers came to adopt it as an astronomical era, they established an exact epoch of 78 CE by reckoning back from the regnal year then current. He clearly admits that the epochs of both Pañcāngas cannot be identical but he takes only one-year difference between these two epochs without citing any supporting evidence. In reality, the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king that commenced on 20/21 Mar 583 BCE whereas the epoch of the Śakānta or Śakakālāṭita (the killing of the Śaka king) is an astronomical era that commenced on 1 Apr 78 CE, Sunday.

2. The Hisse Borala inscription of Vākāṭaka Devasena<sup>40</sup> mentions that Saptarṣis (Ursa Major constellation) were in *Uttara Phālgunī Nakśatra* in Śaka 380 (204-203 BCE) [*Saptarṣayah Uttarāsu Phālguniṣu adbe Śakānām 380*]. Vriddha Garga and Varāhamihira mentioned that Saptarṣis were in *Maghā* during the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira 2526 years before the epoch of the Śaka era.<sup>41</sup> Purāṇas also clearly tell us that Saptarṣis were in *Maghā Nakśatra* around 3176-3076 BCE. According to Indian tradition, Saptarṣis stay 100 years in each of 27 Nakśatras indicating the cycle of 2700 years. This Saptarṣi calendar of 2700 years commenced in 6777 BCE considering the hypothetical position of Saptarṣis in *Aśvinī Nakśatra* around 6777-6677 BCE. Considering the forward motion, Saptarṣis were in *Maghā Nakśatra* around 3176-3076 BCE and they were again in *Maghā Nakśatra* around 476-376 BCE. The Saptarṣis were in *Pūrva Phālgunī* around 376-276 BCE and in *Uttara Phālgunī* around 276-176 BCE. Exactly, the Hisse Borala inscription states that Saptarṣis were in *Uttara Phālgunī* in Śaka 380, i.e., 204-203 BCE. This cannot be explained if we consider the only epoch of 78 CE.
3. It appears that the calendar of the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) existed till the 15<sup>th</sup> century CE. An inscription of Hoysala King Ballāla is dated Śaka 1919 (1336 CE).<sup>42</sup> The Nilavara inscription of Mallikārjuna is dated Śaka 1975 (1392 CE)<sup>43</sup> and also the inscription found at the village of Bittaravalli, Belur

taluka, Karnataka is dated in Śaka 2027 (1444 CE) [*Śakavarṣāda 2027 neya Ānanda Sarīvatsara Bhādrapada śuddha padīva śukravāradandu*].<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, the year 1919, 1975 and 2027 in the Śakānta or Śakakālātīta era (78 CE) will be the year 1997, 2053 and 2105. Evidently, the dates of these three inscriptions cannot be explained in the epoch of the Śakānta or Śakakālātīta era (78 CE).

4. The earliest reference to the Śaka era (583 BCE) is found in the last chapter of *Yavanajātaka*.

*Gate ṣaḍagre'rdhaśate samānām, Kālakriyāntattvamidam Śakānām / Raviryuge Sūryadine prapede, kramāttadabdādīyugādibhānoḥ //*<sup>45</sup>

One of the main features of *Yavanajātaka* is the use of a solar Yuga or an astronomical cycle of 165 years. Indicating the date of the epoch of a solar Yuga of 165 years with reference to the Śaka era, it is stated that when the 56<sup>th</sup> year of the Śaka era is current, on a Sunday, the beginning of that year is the beginning of the Yuga of the Sun. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE, the 56<sup>th</sup> year was 528-527 BCE. The date was 12<sup>th</sup> Mar 528 BCE, Sunday (Wednesday in Julian calendar) when Sun and Moon were in conjunction at the first degree of Meśa (Aries). Interestingly, David Pingree distorted the phrase “ṣaḍagre'rdhaśate” (56<sup>th</sup> year) as “ṣaḍ eke'rdhaśate” (66<sup>th</sup> year) deliberately to match the astronomical facts described in the verse with reference to the epoch of 78 CE.

5. The Pimpari plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dhruvarāja<sup>46</sup> are dated in the year 697 of Śakānta or Śakakālātīta era (775 CE). Historians identified this Dhruvarāja to be Dhruva I. King Dhruvarāja of this grant explicitly mentions about his ancestor Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dhruvarāja who was the younger brother of Govindarāja [*tasyānujaḥ Śri-Dhruvarāja nāmā Mahānubhāvo vihitapratāpaḥ prasādhitāśeṣa-narendracakraḥ krameṇa bālārka-vapur babhūva*]. If the Dhruvarāja of Pimpari plates were the Dhruva I, how can he say “babhūva” for himself? The word “babhūva” means existed or flourished once upon a time. At least, “babhūva” cannot be used for the reigning king. Interestingly,



the Dhulia grant<sup>47</sup> of Karkarāja, dated in Śakakālātīta 701 (779 CE) was issued in the victorious reign of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja and it used “babhūva” for Dhruvarāja. Therefore, the Dhruvarāja of Pimpari grant was undoubtedly Dhruva II and not Dhruva I.

6. The Bagumra grant of Karka Suvarṇavarṣa<sup>48</sup> dated in the Vaiśākha month of Śakakālātīta 734 mentions Govindarāja III and his younger brother Indrarāja, the first Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Lāṭadeśa as the kings of past. It clearly addresses Govindarāja III as “*Kīrtipurūṣa*” (*Babhūva Kīrtipurūṣo Govindarājah sutaḥ*) and his younger brother Indrarāja as “*Adbhuta-Kīrti-Sūtiḥ*” (*Śrīmān bhuvi kśmāpatir Indrarājah, Śāstā babhūva adbhuta-Kīrti-sūtiḥ tadāpta-Lāṭeśvara-mandalasya...*). The reference of Kīrtipurūṣa and the use of the verb “babhūva” in remote past unambiguously tell us that Govindarāja III died long back. If so, how the Kadamba grant of Prabhūtavarṣa Govinda<sup>49</sup> was issued in the year 735 of Śakakālātīta era, the Lohara grant of Prabhūtavarṣa<sup>50</sup> was issued in the year 734 (the new moon day of Mārgaśirṣa month), the Dhulia grant of Govindarāja<sup>51</sup> in the year 735, the Torkhede grant of the time of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja<sup>52</sup> in the year 735 and the Devli plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja<sup>53</sup> were issued in Valabhi era 500, i.e., the year 741 of the Śakānta era. Similarly, Indrarāja was mentioned as “*Adbhuta-Kīrti-Sūtiḥ*” means the king who had a great and glorious progeny. If Indrarāja died around Śakakālātīta 734 than he could be barely 35 or 40 years old because Govindarāja II, the elder brother of his father Dhruvarāja was referred to as “Yuvarāja” in the Alas plates<sup>54</sup> dated in the year 692. Moreover, it is also stated in the Bagumra grant that even today, the Suras, Kinnaras, Siddhas, Sādhyas etc., sing the fame of Indrarāja (*Adyāpi yasya Sura-Kinnara-Siddha-Sādhyā-Vidyādharaḥhipatayo guṇa-pakṣapātāt, gāyanti kunda-kusuma-śri yaśo....*). This statement apparently indicates that Indrarāja was flourished at least few hundred years ago in the past. These serious inconsistencies can easily be explained

if we segregate the inscriptions of Rāṣṭrakūṭas with reference to the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the epoch of Śakānta or Śakakālātīta era (78 CE).

7. Interestingly, the Pimpalner grant<sup>55</sup> dated in Śakānta or Śakakālātīta 310 (388 CE) is the earliest grant that refers to the Śaka-nrpa-kālātīta era indicating the beginning of the use of the Śakānta or Śakakālātīta era in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Itagi,<sup>56</sup> Pali,<sup>57</sup> Dharwar<sup>58</sup> and Boargaon<sup>59</sup> plates of Vinayāditya dated from the year 516 (594 CE) to 520 (598 CE) also refer to the Śaka-nrpa-kālātīta era. The Pimpalner grant and the grants of Vinayāditya are the strongest evidence to establish that the Śaka era existed prior to 78 CE but historians rejected them as forgeries because these inscriptions are written in the Nāgari script whereas the inscriptions of early Chālukyas are written in the Southern script that was in vogue prior to the birth of Nāgari script. In fact, the inscriptions of early Chālukyas refer to the epoch of Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Pimpalner grant of Satyāśraya & the grants of later Chālukya King Vinayāditya refer to the epoch of Śakakālātīta era (78 CE).
8. Out of two copper plates found recently at Talagunda, Karnataka, one copper plate inscription belongs to the Kalachuri King Saṅkhama and dated Śaka 1102 (519-520 CE) whereas another copper plate belongs to western Chālukya King Vinayāditya and dated Śakānta 520 elapsed (599 CE). Both inscriptions were written in Nāgari characters. The epigraphists have assumed the copper plate of Vinayāditya to be spurious and forgery because the date “Śaka 520” cannot be chronologically explained. Interestingly, both the copper plates have been found at the corner of Praṇaveśvara Temple in Talagunda. The boundaries of the donated land given in these two plates are almost identical which clearly indicates that the land given to the contemporary Brāhmaṇas belonged to the same village, i.e., Tatākapura. Evidently, if the copper plate of Vinayāditya is spurious than the copper plate of Saṅkhama must also be spurious because both give the similar boundaries of the land granted. If the plate

of Saṅkhama is genuine than the plate of Vinayāditya must also be genuine. King Saṅkhama issued his copper plate in Śaka 1102 , i.e., 519-520 CE considering the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), whereas King Vinayāditya issued his copper plate in Śakānta 520, i.e., 598-599 CE considering the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE). Apparently, King Vinayāditya issued his copper plate 79 years after the date of the copper plate of King Saṅkhama. Undoubtedly, both copper plates had been granted to the two different generations of the same family. This is the reason why both plates found together at Talagunda. Moreover, the copper plate of King Vinayāditya refers to a solar eclipse occurred on Chaitra Amāvāsyā that regularly corresponds to 30<sup>th</sup> April 599 CE. Therefore, both copper plates are genuine because King Saṅkhama refers to the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) whereas King Vinayāditya refers to the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE).



Two copper plates were found buried in the south east corner of the Mahāmandapa of the Praṇaveśvara temple in Talagunda



The copper plates of Kalachuri  
King Saṅkama

The copper plates of Chālukya King  
Vinayāditya

9. The Buddhist literature and traditions of Burma and Thailand refer to two different epochs of the Śaka era, i.e., Mahāśakkaraj era and Chūlaśakkaraj era. Mahā means greater and Chūla means lesser. It may be noted that the reference of the Mahāśakkaraj era and the Chūlaśakkaraj era or the greater Śaka era and the lesser Śaka era is itself an evidence to prove that there were two different epochs of the Śaka era. One was the greater (583 BCE) and another was the lesser (78 CE). Since the epoch of 583 BCE was forgotten, historians mistakenly concluded that Mahāśakkaraj era commenced in 78 CE whereas Chūlaśakkaraj era commenced in 638 CE.

Based on the critical study of the epigraphic and literary references of the Śaka era and the verifiable details of the inscriptions, it can be factually concluded that the epoch of the Śaka era and the epoch of the Śakānta or Śakakālātīta era are not identical. The epoch of the Śaka era commenced from the coronation of the Śaka king in 583 BCE while the epoch of the Śakānta or Śakakālātīta was introduced by Indian astronomers in

78 CE. The era that commenced from the coronation of the Śaka king was referred to as “Śaka-nṛpa-kāla”, “Śaka-varṣa” etc., and the era that commenced from the end of the Śaka era was referred to as “Śakānta”, “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” etc. The compound word “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara....” has been misinterpreted as “the years elapsed from the era of the Śaka king” considering it Pañcamī or Saptamī tatpuruṣa compound as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālāt or Śaka-nṛpa-kāle atītāḥ saṁvatsarāḥ, teṣu”. It is, in fact, Dvitiyā tatpuruṣa compound as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālam atītaḥ = Śaka-nṛpa-kālātītaḥ, tasmāt saṁvatsarāḥ, teṣu” which means “the years from the end of the era of the Śaka king.” In very few instances like the Behatti grant of Kalachuri Singhana<sup>60</sup> and Puruṣottampuri grant of the Yādava king Rāmachandra,<sup>61</sup> the compound “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” was used as Pañcamī or Saptamī tatpuruṣa. The Surat plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkarāja and the Kauthem plates of Vikramāditya recorded the date as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣu.... atīteṣu”, which is irrefutable evidence that “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” is the compound word of Dvitiyā tatpuruṣa and not Pañcamī or Saptamī tatpuruṣa. The poet Somadeva Sūri also refers to the date of his work “Yaśastilaka Caṁpū” as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣvaṣṭasvekāśītyadhikeṣu gateṣu....”. It is totally absurd in Sanskrit to use “atīteṣu” or “gateṣu” again if “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” is a Pañcamī or Saptamī tatpuruṣa compound. King Madhurāntakadeva clearly refers to the epoch as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-Saṁvat” in his Rajapura plates. Evidently, the epoch of the Śaka Saṁvat (583 BCE) cannot be identical with the epoch of the Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-Saṁvat (78 CE).

### The Origin and the Originator of the Śaka era (583 BCE)

Jain sources inform us that Kālakāchārya invited the Śakas to take revenge against Gardabhilla, the King of Ujjain. The Śakas defeated Gardabhilla and reigned for four years in Ujjain. King Vikramāditya drove the Śakas away and founded the Mālava kingdom. After 135 years, the Śakas returned and conquered Ujjain in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. In all probability, Caṣṭana, the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa founded the rule of western Kṣatrapas around 583 BCE and introduced an epoch from the year of his coronation, i.e., 583 BCE.<sup>62</sup> Gradually, this epoch of the Śaka era became popular in North-Western India and also in South India. Though the Śakas or western

kśatrapas were completely routed by the Gupta kings in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE, the popular use of the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) was continued in South India.

### **The Legend of Śālivāhana, the Originator of the Śaka Era**

Traditional sources unanimously tell us that King Śālivāhana founded the epoch of the Śālivāhana era, i.e., the Śaka era. According to *Śālivāhana-Charita*, Śālivāhana was the grandson of a Kśatriya, Lāṭa Simha, whose residence was Pratiṣṭhāna-nagara on the banks of Narmadā River. Śālivāhana was born to his daughter Śāśikalā by Takśaka, one of the eight Nāgas who assumed the form of her husband during his absence. Śāśikalā fearing a social outrage placed his son in a covered earthen pot and threw into the Narmadā River. A potter got the pot while floating in the river and took the baby to his house. The child grew up in a pot-maker's house and afterwards became the great emperor Śālivāhana.

A Tamil Manuscript of *Chola Pūrva Patayam* (the history of ancient Cholas) collected by Mackenzie<sup>63</sup> gives an interesting account of King Śālivāhana. It states that Śālivāhana was born in Ayodhyā (probably, a mistake for Ambāvati or Amarāvati near to Pratiṣṭhāna as mentioned in *Śālivāhana-Charita*) in a potter's house with the blessings of Ādi Śeṣa. He conquered Vikramāditya and subdued Ayodhyā (Avanti?) country. Śālivāhana was also called as Bhoja. Probably, he belonged to ancient Bhoja clan of central India. He founded an era termed as the era of Śālivāhana. It is also recorded that Śālivāhana was a Śamana, a worshipper of Sarveśvarer (a worshipper of Ādi Śeṣa). In his time, there was a great disorder. Ancient fanes, rites and institutions were neglected. He overthrew all privileges which derived from King Vikramāditya. The three kings, Vīra Chola of the Cholas, Ulara Cheran of the Cheras and Vajrānga Pāndyan of the Pāndyas came together and vowed to destroy Śālivāhana. Finally, these three kings unitedly fought and killed Śālivāhana in Kali year 2443 (659 BCE) [*The scribe of the manuscript might have mistakenly mentioned 1443 instead of 2443*]. Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal gives the date of King Śālivāhana around 670 BCE. Kālidāsa's *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* (34 BCE) also mentions King Śālivāhana who founded an era.<sup>64</sup>

Evidently, the legend of the meteoric rise of King Śālivāhana in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE is a historical fact. In all probability, Śālivāhana had raised the army of Śaka Kśatrapas and defeated the King of Ujjain. He made Pratiśthāna as his capital and founded the Śālivāhana era. Ananta's Vīracharita narrates how Śālivāhana killed Vikrama and started the Śaka era. Vṛddha Garga and Varāhamihira mention that the epoch of Śaka Kala, i.e., the Śālivāhana era commenced in the 2526<sup>th</sup> year starting from the time of King Yudhiṣṭhira. In all probability, Vṛddha Garga might have counted 2526 years either from the epoch of 3176 BCE when Saptarṣis entered Maghā Nakṣatra or from the epoch of the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE) and the coronation of King Yudhiṣṭhira. In all probability, King Śālivāhana founded his era on 28<sup>th</sup> Oct 636 BCE, Mārgaśiṛṣa Śukla Pratipadā (the 2526<sup>th</sup> year from 3162 BCE). Seemingly, Ābhīraka, Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Uśavadāta (the son-in-law of Nahapāna and the son of Dinika) etc., were the Śaka Kśatrapas who supported Śālivāhana. It appears that Nahapāna referred to the Śālivāhana era (636 BCE) in his inscriptions, which are dated to the years 41-46. Thus, the inscriptions of Nahapāna can be dated around 595-590 BCE.

After the death of King Śālivāhana around 630 BCE, the descendants of Vikramāditya re-established their authority in Ujjain. Śaka Kśatrapa Nahapāna was holding his control over Saurashtra and northern Maharashtra. After the death of Nahapāna, Śaka Kśatrapa Caṣṭana conquered Ujjain and coronated himself on the throne of Ujjain in 583 BCE. Seemingly, Caṣṭana had reset the epoch of Śālivāhana era (636 BCE) in 583 BCE being the year of his coronation and introduced the *Chaitra Śuklādi* calendar with effective from 20/21 Mar 583 BCE, *Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā, Aśvinī Nakṣatra*. Thus, the epoch of Śālivāhana era came to be popularly known as the Śaka era. Though the rule of the Śaka Kśatrapas has been declined in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE but the popular use of the epoch of 583 BCE has continued.

Seemingly, Indians had traditionally remembered that the Śaka era was originally founded by King Śālivāhana though it was reset by the Śaka king Caṣṭana. Later, probably the Vaiṣṇavas started believing that the epoch of 583 BCE commenced from the birth of King Śālivāhana.

“*Muhūrta-Mārtānda*” composed in the year 1493 mentions the epoch of the Śaka era as the birth of King Śālivāhana. Thus, the Śaka era was more frequently referred to as the Śālivāhana era in later period. Since Indians gradually forgot the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), the astronomical epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE) has also been referred to as the Śālivāhana era considering it as identical with the Śaka era.

### The Origin of the Śakānta or Śakakālātīta Era (78 CE)

Indian astronomers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE understood the importance of the determination of “*ayanāṁśa*” (the difference between the length of a tropical year and a sidereal year). *Varāhamihira* referred to *Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā, Saumya Divasa*, Śaka 427 current, i.e., 21<sup>st</sup> March 157 BCE, Monday as the epoch of the zero year of equinoxes. Kālidāsa fixed the same in Śaka 445 elapsed (20<sup>th</sup> Mar 138 BCE) whereas Brahmagupta’s Brahma Siddhānta fixed it in Śaka 421 elapsed (16<sup>th</sup> Mar 162 BCE). In this process, Indian astronomers of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE found a perfect conjunction of Sun, Moon and Jupiter in Meṣa Rāśi (Aries) on Śukla Pratipadā, Sunday and *Aśvinī Nakṣatra*, i.e., 1<sup>st</sup> Apr 78 CE. Thus, Indian astronomers fixed the epoch of 78 CE and referred to it as Śakānta (the end of the Śaka era of 583 BCE). This epoch of 78 CE was known as Śakānta, i.e., the death of the Śaka king till the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. Al Beruni (1030 CE) also confirms that the death of the tyrant (Śaka king) was used as the epoch of an era (78 CE), especially by the astronomers.<sup>65</sup>





Mayasura's Sūrya Siddhānta had introduced the Jovian cycle of 12 years from 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE considering the conjunction of Sun and Jupiter in Aries. Ancient Indian astronomers knew that the conjunction of Sun and Jupiter creates a natural cycle for defining a year but the astronomers of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE might have discovered that the conjunction of Sun and Jupiter is a natural cycle to define the entire precessional cycle of ~26000 years. An article circulating in Yahoo group discussions perfectly explains this fact. I quote it verbatim:<sup>66</sup>

“The Zero of the Zodiac or the effect of the precession/ayanāmsā value can be derived independently and exactly from the data of the tropical ephemeris itself without any external input. The study proposes:

1. Like the Sun and Moon opposition and conjunctions form the natural cycle for a month; similarly, Jupiter and Sun conjunction/opposition create a natural cycle defining not only a year but also the entire precessional cycle of 25800 years. The very genesis of the Zero of the Zodiac and thus the beginning of Aries (Meśa) originates from this cycle.
2. The rate of precession over this cycle is at present 288 minutes (4 Degrees 48 minutes) per 344 years plus 5 days. This 344 year cycle comprises 320 conjunctions of Sun/Jupiter and is being termed as the Ujjayini cycle.
3. A single Jupiter/Sun conjunction/opposition leads to a precession of around 54 minutes.
4. 24000 conjunctions/oppositions of Sun/Jupiter lead to a full 360 degrees precession over a present period of 25800 years but this could vary depending on the natural cycles of Sun/Jupiter over the years.
5. The entire cycle would consist of 75 Ujjayini cycles of 344 years each with 25 cycles over 8600 years will lead to a 120 degree precession.
6. Precession over a single Rāśi/sign would take 2150 years at the present rate.

As is evident, the focus is on cycles regarding Sun/Jupiter conjunctions/oppositions. These cycles need to be studied separately in

the tropical ephemeris and in any *ayanāṁśa* corrected ephemeris. The integration of the two sets of data has brought these proposals which stem from the following observations:

1. Jupiter moves at varying speeds in different *signs/Rāśis* in different months. When conjunct with Sun its geocentric speed is 6:30 /7 degrees/month. Slowing down till retrograde, then moving in the opposite side and finally moving fast again at the next conjunction. A key pointer is that the movement of Jupiter is different in different *Rāśis/signs*.
2. A full cycle of Jupiter conjunctions over 12 years shows the key pattern of only 11 conjunctions with no conjunction in one of the 12 signs. The synodic cycle of Jupiter is different and varying when Jupiter is in different *Rāśis*.
3. In a tropical conjunction cycle the differential of the progression of two consecutive conjunctions between two consecutive signs varies over time in accordance with precessional effect. It does not do so in the *ayanāṁśa* adjusted ephemeris and the progressive differential is always minimal at the cusp of Libra/ Virgo.
4. The patterns emerging are similar to a single one year cycle of Jupiter. The elegance and simplicity of the macro linkage of a Jupiter cycle of 25800 years with the micro one year cycle is amazingly breathtaking.
5. Separately, in an *ayanāṁśa* adjusted ephemeris, observation of the multiple long term cycles of Jupiter conjunctions/ opposition with Sun reveals that in every 344 years and five days or 319 conjunctions/oppositions; Jupiter and Sun return to nearly the same point in the Zodiac. This natural cycle like the others which are known, the Metonic cycle; the Saros cycle runs in a series. From any date in a calendar and using an *ayanāṁśa* adjusted *Nirayana* ephemeris, to any other date 344 years + 4/5 days away will lead to nearly the same position of Jupiter as well as Sun. This is the cycle being termed as the Ujjayini cycle being

used to understand the rate of precession. This 25800 year cycle at present suggests an average 50.23 arc seconds of precession every year.”

This study conclusively establishes the importance of Sun and Jupiter conjunction for calculation of ayanāṁśa. In all probability, Indian astronomers of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE had selected epoch of the conjunction of Sun and Jupiter on 1<sup>st</sup> Apr 78 CE for defining not only a year but also for ayanāṁśa calculations.

Though, the epoch of 78 CE was generally used by Indian astronomers, the earliest use of this epoch is witnessed in the Pimpalner grant of Chālukya Satyāśraya dated in the year 310 and four grants of Chālukya Vinayāditya dated in the years 516 to 520. Interestingly, the epoch of 78 CE was referred to as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” in the inscriptions to distinguish it from the epoch of 583 BCE which was popularly referred to as “Śaka-varṣa”, “Śaka-nṛpa-kāla” etc. Since historians were ignorant of the difference between the epochs of the Śaka and Śakakālātīta era, they have mistakenly declared these grants as forgeries.

The epoch of Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta era (78 CE) started gaining popularity in South India from the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE onwards. Gradually, Indians forgot the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) in due course of time. The use of the similar expressions like “Śaka-varṣada”, “Śakābde”, “Śaka” etc., for the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta era (78 CE) in the inscriptions also complicated the problem of distinguishing two different eras. When Al Beruni visited India in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE, Indian astronomers generally knew only one astronomical epoch of the Śaka era, i.e., the killing of the Śaka king that commenced in 78 CE.

The critical and comprehensive study of epigraphic and literary references of the Śaka era apparently leads us to the conclusion that the Śaka era and the Śakānta era are not identical. The epoch of the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE whereas the epoch of the Śakānta era commenced in 78 CE. The chronological history of ancient India has been brought forward by 661 years because these two different epochs have been mistakenly considered as identical. The inscriptions dated in the Śaka era

must be segregated into these two epochs carefully for reconstructing the chronology of ancient India. If we consider the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE based on the verifiable details of inscriptions and the revised epochs of various other Indian eras as the sheet anchors for reconstructing the chronology of ancient India, it not only reconciles with the chronology given in Purāṇas, Buddhist and Jain sources but also ensures that there is not a single inscription which can be rejected as “spurious” or “forgery”.



# 3

## The Epoch of Buddha Nirvāṇa (1864 BCE)

The epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa has been referred to in the Buddhist literature and traditions of India, Tibet, Bhutan, Burma, Sri Lanka, China, Thailand, Japan and Mongolia. Numerous inscriptions found in Burma, Sri Lanka and India also refer to the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa. Eminent historians have generally assumed the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE considering the dubious identification of Sandrokottus with Chandragupta Maurya but the date of 483 BCE leads to numerous inconsistencies in the chronology of ancient India, Persia, Sri Lanka, Tibet and Burma. For instance, Al Beruni states that *“In former times, Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathushtra (Zoroaster II) went forth from Azarbaijan and preached Magism in Balkh..... In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to immigrate to the countries east of Balkh.”*<sup>21</sup> This statement of Al Beruni explicitly indicates that Buddha lived at least few hundred years before Zoroaster.

Abu Rayhan (4<sup>th</sup> century CE) also indicates in his Arabic text of the *Athar-ul-Bakiya* (the Chronology of Ancient Nations) that Buddha flourished before Zoroaster. While explaining the dating of the eras of the pseudo-prophets, Abu Rayhan mentions that the first pseudo-prophet was Buddhasaf (Bodhisatva). Zaradusht (Zoroaster II) was the second pseudo-prophet. He says: *“The first mentioned is Buddhasaf, who came forward in India after the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Tahmurath. He introduced the Persian writing and called people to the religion of the Shabians. Whereupon many people followed him. The Peshdadhian kings and some of the Kayanians who resided in Balkh held in great veneration the sun and moon, the planets and the primal elements, and worshipped them as holy beings,*

*until the time when Zaradusht appeared thirty years after the accession of Bishtasf. Before the first establishment of their rites and the appearance of Buddhasaf people were inhabiting the eastern part of the world and worshipping idols. The remnants of them are at present in India, China and among the Taghazghar; the people of Khurasan call them Shamanan. Their monuments, the Baharas (Viharas) of their idols, their Farkharas are still to be seen on the frontier countries between Khurasan and India.”<sup>2</sup>*

Evidently, the Persian historical tradition unambiguously relates that Buddha flourished before the lifetime of Zoroaster but historians have ridiculously fixed the date of Zoroaster around 628-551 BCE and the date of Buddha around 563-483 BCE. The trilingual Daiva inscription of Achaemenid King Xerxes reads: “Among these countries (parts of Iran submitted to Xerxes) was where previously daivas were worshipped. Then, by the favour of Ahur Mazda, I destroyed that Daiva place, and I had proclaimed, the Daivas shall not be worshipped. Where previously the Daivas were worshipped, there I worshipped Ahura Mazda properly with Law.” Now the question who were the Daivas in Iran? If we read this inscription with the statement of Abu Rayhan and Al Beruni, the Daivas were most probably, Buddhists. Therefore, Buddha must be dated at least few centuries before Zoroaster.

The archaeological studies based on the recent excavations at Lumbini conclusively suggest an earlier date of nirvāṇa than 483 BCE. Radiocarbon samples from the wooden postholes fills in the Trench C5 at the center of the Buddhist shrine at Lumbini provided dates of 1681-1521 BCE and 799-546 BCE. OSL (Optically Stimulated Luminescence) measurements from early land surfaces within Trench C5 yielded dates of 1520 BC ± 340, 990 BC ± 290 and 545 ± 235.<sup>2</sup>

Interestingly, Cheikh Anta Diop, a Senegalese historian writes in his book “The African Origin of Civilisation: Myth or Reality” that “*It would seem that Buddha was an Egyptian priest, chased from Memphis by the persecution of Cambyses. This tradition would justify the portrayal of Buddha with woolly hair. Historical documents do not invalidate this tradition... There is general agreement today on placing in the sixth century not only Buddha but the whole religious and philosophical movement in*

*Asia with Confucius in China, Zoroaster in Iran. This would confirm the hypothesis of a dispersion of Egyptian priests at that time spreading their doctrine in Asia. [Page 287]"*

Diop's mention of Memphis is interesting because Petrie (1908) found evidence of Buddhist colonist, which he claimed dated back to the Persian period of Egypt (525-405 BCE). He wrote: "On the right side, at the top is the Tibetan Mongolian, below that the Aryan woman of the Punjab, and at the base a seated figure in Indian attitude with the scarf over the left shoulder. These are the first remains of Indians known on the Mediterranean. Hitherto there have been no material evidences for that connection which is stated to have existed, both by embassies from Egypt and Syria to India, and by the great Buddhist mission sent by Aśoka as far west as Greece and Cyrene. We seem now to have touched the Indian colony in Memphis, and we may hope for more light on that connection which seems to have been so momentous for Western thought." If Petrie's dating is correct, this puts Buddhists in Egypt around 525 BCE.<sup>3</sup>

Let us critically and comprehensively analyse the entire evidence to establish the true epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa. Many scholars, Indologists, historians and archaeologists have researched extensively to establish the epoch of the Buddha nirvāṇa but the exact date of the Buddha nirvāṇa is yet to be convincingly established. During the last 200 years, Indologists and historians have explored various Buddhist sources and shortlisted the following probable dates of the Buddha nirvāṇa which can be categorized into the following six groups.<sup>4</sup>

**A. ~2000-2100 BCE**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. The dates from various Tibetan sources collected by Max Muller | 2422 BCE,<br>2148 BCE,<br>2139 BCE,<br>2136 BCE,<br>2135 BCE |
|---|--|

**B. ~1350 BCE**

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| 2. Abul Fazal  | 1366 BCE |
| 3. Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅginī                             | 1332 BCE |
| 4. A date from Tibetan Sources mentioned by Max Muller | 1310 BCE |

**C. ~1000 BCE.**

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| 5. Padma Karpo (1527-1592 CE), a Lama from Lhasa and Bhutan                                 | 1058 BCE |
| 6. Answer by Fa Hien given to the monks of his first resting place after crossing the Indus | 1100BCE  |
| 7. A couplet from Chinese historians  | 1036 BCE |
| 8. Japanese Encyclopedia  | 1027 BCE |
| 9. Matouan-lin, a Chinese historian of the 12 <sup>th</sup> century                         | 1027 BCE |
| 10. Jaehrig, from Mongol Chronology   | 991 BCE  |
| 11. Max Muller  | 1060 BCE |
| 12. Bentley   | 1081 BCE |
| 13. Bentley   | 1004 BCE |
| 14. De Guigne's Researches  | 1027 BCE |
| 15. William Jones   | 1027 BCE |

**D. ~850 BCE**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 16. The era adopted at Lhasa and founded on average of nine dates quoted by Padma Karpo, who himself however rejects them. | 835 BCE                                     |
| 17. Max Muller (from Tibetan sources)  | 884 BCE,<br>882 BCE,<br>880 BCE,<br>837 BCE |

**E. ~650-620 BCE**

- |   |         |
|---|---------|
| 18. Max Muller  | 653 BCE |
| 19. The Chinese cited by Klaproth & The Lao Buddhist era. | 638 BCE |
| 20. The Peguan (quoted by Wilson)                         | 638 BCE |
| 21. The Simhalese (quoted by Wilson)                      | 619 BCE |

**F. ~544 BCE**

- |   |         |
|---|---------|
| 22. The Burmese epoch                     | 544 BCE |
| 23. The Siamese epoch                     | 544 BCE |
| 24. The Simhalese epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa | 543 BCE |

It is pertinent to understand how these dates of Buddha nirvāṇa have been arrived. The dates of Group B have been calculated considering the epoch of Kaliyuga in 2448 BCE. It is a well-established fact that Kaliyuga commenced in 3101 BCE and not in 2448 BCE. The epoch of 2448 BCE was established in the later medieval period because the epochs of Śaka



and Śakānta eras have been considered identical. In reality, the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE whereas the Śakānta era commenced in 78 CE.

An epoch of 835 BCE was adopted at Lhasa based on average of nine dates as quoted by Padma Karpo who himself rejected the date of 835 BCE. It is totally absurd to take average of historical dates to fix an epoch. Therefore, we can ignore the dates as indicated in Group D. Now we have broadly the following three dates of Buddha nirvāṇa:

1. ~644-544 BCE
2. ~1100-1000 BCE
3. ~2200-2100 BCE

However, the majority of Buddhist sources indicate the date of Buddha nirvāṇa about ~1100-1000 years before the Common Era.

### **How Modern Historians Fixed the Epoch of the Buddha Nirvāṇa Around 483 CE**

The critical and comprehensive study of epigraphic and literary references of the Śaka era leads us to the conclusion that the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE) are not identical as already discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, there is an error of 661 years in the chronology of ancient India due to a mix up of two different epochs of the Śaka era. Moreover, historians have inadvertently identified Chandragupta of Ujjain, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu with Maurya King Chandragupta and assumed that Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne in Ujjain in 312 BCE. According to the ancient Jain tradition, Chandragupta who became the disciple of Bhadrabāhu and also known as Viśākhāchārya, was the king of Ujjain. He was the father of Simhasena and the grandfather of Bhāskara<sup>3</sup> whereas Chandragupta Maurya was the father of Bindusāra and grandfather of Aśoka. Actually, the Jain scholars like Hemachandra, Chidānandakavi, etc., of later period mistakenly identified Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu to be Chandragupta Maurya. In fact, there is no mention of the Maurya kings after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa in Jain text Harivaṃśa and ancient Jain Paṭṭāvalī. This mistaken identification had not only contracted the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa by ~664 years but also made Buddha contemporary of Mahāvira.

The monumental blunder in fixing the epochs of the Śaka and the Śakānta eras and the mistaken identification of Bhadrabāhu's disciple indicate that there is a chronological error of ~1381 years in dating of Buddha nirvāṇa. Therefore, let us critically and comprehensively review the dating of Buddha nirvāṇa based on epigraphic and literary evidence. Many scholars, Indologists, historians and archaeologists have researched extensively to establish the epoch of the Buddha nirvāṇa but the exact date of the Buddha nirvāṇa is yet to be convincingly established.

It is well known that western Indologists and historians believed in the contemporaneity of Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander which emerged as the sheet anchor for the reconstruction of Indian chronology. According to the majority of Buddhist traditions, Buddha attained nirvāṇa 100 years before the coronation of King Aśoka (short chronology). Though Sri Lankan chronicles mention that Buddha attained nirvāṇa 218 years before the coronation of King Aśoka (long chronology), these chronicles also record the reign of Kālāśoka 100 years after the Buddha nirvāṇa. Since the short chronology leads to many chronological inconsistencies, the eminent historians have explored for a date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 160 years before the date of the coronation of Chandragupta Maurya. Considering the date of Alexander's death around 323 BCE, historians have fixed the date of Chandragupta's ascension around 324 BCE.

According to Burmese sources, King Sumundri has established an epoch referred to by historians as "Prome epoch" in the 623<sup>rd</sup> elapsed year of the Buddha dhamma, i.e., the Theravāda Buddhism.<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, historians have concocted that the first year of the Prome epoch is identical with the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE) but there is not an iota of evidence to even remotely support this wild assumption. They have counted 623 elapsed years back from 78 CE and fixed an epoch of 544 BCE. Thus, eminent historians have propagated that the epoch of 544 BCE is indeed the traditional epoch of the Buddha nirvāṇa era that was in practice during the ancient times of Burma.

However, the date of 544 BCE was 60 years longer than the required date of Buddha nirvāṇa, i.e. 218 years before the coronation of King Aśoka but historians could not find a date closer than 544 BCE. Later, historians

found the Dotted record of the Canton that provided justification for the long chronology. This Dotted record of the Canton indirectly indicates that total 975 years elapsed up to the year of 489 CE from the epoch of the Buddha nirvāṇa. According to the Chinese accounts, when Buddha attained nirvāṇa, Upāli finalized the text of Vinaya Piṭaka and put one dot on its front page of the manuscript in commemoration of the event. Upāli handed over the manuscript to his disciple. The adding of one dot to its front page every year continued for several centuries. An Indian Sthavira took this manuscript to China and established his headquarters at Canton and continued the practice of putting one dot every year. These dots were counted during the reign of a king belonging to a Loyang dynasty and their number was found to be 975. The practice of adding dots to the book had stopped 53 years before the time of their counting which took place in 535 CE. If we deduct 53 from 535, the last year would be 482 CE when the practice of adding dots was stopped. Some historians calculated 975 years back from 482 CE and arrived at the year 493 BCE. W Pachow mentioned in his article “A Study of the Dotted Record” that the 975<sup>th</sup> dot was placed in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Yung-ming, i.e., 489 CE.<sup>5</sup> We get 489 CE minus 975 years equals 486 BCE. But Pachow concocted that three extra dots had been inadvertently added. Therefore, the actual number of dots should have been 972 and not 975. Thus, eminent historians have somehow established a tailor-made year of 483 BCE and propagated that the actual date of Buddha nirvāṇa must be 489 CE minus 972 equals 483 BCE.

Apart from the above, a Sri Lankan historian has speculated based on the Kiribat Vehera Pillar Inscription that a chronology starting from 483 BCE as Buddha nirvāṇa had been used in Sri Lanka until the 11<sup>th</sup> century but 60 years extra had been added later into the chronology of the kings of Sri Lanka. Thus, the Buddhavarṣa of 544 BCE came into practice in Sri Lanka.

In reality, the Buddhist traditions of Burma, Sri Lanka or Siam never used the epoch of 544 BCE or 483 BCE. Actually, western Indologists and historians blindly believed in the contemporaneity of Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander based on the references of Indian King “Sandrokottus” found in the works of ancient Greek historians. They

have never honestly verified the Indian traditional historical account to support their wild assumptions. Rather they have indulged in distorting the historical data of entire South Asia to uphold their blind believes as historical facts.

The Sri Lankan chronicles (Dīpavaṃśa and Mahāvāṃśa) mention that Maurya King Aśoka was consecrated 218 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Since the colonial historians believed that Chandragupta Maurya, the contemporary of Alexander, ascended the throne in 324 BCE and his grandson Aśoka ascended the throne in 265 BCE, they were desperately in search of an epoch of 483 BCE (265 + 218) for Buddha nirvāṇa. Though the traditional dates of Buddha nirvāṇa indicated an epoch greater than 1000 BCE, historians have rejected all traditional dates as spurious because these dates are more than 600 years earlier than 483 BCE. Finally, historians found a clue from Burmese sources that King Sumundri introduced an epoch in the 623<sup>rd</sup> year after Buddha nirvāṇa. Seemingly, King Sumundri established Prome city as his capital in the 623<sup>rd</sup> year of Buddhavarṣa. The colonial historians came up with a brilliant idea to calculate 623 years back from the epoch of the Śākānta era (78 CE) and concluded 78 minus 623 equals 545 BCE. Somehow, they have squeezed one year and proclaimed the discovery of the Burmese epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa as 544-543 BCE. In fact, historians have never produced any evidence to prove the commencement of the Prome epoch in 78 CE. There is not an iota of evidence available to even remotely suggest the Prome epoch in 78 CE. Since the concocted Prome epoch of 78 CE reconciles the chronology of Burma and Sri Lanka, the eminent historians have propounded that the epoch of 544 BCE was indeed the traditional date of Buddha nirvāṇa.

According to historians, the Dotted Record of Canton is contained in the “*Li-Tai San-pao chi*” (The chronicle of three Jewels) was composed in Changan in 597 CE by Fei Chang-fang. This compilation often refers to the *Ch’u san-tsang chi* but also quotes several ancient catalogues which it lists. These catalogues had already been lost in Fei Chang-fang’s time but he was able to quote them second-hand, probably from *Li-tai Chung ching mu lu* finished in 518 CE by Pao-Ch’ang.<sup>6</sup> Evidently, the epoch of 483

BCE as derived from this Dotted record is just a speculative conclusion. If this Dotted record would have been more than 975 dots, historians would have demonized this record as mythology. Since it somehow reconciles with their desired date, they have accepted it as authentic. In reality, the Dotted record of Canton cannot qualify to be the primary evidence to fix the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa.

The Kiribat Vehera Pillar Inscription of Sri Lanka simply refers to the 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Siri Sangbo (Sri Sanghabodhi).<sup>7</sup> Wickremasinghe, an archaeologist of Sri Lanka has calculated certain dates based on too many assumptions and claimed that Sri Lanka might have followed an epoch of 483 BCE till the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE which was later replaced by the epoch of 544 BCE. This claim did not get much acceptance among historians. In view of above, we can conclude that there is no direct evidence which exists to prove the epochs of 544 BCE or 483 BCE as the traditional date of Buddha nirvāṇa. Let us explore the traditional date of Buddha nirvāṇa as recorded in various Buddhist sources.

### **The Date of Buddha Nirvāṇa in Tibetan Tradition**

There was a divergence of opinion existed about the date of Buddha nirvāṇa in Tibet starting from the date of the revival of the Tibetan Buddhism in the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. The entire Tibetan literature came into existence starting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE onwards. Almost thirteen different dates of Buddha nirvāṇa are found in the Tibetan literature.

Following the date mentioned in the famous Sino-Tibetan treaty, a school of Sa-skyapa scholars claim that Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 2134 BCE considering 2955 years elapsed up to 821 CE. Another tradition of Sa-skyapa records that 3862 years had passed to 1442 CE which indicates the date of 2420 BCE. Nel Pa Pandita mentions that 3588 years had passed to 1442 CE which leads to the date of 2146 BCE. According to the calculations made by *Yid Bzan rtse ba*, 2750 years had passed from the nirvāṇa to 1442 CE, which means Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1308 BCE.

Tibetan scholar Sum pa-mkhan-po (1704-1788 CE), the author of *Dpag-Bsam Ljon-Bzan* (the history of Doctrine) mentions that Bu-ston dates the birth of Buddha to 915 BCE (Fire Horse year) and the nirvāṇa

to 833 BCE (Fire Tiger Year). The astronomers of Jo-nan-pa school (Kālachakra doctrine) state that Buddha was born in 915 BCE (Fire Horse Year) and attained nirvāṇa in 834 BCE (Fire-Hare Year). In his work titled “*Chos’ Byung*”, Bu ston states that from the point of view of the Kālachakra system, 2198 years should be reckoned to have passed from the time when Buddha preached Mūlatantra of this system to 1322 CE when the *Chos’ Byung* was written. He indicates the year 876 BCE in which Buddha preached Mūlatantra. Another Tibetan text refers to the date of nirvāṇa in 881 BCE (Earth Dragon Year) and the Birth in 961 BCE (Iron-Monkey Year). According to another Tibetan source, Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 651 BCE.

Śākyaśribhadra and his Tibetan followers calculated the date of nirvāṇa around 544 BCE. Brug pa Padma-dkar-po says that 2650 years had passed from the nirvāṇa to 1592 CE. Thus, Buddha attained nirvāṇa around 1058 BCE. The author of Blue Annals records with reference to the Chinese Annals that 1566 years elapsed up to 618 CE from the date of nirvāṇa which leads to the date of 948 BCE.

Let us now summarize the following 11 dates of Buddha nirvāṇa as indicated in Tibetan Buddhist traditions:

Source	Nirvāṇa of Buddha	Birth of Buddha
1. Sa-skya pa tradition (A)	2420 BCE	2500 BCE
2. Sa-skya pa tradition (B)	2134 BCE	2214 BCE
3. Nel Pa Pandita	2146 BCE	2226 BCE
4. Yid Bzan rtse ba	1308 BCE	1388 BCE
5. Kālachakra Doctrine	834 BCE	915 BCE
6. Bu Ston	833 BCE	915 BCE
7. Phug-lugs	881 BCE	961 BCE
8. Śākyaśribhadra tradition of Tibet	540 BCE	620 BCE
9. Another Tibetan Tradition	651 BCE	731 BCE
10. Padma Karmo or Brug pa Padma-dkar-po	1058 BCE	1138 BCE
11. Chinese Annals quoted by the author of Blue Annals	948 BCE	1028 BCE

As already explained, there is an error of 660 years in the chronological history of India. Therefore, we have to add 660 years to the dates mentioned in the Common Era above to arrive the real dates of nirvāṇa indicated in Tibetan traditions:

Source	Nirvāṇa of Buddha
1. Sa-skya pa tradition (A)	3080 BCE
2. Sa-skya pa tradition (B)	2794 BCE
3. Nel Pa Pandita	2806 BCE
4. Yid Bzan rtse ba	1968 BCE
5. Atiśa and Kālachakra Doctrine	1494 BCE
6. Bu Ston	1493 BCE
7. Phug-lugs	1541 BCE
8. Śākyaśribhadra tradition of Tibet	1200 BCE
9. Another Tibetan Tradition	1311 BCE
10. Padma Karpo or Brug pa Padma- dkar-po	1718 BCE
11. Chinese Annals quoted by the author of Blue Annals	1608 BCE

**The Dates of 3080 BCE, 2806 BCE and 2794 BCE:** When the royal dynasty of Tibet had declined, the Sa skya pa Buddhist spiritual leaders of the noble family of Khon became the de-facto rulers of Tibet. Seemingly, they have studied the old Sino-Tibetan treatises to update themselves about the history of diplomatic relations between Tibet and China. The famous Sino-Tibetan treaty refers to the year 2955 of unknown era. The Sa skya pa scholars of Tibet mistakenly assumed it as the date of Buddha nirvāṇa. In fact, this treaty was signed in the Chinese capital of Changan. Most probably, the Sino-Tibetan treaty referred to an epoch of ancient Chinese calendar.

**The Date of 1968 BCE:** Most probably, the text of Yid Bzan rtse ba calculated the date of 1968 BCE based on the Kashmiri tradition. *Rājatarāṅginī* of Kalhaṇa indicates the date of Buddha nirvāṇa to be around ~2165 BCE. Seemingly, the confusion in dating of the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda led to this chronological error of ~300 years in the history of ancient Kashmir. The Purāṇas erroneously mention that Mahāpadma Nanda ascended the throne 1015, 1050 or 1150 years but the total regnal years of the Bṛhadrathas (1000 years), the Pradyotas (138 years) and the Śiśunāgas (362 years) add up to 1500 years.

**The Date of 1718 BCE:** Evidently, Padma Karpo calculated roughly this date based on the traditional epoch of the Theravāda Buddhism of Burma and Sri Lanka. In fact, Theravāda separated from Mahāsāṅghikas during the second Buddhist Council held around 1765 BCE, 100 years after the nirvāṇa of Buddha. The epoch of 1765 BCE was traditionally referred to in the Burmese inscriptions and Sri Lankan chronicles.

**The Date of 1608 BCE, 1541 BCE and 1494 BCE:** According to ancient Gilgit manuscripts, Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi of Kashmir, the founder of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the author of *Mulatantra (Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñāpāramita Sūtra)* attained nirvāṇa 400 years before Kushana King Kanishka. Kalhaṇa indicates that Nāgārjuna of Kashmir lived in the third century after Buddha nirvāṇa. In all probability, Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi or Samantabhadra or Padmasambhava or Padmapāṇi (the second Buddha) lived around 1550 BCE considering the date of Kanishka around 1150-1118 BCE. Evidently, Tibetan and Chinese Mahāyāna traditions have referred to the nirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi around 1550 BCE but mistakenly assumed it to be the date of Buddha nirvāṇa.

**The Date of 1200 BCE and 1311 BCE:** This date of Buddha nirvāṇa was undoubtedly introduced in Tibet by Śākyaśribhadra of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. He was the teacher of Vikramaśilā Vihāra before Muslim invasion on the Buddhist vihāras of Bihar and Bengal. A Gaya inscription is dated in the year 1817 of Buddha nirvāṇa. It refers to King Aśokachalla of Gaya region. This inscription refers to the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa in 1200 BCE. A Nepali manuscript also refers to the epoch of 1200 BCE as the date of Buddha nirvāṇa. Śākyaśribhadra had introduced the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1200 BCE) in Tibet in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Tibetans had no knowledge of the date of 1200 BCE before the arrival of Śākyaśribhadra. Tibetans had great respect for Śākyaśribhadra and started following the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1200 BCE). Most of the Tibetan annals and historical works were written after the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. They have to reconcile the chronological history of Tibet with reference to the date of 1200 BCE, which led to numerous inconsistencies.

### **The Date of Buddha Dhamma or Nirvāṇa in Burmese and Sri Lankan Traditions**

The Myazedi inscription is the oldest inscription of Myanmar that found



on a stone pillar near Myazedi Pagoda at Pagan. It was written in four languages: Pali, Burmese, Talaing and Pyu. This inscription tells us that one thousand six hundred twenty-eight (1628) years of the Buddha's religion having elapsed, King Tribhuvanāditya Dhammarāja ascended the throne in the city of Arimaddanapura (*Nibbana Lokanathassa atthavimsadhike gate, sahasse pana vassanam cha-sate va pare tatha....*). Trilokāvataṃsaka Devi was his wife and Rājakumāra was his son. It also informs that King Tribhuvanāditya attained nirvāṇa after having ruled for 28 years.<sup>8</sup>

“*Śāsanavamśa*,” a historical account of Buddhist religion in Burma states that King Anuruddha began to reign in the Jinachakka (*Jinachakra = Theravāda Buddhism*) year 1561 and the year 371 of the Śakkarāj era (*tato paccha Jinachakke eka-satthadhike (61) panchasate sahasse (1500) cha sampatte kaliyuge eka-sattatadhike tisate (371) sampatte Anuruddha raja rajyam papuni...*). Evidently, the Pali text “*Śāsanavamśa*” clearly indicates that there was a difference of 1190 years between the Jinachakka era and the Śakkarāj era. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), the epoch of Jinachakka or Buddha nirvāṇa or Buddha Dhamma commenced in 1773 BCE. Thus, we can fix the date of King Anuruddha around 212 BCE and the date of Tribhuvanāditya Dhammarāja around 145-117 BCE. Many Burmese inscriptions mention the era of Buddha Dhamma and the Śakkarāj era as details given below:

	Year in Buddha Dhamma era	Year in Śakkarāj era	Difference	Reference
1.	1601	419	1182	pp. 7 (The Kalyani inscriptions)
2.	1796	599	1197	pp. 52 (Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava)
3.	1837	654	1183	Ibid, pp. 63
4.	1843	661	1182	Ibid, pp. 137
5.	1919	737	1182	Ibid, pp. 9
6.	1925	743	1182	Ibid, pp. 5
7.	1986	804	1182	Ibid, pp. 37
8.	2001	819	1182	Epigraphia Birmanica, Vol 4, pp. 44
9.	2002, 2047	820, 865	1182	pp. 60 (The Kalyani

			inscriptions)	
10.	2052	870	1182	pp. 63 (Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava)
11.	2095	913	1182	Ibid, pp. 94
12.	2295	1113	1182	Ibid, pp. 15
13.	2307	1125	1182	Ibid, pp. 16
14.	2312	1130	1182	Ibid, pp. 22
15.	2320	1138	1182	Ibid, pp.167
16.	2366	1184	1182	Ibid, pp. 173
17.	2365	1183	1182	Ibid, pp. 175
18.	2372	1190	1182	Ibid, pp. 176
19.	2390	1208	1182	Ibid, pp. 183

It is evident from the above that there was a difference of 1182 to 1197 years between the epoch of Buddha Dhamma or Jinachakra or Buddha nirvāṇa and the epoch of the Śāka era (583 BCE). Since most of the inscriptions indicate the difference of 1182 years, historians have calculated 1182 years starting from 544 BCE and proclaimed that the epoch of the Śakkarāj era commenced in 638 CE and that is identical with the epoch of the Burmese era. Thus, historians unreasonably brought forward the inscriptional history of Burma by 1182 years and propagated that the earliest inscription of Burma is dated 1085 CE. In fact, the Burmese inscriptions clearly tell us that the Buddha Dhamma era commenced 1182 years before the epoch of the Śakkarāj era (583 BCE), i.e., around 1765 BCE.

The Kalyani inscriptions of Rāmānadeśa (Hāmsavatīpura) also indicate that the epoch of Buddha Dhamma commenced in 1765 BCE.<sup>9</sup> South-eastern Burma and Thailand (the Monland) was called Rāmānadeśa or Suvarṇabhūmi in ancient times. Its capital was Hāmsavatīpura. The inscriptions of Rāmānadeśa were dated in the epoch of Śakkarāj era from the year 607 to 841.

An inscription of King Rāmādhipati of Rāmānadeśa informs us that the 1472<sup>nd</sup> year had elapsed since the establishment of the religion in Lankādvīpa and the 1708<sup>th</sup> year had elapsed since Buddha nirvāṇa and the 18<sup>th</sup> year had elapsed since Mahārāja Sirisanghabodhi Parākramabāhu was ruling in Lankādvīpa. It was recorded in the Kalyani inscription that

the excellent compilers of Aṭṭhakathas have declared that the religion of Buddha will last for 5000 years; but alas only 2047 years have now passed away since the enlightened one attained Buddhahood. The inscriptions dated in the year 837 to 841 of the Śakkarāj era (583 BCE) refer to the reigning king Rāmādhipati. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), the inscriptions belonged to the period of Śaka 837-841 are dated around 254-258 CE. Considering the date of Śaka 837 (254 CE) as the 2047<sup>th</sup> year, the epoch of the Buddha's enlightenment might have commenced around 1793 BCE.

The Pali text “*Śāsanavarṃśa*” mentions that King Anuruddha ascended the throne in the year 1561 of the Jinachakka era and the year 371 of the Śakkarāj era. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), King Anuruddha began to reign in 212 BCE in Arimaddanapura, i.e., Pagan, i.e., Pagan. According to the Kalyani inscription, King Anuruddha brought a community of Buddhist priests together with the Tripiṭaka from Rāmānadeśa and established the religion in Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in the year 1601 of the Jinachakka era and the year 419 of the Śakkarāj era (164 BCE). Thus, we can conclusively fix the date of the Pagan King Anuruddha around 212-164 BCE.

An inscription of Shwezigon Pagoda informs that the Pagoda was built by Anuvrata in the year 421 of the Śakkarāj era (162 BCE). Evidently, Anuvrata was the son of Anuruddha and ruled from the year 420 to 446 of the Śakkarāj era (163-137 BCE). The Myazedi inscription tells us that King Tribuvanāditya ascended the throne in the year 1628 of the Buddha religion and reigned for 28 years. Therefore, we can fix the date of King Tribhuvanāditya around 137-109 BCE. Rājakumāra, the son of King Tribhuvanāditya succeeded his father around 109 BCE. According to the Kalyani inscription, King Narapatijayaśūra was ruling at Pagan around the year 543 of the Śakkarāj era (40 BCE). The Kalyani inscription mentions that King Rāmādhipati was ruling in Hāmsavatīnagara, Rāmānadeśa in the year 2002 of the Buddha religion and in the year 820 of the Śakkarāj era (237 CE). King Rāmādhipati assumed the title of Siripavaramahā-Dhamma-Rājādhirāja. He ruled over Rāmānadeśa, which comprised the three provinces of Kuśimandala, Hāmsavatīmandala and Muttimamandala.

Historians have mistakenly identified King Anuruddha (137-109 BCE) with King Kyansittha (1084-1111CE) who ascended the throne in the year 446 of the Burmese era (638 CE). They have also identified King Rāmādhipati Siripavaramahā-Dhamma-Rājādhira of Hamsavatīpura (237-282 CE) with King Dhammaceti of Pegu who reigned around (1460-1491CE). Thus, the chronology of Burma has been erroneously brought forward by ~1182 years. Historians have concocted that the epoch of the Śakkarāj era (583 BCE) is identical with the epoch of the Burmese era (638 CE).

The Kalyani inscription gives the chronology of Sri Lankan Buddhism. It states that one Mahāmahindathera, who was sent by Moggaliputta-Tissa-Mahāthera, went to Tāmbapannidvīpa (Sri Lanka) and established the religion 236 years after Buddha's nirvāṇa. Devānāmpīya Tissa became the King of Sri Lanka and founded Mahāvihāra monastery in the year 1529 BCE (1765 BCE – 236). From the date of the foundation of Mahāvihāra, the religion remained pure for 218 years (1529-1311 BCE). King Vattagāmini-Abhaya conquered Dadhiya, King of Damilas (Tamil regions) and attained to kingship in Lankādvīpa. A confederacy of seven Damila princes defeated King Vattagāmini-Abhaya. The Sri Lankan King Vattagāmini-Abhaya fled and remained in hiding for 14 years. Thereafter, he restored his kingdom and invited a Thera named Mahātissa who assisted him during his exile and founded Abhayagiri-Vihāra monastery. Thenceforward, the Buddhists were divided into two sects, namely, Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri-Vihāra. Thus, Abhayagiri-Vihāra was founded in 1297 BCE (1311 BCE – 14). In the 357<sup>th</sup> year that had elapsed since the foundation of the Abhayagiri-Vihāra, a king called Mahāsena ruled over Lankādvīpa for 27 years. Thus, we can fix the reign of Mahāsena around 940-913 BCE (1297 BCE – 357). Mahāsena founded Jetavana Vihāra and presented it to Tissathera. Thus, a third sect of Jetavana Vihāra came into existence.

The Kalyani inscription further informs us that since three sects have been established within 600 years from the year of the establishment of religion in Lankādvīpa, i.e. 1529 BCE, gradually, the religion became impure and tainted. Therefore, Sri Lankan King Siri-Sanghabodha

Parākramabāhu purified the religion by commanding the expulsion of large number of unorthodox and sinful priests and declared that the Mahāvihāra will be the only sect in Lankādvīpa. This event occurred in the year 1708 of the Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE), i.e., 57 BCE and in the year 1472 of the establishment of the religion in Lankādvīpa (1529 BCE - 1472), i.e., 57 BCE and in the 18<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Siri-Sanghabodhi Parākramabāhu. The Kalyani inscription of Rāmānadeśa also mentions that King Siri-Sanghabodhi Parākramabāhu purified the religion in Lankādvīpa in the Śakkarāj era 526 (57 BCE). Thus, we can conclusively fix the date of coronation of the King Siri-Sanghabodhi Parākramabāhu in 75 BCE. Thereafter, Vijayabāhu and Parākramabāhu also took various steps to purify the religion. The Kalyani inscription also informs that Sri Lankan King Bhuvanaikabāhu was the contemporary of King Rāmādhipati of Rāmānadeśa (237-282 CE).

The Burmese epigraphic evidence also clearly tells us that Sri Lankan King Siri Sanghabodhi Parākramabāhu purified the religion in Śaka 526 (57 BCE). Therefore, we have to take the date of Siri Sanghabodhi Parākramabāhu as the sheet anchor for reconstructing the later chronology of Sri Lanka. The Kalyani inscriptions clearly indicate that Sri Lanka traditionally followed the epoch of 1765 BCE. The famous Sri Lankan chronicles, Mahāvamśa and Dīpavamśa referred to the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa that commenced around 1765 BCE. Evidently, the Burmese and the Sri Lankan tradition followed the epoch of 1765 BCE as the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism or Buddha nirvāṇa.

### **The Date of Buddha Nirvāṇa in Indian and Nepali Traditions**

An inscription found at Gaya is dated in the year 1813 of Buddha nirvāṇa (*Bhagavati parinirvṛte Saṃvat 1813 Kārttika badi 1 budhe...*).<sup>10</sup> This inscription refers to a King Aśokachalla. An inscription dated in the year 51 of the Lakṣmaṇasena Atītarājya Saṃvat (458 CE) mentions the ruling King Aśokachalla.<sup>11</sup> Another inscription dated in the year 74 of the same era mentions the ruling King Daśaratha, the younger brother of Aśokachalla.<sup>12</sup> The Bisapi inscription of Śiva Simhadeva clearly indicates that the epoch of the Lakṣmaṇasena era commenced in Śaka 1028, i.e., 445 CE.<sup>13</sup> The Tirhut tradition also confirms that the epoch of

the Lakṣmaṇasena era commenced in Śaka 1028 (445 CE). But numerous manuscripts dated in Lakṣmaṇasena Atītarājya Saṁvat indicate that the epoch of Lakṣmaṇasena Atītarājya Saṁvat commenced in the year 1040 of the Śaka era, i.e., 458 CE. Thus, the 51<sup>st</sup> year of the Lakṣmaṇasena Atītarājya Saṁvat was 509 CE and the 74<sup>th</sup> year of the same was 532 CE.

Seemingly, the inscription of Gaya dated in the year 1813 of Buddha nirvāṇa must have been engraved after the death of King Aśokachalla. It uses Sanskrit verb “Cakāra” in “Lit lakār” for Aśokachalla who revived Buddhism (*Bhraṭte muneḥ Śāsane sthityoddharamasau cakāra...*). A Nepali Manuscript also refers to the year 1811 of Buddha nirvāṇa and the year 1194 of the Śaka era as “*Bhagavati Śākyasimhe Parinirvṛte Śata 1800 varṣa 11 Māsa 4 divasa 5 Śakābda 1194 Bhādra dīne 14 likhitamidam*”.<sup>14</sup> Evidently, the Gaya inscription and the Nepali manuscript indicate that the Buddha nirvāṇa era commenced in 1200 BCE roughly 617 years before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Thus, we can conclude that the Buddha nirvāṇa epoch of 1200 BCE was in vogue in India, Tibet and Nepal in the early medieval era. Therefore, the inscription of Gaya can be conclusively dated in 613 CE, i.e., the year 1813 of Buddha nirvāṇa era.

Another inscription found in Bodh Gaya is dated in the year 2427 of Buddhavarṣa (*Buddhavarṣe 2427*). JF Fleet has concluded that it is a modern inscription dated in 1884 CE but it seems to be extremely impossible.<sup>15</sup> In fact, the inscription dated in the year 2427 might have been engraved in 1227 CE considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa in 1200 BCE. It may be noted that the date of Buddha nirvāṇa in 1200 BCE was erroneously calculated considering Buddha as the senior contemporary of Mahāvira in the early medieval era. Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE 606 years before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and 470 years before the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE).

### **Other Important References of the Buddha Nirvāṇa Era**

Interestingly, *Skanda Purāṇa* indicates that Buddha was born 3600 years after an unknown epoch (ततस्त्रिषु सहस्रेषु षट्शतैरधिकेषु च, मागधे हेमसदनादंजन्त्यां प्रभविष्यति ||).<sup>16</sup> In all probability, *Skanda Purāṇa* counted 2400 years of Dvāpara Yuga (5577-3177 BCE) and 1200 years after 3177 BCE and stated that Buddha was born to Anjanī when 3600 years have

been elapsed from the epoch of 5577 BCE. Thus, Skanda Purāṇa roughly indicates that Buddha was born after 1977 BCE.

Tamil poet Sitalai Sattanar authored the famous epic “*Manimekhalai*” in which he mentions about the birth of Abuttiran in Javakanadu (Java) with the astronomical position, which is very similar to that of the birth of Buddha. Buddha was born in *Vaiśākha* month, full moon day, *Viśākhā Nakṣatra*, *Vṛṣabha Rāśi* and out of 27 Nakṣatras, 13 crossed and *Viśākhā Nakṣatra* was in the middle as *Kṛttikā* is taken as the first star. DS Triveda has calculated the date of birth of Buddha around 1870 BCE based on the details given in *Manimekhalai*.

Interestingly, *Manimekhalai* mentions that a very great intellect like Buddha will reappear again in the year 1616  $[(2 \times 8 \times 100) + (2 \times 8) = 1600 + 16 = 1616]$ . Most probably, the date of 1616 has been given in the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa. It also clearly indicates that *Manimekhalai* was written at an earlier date than the year 1616 of the Buddha nirvāṇa era. Seemingly, *Manimekhalai* referred to the epoch of 1765 BCE.

The Chinese Buddhist scholar Fa Hien mentioned that the image of Maitreya Bodhisatva was set up rather more than 300 years after the nirvāṇa of Buddha which may be referred to the reign of King Ping of the Zhou dynasty. Historians have arrived the date of King Ping around 770-720 BCE and concluded that Fa Hien gives the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 1050 BCE. It may be noted that there is also an error of 660 years in the chronology of ancient China. Therefore, Fa Hien also roughly indicates the epoch of 1765 BCE as the date of Buddha nirvāṇa.

Buddhist scholar Padma Karpo of the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE also calculated a date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 1058 BCE. If we add the chronological error of 660 years, the date indicated by Padma Karpo was also very close to the epoch of 1765 BCE.

### **The Burmese and Sri Lankan Epoch of the Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE)**

Undoubtedly, the Burmese epoch of 1765 BCE was the epoch of the Theravāda Buddhism which was continuously used for more than 900 years in inscriptions. The difference between the epoch of the Śakkarāj

era (583 BCE) and the epoch of Buddha Dhamma was 1182 years. Interestingly, the Burmese epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa was generally referred to as “the epoch of the religion of Buddha.” It may be noted that the second Buddhist Council was held in the 100<sup>th</sup> year of Buddha nirvāṇa. The Theravāda Buddhism was formally founded during the second Buddhist Council. Most probably, the Theravāda Buddhism was introduced in Burma immediately after the second Buddhist Council.

In fact, Kālāśoka or Aśoka I ascended the throne in the 100<sup>th</sup> year of Buddha nirvāṇa as mentioned in Mahāvamśa and Dīpavamśa. He established “*Jinaśāsanam*” means Buddhism in his Empire as indicated in Kalhaṇa’s Rājataranginī.<sup>17</sup> Some historians speculated that Aśoka, the king of Kashmir was a Jain but later he promoted Buddhism. It is totally absurd because Buddha was popularly referred to as “*Jina*” in ancient times. Amarakośa gives “*Jina*” as another name of Buddha (*Samantabhadro bhagavān .... Mārajit Jinaḥ*). Many inscriptions of Burma and India refer to Buddha as Jina. In fact, the Burmese inscriptions mention the epoch of 1765 BCE as “*Jinachakra*” meaning the beginning of the Buddhism. The Bengali inscriptions of the Chandra kings also refer to Buddha as Jina.

It is evident that the epoch of 1765 BCE was introduced in Burma in commemoration of “*Jinachakka*”, i.e. the foundation of Theravāda Buddhism but later it has been mistakenly considered as the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa. Gradually, the epoch of “*Jinachakka*” and the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa became identical in the Southern tradition of Buddhism. Therefore, we have to fix the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa 100 years before the epoch of Jinachakka, i.e., 1765 BCE.

Thus, we can conclude that Buddha attained nirvāṇa on 5<sup>th</sup> Apr 1864 BCE whereas the epoch of “*Jinachakka*” or the foundation of Theravāda Buddhism commenced in 1765 BCE. Considering the two different epochs of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and the Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE), we can perfectly explain the short chronology of the Northern tradition of Buddhism and the long chronology of the Southern tradition of Buddhism. The Northern tradition tells us that Aśoka or Kālāśoka of the Haryāṅka dynasty ascended the throne 100 years after the Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) in 1765 BCE whereas



according to the Southern tradition, King Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty was consecrated 218 years after the epoch of 1765 BCE in 1547 BCE.

Now the question arises that if 1864 BCE was the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa and 1765 BCE was the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism, then how the epochs of ~2165 BCE or 1200-1050 BCE or 1550 BCE came into practice in the traditions of India, Tibet and China.

**The epoch of ~2165 BCE:** According to Kalhaṇa, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka started ruling 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Tibetans scholars were fully dependent on the chronology of Kashmir to fix the date of Kanishka. It appears that there was a chronological error of 300 years in the ancient historical records of Kashmir due to an error in dating of Mahāpadma Nanda's coronation in Purāṇas. Kalhaṇa tried his best but could not rectify the error of 300 years. He had no other option to adjust the error of 300 years as the reign of Rāṇāditya. Historians always ridiculed Kalhaṇa and rejected his chronology for assigning 300 years for one king. Truly speaking, Kalhaṇa was the greatest historian of India and he tried his best honestly to present the chronology of Kashmir without distorting the ancient historical records. The Burmese traditional epoch of Buddha religion clearly indicates that there was an error of 300 years in the Kashmiri and Tibetan traditions. Considering the epoch of 1864 BCE, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka started reigning around 1714 BCE, 150 years after the nirvāṇa of Buddha.<sup>18</sup>

**The epochs around 1200-1050 BCE:** These epochs of Buddha nirvāṇa gained currency probably from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE to the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. Buddhism had flourished in India starting from the reign of Kālāśoka (1765 BCE) but lost the royal patronage during the reign of King Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (1459 BCE). The Yavana kings of Gāndhāra and Bactria continued to patronize Buddhism in Afghanistan and north western Pakistan whereas the Ikśvāku kings of Amarāvati started patronizing Buddhism in South India around the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The Advaitavāda (non-dualism) of Ādi Śankara (568-536 BCE) and Kumarila Bhaṭṭa's philosophy posed the greatest challenge to Buddhist scholars and Buddhism gradually declined in India. The Gupta kings (334-89 BCE) were the *Paramabhāgavatas* and did not promote Buddhism.

In the due course of time, Jainism entered South India when Jain monk Bhadrabāhu came to Sravanabelgola in Karnataka in the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE. It seems that some of the Tamil kings patronized Jainism around 800-500 BCE. Later, the Ganga kings also promoted Jainism. Vikramāditya of Ujjain (719 BCE) drove away the Śakas and patronized Jainism in central India. Later, the Raṣṭrakūṭas, the Chāvadas and the Chaulukyās also patronized Jainism from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Thus, Jainism flourished in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Central India and South India under the royal patronage from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Most of the Jain literature came into existence during this period.

Jain scholars were only interested in compiling the historical account of the kings who patronized Jainism and not the entire chronological history of India. Early Jain texts like *Tiloyapannati* and *Harivaṃśa* have no mention of the Maurya kings. The reference of Muruṅdas has been distorted as Muriyas. Later Jain historians have erroneously identified Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu with the Mauryan King Chandragupta. Accordingly, later Jain historians have also identified Śreṇika and Kuṇika with Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru respectively. Interestingly, the Himavant Theravali identifies Bhāskara, the grandson of Chandragupta of Ujjain with Aśoka and mentions that Aśoka founded the Gupta era in the year 239 of Mahāvira nirvāṇa era (1189 BCE) in commemoration of his victory over the Kaliṅga King Kśemarāja.<sup>19</sup> In fact, Bhāskara, the grandson of Chandragupta of Ujjain founded the Gupta era which has been referred to as “*Āgupaṭāyika Samvat*” in the Gokak plates of Dejjā Mahārāja.<sup>20</sup> Seemingly, these mistaken identities have been established in India around the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

The Pāla dynasty of Bengal revived Buddhism in North India during 100-500 CE. Dharmapāla had close political relations with the Raṣṭrakūṭas (the patrons of Jainism). He also married the daughter of a Raṣṭrakūṭa king. Seemingly, the Buddhists of the Pāla dynasty era have calculated the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 1200 BCE considering Chandragupta Maurya as the disciple of Bhadrabāhu. This is the reason why some inscriptions of Bodh Gaya referred to the epoch of 1200 BCE as the date of Buddha nirvāṇa. Most probably, the author of

Sumatītantra (219 CE) was influenced by the mistaken identification of Ujjain King Chandragupta and he wrongly concluded that Nandas started ruling 2000 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE) contrary to the chronology given in Purāṇas.<sup>21</sup> According to Purāṇas, The Nandas reigned 1500 years after the Mahābhārata war.

Though Jain historians referred to certain dates in the Śāka era, they failed to maintain the accuracy of the chronology with reference to the epoch of the eras. For instance, Jinasenāsūri authored Harivaṃśa Purāṇa in Śāka 705 (122 CE). He mentions that starting from the nirvāṇa of Mahāvira, the Pālakas ruled for 60 years, the Viṣayas for 150 years, the Muruṇdas for 40 years, Puṣpamitra for 30 years, Vasumitra and Agnimitra for 60 years, the Rāsabha kings for 100 years, Naravāhana for 40 years, the Bhaṭṭubāṇas for 240 years and the Guptas for 231 years. Thus, the rule of Guptas ended 951 years after the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa.

Considering the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE), the rule of the Gupta dynasty must have been ended by 238 BCE but in reality, the rule of Guptas ended around 140 years later. Even we consider 527 BCE as the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa, the rule of Guptas must have been ended by 424 CE but in reality, the rule of Guptas ended around 125 years later. In all probability, some Jain traditions erroneously fixed the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa 470 years before the Śāka era (583 BCE) instead of 470 years before the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE). Most probably, this chronological inconsistency of ~135 years in the Jain historical literature also affected the chronology of Buddhism because the dates of Mahāvira nirvāṇa and Buddha nirvāṇa now got interlinked due to the mistaken identification of Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu. This may be the reason why some Buddhist traditions date Buddha's nirvāṇa around ~1050 BCE instead of 1200 BCE.

### **The Epochs of Buddha Nirvāṇa and Theravāda Buddhism**

As discussed above, the epoch of 1765 BCE was in use in Burmese tradition since the introduction of Buddhism in Burma. Therefore, we must consider the ancient Burmese Buddhist tradition as the most authentic because the entire Burmese tradition followed only one epoch of 1765 BCE. Interestingly, when JF Fleet proposed that ancient Burmese

traditions followed the epoch of Sri Lanka, CO Blagden strongly opposed it. CO Blagden has worked on Burmese epigraphy extensively and had the in-depth knowledge of Burmese traditions. CO Blagden rightly concluded:<sup>22</sup>

**“Having regard to the other two cases previously mentioned, where the initial point of the Buddhist era used in Burma was not the usual 544 BCE, I think that the evidence is insufficient to enable us to assert that this era as used in Burma in these early days was identical in origin with the Ceylon one. But it is consistent with the view that a method of reckoning from some assumed Parinirvāṇa date had existed in Burma independently of the Ceylon method.”**

Though JF Fleet understood the validity of the facts presented by CO Blagden but he deliberately overruled CO Blagden and established the myth that the epoch of 544 BCE existed in the ancient Burmese tradition. At this point, I can confidently say that JF Fleet was intellectually dishonest to CO Blagden. Instead of promoting further research, JF Fleet preferred to suppress the findings of CO Blagden. In fact, JF Fleet distorted the Burmese Buddhist traditions and brought forward the history of the Burmese and Rāmannadeśa (Thailand) Buddhism by 1182 years and fixed a fictitious Śakkarāj era in 638 CE. The Burmese calendar was introduced in the year 638 CE but it has nothing to do with the epoch of the Śaka era. The Kalyani inscription of Rāmannadeśa dated in the year 2047 of Buddha nirvāṇa era refers to the reigning King Rāmādhīpati Mahārāja but eminent historians have identified Rāmādhīpati Mahārāja with King Dharmmacheti. In reality, King Rāmādhīpati ruled in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE whereas King Dharmmacheti ruled in the 15<sup>th</sup> century CE.

In view of the above, we can conclusively establish that ancient Burma followed an epoch of Theravāda Buddhism that commenced in 1765 BCE, 1182 years before the Śaka era (583 BCE) and Buddha attained nirvāṇa exactly 100 years before 1765 BCE, i.e., 1864 BCE. He lived for 80 years. Therefore, Buddha was born in 1944 BCE.

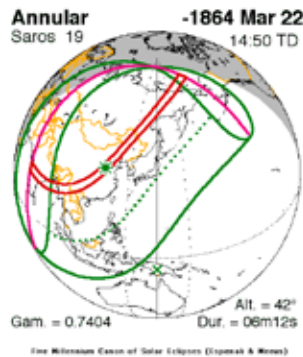
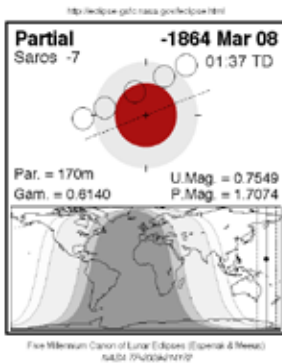
Thus, we can conclusively fix the following important dates:

- **The date of birth of Buddha:** 11<sup>th</sup> Apr 1944 BCE (Vaiśākha Śukla Saptamī) or 19<sup>th</sup> Apr 1944 BCE (Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā).

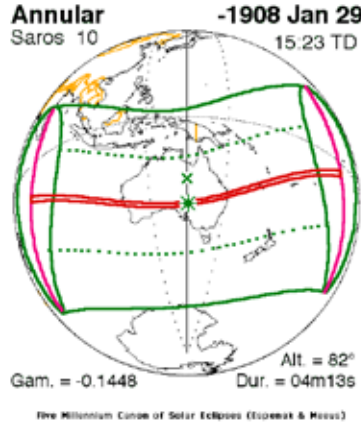
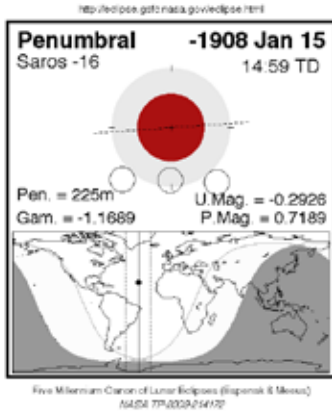
East Asian countries like Malaysia, China, Hong Kong, Macau, South Korea, etc., celebrate Buddha's birthday on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha month. Buddha's birthday is also known as Vesak day in East Asian countries. India, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Myanmar and Nepal celebrate Buddha's birthday on Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā. Now the question arises what is the correct date of birth of Buddha? Aśvaghoṣa was the earliest scholar who wrote the biography of Buddha. According to him, Buddha's birth Nakṣatra was Puṣya [*tataḥ prasannaśca babhūva puṣyaḥ tasyāśca devyā vratasaṃskṛtāyāḥ*].<sup>23</sup> Thus, Buddha was indeed born on Vaiśākha Śukla Saptamī and not on Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā. Buddha attained nirvāṇa on Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā.

- **The date of Buddha's enlightenment:** 23<sup>rd</sup> Apr 1909 BCE.
- **The date of Buddha's mahāparinirvāṇa:** 4<sup>th</sup> May 1864 BCE.
- **The epoch of Theravāda Buddhism or the second Buddhist Council or the coronation of Kālāśoka:** 1765 BCE.

Interestingly, Samyutta *Nikāya* says that Buddha was staying in Śrāvastī about three months before his mahāparinirvāṇa and during his stay at Śrāvastī, a lunar eclipse followed by a solar eclipse occurred at Śrāvastī.<sup>24</sup> Considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa on 5<sup>th</sup> Apr 1864 BCE, a lunar eclipse occurred on 8<sup>th</sup> Mar 1864 BCE and an annular solar eclipse occurred on 22<sup>nd</sup> Mar 1864 BCE. Both eclipses were visible at Śrāvastī.

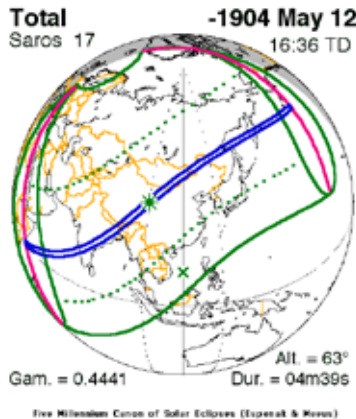


According to Mahāvamsā, Buddha visited Sri Lanka for three times. His first visit was in the ninth month after the date of his enlightenment,



i.e., 23<sup>rd</sup> Apr 1909 BCE. It is stated: “When he had eaten his meal at evening time near the lake of Anotatta, the Jina (conqueror) in the ninth month of his Buddhahood, at the full moon of Phussa, himself set forth for Lanka dvipa.”<sup>25</sup> Buddha went to Mahiyangana where the Yakśa clan of the entire island was meeting in the Mahānāga Garden. He struck terror to their hearts by rain, storm, darkness and so forth. Here, the reference to darkness indicates eclipses. A lunar eclipse occurred on 15<sup>th</sup> Jan 1908 BCE on *Pauṣa Pūrṇimā* and a solar eclipse took place on 29<sup>th</sup> Jan 1908 BCE on *Pauṣa Amāvāsyā*.

The second visit was in the fifth year of Buddhahood, i.e., 1904 BCE . It is stated: “When dwelling at Jetavana, in the fifth year of his



Buddhahood, he saw that a war, caused by a gem-set throne, was like to come to pass between the Nagas and Mahodara, uncle and nephew. He, on the uposatha day of the dark half the month Citta, in the early morning, took his sacred alms-bowl and his robes, and, from compassion for the Nāgas, sought the Nāgadipa. .... Hovering there in mid-air above the battlefield the Master, who drives darkness, called forth dread darkness over the Nāgas. Then comforting those who were distressed by terror he once again spread light abroad”. The reference to darkness in the dark half of the *Chaitra* month clearly indicates the occurrence of solar eclipse on *Chaitra Amāvāsyā*. A solar eclipse occurred on 12<sup>th</sup> May 1904 BCE.

The Buddha visited Sri Lanka for the third time at the invitation of King Maniakkhika first arriving in Kelaniya. Thus, the astronomical evidence from *Samyutta Nikāya* and *Mahāvamsā* validates the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha in 1864 BCE.

The legend of Dotted record relates that Upāli marked the first dot in the manuscript of Vinaya Piṭaka at the end of Vassa (three months from *Āṣāḍha Pūrṇimā* to *Āśvina Pūrṇimā*) on the Pavāranā day, i.e., *Āśvayuja Pūrṇimā*, i.e., 28<sup>th</sup> Sep 1864 BCE. His successors, Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, Moggali-putta Tissa, Chandravajji, etc., continued the process in each year. Thereafter, Saṅghabhadra, who translated the *Samantapāsādikā* into Chinese, is said to have put the 975<sup>th</sup> dot in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of King Yung-ming on the same manuscript during his visit to Canton. The original statement made by Fei Chang-fang in the 11<sup>th</sup> chapter of his Li-tai san-pao chi is as follows:

“During the reign of Emperor Wu-ti, there was a foreign Sramana bearing the name Seng-ga-pa-tò-lo (Saṅghabhadra). It means ‘Senghsien’ in Chinese. According to him, there was a tradition which had been handed down from teacher to teacher for generations, viz., after passing away of the Buddha, Upāli collected the Vinaya and observed the Pavāranā on the 15<sup>th</sup> of the 7<sup>th</sup> Moon of the same year. Having offered flowers and incense to the Vinaya on that occasion, he marked a dot and placed it close to the Vinaya text. Thereafter, this was repeated every year. When Upāli was about to depart from this world, he handed it over to his disciple Dāsaka, and in similar circumstances Dāsaka to Sonaka,

Sonaka to Siggava, Siggava to Moggaliputta Tissa, and Moggaliputta Tissa to Chandavajji. In this manner the teachers in turn handed it down to the present Master of Tripiṭaka. This Master brought the Vinaya-Piṭaka to Canton. When he was about to disembark, he decided to return to his native land, and handed over the Vinaya-Piṭaka to his disciple Saṅghabhadra. With the assistance of Seng-wei Saṅghabhadra began translating the *Samantapāsādikā Vinaya* at the Bamboo Grove Monastery in Canton, in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Yung ming, and on account of that they stayed together for the Rain-season Retreat. Having observed the Pavāranā and offered flowers and incense to the Vinaya-Piṭaka at midnight of the 7<sup>th</sup> Moon, in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Yung-ming, he added a dot as a traditional practice. The total amounted to 975 dots in that year. A dot is counted as a year.

In the first year of Ta-t'ung of the Liang dynasty, Chao Pa-hai met Hung-tu, the Vinaya master, famed for his ascetic practice, at Mt. Lu-shan, and from whom he obtained the number of years as shown in the Dotted Record of Many Sages. This was initiated after the passing away of the Buddha, and continued up to the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Yung-ming. "How was it that after the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Yung-ming no dots were added to it?" Pe-hsiu asked Hung-tu. "Before that year, the dots were added personally by the enlightened sages. As I am an ordinary mortal, I may pay my respects and keep it safely, but I dare not add any dot on my own." replied Hung-tu. On the basis of the age-old dots Pe-hsiu made a calculation, and it amounted to 1028 years in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Ta-t'ung....."

Takakusu and Pachow identified King Yung-ming to be King Xiao Ze (482-493 CE) of Southern Qi dynasty. These historians speculated that Wu was his posthumous name. In my opinion, King Ying Zheng of Chi'n (Qin) dynasty was Wu-ti who had a royal title of "Huang-ti" (Wu-ti). He reigned around 907-880 BCE considering the error of 660 years in the Chinese chronology. The Hinayānist scholar Saṅghabhadra was a contemporary of Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE) and lived around 950-870 BCE. Possibly, Saṅghabhadra put the 975<sup>th</sup> dot on the manuscript in 890 BCE.

The eminent historians have presumed that Purāṇas, Buddhist texts, Jain texts and Rājatarāṅginī chronologically contradict each other. It is,



therefore, impossible to draw a common chronology based on these Indian literary evidences. As I have explained above, the mistaken identities of Kuṇika as Ajātaśatru and Chandragupta of Ujjain of the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE as Chandragupta Maurya of the 16<sup>th</sup> century BCE have brought forward the date of Buddha nirvāṇa by 664 years. There is a chronological error of ~300 years in the chronology of Kashmir given by Kalhaṇa because Kalhaṇa mistakenly followed the Puranic date of Mahāpadma Nanda (1050 or 1150 years after the Mahābhārata war). In fact, Mahāpadma Nanda ascended the throne 1500 years after Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). I have reconciled the entire Indian literary evidence and reconstructed the chronology starting from Mahābhārata War (3162 BCE) to the time of the Gupta dynasty as given below:

Dynasty	Duration	In CE
1. Bṛhadratha Dynasty	1000 y	3162-2162 BCE
2. Pradyota Dynasty	138 y	2162-2024 BCE
3. Śīsunāga Dynasty	360 y	2024-1664 BCE

#### Haryaṅka Dynasty

*(Seemingly, the kings of Śīsunāga dynasty were weak rulers and could not stop the rise of Haryaṅka dynasty around 1950 BCE at Pāṭaliputra. The Haryaṅka dynasty was an offshoot of Ikśvāku Dynasty.)*

Mahāpadma		1950-1925 BCE
Bimbisāra	52 y	1925-1872 BCE
Ajātaśatru	32 y	1872-1840 BCE

*(Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE and in the 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Ajātaśatru).*

Udāyin	16 y	1840-1824 BCE
Anuruddha Munda	8 y	1824-1816 BCE
Nāgadasaka	24 y	1816-1792 BCE
Susunāga	28 y	1792-1765 BCE
Kālāśoka	28 y	1765-1737 BCE

*(The second Buddhist Council was held during the reign of Kālāśoka or Dharmāśoka 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. The epoch of Jinachakka or the Theravāda Buddhism commenced in 1765 BCE).*

Kālāśoka's 10 sons	22 y	1737-1715 BCE
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*(Turuṣka kings Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka started reigning in*

*Kashmir and Afghanistan in 1714 BCE 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Kushana Shāhi King Kanishka was a different person from Turuṣka King Kanishka and reigned around 1150-1118 BCE. The Rabatak inscription belong to the Kushana Shāhi King Kanishka).*

- |    |               |          |               |
|----|---------------|----------|---------------|
| 4. | Nanda Dynasty | (100 y?) | 1664-1596 BCE |
|----|---------------|----------|---------------|
- (Mahāpadma Nanda ascended the throne 1500 years after Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). The Saptarṣis were in Pūrvabhadrā Nakṣatra around 1677-1577 BCE).*

- |    |                |       |               |
|----|----------------|-------|---------------|
| 5. | Maurya Dynasty | 137 y | 1596-1459 BCE |
|    | Chandragupta   | 24 y  | 1596-1572 BCE |
|    | Bindusāra      | 25 y  | 1572-1547 BCE |
|    | Aśoka          | 36 y  | 1547-1511 BCE |

*[Aśoka was consecrated in the 218<sup>th</sup> year, i.e., 1547 BCE from the epoch of Jinachakka (1765 BCE). Later, the epoch of Jinachakka was erroneously considered as the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). The third Buddhist Council (in Southern tradition) was convened in 18<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Aśoka, i.e., 1529 BCE. Devānāmpīya Tissa, the 7<sup>th</sup> king of Sri Lanka ascended the throne in 1529 BCE, 236 years after the epoch of Jinachakka (1765 BCE)].*

- |    |                           |       |               |
|----|---------------------------|-------|---------------|
| 6. | Śuṅga Dynasty             | 112 y | 1459-1346 BCE |
| 7. | Kaṇva Dynasty             | 45 y  | 1346-1301 BCE |
| 8. | Decline of Magadha Empire | --    | 1301-826 BCE  |

#### **Magadha Kingdom**

Śreṇika or Bhambhasāra	1250-1212 BCE
The Epoch of Mahāvira Nirvāṇa	1189 BCE
Kuṇika	1212-1172 BCE
Udāyi	1172-1129 BCE
Nandarāja's ascension	1129 BCE

#### **Ujjain Kingdom**

Pālaka Kings	1189-1035 BCE
Viṣaya Kings	1034-885 BCE
1. Chandragupta (Viśākhāchārya)	1034-1022 BCE
2. Simhasena	1022-982 BCE
3. Bhāskara	982-950 BCE
4. Samprati	945-895 BCE
Muruṇdas	895-840 BCE

9. Śātavāhana Dynasty	492 y	826-334 BCE
10. Gupta Dynasty	245 y	334-89 BCE

Modern historians have also miserably failed to reconcile the northern tradition of Buddhism and the southern tradition of Buddhism because these traditions followed the so-called short and the long chronologies respectively. Finally, they rejected the short chronology and accepted the long chronology because it was more suitable for their scheme of the chronology. According to them, the Dotted record of Canton justifies the long chronology but this record also proves that the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa commenced in 1864 BCE.

In fact, Aśoka mentioned in the northern tradition was Kālāśoka of the Haryaṅka dynasty who ascended the throne 100 years after the Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) whereas the Aśoka mentioned in southern tradition was King Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty who was consecrated 218 years after the epoch of Jinachakka or Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE). Kālāśoka was indeed the great Aśoka who ascended the throne of Pātaliputra after the death of his father. He established the rule of Buddhism and placed Rock Edicts at various places from Shahbazgardi to Karnataka. The historians have wrongly claimed that the Greek and the Aramaic inscriptions found in Kandhar belonged to the time of Aśoka but the text of these inscriptions does not match with that of the rock edicts. Historians have concocted that these Greek inscriptions were actually abridged versions of the Aśokan rock edicts. In fact, these Greek and Aramaic inscriptions belong to a later Yavana king named Priyadarśana.

Kālāśoka convened the second Buddhist Council in 1765 BCE. The Tripiṭakas have been compiled during this Council. The date of the second Buddhist Council became popular as the epoch of Jinachakka or Buddha religion in the southern tradition because the Theravāda Buddhism was formally founded during this Council. Later, the date of the second Buddhist council or Theravāda Buddhism has been mistakenly considered as identical to the date of Buddha nirvāṇa. This is exactly why the southern tradition says that Aśoka Maurya was consecrated 218 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Actually, Aśoka Maurya was consecrated 318 years after the Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and 218 years after the epoch of Jinachakka

or Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE). Historians not only assumed both Aśokas as the same but also considered the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa and the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism as identical. Therefore, they have failed to explain the short chronology of northern tradition till date. Actually, the northern tradition of Buddhism follows the epoch of 1864 BCE and indicates that Kālāśoka reigned 100 years after the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) whereas the southern tradition follows the epoch of 1765 BCE and indicates that Aśoka Maurya reigned 218 years after the epoch of the Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE).

Kalhaṇa mentions that the Turuṣka Shāhi King Kanishka ascended the throne 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Historians mistakenly considered the Turuṣka Shāhi King Kanishka and the Kushana Shāhi King Kanishka as identical. In fact, the Turuṣka Shāhi king, who ruled over Afghanistan and Kashmir and promoted Buddhism, flourished around 150 years after the date of Buddha nirvāṇa. The Kushana Shāhi King Kanishka reigned around 1150-1118 BCE 700 years after the Buddha nirvāṇa. The Kushana King Kanishka convened the fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir or Jalandhar around 1120 BCE. Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi, the earliest Bodhisattva attained nirvāṇa 400 years before the time of Kushana King Kanishka as recorded in the Gilgit manuscript of Vinayavastu. Thus, we can roughly fix the lifetime of Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi around 1650-1550 BCE.

As critically examined the entire evidence above, it can be conclusively established that Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE: the Theravāda Buddhism was founded in 1765 BCE and Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi attained nirvāṇa around ~1550 BCE. These three epochs are extremely important to understand the true chronology of Buddhism in India, Persia, Sri Lanka, Burma, Nepal, Tibet and China. Interestingly, the radiocarbon samples collected from the Trench C5 at the center of the Buddhist shrine at Lumbini indicate an earliest date of 1681 BCE and the OSL measurements from early land surfaces within Trench C5 yield an earliest date of 1520 BCE  $\pm$  340. Evidently, the scientific dating of the earliest Buddhist shrine of Lumbini also validates the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) as established based on the epigraphic and literary evidence.



# 4

## The Epochs of Two Vikrama Eras (719 BCE & 57 BCE) and Mahāvira Nirvāṇa (1189 BCE)

Most of the north Indian inscriptions are dated in the Vikrama era and refer to the era as “Kṛta”, “Mālava-gaṇa” and “Vikrama”. Many inscriptions simply refer to the era as “Samvat” without mentioning the name of the era. One Mandasor inscription<sup>1</sup> tells us that “Kṛta” and “Mālava-gaṇa” refer to the same era (*Śri-Mālava-gaṇāmnāte praśaste Kṛta-sarjñīte*). The study of these inscriptions also reveals that the epoch of the Kṛta era or Mālava-gaṇa era was also referred to as the Vikrama era in a later period. Thus, all historians are in general agreement that the Kṛta era, Mālava-gaṇa era and Vikrama era refer to the same epoch.

However, opinions differ on the origin and originator of the Kṛta era, Mālava-gaṇa era or the Vikrama era. There are two theories about the origin of Vikrama era.

1. The Kṛta era, Mālava-gaṇa era or Vikrama era commenced from the same epoch, i.e., 57 BCE.
2. According to Kota Venkatachalam,<sup>2</sup> the Kṛta era or Mālava-gaṇa era commenced in 725 BCE whereas Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE.

The issue of the originator of the Vikrama era is also one of the most controversial problems of ancient Indian history and again there are two prime theories relating to this issue:

1. Indian literary and epigraphic sources are unanimous in declaring King Vikramāditya of Ujjain, the originator of the Vikrama era.

2. Western historians and their followers have propounded that the Indo-Scythian king Azes initiated this era in North-Western India from where it was later brought to Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh by the Mālava people.

John Marshall was the first to suggest that the Mahārāja Aya mentioned in the Takśaśilā silver scroll inscription<sup>3</sup> dated in the year 136 and the Mahārāja Aja mentioned in the Kalwan copper-plate inscription<sup>4</sup> dated in the year 134 were one and the same. He propounded that the era founded by the Scythian King Azes was indeed the so-called Vikrama era. BN Mukherjee has also cited five more inscriptions<sup>5</sup> of Mahārāja Aya dated in the years from 63 to 126 and strongly propagated the theory that the Azes era came to be known as the Vikrama era later. He also opined that the Azes era came into use out of the continuation of counting the regnal years of King Azes even after his death. DC Sircar suggested that the Indo-Parthian King Vonones had initiated this era in the first century BCE. DR Bhandarkar stated that it was probably Puṣyamitra Śuṅga who initiated this era. VV Mirashi speculated that the Vikrama era was founded by the Mālava people in commemoration of their victory over the Śakas and that it was later named after Vikramāditya Chandragupta II.

Indian literary and epigraphic sources, however, tell us that it was Vikramāditya who founded an era. But the racial bias towards Indian literary sources nurtured by Western historians and their followers led us to these baseless speculations. Actually, the distorted chronology of ancient India as presented by such historians cannot prove the existence of King Vikramāditya in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Therefore, eminent historians generally believed that King Vikramāditya was purely a mythical figure. Surprisingly, some historians ignorant of the ancient glorious Indian astronomical tradition even speculated that the ancient Indians were not accustomed to the use of eras and that such earlier eras like Kaliyuga, Yudhiṣṭhira, Buddha-nirvāṇa or Mahāvira-nirvāṇa were just fictitious inventions of a later age. Thus, the Vikrama era and the Śaka era were supposedly ‘founded’ originally by foreign rulers.

There being compelling evidence that ancient India was indeed the birth place of astronomy and that the knowledge of astronomy was

disseminated to the rest of the world from India, it would be absurd and nonsensical to think that ancient Indians were not accustomed to the use of eras. It is demonstrable that Indians were the first to use eras such as Saptarṣi era, Yudhiṣṭhira era, Kaliyuga era, etc., in the history of human civilization.

There is enough numismatic and literary evidence to prove that Vikramāditya was the real King of Mālava and not a mythical figure. As a matter of fact, there were two Vikramādityas who ruled over Mālava or Avanti. Vikramāditya I reigned in the Mālava kingdom 135 years before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) around 719-718 BCE whereas Vikramāditya II ruled over Avanti around 57 BCE. There were many kings of Ujjain, Vatsa and Ayodhya kingdoms who had the title of Vikramāditya. The Gupta King Chandragupta II also had the title of Vikramāditya. Later, many Chālukya kings also had the title of Vikramāditya.

According to *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vikramāditya was the son of Mahendrāditya and Saumyadarśanā. There was another Vikramāditya who flourished in the Vatsa kingdom before the lifetime of Guṇāḍhya (~2200-2100 BCE). Subandhu, a contemporary of Bindusāra also refers to Vikramāditya in his *Vāsavadattā*. Seemingly, the early Vikramāditya (before 2200 BCE) was a son of Mahendrāditya.

Jain sources indicate that Vikramāditya I was the son of Gardabhilla. Vikramāditya I defeated Śakas and founded the Mālava-gaṇa or Kṛta era in 719 BCE. More than 6000 coins have been found in central India which contain legends as “*Mālavānām Jayaḥ*”, “*Jayo Mālavānām*” and so on. Undoubtedly, these coins were issued by Vikramāditya I. Seemingly, Mālavas declared their sovereignty under the leadership of Vikramāditya I. It was Vikramāditya I who restored the sovereignty of Mālavas. Therefore, the era of Vikramāditya I was initially referred to as Mālava-gaṇa or Kṛta era. Many coins of Śātavāhana kings were also found in Ujjain and Avanti.

All literary and epigraphic sources unanimously inform us that the era of Vikramāditya I or Mālava-gaṇa era commenced 135 years before the epoch of the Śaka era. In the Chapter 2, I have established that the epoch of the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE. Therefore, the epoch of the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa or Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718

BCE. In earlier times, the Vikrama era followed the Kārttikādi calendar. Later, the Chaitrādi calendar was introduced in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE that led to the introduction of the epoch of 57 BCE considering exactly 135 years before the epoch of the Śākānta era (78 CE). Thus, there were two different epochs of Vikrama era which have been mistakenly assumed as identical by historians.

We can also validate the true epoch of the Vikrama era with reference to the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa. It is, therefore, extremely relevant to fix the exact epoch of the Mahāvira nirvāṇa era.

### **The Date of Mahāvira Nirvāṇa**

Jain Paṭṭāvalis, the historical records of Jain Āchāryas, use the Mahāvira-nirvāṇa era for dating and tell us about the King Vikramāditya who founded the Kārttikādi era in 719-718 BCE. Primarily, we have to fix the date of Mahāvira-nirvāṇa to reconstruct the early history of the Jains based on the valuable information available in the ancient Jain literary sources.

1. According to Kharatara-gacṇa and Tapa-gacṇa,<sup>6</sup> the main Jain Paṭṭāvalis, King Vikramāditya received “*dīkṣā*” of Jainism from the Jain scholar Siddhasena Divākara in Mahāvira-nirvāṇa saṁvat 470. Thus, Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa 470 years before 719-718 BCE.
2. Jain works like *Tiloyapannati* of Yativṛṣabha, *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena, *Dhavala* of Āchārya Vīrasena, *Trilokasāra* of Nemichandra, *Mahāvīracaritam* of Nemichandra and *Vicāraśreṇi* of Merutuṅga tell us that Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa 605 years and 5 months before the commencement of the Śāka era (583 BCE) and 470 years before the commencement of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE).
3. According to Kailash Chandra Jain, Jain works like Paṭṭāvalis of Nandi, Sena and Kāṣṭhā saṁghas, *Tiloyapannati*, *Jambūdvīpa-prajñāpti Saṁgraha*, *Harivaṁśa*, *Dhavala*, *Jayadhavala*, *Kalpasūtra*, *Therāvalī*, *Parīśiṣṭaparva* and *Prabhāvākacaritam* give the genealogy of the 28 immediate successors of Mahāvira up to 683 years from Mahāvira-nirvāṇa. These Jain works also state that by deducting 77 years and 7 months from the period



of 683 years, we get 605 years and 5 months, which is the exact interval between Mahāvira-nirvāṇa and the beginning of the Śaka era (583 BCE).

According to Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, Mahāvira became a Siddha in the month of *Kārttika*, *kṛṣṇa pakṣa chaturdaśi* and *Svāti Nakṣatra*. Thus, Mahāvira attained *nirvāṇa* on 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 1189 BCE, 605 years and 5 months before the commencement of the Śaka era in 583 BCE.

### The Date of 527 BCE

During the early medieval period, Indians gradually forgot the epochs of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). It appears that only the Śakānta era (78 CE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) became popular from the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE onwards. Since the Śaka era and the Kārttikādi Vikrama era were generally not in vogue, Al Beruni (1017-1031 CE) could only collect the information of the epoch of the Śakānta era and the epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era from Indian astronomers. Therefore, eminent historians also could not distinguish between the epochs of the Śaka and the Śakānta eras and the Kārttikādi Vikrama and the Chaitrādi Vikrama eras. Thus, modern Jain historians erroneously believe the year of Mahāvira-nirvāṇa to be 527 BCE on the presumption that the Śaka and the Śakānta eras commenced in 78 CE and the Kārttikādi and Chaitrādi Vikrama eras commenced in 57 BCE.

### The Date of 467 BCE

Some historians argued that Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 467 BCE based on the statement of the Jain author Hemachandra (5<sup>th</sup> century CE). The *Paṛiśiṣṭaparva* of Hemachandra tells us that Chandragupta ascended the throne in the 155<sup>th</sup> year of Mahāvira-nirvāṇa era.

“*Evam ca Śri-Mahāvira-mukter-varṣa-śate gate 1  
Pañca-pañcāśadadhike Chandragupto'bhavannṛpaḥ ॥*”

Historians mistakenly identified Chandragupta of Ujjain with Maurya King Chandragupta and assumed that Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne in Ujjain in 312 BCE. It is, thus, widely believed by historians that Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 467 BCE considering the gap of 155 years.

Apart from Hemachandra's work, Sanskrit works like *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa, *Bhadrabāhucaritam* of Ratnanandi and Kannada works like *Munivamsābhyudaya* of Chidānandakavi, *Rājāvalikathe* of Devachandra (1838 CE) also mention that Chandragupta, the king of Ujjain, became the disciple of Bhadrabāhu.<sup>8</sup> Chandragiri, a cave associated with Bhadrabāhu and a few inscriptions at Shravanabelgola in Karnāṭaka also substantiate the visit of Bhadrabāhu to Shravanabelgola along with his disciple Chandragupta. The brief story of Bhadrabāhu, the last *Śrutakevalin* runs thus:

“Bhadrabāhu was the son of a Brāhmaṇa named Somaśarma who was in the court of King Padmaratha or Padmadhara of Devakotta city in Paundravardhana (North Bengal) region. The fourth *Śrutakevalin* Govardhana met Bhadrabāhu when he was playing with his friends. He became Bhadrabāhu's teacher later. Thus, Bhadrabāhu received “*dīkṣā*” of Jainism from Govardhana and became the fifth *Śrutakevalin*. In the course of his wanderings, Bhadrabāhu went to Ujjain and during his stay in Ujjain, Chandragupta or Chandragupti, the King of Ujjain received “*dīkṣā*” of Jainism from Bhadrabāhu. One day, Chandragupta requested Bhadrabāhu to interpret his dreams of the previous night. While explaining them, Bhadrabāhu predicted a twelve-year famine in the kingdom. Therefore, he advised his followers to leave Ujjain and go south. King Chandragupta handed over the reins of kingdom to his son Simhasena and followed his guru. Thus, Bhadrabāhu along with Chandragupta visited Shravanabelgola and stayed at Chikka betta or Chandragiri where he died by the Jain rite of *Sallekhana* or in an attack by a tiger. Chandragupta continued to stay at Chandragiri by worshipping god and died by the rite of *Sallekhana*. Sometime after the death of Chandragupta, his grandson Bhāskara, the son of Simhasena came to Shravanabelgola and built Jain temples and a city near Chandragiri which was named Belgola.”

An inscription at Pārśvanātha-Basadi close to Chandragiri in Shravanabelgola also refers to similar historical account of Bhadrabāhu and his disciple Chandragupta of Ujjain (*Bhadrabāhu-svāminā Ujjayijnyāmaṣṭāṅga-mahānimittatattvajñena Traikāladarśinā nimittena dvādaśa-saṁvatsarakāla-vaiṣamyam upalabhya kathite sarvasaṅghaḥ*

*uttarāpathād dakṣiṇāpatham prasthitaḥ* 1). Kannada Panchatantra refers to Ujjayini as the capital of the kings of Gupta dynasty (*Gupta-vaṃśa-vasudhādhiśāvalī rājadhānī yan Ujjaino tannaidi ... Guptānvaya-jaladhara-mārgayabhasti Māliyum Vāmana-Jayāditya-pramukha-mukhakamalavinirgata-Sūktimuktāvalī-kundalamaṇḍita-karnanum Vikramānkanam Sāhasānkam... 1*).

It is evident, according to the ancient Jain tradition, that Chandragupta or Chandragupti was the king of Ujjain and not Pātaliputra. He was the father of Simhasena and the grandfather of Bhāskara whereas Chandragupta Maurya was the father of Bindusāra and grandfather of Aśoka. Actually, Jain scholars like Hemachandra, Chidānandakavi, etc., of later period mistakenly identified Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu to be Chandragupta Maurya. Moreover, none of the early Jain works mention Mauryan kings after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa. Jain *Paṭṭāvalis* like Kharatara-gacṇa and Tapa-gacṇa mention Bhadrabāhu and his death in *Mahāvira-nirvāṇa* saṃvat 170 (1019 BCE) but do not give any details of King Chandragupta. *Harivaṃśa*, written by Jinasenāsūri in Śaka 705 (122 CE), gives the details of the duration of the rule of various kings starting from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira. According to *Harivaṃśa*, King Pālaka ascended the throne in the year of Mahāvira-nirvāṇa. It is also recorded in Jain tradition that Chanda Pradyota, the king of Avanti, died on the same night Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa and was succeeded by his son Pālaka.

Starting from Mahāvira-nirvāṇa year,<sup>9</sup>

- The Pālaka kings ruled for 60 years
- The Viṣaya kings ruled for 150 years
- The Muruṇḍas or Muriyas ruled for 40 years
- Puṣpamitra ruled for 30 years
- Vasumitra and Agnimitra ruled for 60 years
- The “Rāsabha” kings ruled for 100 years
- Naravāhana ruled for 40 years
- The Bhaṭṭabāṇas ruled for 240 years
- The Gupta kings ruled for 231 years

- Kalkirāja ruled for 42 years
- After Kalkirāja, his son Ajitañjaya began his rule at Indrapura.

It is, therefore, clear that Jain *Paṭṭāvalis* and *Harivamśa* carry no mention of Maurya kings after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa. Historians mistakenly speculate Muruṇdas or Muriyas to be Mauryas. In reality, Maurya dynasty started reigning ~407 years before the epoch of Mahāvira nirvāṇa. It is, therefore, logical not to find any mention of the Mauryas after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa in either *Harivamśa* of Jinasenasūri or other early Jain works.

Later Jain scholars like Hemachandra, Chidānandakavi, etc., mistakenly identified Chandragupta or Chandragupti, the king of Ujjain to be Chandragupta Maurya. Based on this mistaken identity, some historians believed that the Maurya kings had a second capital at Ujjain and that the accession of Chandragupta Maurya at Ujjain took place in 312 BCE. Therefore, they came to the mistaken conclusion that Mahāvira died in 467 BCE. Actually, Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne in 1596 BCE 407 years prior to Mahāvira-nirvāṇa and therefore, Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu, cannot be identified with Chandragupta Maurya.

Evidently, Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu, became the ruler of Ujjain in 1034 BCE 155 years after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa (1189 BCE). Therefore, the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa cannot be fixed in 467 BCE. Actually, modern historians have wrongly fixed the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (483 BCE) and the date of Maurya King Aśoka (268 BCE) and propounded that Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 467 BCE. We have already discussed the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) in the Chapter 3. It is, therefore, totally absurd to link the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa with the date of Buddha nirvāṇa and the Mauryas. In fact, the entire Jain chronology has been presented considering the Mahāvira nirvāṇa 470 years before the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and 605 years and 5 months before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) since ancient times. Therefore, the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) must be the sheet anchors of Jain chronology. This is the reason why the date of 467 BCE miserably fails to explain the chronology given in the various *Paṭṭāvalīs*.

### **The Lifetime of Vardhamāna Mahāvira (1261-1189 BCE)**

In view of the above, we can convincingly fix the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa on 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 1189 BCE considering the epoch the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). According to Jain sources, Mahāvira lived for 72 years. Thus, he was born on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the bright half of Chaitra month (Chaitra Śukla Trayodaśī) and Uttara Phālgunī Nakśatra, i.e., 28<sup>th</sup> Feb 1261 BCE. Kalpasūtra mentions that five auspicious events of Mahāvira's life took place when moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttara Phālgunī but Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa when moon was in conjunction with the asterism Svāti. Moon was in Uttara Phālgunī Nakśatra on 28<sup>th</sup> Feb 1261 BCE and in Svāti Nakśatra on the 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 1189 BCE.

### **The Epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama Era (719-718 BCE)**

According to Jain Paṭṭāvalis, King Gardabhilla became the king of Ujjain in Mahāvira-nirvāṇa saṁvat 453 (736-735 BCE) and reigned for 13 years. Early Jain scholars have preserved an interesting historical story named “Kālakācārya-kathānaka” in their works. This story tells us the background of the rise of Vikramāditya in 719-718 BCE. In the Jain tradition, there were three Kālakācāryas.<sup>10</sup> Kālakācārya I lived around Mahāvira-nirvāṇa saṁvat 376 (813-812 BCE) and authored commentaries on “Nigodas”. Kālakācārya II lived during the reign of king Gardabhilla (736-723 BCE) whereas Kālakācārya III flourished around Mahāvira-nirvāṇa saṁvat 993 (196-195 BCE). The famous “Kālakācārya-Kathānaka” is the real story of Kālakācārya II.

King Vairisimha of Dhārā (modern Dhar in Madhya Pradesh) had a son named Kālaka and a daughter named Sarasvati, both of whom embraced Jainism at an early age. They went to Ujjain which was the major centre of Jainism in Madhyadeśa. King Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjain at that time, was so smitten by Sarasvati's beauty that he forcibly took her to his palace. All of Kālaka's efforts and pleas to convince the king to release his sister with honour went in vain. Furious and frustrated Kālaka decided to avenge this humiliation. He went westward, crossed the Sindhu River and reached the country (modern Afghanistan) where a number of Śaka kśatras were ruling as subordinate to the Indo-Parthian

kings. He successfully persuaded 95 or 96 Śaka kśatrapas to migrate to India and become independent rulers instead of ruling as subordinates. These Śaka kśatrapas came to Ujjain accompanied by Kālaka and defeated the King Gardabhilla and imprisoned him. Kālaka thus avenged his humiliation and liberated his sister Sarasvati. The Śaka kśatrapas declared themselves the kings of Ujjain in Mahāvira-nirvāṇa saṁvat 466 (723-722 BCE) and had ruled for four years when Vikramāditya, the Great attacked the Śakas and drove them away. Vikramāditya became the king of Ujjain and founded the Kārttikādi era in 719-718 BCE which was referred to initially as the Kṛta era or Mālava-gaṇa era and later as the Vikrama era. Vikramāditya was also referred to as Sāhasāṅka.

Kālakācārya II, also known as Kālakasūri, is repeatedly mentioned as the uprooter of Gardabhilla in Jain tradition. Apart from the *Paṭṭāvalis*, *Kālakasūri* is mentioned in *Sthānakavṛtti*, *Dharmopadeśamālāvṛtti*, *Puṣpamālāvṛtti*, *Samasta-Kālakācārya-Kathā* and *Prabhāvākacāritam*. According to Jain works, the illustrious King Vikramāditya received “*dīkṣā*” of Jainism from Siddhasena Divākara in Mahāvira-nirvāṇa saṁvat 470 (719-718 BCE) and ruled for 60 years. After Vikramāditya, his four successors ruled for a period of 75 years and 5 months. Thus, the dynasty of Vikramāditya ruled for 135 years and 5 months. The Śaka kśatrapas regrouped themselves and invaded Ujjain again after 135 years and 5 months and re-occupied Ujjain. It is quite probable that the Śaka Mahākśatrapa Caṣṭana was coronated as the king of Ujjain. He founded the Śaka era in 583 BCE, which was referred to as “*Śaka-nṛpa-kāla*”, “*Śaka-nṛpa-rājyābhīṣeka-saṁvatsara*”, etc.

The chronology of King Vikramāditya and his four successors is given in the Gurvāvali of Vṛddhagacṇa:

“*Sunnamuniveyajutta 470 Jinakala Vikkamo varisa-satthi 60 | Dhammaichcho chalisa 40 Gaila panavisa 25 Nahade attha 8 | Ikkammi 3 vasasaye gayami panatisavachcharasadiye 135 | Vikkama-kalau saga na vachcharo puna vi samjao i*”<sup>11</sup>

	<b>Mahāvira-nirvāṇa</b>	
	<b>Samvat</b>	
	<b>(1189-1188 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1. Gardabhilla (13 years)	453-466	736-723 BCE
2. Śaka Kśatrapas (4 years)	466-470	723-719 BCE
3. Vikramāditya (60 years)	470-530	719-659 BCE
4. 1 <sup>st</sup> successor (40 years)	530-570	659-619 BCE
5. 2 <sup>nd</sup> successor (25 years)	570-595	619-594 BCE
6. 3 <sup>rd</sup> successor (8 years)	595-602	594-587 BCE
7. 4 <sup>th</sup> successor (3years)	602-605	587-583 BCE
8. Coronation a Śaka king (Probably Caṣṭana)	605 (1 <sup>st</sup> day of Chaitra month)	21 <sup>st</sup> Mar 583 BCE

*Vishnu Purāṇa* and *Vāyu Purāṇa* also record that a family of seven Gardabhilla rulers was amongst the ruling dynasties contemporary of the Āndhras.<sup>12</sup> *Prabhāvaka-Charita* mentions that Gardabhillas knew Rāsabha or Gardabha vidyā, a war strategy using a strong regiment of mules.

According to legends, Vikramāditya married the daughter of a Śātavāhana king. Jain sources inform us that Vikramāditya reigned for 60 years from 719 BCE to 659 BCE. *Vikramārka Charitram*, *Ananta's Vīracharitra*, *Shivadasa's Śālivāhana Charitra*, etc., record that King Śālivāhana defeated and killed Vikramāditya. Most probably, Vikramāditya was killed in 659 BCE in a war with Śālivāhana. Probably, the Tamil manuscript "*Chola Purva Patayam*" mistakenly mentions the date of 659 BCE (Kali year 2443) for the death of Śālivāhana instead of the death of Vikramāditya.

It is evident from early Jain sources that Vikramāditya founded an era in Mahāvira-nirvāṇa samvat 470 (719-718 BCE) when he became the king of Ujjain by defeating 96 Śakas. *Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhāvakasūri mentions that Kālakācārya brought 96 Śakas to Ujjain to uproot Gardabhilla. *Gathāsaptasatī*, a Prakrit anthology compiled by the Śātavāhana King Hāla of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, tells us that Vikramāditya was an illustrious king well known for his generosity and victories (*Samvahana-suha-rasa-tosiena demtena tuha kara lakkham | Chalanena Vikkamaiccha-chariam anusikkhiam tissa |*). The Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhya

also has a record of Vikramāditya. The Rājamahendravaram inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana dated in Kaliyuga era 2628 (475-474 BCE) refers to Vikramāditya while comparing Viṣṇuvardhana with Vikramāditya (*Vikramāditya iva rājanya-viṣama-siddhiḥ*).<sup>13</sup> An inscription at Udayagiri (Cave No. 9) dated in the year 1093 (345 CE) of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) tells us that the Gupta King Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE) constructed this cave temple after the reign of Vikramāditya.

The above cited literary sources refer to the great King Vikramāditya who defeated Śakas and founded an era in 719 - 718 BCE belong to the period prior to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. The people of Mālava who suffered considerably under the tyrannical four-year rule (723 - 719 BCE) of the Śakas were liberated when Vikramāditya led the Mālava army and drove away the Śakas, thus elevating Vikramāditya to the status of a legend not only in Mālava but over entire India as well. The people of Mālava considered the rule of Vikramāditya as a golden era. Therefore, the Mālavas named the era founded by Vikramāditya as “Kṛta” era. Since this era has commenced from the date of the establishment of Mālava-gaṇa or Mālava republic, it was also referred to as the Mālava-gaṇa era. In all probability, this era commenced on the 1<sup>st</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight (*śukla pratipadā*) of Kārttika month in 719 BCE, i.e., 16<sup>th</sup> Oct 719 BCE (Amānta) or on 1<sup>st</sup> Oct 719 BCE, 1<sup>st</sup> tithi of the dark fortnight (Pūrṇimānta). The Nāndsā (Udaypur, Rajasthan) Pillar inscription of Śaktiguṇaguru is the earliest inscription dated in the Kṛta era or Kārttikādi Vikrama era 282 (437 BCE).<sup>14</sup> Two yūpa inscriptions from Barnala (Jaipur) are also dated in Kṛta 284 (435 BCE) and Kṛta 335 (384 BCE).<sup>15</sup>

### **The Evidence of Kālidāsa’s Jyotirvidābharaṇam**

Kālidāsa mentions in his *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* that “Kśayamāsa” occurred in the 103<sup>rd</sup> year elapsed from the epoch of the Vikramāditya era (*Trikhendubhir-Vikrama-Bhūpater-mite, Śākenvitiha Kśayamāsako’bhavat | Anyaḥ sva-kālabdagaṇena hāyane, adhimāsa-yugmam Kśayamāsavatyataḥ ||*).<sup>16</sup> Kālidāsa himself says that he authored *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* in Kaliyuga 3068 (34-33 BCE). If the Vikrama era commenced only in 57 BCE, how 103 years had been elapsed by 34 BCE? Evidently, an ancient epoch of the Vikrama era was in vogue during the time of Kālidāsa.



Considering the epoch of *Kārttikādi* Vikrama era in 719 BCE, the last *Kṣāyamāsa* probably occurred in 616 BCE (103 years after 719 BCE). In fact, *Kṣāyamāsa* used to occur in a cycle of 141 years. This method has been discontinued after 616 BCE. Thereafter, *Kṣāyamāsa* was calculated based on astronomical calculations. The year was earmarked as *Kṣāyamāsa* if the solar month was smaller than the lunar month or two *saṅkrāntis* occurred in one lunar month. There used to be two intercalary months in a *Kṣāyamāsa* year.

Kālidāsa's *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* and Bhāskarāchārya's *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi* are the most valuable sources for understanding the concept of *Kṣāyamāsa*, i.e., deletory month. According to Kālidāsa and other Indian astronomers, if there are two *saṅkrāntis* in the course of a lunar month, then that lunar month will be considered as a *Kṣāyamāsa* ("*Saurādyadā cāndramāso garīyān Māso dvisāṅkrāntirasau Kṣāyākhyah*").<sup>17</sup> There will be two *Adhimāsas* (intercalary months) in the year of *Kṣāyamāsa* ("*Adhimāsayugmam kṣāyamāsavatyatah*").<sup>18</sup>

Kālidāsa clearly mentions that *Kṣāyamāsa* used to occur once in an interval of 141 years in ancient times. This tradition has been changed 103 years after the epoch of *Kārttikādi* Vikrama era (719 BCE). Kālidāsa tells us that the last *Kṣāyamāsa* occurred in 616 BCE in the cycle of 141 years. This cycle of 141 years was abandoned after 616 BCE. Thereafter, Indian astronomers introduced a new system of *Kṣāyamāsa* based calculations. *Kālidāsa* indicates that *Kṣāyamāsa* used to occur in 141 years and sometimes in 19 years after 616 BCE.

According to Bhāskarāchārya, *Kṣāyamāsa* occurred in Śaka 974 (391 CE), Śaka 1115 (532 CE), Śaka 1256 (673 CE) and Śaka 1378 (795 CE).<sup>19</sup> Bhāskarāchārya tells us that *Kṣāyamāsa* used to occur in a cycle of 141 years but sometimes *Kṣāyamāsa* occurred in an interval of 19 years and 122 years. It is evident that whenever a *Kṣāyamāsa* occurs in 122 years, next *Kṣāyamāsa* occurs in 19 years. Let us calculate the periodic occurrence of *Kṣāyamāsa* as indicated by *Kālidāsa Bhāskarāchārya* with reference to the epochs of the *Kārttikādi* Vikrama era (719-718) BCE and the Śaka era (583 BCE).

Śaka Year	The Interval	Kśayamāsa Year 616 BCE (Kārttikādi year)
	19 Years	596 BCE (Chaitrādi Year)
	122 Years	474 BCE
	19 Years	455 BCE
	141 Years	314 BCE
	141 Years	173 BCE
	122 years	51 BCE
	19 years	32 BCE
	141 Years	109 CE
	141 Years	250 CE
	122 Years	372 CE
974	19 Years	391 CE
1115	141 Years	532 CE
1256	141 Years	673 CE
1378	122 Years	795 CE
	19 Years	814 CE

The cycle of the occurrence *Kśayamāsa* as indicated by Kālidāsa and Bhāskarāchārya also indicates that the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719 BCE and the epoch of the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE.

Kālidāsa also says that “the Yudhiṣṭhira era lasted for 3044 years, the Vikrama era lasted for 135 years and the Śālivāhana era will last for 18000 years.”<sup>20</sup> Evidently, Kālidāsa indicates that the Vikrama era ended much before the date of *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* (34-33 BCE). In fact, Kālidāsa considers Śaka and Śālivāhana eras as identical and apparently indicates that the Vikrama era ended in 583 BCE 135 years after 719 BCE. The epigraphic evidence also suggests that the Vikrama era was revived and became popular after the 800<sup>th</sup> year of the Vikrama era. There are hundreds of inscriptions continuously dated after the 800<sup>th</sup> year of Vikrama era but only ~21 inscriptions found dated in the Kṛta, Mālava-gaṇa and Vikrama era from the year 282 to 797. Evidently, the popularity of the epoch of the Śaka or Śālivāhana era (583 BCE) had sidelined the use of the epoch of the Vikrama era (719 BCE). Kālidāsa lived in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE and the Śaka era (583 BCE) was more popular among Indian astronomers than

the Vikrama era (719 BCE). This may be the reason why Kālidāsa says that Vikrama era lasted only for 135 years.

### The Epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama Era (57 BCE)

As a matter of fact, there were two Vikramādityas of Ujjain well-known as the founders of an era. Vikramāditya I, the son of Gardabhilla, defeated the Śakas in 719-718 BCE and founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era. According to the *Bhavishya Purāṇa*, Vikramāditya II was born in the 3000<sup>th</sup> elapsed year of Kaliyuga (101 BCE) and his father was Gandharvasena. Vīramatī was the mother of Vikramāditya (*Devāṅganā Vīramatī Śakreṇa preṣitā yadā | Gandharvasenam samprāpya putratnamajījanat ||*).<sup>21</sup> When he was five years old, Vikramāditya went to the Aśramas of Rishis in the forest to be educated and studied there for 12 years. Thereafter, Vikramāditya returned to the city of Ambāvati and he was anointed king on a golden throne decorated with 32 golden idols.

*“Purṇe trimśatcchate varṣe Kalau prāpte bhayaṅkare ||  
Śakānām ca vināśārtham ārya-dharma-vivṛddhaye  
Jātaśśivājñayā so’pi Kailāsāt Guhyakālayāt ||  
Vikramāditya-nāmānam Pitā kṛtvā mumoda ha  
Sa bālo’pi mahāprājñāḥ pitṛ-mātr-priyaṅkaraḥ ||  
Pañca-varṣe vayaḥ prāpte tapasārthe vanam gataḥ  
Dvādaśābdam prayatnena Vikrameṇa Kṛtam tapaḥ ||  
Paścād-ambāvatiṃ divyam purīm yātaḥ śriyānvitaḥ  
divyam simhāsanam ramyam dvātrimśan murti-samyutam ||”<sup>22</sup>*

Vikramāditya II was coronated at Ambāvati around 82 BCE. *Kumarikākhanda* of *Skanda Purāṇa* also confirms that Vikramāditya ascended the throne 3020 years after the beginning of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE), i.e., 81 BCE (ततस्त्रिषु सहस्रेषु विशत्या चाधिकेषु च । भविष्यन् विक्रमादित्यः राज्यं सोऽथ प्रलप्स्यते ॥).

According to the *Purāṇas*, he belonged to the Paramāra dynasty. Pramara, the progenitor of the Paramāra dynasty, established a kingdom in Avanti around the year 2710 (392 BCE) of Kaliyuga era and founded his capital in the city named Ambāvati (Amarāvati in Vidarbha, Maharashtra. The famous Ambādevi temple is situated in this city.). He ruled for 6 years.

*“āvante Pramāro bhupaścāturyo janavistṛtam  
Ambāvati nāma purimadhyāsya sukhito bhavat ||”<sup>23</sup>*

*“Saptavimśatisāte varṣe daśābde cādhike kalau  
Pramāro nāma bhūpālah kṛtam rājyam ca śatsamāh ||”<sup>24</sup>*

After Pramāra, Mahāmāra, Devāpi and Devaduta ruled for 9 years (3 years each). Then the Paramāras probably migrated to Śrīśailam due to the invasion of the Śakas. After a lapse of two and half centuries, Gandharvasena of Pramāra dynasty became the king of Ambavati. Interestingly, later Jain source *“Purātana Prabandha Saṅgraha”* (*Vikramārka-Sattva-Prabandha*) mentions that Vikramāditya, the son of Gandharvasena was born in a Hūṇa family (*Hūṇa-vaṁśe samutpanno Vikramāditya-bhūpatiḥ, Gandharvasena-tanayo pṛthivīmanṛṇām oyadhāt*). It clearly contradicts with Purāṇas. Seemingly, Gandharvasena might have initially reigned as a feudatory king of the Hūṇa emperor Mihirakula or his wife Vīramatī may belonged to a Hūṇa family. But Purāṇas unambiguously inform us that Gandharvasena belonged to the Paramāra dynasty.

According to *Betālapañcavimśati* and *Dvātrimśatputtalikā*, Gandharvasena had four wives from four varnas. He had sons, Brahmavīta from Brāhmaṇa wife, Śaṅkha, Vikrama and Bhartṛhari from Kśatriya wife, Chandra from Vaiśya wife and Dhanvantari from Śūdra wife. Śaṅkha Mahārāja, the first Kśatriya son of Gandharvasena, succeeded him.

Vikramāditya was the second son of Gandharvasena. It appears that there was a succession struggle between Śaṅkha and Vikramāditya in which Vikramāditya defeated Śaṅkha and became the king of Ambavati. He successfully established a powerful empire in North India and shifted his capital to Ujjayini. Most probably, his original name was Harsha whereas Vikramāditya was his regnal title.

As discussed above, there was indeed a king named Vikramāditya flourished in Ujjain in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE and reigned around 82-20 BCE. Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Vikramāditya and the author of *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* in 34-33 BCE mentions that Vikramāditya founded an epoch after defeating the army of Śakas (*Yena.... Kaliyuge Śāka-pravṛttiḥ kritā....*).<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, Kālidāsa did not give the year of the epoch but undoubtedly, the epoch had commenced before 34-33 BCE. Evidently, Vikramāditya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE was the originator of the epoch of 57 BCE. Now the question is how the epoch of Vikrama era (57

BCE) came into practice exactly 135 years before 78 CE? In all probability, Indian astronomers revived the epoch of 57 BCE with an objective to switch over from the Kārttikādi calendar to the Chaitrādi calendar in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE and linked it to the historical event of the killing of the Śaka king of Rummakeśa by Vikramāditya II as recorded by Kālidāsa.<sup>26</sup> Vikramāditya II had a title of Sāhasānka. Most probably, his original name was Harṣadeva. Seemingly, he was also referred to as Bhoja, an ancient name of Paramāra dynasty. Bhoja Kśatriyas existed since Mahābhārata period. Most probably, Paramāra, the progenitor of Paramāra dynasty was a descendant of Bhojas.

In fact, Indian astronomers were in search of a perfect epoch to introduce the concept of “*Ayanāmśa*” for accurate and all-round astronomical calculations. Accordingly, Indian astronomers selected the perfect conjunction of Sun, Moon and Jupiter on 1<sup>st</sup> Apr 78 CE. They had reset the epoch on 1<sup>st</sup> Apr 78 CE, Sunday as *Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā* of 3179 Kali year elapsed for all future calendrical and astronomical calculations and called this epoch as Śakānta or the end of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Thus, the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE) came into existence.

Following this revolutionary change in the astronomical epoch in 78 CE, north Indian astronomers also reset the epoch of 719-718 BCE (*Kārttikādi* Vikrama era) to 57 BCE (*Chaitrādi* Vikrama era) considering a gap of 135 years and introduced the Chaitrādi calendar. Thus, the epoch of 57 BCE came into existence in the name of Vikramāditya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. This resetting of the astronomical epochs happened most likely around 100-200 CE. It is, therefore, extremely important to understand the difference between these epochs while studying the chronology of ancient India. The epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) commenced from the coronation of the Śaka King Caṣṭana and the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) commenced from the coronation of Vikramāditya I, the son of Gardabhilla whereas the astronomical epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE) was introduced by the astronomers. It is also coincidental that King Vikramāditya founded the epoch of 57 BCE exactly 135 years before 78 CE.

The Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Śaka era (583 BCE) were generally not in use by the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. Gradually, Indians

forgot the epochs of these old eras by the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. Thus, Al Beruni of the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE could record only the epochs of the Śākānta era (78 CE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).

### **The Historicity of the Navaratnas of Vikramāditya**

Eminent historians have not only questioned the historicity of King Vikramāditya but also rejected the contemporaneity of Navaratnas because their distorted chronological framework has no room for Vikramāditya. Moreover, they ridiculously date Kālidāsa before Varāhamihira though Kālidāsa himself refers to Varāhamihira as his senior contemporary in his treatise *Jyotirvidābharaṇam*. It is relevant here to discuss the date of *Navaratnas* because the historicity of King *Vikramāditya* is also linked with the contemporaneity of *Navaratnas* in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

According to Kālidāsa and the traditional legends, King Vikramāditya had nine gems in his court, namely, Varāhamihira, Kālidāsa, Vararuchi, Dhanvantari, Kśapaṇaka, Ghatakharpara, Śaṅku, Amarasimha and Vetālabhaṭṭa.

*Dhanvantari-Kśapaṇakāmarsimha-Śaṅku-  
Vetālabhaṭṭa-Ghaṭakarpara-Kālidāsāḥ |  
Khyāto Varāhamihiro nṛpateḥ sabhāyām  
Ratnāni vai Vararuchir nava Vikramasya ॥<sup>27</sup>*

### **Varāhamihira (146-74 BCE)**

Varāhamihira was the eldest among the Navaratnas of Vikramāditya as indicated by Kālidāsa (*Varāhapūrvāḥ... Khyāto Varāhamihiro...*). Varāhamihira, the son of Ādityadāsa and the most celebrated astronomer of Avanti (Ujjain), was born in Kāmpilyaka or Kāpitthaka. He was the author of *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, *Bṛhajjātakam* and *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. Varāhamihira used the expressions “*Śakendra-kāla*”, “*Śaka-bhūpa-kāla*”, “*Śaka-kāla*”, etc., which unambiguously refer to the Śaka era (583 BCE) and not to the Śākānta era (78 CE). He indicated Śaka 427 current (157 BCE) as *Karaṇābda* for calculation of *Ahargaṇa* (counting of days).

*Saptāśvivedasaṅkhyam Śaka-kālamapāsya Chaitra-śuklādau |  
Ardhāstamite bhānau Yavanapure Saumyadivasādye ॥<sup>28</sup>*

“The 427<sup>th</sup> year from Śaka kāla, i.e. 583 BCE, when the sun is half setting at Yavanapura at the beginning of Chaitra śuklapakṣa and it is the beginning of Wednesday.” Considering the epoch of Śaka era in 583 BCE, the year of Śaka 427 current was 157-156 BCE and the date intended by Varāhamihira was 21<sup>st</sup> Mar 157 BCE and the weekday was Wednesday.

Amarāja Daivajña, who wrote a commentary on “*Khandakhādya*” of Brahmagupta, mentions that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509 (74 BCE) [*Navādhika-pañca-śata-sankhya-śāke Varāhamihirācāryo divam gataḥ*] when the trepidation (the oscillation in the precession of equinoxes) was nil. Thus, we can roughly fix the lifetime of Varāhamihira between Śaka 427 and Śaka 509, i.e., 157-74 BCE.

Interestingly, Varāhamihira mentions the points in the ecliptic, at which, winter and summer solstices occurred in ancient times and his time (around 100 BCE).

*Aśleṣārdhād-dakṣīnamuttaramayanam raverdhaniṣṭhādyaṃ |  
Nūnam kadācidāsīd yenoktam pūrvaśāstreṣu ||  
Sāmpratamayanam savituḥ karkaṭakādyaṃ mṛgāditaścānyāt |  
Uktabhavo vikṛtiḥ pratyakṣa-parīkṣaṇair-vyaktiḥ ||<sup>29</sup>*

“At the time the Sun’s southward course commenced on his reaching the middle of āśleṣā, and its northward course on his reaching the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā. This must have been the case as we find it so recorded in ancient Śāstras (*Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*). But at present the one course of the Sun commences at the beginning of Karkaṭaka (Cancer), and the other at the beginning of Makara (Capricorn).”

*Aśleṣārdhād āsīd yadā nivṛtṭiḥ kiloṣṇakiraṇasya |  
Yuktamayanam tadāsīt sāmpratamayanam punarvasutaḥ ||<sup>30</sup>*

“Once the Sun changed his course from the mid-point of Aśleṣā; but at present, the Ayana begins from the end of Punarvasu Nakṣatra.”

Based on the positions of solstices in the ecliptic given by Varāhamihira as detailed above, it can be derived that Varāhamihira must have authored *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and *Pañcasiddhāntikā* in the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. There is a controversy about the translation of “*Punarvasutaḥ*”. V Thiruvenkatacharya says that *Punarvasutaḥ* can mean only from the end of Punarvasu. KV Sarma states that it can mean

any point of Punarvasu and therefore, the point is three quarters of Punarvasu. Internal evidence suggests that Varāhamihira clearly indicates the specific point as Aśleṣārdhād (from the mid-point of Aśleṣā Nakṣatra), Dhaniṣṭhādyaṁ (the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā Nakṣatra), etc. Evidently, Varahamihira refers beginning point as Ādi and mid-point as Ardha. Therefore, Punarvasutaḥ clearly indicates the end point of Punarvasu not the point of three quarters. Thus, the summer solstice at the end point of Punarvasu also indicates that Varahamihira lived around ~100 BCE.

A verse from a lost text named “*Kutūhalamañjari*” informs us that Varāhamihira was born in the 8<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright half of Chaitra month, in Jaya saṁvatsara and the year 3042 of Yudhiṣṭhira era (स्वस्ति श्रीनृपसूर्यसूनुज-शके याते द्वि-वेदा-म्बर-त्रैर् मानाब्दमितेत्वनेहसि जये वर्षे वसन्तादिके। चैत्रे श्वेतदले शुभे वसुतिथावादित्यदासादभूद् वेदाङ्गे निपुणो वराहमिहिरो विप्रो रवेराशीर्भिः ॥). The era of the son of Sūrya-Sūnu is identical with the epoch of 3188 BCE when Yudhiṣṭhira ascended the throne of Indraprastha. Thus, the year 3042 was 146 BCE which was also the Jaya saṁvatsara. Since Varāhamihira died in 74 BCE, Jaya saṁvatsara of 146 BCE was indeed his birth year. He was born on *Chaitra Śukla Aṣṭamī*, i.e., 25/26 Mar 146 BCE. Thus, we can accurately fix the lifetime of Varāhamihira around 146-74 BCE.

One more argument is given that Varāhamihira mentions Āryabhaṭa (*Lankārdharātra-samaye dina-pravṛttim jagāda cāryabhaṭaḥ*) who was born in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, Varāhamihira cannot be dated around 146-74 BCE. Historians have wrongly interpreted the verse “*Ṣaṣṭyabdānām Ṣaṣṭir yadā vyatītāḥ trayaśca yugapādāḥ*” and concluded that Āryabhaṭa was born 3600 years after the epoch of the Kaliyuga (3102 BCE).<sup>32</sup> The internal evidence suggests that Āryabhaṭa was completely ignorant of the Śaka era. All Indian astronomers who lived after the epoch of the Śaka era have invariably referred to the Śaka era in their treatises. Therefore, Āryabhaṭa cannot be dated after the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Thus, Āryabhaṭa lived much earlier than the time of Varāhamihira. I have already discussed in detail the date of Āryabhaṭa in my book titled “*The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahabharata*”. In fact, Āryabhaṭa flourished around 3173-3100 BCE.



As discussed above, King Vikramāditya was born in 101 BCE and ascended the throne in 82 BCE. Possibly, Varāhamihira was in the court of Vikramāditya around 82-74 BCE.

### Kālidāsa (105-25 BCE)

The most celebrated Sanskrit poet, Kālidāsa was one of the Navaratnas of King Vikramāditya and the author of three Kāvya (*“Ritusamhāram”, “Kumārasambhavam”, “Raghuvamśam”*) and four Nāṭakas (*“Abhijñānaśākuntalam”, “Mālavikāgnimitram”, “Vikramorvaśīyam”, “Kuntaleśvaradautyam”*). Kālidāsa also authored an astronomical work named *“Jyotirvidābharaṇam”* in Kaliyuga 3068 (34-33 BCE).

*Varṣaiḥ sindhuradarśanāmbaraḡuṇair-yāte kalau sarṇmite,  
Māse Mādhava-sarṇjñake ca vihito grantha-kriyopakramaḥ ।  
Nānā-kāla-vidhāna-śāstra-gadita-jñānam vilokyādarād,  
Ūrje grantha-samāptiratra vihītā jyotirvidām prītaye ॥<sup>33</sup>*

Kālidāsa states that “I began to write this work (*Jyotirvidābharaṇam*) in the Kali year 3068 and in the month of *Mādhava (Vaiśākha)*. Having consulted treatises on several systems of astronomy, I have completed the work in the month of *Ūrja (Kārttika)*”. Thus, Kālidāsa started writing *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* on 10<sup>th</sup> Apr 34 BCE and completed it by 1<sup>st</sup> Nov 34 BCE. Kālidāsa claims that he was one of the Navaratnas of King Vikramāditya and a junior contemporary of Varāhamihira. Kālidāsa referred to Śaka 445 elapsed (20<sup>th</sup> Mar 138 BCE) as Karaṇābda in his work (*Śarāmbodhiyugo nīto hr̥to mānam..... ayanam Śakasya*) for calculation of *“Ahargaṇa”* (counting of days).

Kālidāsa calls himself as *“nṛpasakhā”* which indicates that he belonged to the same age group of King Vikramāditya.

*“Śaṅkāvādi-panditavarāḥ kavayastvaneke  
Jyotirvidaśca prabhavaṇśca Varāhapurvāḥ ।  
Śri-Vikramārka-nṛpa-samsadi mānyabuddhiḥ  
tairapyaham nṛpasakhā kila Kālidāsaḥ ॥<sup>34</sup>*

Vikramāditya fought the Śakas in the North-western region and defeated a Śaka king of the province *“Rummakeśa”* as recorded in Kālidāsa’s *Jyotirvidābharaṇam*.

“Yo Rummakesādhipatim Śakeśvaram  
 jitvā grhito’jjayinim mahāhave |  
 Aniya sambhrāmya mumoca tam tvaho  
 Śri-Vikramārka-samasahyavikramaḥ ||”<sup>35</sup>

Al Beruni also mentions that Vikramāditya marched against a Śaka king and killed him in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni. The war between Vikramāditya and the Śaka king ought to have taken place around 57 BCE.<sup>36</sup>

King Vikramāditya established a vast kingdom in Central and Northern India. According to *Kālidāsa’s Jyotirvidābharaṇam*, Vikramāditya II conquered Draviḍa, Lāta, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Gurjara, Dhārā and Kāmboja. Undoubtedly, Vikramāditya II also known as Harṣadeva was a contemporary of the early Chālukya King Pulakeśin II. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE, Pulakeśin II reigned in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Vikramāditya II lost control over Draviḍa (Andhra and Chola kingdom) during the conflict between him and Pulakeśin II. Pulakeśin II claimed victory over Harsha, the lord of Uttarāpatha, in his copper plate grants. Undoubtedly, the “Harsha”, “Sri Harsha”, “Harshavardhana”, etc., mentioned in the early Chālukya grants were none other than Vikramāditya II and the war between Harṣa (Vikramāditya II) and Pulakeśin II occurred prior to 53 BCE. Vikramāditya II sent Kālidāsa as his emissary to the court of Kuntaleśvara, i.e., Pulakeśin II after his defeat. Kālidāsa beautifully narrates his experience as emissary in his work “*Kuntaleśvaradautyam*” which is unfortunately now lost. Historians have concocted that Pulakeśin II was a contemporary of the Puṣpabhūti King Harshavardhana of Kanauj but he flourished around 457-405 BCE. We will discuss the epoch of Sri Harsha era in Chapter 6.

Kṣemendra, the author of “*Aucityavicāracarcā*”, quotes a verse from Kālidāsa’s *Kuntaleśvaradautyam* as an illustration of Adhikaraṇaucitya (propriety of place): Kālidāsa was sent as the ambassador of King Vikramāditya to the court of the king of Kuntala, i.e. the early Chālukya King Pulakeśin II (52-22 BCE) where he did not get a seat worthy of an ambassador of a great king like Vikramāditya, and therefore, sat on the ground. When asked why he did so, Kālidāsa recited the following verse:

*Iha nivasati meruḥ śekharaḥ kśmādharāṇām,  
iha vinihitabhāraḥ sāgaraḥ sapta cānye ।  
idam mahipatibhoga-sthambhavibhrājamānām,  
dharaṇītalamihaiva sthānamasmadvidhānām ॥<sup>37</sup>*

“This is the only proper seat for us, which is rendered immovable by the numerous pillar-like hoods of the Śeṣa Nāga (lord of serpents); since it is here that Meru, the lord of mountains and also the seven seas are seated. And I am in no way inferior to them.”

*Śrīṅgāraprakāśa* of King Bhoja also quotes from Kālidāsa’s *Kuntaleśvaradautyam* from which it is quite clear that Kālidāsa’s visit to the court of Chālukya King Pulakeśin II was eventful. Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihole inscription of Śaka 556 (27 BCE), proudly mentions the names of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi.<sup>38</sup> It can be concluded from the above that Kālidāsa was the court poet of the Ujjain King Vikramāditya and flourished in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

Historians mistakenly identify the Gupta King Chandragupta Vikramāditya as the patron of Kālidāsa. Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena II, the son of the daughter of Chandragupta II, wrote a Kāvya “*Setubandha*” in Prakrit which had been revised or re-composed in Sanskrit by Kālidāsa by the order of King Vikramāditya as stated by the commentator Rāmadāsa. Chandragupta II, the maternal grandfather of Pravarasena II, died at least a few years before the *Setubandha* could have been written. Kālidāsa, who refers to himself as “*nṛpasakhā*” which meant the same age group friend of Vikramāditya, may have also died by then. Therefore, Chandragupta II was not the Vikramāditya who patronised Kālidāsa. We will discuss the chronology of the Gupta and the Vakataka dynasties in Chapter 9.

Evidently, the famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa was in the court of King Vikramāditya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE and lived around 105-25 BCE.

### **Vararuchi (100-20 BCE)**

Vararuchi was also in the court of Vikramāditya. He himself records that he authored “*Patrakaumudī*” by the directions of Vikramāditya.

*Vikramāditya-bhūpasya Kīrti-siddhernideśataḥ ।  
Śrīman Vararuchirdhīmān tanoti Patrakaumudīm ॥<sup>39</sup>*

Vararuchi also authored “Liṅgaviśeṣavidhi” and “*Vidyāsundaraprasaṅga-kāvyaṃ*” (*Vararuchināmā sa kaviḥ śrutvā vākyam nṛpendrasya | Vidyāsundara-charitam ślokasamuhāistadārebhe ||*).

There were many famous scholars named Vararuchi existed in ancient India starting from Vararuchi Kātyāyana, a contemporary of Pāṇini (1670-1590 BCE).

### **Dhanvantari (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE)**

Dhanvantari, the author of Nighanṭu and Dravyāvalī was one of the nine gems of King Vikramāditya. Probably, he was a royal physician. Unfortunately, we have no further information of Dhanvantari of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

### **Kśapaṇaka (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE)**

There were two Sanskrit poets named Kśapaṇaka and Mahā-Kśapaṇaka. Kśapaṇaka was a great grammarian who wrote a treatise titled “*Mahānyāsa*”. His treatise was known as “Kśapaṇaka-Vyākaraṇa”. Mahākśapaṇaka was the author of “*Anekārtha-Dhvani-Mañjarī*” (also known as “*Nānārtha-Dhvani-Mañjarī*”). Seemingly, he belonged to Kashmir as recorded at the end of two chapters of *Anekārtha-Dhvani-Mañjarī* (*Kashmirānvaye Mahā-Kśapaṇaka-kavi-viracitānekārtha-Dhvani-Mañjaryām slokādhikāraḥ*). There is only one śloka available in Sanskrit literature, which is attributed to Kśapaṇaka. Evidently, there was a grammarian and poet named Kśapaṇaka indeed existed. Kālidāsa informs us that Kśapaṇaka was also one of the nine gems of King Vikramāditya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Probably, Kśapaṇaka and Mahākśapaṇaka were two different persons.

### **Amarasimha (85-0 BCE)**

Amarasimha was the famous author of “*Amarakośa*” also known as “*Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam*”. Most probably, he was a Buddhist. An inscription found at Bodh Gaya mentions Amarasimha, a gem of the court of King Vikramāditya. Most probably, Amarasimha was younger than Vararuchi and Dhanvantari. According to Kśīraswāmi and Sarvananda, the commentators of *Amarakośa*, the treatises like Vyādi’s *Utpalini*, Kātyāyana’s *Kātya-kośa*, Vachaspati’s *Śabdārṇava*, Bhāguri’s

*Trikāṇḍakośa*, Vikramāditya's *Samśārāvarta*, Dhanvantari's *Nighanṭu*, Amaradatta's *Amaramālā* and Vararuchi's *Liṅgaviśeṣavidhi* were written before Amarasimha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam*.

### Śaṅku (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE)

Śaṅku was also one of the *Navaratnas* of King Vikramāditya. Unfortunately, we have no information about this great scholar. Some scholars have mistakenly identified the Kashmiri poet Śaṅkuka to be one of the *Navaratnas* of King Vikramāditya. Kalhaṇa tells us that Śaṅkuka was the author of "*Bhuvanābhuyudayam*". He was a contemporary of Kashmir King Ajitāpīda and a younger contemporary of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa. According to legends, Śaṅkuka was the son of Mayūra. It may be noted that Mayūrabhaṭṭa, the author of *Sūryaśatakam* and the brother-in-law or son-in-law of Bāṇabhaṭṭa belonged to Bihar whereas Mayūra, the father of Śaṅkuka belonged to Kashmir. Śaṅkuka was also the author of a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* as quoted by Abhinavagupta. We will discuss the date of Śaṅkuka with reference to the chronology of Kashmir. Evidently, Śaṅkuka cannot be dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Moreover, neither Mammaṭa nor Kalhaṇa referred to Śaṅkuka as one of the *Navaratnas* of Vikramāditya.

### Vetāla Bhaṭṭa (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE)

It is believed that Vetāla Bhaṭṭa was the author of "*Vetālapaṅcavimśatikā*" but the original source of this text is Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*. Presently, the versions of *Vetālapaṅcavimśatikā* edited by Jambhalabhaṭṭa, Vallabhadāsa and Śivadāsa are available. Vetāla Bhaṭṭa was also the author of *Nītipradīpa Kāvya*. A fragmentary manuscript of *Nītipradīpa Kāvya* is available which contains only 16 verses. This manuscript clearly mentions Vetāla Bhaṭṭa as the author (*Iti Śri-Mahākavi-Vetālabhaṭṭa-viracitam Nītipradīpakāvyaṃ samāptam*). Evidently, Vetāla Bhatta, a great poet, was one of the *navaratnas* of King Vikramāditya.

### Ghaṭakharpara (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE)

Ghaṭakharpara was the author of *Nītisāra* and *Ghaṭakharpara-Kāvyaṃ*. There are eight commentaries on *Ghaṭakharpara-Kāvyaṃ*. Abhinavagupta wrote a commentary named "*Kulaka-Vṛtti*" on *Ghaṭakharpara-Kāvyaṃ*.

Seemingly, Ghaṭakharpara was his nickname but we have no information about his original name. In fact, he posed a challenge that if any poet defeats him in “*Yamaka*”, he will fill water for him with a Ghaṭa-Kharpara, i.e., a broken pot. This is how he came to be known as “*Ghaṭakharpara*”.

### **Other Scholars in the Court of King Vikramāditya**

King Vikramāditya was the great patron of Sanskrit scholars. Kālidāsa mentions that apart from nine gems (Navaratnas), there were 16 learned men, 16 astronomer-astrologers, 16 physicians and 16 Vedic scholars in the court of King Vikramāditya. Kālidāsa also tells us that Suvāk, Mani, Aṅgudatta, Jīṣṇu, Trilochana, Hariswāmi, Satyāchārya, Śrutasena, Bādarāyaṇa, Maṇittha, Kumārasimha were also in the court of Vikramāditya.

### **Hari or Hariswāmi (90-10 BCE)**

Hariswāmi, who wrote a commentary named “*Śrutarthavivṛti*” on Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the king of Avanti, Vikramāditya (*Śrimato’vantināthasya Vikramārkasya bhūpateḥ*). He held the offices of “*Dharmādhyakṣa*” and “*Dānādhyakṣa*” in the court of Vikramāditya. Hariswāmi was the son of *Nāgaswāmi* and a resident of Pushkar in Rajasthan. He wrote *Śrutarthavivṛti* in the Kali year 3047 (55 BCE).

### **Jīṣṇu (90-0 BCE)**

Jīṣṇu or Jīṣṇugupta was the father of Brahmagupta, the famous author of *Brahma-Siddhānta*. Brahmagupta was born in Śaka 520 (63 BCE) and wrote *Brahma-Siddhānta* in Śaka 550 (33 BCE). Evidently, Jīṣṇu lived in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

### **Krishna Mīśra (105-10 BCE)**

Krishna Mīśra was an astrologer in the court of King Vikramāditya. He wrote *Jyotiṣaphala-Ratnamālā*, a book on astrology. He states “Vikramārka, the Emperor, famous like the Manu, has protected me for seventy years and endowed upon me one crore of gold coins.”<sup>40</sup>

### **Bhartṛhari and Vikramāditya**

King Gandharvasena had three sons from his kṣatriya queen Viramatī.

Śaṅkha was elder brother of Vikramāditya whereas Bhartṛhari was the younger brother. In fact, there were at least three Bhartṛharis in the history of ancient India.

Seemingly, Vikramāditya handed over the reins of Ujjain to his younger brother Bhartṛhari and went to forest. King Bhartṛhari was the author of *Nītiśataka*, *Śringāraśataka* and *Vairāgyaśataka*. According to *Bhavishya Purāna*, a Brāhmaṇa named Jayanta sold a fruit to King Bhartṛhari for one lakh gold coins (*Tasmin kāle dvijaḥ kaścit Jayanto nāma viśrutah, Tatphalam tapasā prāptaḥ Śakrataḥ svagrham yayau | Jayanto Bhartṛharaye lakṣa-svarṇena varṇayan, Bhuktvā Bhartṛharistatra Yogārūḍho vanam gataḥ | Vikramāditya evasya bhuktvā rājyamakantakam ||*).<sup>41</sup> King Bhartṛhari gave the fruit to his beloved wife Anaṅgenā. She gave it to her lover who in turn gave the same to his girlfriend. Interestingly, the same fruit came back to King Bhartṛhari as a gift. King Bhartṛhari was deeply hurt by the behavior of his wife. He immediately renounced his kingdom and retired in forests. King Vikramāditya returns from forest and again takes over the reins of Ujjain.

Bhartṛhari I was the author of *Vākyapadīyam*, *Mahābhāṣyaṭikā*, *Śabdadhātu-samīkṣā* and a commentary on *Vākyapadīyam*. Vardhamāna, the author of *Guṇaratnamahodadhi*, mentions that Bhartṛhari was the author of *Vākyapadīyam* and *Prakīrṇa*. Helārāja, a commentator on *Vākyapadīyam* refers to a commentary named *Prakīrṇaparakāśa*. Most probably, the commentary on *Vākyapadīyam* written by Bhartṛhari was known as *Prakīrṇa* or *Prakīrṇaparakāśa*. Buddhist scholar Diṅnāga quotes *Vākyapadīyam*. Thus, Bhartṛhari I was the contemporary of Vasubandhu who lived 900 year after the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Seemingly, Bhartṛhari wrote *Vākyapadīyam* under the influence of Śūnyavāda. It states that Bhartṛhari had deep faith in Ratnatraya and Dvididha-Śūnya. Vachaspati Mishra refers to the author of *Vākyapadīyam* as *Veda-bāhya*.

King Vīrasena was the father of Bhartṛhari II. King Vīrasena had three sons, Bhartṛhari, Vikramāditya, Subhaṭavīrya and one daughter, Mynāvati. Most probably, the Kingdom of Vīrasena was in eastern UP or Bihar. Bhartṛhari succeeded his father. Rani Piṅgalā was the wife of Bhartṛhari. They did not have a child for a longtime. According to the

legends, Bhartṛhari saw a woman jumping into the pyre of her husband as her grief would not let her stay alive. He was moved by this incident. He told the incident to Rani Piṅgalā and asked her if she would do the same. Rani Piṅgalā said that she would die on hearing the news itself and there would be no chance of her staying alive until the funeral ceremony. Bhartṛhari decided to test her and went on a hunting expedition and sent the news of his death back to the palace. Rani Piṅgalā died on hearing the news. Bhartṛhari came back to palace and mourned the death of his queen. He held himself responsible for her death and could not come out of the grief. Guru Gorakṣanātha consoled him and philosophically convinced about the illusory nature of the world. Bhartṛhari handed over the reins of kingdom to his younger brother Vikramāditya and became the follower of Gorakṣanātha. Thus, Bhartṛhari II became a famous saint in eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Bengal.

Interestingly, Taranath, a Tibetan Buddhist scholar, relates that Vimalachandra, the son of Bālachandra became the king of Bengal, Kamarupa and Tirahut. Vimalachandra married Mynāvati, the sister of King Bhartṛhari II. Vimalachandra and Mynāvati had a son, Gopīchandra. Vimalachandra was contemporary of Pandita Amarasimha, Ratnakīrti and Mādhyamika Buddhist Śrīgupta. Queen Mynāvati, the mother of Gopīchandra was also the disciple of Gorakṣanātha.

*Gorakṣa-Siddhānta-Saṅgraha* gives the Guru-Paramparā of Nath Yogis. Ādinātha and his disciple Matsyendranātha were the founders of the Nath Paramparā. Udayanātha, the son of Matsyendranātha, succeeded his father. Thereafter, Danḍanātha, Satyanātha, Santhoṣanātha, Kūrmanāth and Bhavanātha became the heads of Nath Paramparā. According to the account of 84 Siddhas, Gorakṣanātha or Anaṅgavajra was the son of a King of eastern Uttar Pradesh. Most probably, the ancestor of Gorakṣanātha had a title of Gorakṣa. Thus, Anaṅgavajra also came to be known as Gorakṣanātha. He may not be the direct disciple of Matsyendranātha but he became the head of Matsyendranātha Paramparā after Bhavanātha. Gorakṣanātha had many disciples like Balanātha, Hālikapāva and Śālipāva. Seemingly, Gorakṣanātha was a Buddhist in his early life but he became Śaiva later.



Tibetan Buddhist scholar Taranath indicates that Gorakṣanātha belonged to the period of King Śālivāhana (~659-630 BCE). Most probably, Gorakṣanātha was born during the reign of King Śālivāhana. Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Gorakṣanātha around 640-540 BCE. Therefore, we can arrive the dates of Bhartṛhari II (610-530 BCE), Vimalachandra (605-530 BCE), Mynāvati (600-530 BCE) and Gopīchandra (575-500 BCE). Pandita Amarasimha (610-530 BCE), the author of *Amaruśatakam*, was the contemporary of King Vimalachandra. Interestingly, Ādi Śankara (568-536 BCE) was the junior contemporary of Gorakṣanātha (640-540 BCE). Some scholars speculated that Ādi Śankara was the real author of *Amaruśatakam* but it was Amarasimha, a senior contemporary of Ādi Śankara who wrote it. There was another Amarasimha in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE who wrote *Amarakośa*.

### **The Ayodhya-Legend of King Vikramāditya**

According to legends, King Vikramāditya had rediscovered the city of Ayodhyā after having been lost for centuries. Ikṣvāku, the son of Manu, was the founder of Ayodhyā city. Seemingly, many magnificent buildings were constructed in the city of Ayodhyā after the *Mahābhārata* era. Thus, the city of Ayodhyā also came to be known as Sāketa. It was a flourishing city during the lifetime of Buddha. The descendants of the Ikṣvāku dynasty were still ruling around 1700 BCE. Most probably, Mahāpadma Nanda, the founder of Nanda dynasty ended the rule of Ikṣvākus and annexed the kingdom of Ayodhyā to his Magadha Empire. Consequently, the royal families of Ikṣvāku dynasty had migrated to South India. Thus, the city of Ayodhyā or Sāketa lost its political importance during the reign of Nanda dynasty.

According to *Yugapurāṇa*, Indo-Greek kings (Yavanas) invaded and destroyed the city of Sāketa during the reign of Maurya King Śāliśūka. Seemingly, the residents of Ayodhyā or Sāketa abandoned the city around 1500-1475 BCE after Yavana invasion. Most probably, King Chandragupta Vikramāditya of the Chandra dynasty of Aparāntaka kingdom conquered entire North India in the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE and made the city of Prayāga or Pratiṣṭhānapura as his capital. He was the Vikramāditya who discovered the abandoned city of Sāketa and reconstructed it.

Therefore, the Ayodhyā legend is not related to the Vikramāditya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

### **Kārttikādi Vikrama Era (719 BCE) and Chaitrādi Vikrama Era (57 BCE)**

As a matter of fact, two Vikramādityas became kings of Ujjain. Vikramāditya I flourished in the city of Ujjain of Mālava around 719-659 BCE and was referred to as “*Mālaveśa*” means the king of Mālava Gaṇarājya whereas Vikramāditya II flourished in the city of Ujjain of Avanti around 82-20 BCE and was referred to as “*Avantinātha*” means the lord of Avanti.

Interestingly, both Vikramādityas successfully fought against the Śakas. Vikramāditya I became the sovereign ruler of Mālava by defeating 96 Śaka Kśatras brought by the Jain monk Kālakācārya in 719-718 BCE when the Śātavāhanas were ruling in Magadha and Dakṣiṇāpatha. It appears that the empire of Vikramāditya I was limited to Mālava and North western India while Vikramāditya II established a greater kingdom in Central and Northern India.

Vikramāditya I founded a Kārttikādi era in 719-718 BCE, which was referred to as “Kṛta”, “Mālava-gaṇa”, “Vikrama” or “Samvat” in the inscriptions and this era became popular in North India. The earliest inscription<sup>42</sup> referring to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era is dated in 282 (437 BCE) and the last inscription<sup>43</sup> is dated in 1689 (970 CE).

Another epoch of the Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE and it followed the Chaitrādi calendar. The earliest use of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era is recorded in the Dhulev plate of Maharaja Bhatti, the ruler of Kishkindha which refers to the year 73 (16 CE). The Hund inscription written in Śāradā script is dated in the year 168 of Chaitradi Vikrama era.<sup>44</sup> This inscription records the construction of a devakula or temple by Maharājñi Kameśvaradevi between the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja, Saturday in the year “Samvat 168” and the 12<sup>th</sup> day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja, Thursday in the year “Samvat 169”. The architect was Jayantarāja, son of Upendra who was an inhabitant of Avanti. The dates recorded in this inscription regularly correspond to 24<sup>th</sup> Sep 110 CE and 28<sup>th</sup> Sep 111 CE respectively considering the epoch of 57 BCE.

Nine documents out of the ten recorded in the Ahar inscription<sup>45</sup> are dated around 258-298 (201-241 CE) in Chaitrādi Vikrama (CV) era. Eight documents of the Kaman stone inscription are dated around CV 180-299 (123-242 CE).<sup>46</sup> It is evident that though the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Śaka era (583 BCE) were generally not in use by the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. Indian astronomers did not use the epochs of these old eras after 78 CE. Thus, Al Beruni of the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE could record only the epoch of Śakānta era (78 CE) and Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).

### **The Epigraphic Evidence of Kārttikādi Vikrama Era (719-718 BCE)**

Solar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions are the strongest epigraphic evidence to calculate the exact epoch of a particular era. Let us calculate the dates of the solar eclipses given in the inscriptions dated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (KV).

	<b>The Epoch: 719-718 BCE (Kārttikādi Vikrama era)</b>
1. Solar eclipse in the year 813 of KV. 93-94 CE was current and 94-95 CE was elapsed. <b>(Hansot grant of Chāhamāna Bhartrivaddha)<sup>47</sup></b>	Solar eclipse was visible on <b>22<sup>nd</sup> May 95 CE.</b>
2. Solar eclipse in the year 1005 of KV on new moon day of Māgha month. 285-286 CE was current and 286-287 CE was elapsed. <b>(Harsola grant of Paramāra Siyaka II)<sup>48</sup></b>	Solar eclipse was visible on <b>31<sup>st</sup> Jan 287 CE.</b>
3. Solar eclipse in the year 1040 of KV. 320-321 CE was current and 321-322 CE was elapsed. <b>(Bharat Kala Bhavan plates of Harirāja)<sup>49</sup></b>	Solar eclipse was visible on <b>18<sup>th</sup> Oct 320 CE.</b>
4. Solar eclipse in the year 1043 of KV on new moon day of Māgha month. 323-324 CE was current and 324-325 CE was elapsed. <b>(A grant of Chaulukya Mularāja I)<sup>50</sup></b>	Solar eclipse was visible on <b>11<sup>th</sup> Feb 324 CE.</b>
5. Solar eclipse in the year 1060 of KV on new moon day of Śrāvaṇa month. 340-341 CE was current and 341-342 CE was elapsed. <b>(Kundesvara grant of Chandella Vidyādhara)<sup>51</sup></b>	Solar eclipse was visible on <b>4<sup>th</sup> Mar 341 CE.</b> An annular eclipse occurred on <b>28<sup>th</sup> Aug 341 CE,</b> Śrāvaṇa Amāvāsyā but it was not visible in India.

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| <p>6. Solar eclipse in the year 1148 of KV on new moon day of Pauṣa month. 428-429 CE was current and 429-430 CE was elapsed.<br/><b>(Rajpur grant of Paramāra feudatory Raṇadhavala)</b><sup>52</sup></p>       | <p>Solar eclipse was visible on <b>12<sup>th</sup> Dec 429 CE.</b></p>   |
| <p>7. Solar eclipse in the year 1150 of KV on new moon day of Āśvina month. 430-431 CE was current and 431-432 CE was elapsed.<br/><b>(Chandravati grant of Gāhadwāla Chandradeva)</b><sup>53</sup></p>          | <p>Solar eclipse was visible on <b>10<sup>th</sup> Oct 432 CE.</b></p>   |
| <p>8. Solar eclipse in the year 1163 of KV on new moon day of Pauṣa month. 443-444 CE was current and 444-445 CE was elapsed.<br/><b>(Bahuvāra grant of Gāhadwāla Madanapāla)</b><sup>54</sup></p>               | <p>Irregular. A solar eclipse occurred on <b>24<sup>th</sup> Jan 445 CE</b> but it was not visible in India.</p>   |
| <p>9. Solar eclipse in the year 1166 of KV on new moon day of Pauṣa month. 446-447 CE was current and 447-448 CE was elapsed.<br/><b>(Rahan grant of Gāhadwāla Govindachandra)</b><sup>55</sup></p>              | <p>Irregular. A solar eclipse occurred on <b>2<sup>nd</sup> Jan 447 CE</b> and another solar eclipse occurred on <b>23<sup>rd</sup> Dec 447 CE</b> but both were not visible in India.</p> |
| <p>10. Solar eclipse in the year 1176 of KV on new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month. 456-457 CE was current and 457-458 CE was elapsed.<br/><b>(Kamauli grant of Gāhadwāla Govindachandra)</b><sup>56</sup></p>         | <p>Solar eclipse was visible on <b>28<sup>th</sup> May 458 CE.</b></p>   |
| <p>11. Solar eclipse in the year 1219 of KV on new moon day of Māgha month. 499-500 CE was current and 500-501 CE was elapsed.<br/><b>(A grant of Chandrātreyā [Chandella] Madanavarmadeva)</b><sup>57</sup></p> | <p>Solar eclipse was visible on <b>15<sup>th</sup> Feb 500 CE.</b></p>   |
| <p>12. Solar eclipse in the year 1220 of KV on new moon day of Śrāvaṇa month. 500-501 CE was current and 501-502 CE was elapsed.<br/><b>(Bamnera grant of Chāhamāna Kelhana)</b><sup>58</sup></p>                | <p>Irregular. A solar eclipse occurred on <b>31<sup>st</sup> Jul 501 CE</b> but it was not visible in India.</p>   |
| <p>13. Solar eclipse in the year 1235 of KV on new moon day of Pauṣa month. 515-516 CE</p>   | <p>A solar eclipse occurred on <b>23<sup>rd</sup> Oct 515 CE</b> but the</p>   |

- was current and 516-517 CE was elapsed. month was Kārttika.  
**(Piplianagar grant of Mahākumāra Hariśchandra)<sup>59</sup>**
14. Solar eclipse in the year 1270 of KV on new moon day of Vaiśākha month. 550-551 CE was current and 551-552 CE was elapsed. A Solar eclipse was visible on **21<sup>st</sup> May 551 CE.**  
**(Sehore grant of Arjunavarman)<sup>60</sup>**
15. Solar eclipse in the year 1299 of KV on new moon day of Phālguna month. 579-580 CE was current and 580-581 CE was elapsed. A solar eclipse occurred on **24<sup>th</sup> Oct 580 CE** but the month was Kārttika.  
**(Kadi grant of Chaulukya Tribhuvanapāla)<sup>61</sup>**

Interestingly, the Pindiwara grant<sup>62</sup> of Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa dated in the year 1274 elapsed (556-557 CE) refers to the occurrence of a lunar eclipse between Māgha and Phālguni Nakśatras which corresponds regularly to 30<sup>th</sup> January 557 CE. This lunar eclipse cannot be explained in the epoch of 57 BCE.





# 5

## The Epochs of Gupta Era (334 BCE) and Valabhi Era (319 CE)

According to the Purāṇas, the Guptas were “Śriparvatīyas” (local chiefs at Śriparvata near Nepal) and “Āndhrabhṛtyas” (the officials of Śātavāhana kings).

*Ete praṇatasāmantāḥ Śrīmadguptakulodbhavāḥ ।  
Śri-Parvatīyāndhrabhṛtya-nāmānaścakravartinaḥ ॥*

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

Chandragupta I married Kumāradevi, a princess of the king of Nepal who belonged to the Licchavi dynasty. Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi's wife was the elder sister of Kumāradevi (*Licchaviyām samudvāhya devyāścandraśriyo'nujām*). With the support of the Licchavis and being one of their important family members (*Rāṣṭriya-Śyālako bhūtvā*), Chandragupta I not only became the commander-in-chief (Senādhyakṣa) of the Śātavāhanas but also controlled the Magadha Empire. With the support of his queen, Kumāradevi's sister (*Rājapatnyā ca coditaḥ*), he killed the Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi on the pretext of acting as the guardian of his minor son Pulomān III. Thus, Chandragupta I took complete control of the Magadha Empire. Later, he

also killed the minor king Pulomān and founded the mighty empire of the Guptas including the Janapadas of Magadha, Śāketa (Ayodhyā), Prayāga, etc., (*anugaṅgām Prayāgaśca Śāketam Magadhānstathā*). Chandragupta I shifted the capital of the Magadha Empire from Girivraja to Pātaliputra and anointed himself as “*Mahārājādhirāja*”. He founded an era known as the Gupta era which was used in eastern, central and western India.

Western historians and their followers propounded that both the Gupta and the Valabhi eras commenced in 319-320 CE and Chandragupta I ascended the throne in 319 CE. According to them, it is evidenced from two sources, i.e., Al Beruni’s account and Mandasor inscription. Al Beruni states that the epoch of the Valabhi era falls 241 years after the epoch of Śakakāla (Śakānta era [78 CE]) and that the epoch of the era of the Guptas falls like that of the Valabhi era, 241 years after Śakakāla.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it was concluded that the Valabhi era and the Gupta era were identical. The Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman,<sup>3</sup> engraved during the reign of the Gupta King Kumāragupta I (*Kumāragupte prithivīm praśāsati*) and dated in the year 493 (436 CE) of the Mālava-gaṇa era (Historians wrongly identified it with the epoch of 57 BCE), supports the contention that the Gupta era commenced in 319 CE.

To begin with, Western historians invented the baseless premise that the Mālava-gaṇa (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama eras were identical. There is no credible evidence whatsoever to prove this theory. In reality, the Mālava-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) commenced in 719-718 BCE whereas the Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE as already discussed in detail in Chapter 4. It may also be noted that the Mālava-gaṇa era was also known as the Kṛta era. The Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman recorded the date as 493 years elapsed in the Mālava-gaṇa era and 13<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Sahasya (Pauṣa) month (*Malavāṅgām gaṇa-sthityā yāte śata-catuṣṭaye | trinavatyadhike’bdānām ṛtau sevya-ghana-svane | Sahasya-māsaśuklasya praśaste’hni trayodaśe ||*). The 493<sup>rd</sup> year of the Mālava-gaṇa era elapsed was 226-225 BCE and the date corresponds to 6<sup>th</sup> Dec 226 BCE.

Al Beruni clearly states that “As regards the Guptakāla (Gubit Kāl), people say that the Guptas were wicked, powerful people, and that when



they ceased to exist, this date (319 CE) was used as the epoch of an era (tarikh-e-Ballaba = Valabhi era)”. Actually, the Maitraka kings of Valabhi were feudatories of the Guptas and used the Chaitrādi Pūrṇimānta calendar of the Gupta era. Thus, the epoch of the Gupta era became popular in Valabhi. Seemingly, the Valabhi astronomers had introduced the epoch in 319 CE considering the conjunction of Sun and Saturn in the beginning of Aries on 22<sup>nd</sup> Mar 319 CE, *Chaitra Krishna Pratipadā*.



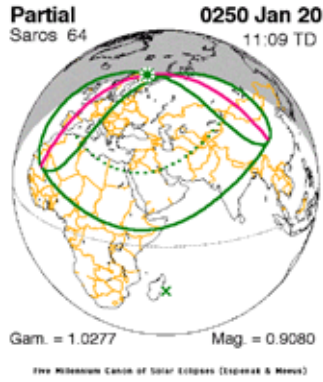
Therefore, the epoch of the Valabhi era has astronomical significance whereas the epoch of the Gupta era was introduced from the year of coronation of King Chandragupta I. But the calendar of the Gupta era and the calendar of the Valabhi era remained identical because both reckoned from *Chaitra Krishna Pratipadā* (Pūrṇimānta calendar). By the 10<sup>th</sup> century, it appears that the Valabhi people forgot the epoch of the Gupta era and had only the knowledge of the epoch of the Valabhi era. In all likelihood, this state of affairs was communicated to Al Beruni in the 11<sup>th</sup> century but he wrongly construed that the epoch of the Gupta era was identical to the epoch of the Valabhi era. Al Beruni himself records that the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE when the Guptas ceased to exist. Therefore, the Valabhi era and the Gupta era are two different eras. The Gupta era undoubtedly commenced during the reign of Chandragupta I whereas the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE when the Gupta Empire ceased to exist. This means that the Gupta Empire flourished much before 319 CE.

The inscriptions of Mahārāja Hastin and Samkśobha<sup>4</sup> refer to the Gupta era as “*Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau*” meaning “during the reign of the kings of Guptas” clearly indicating that the Gupta era commenced to commemorate the establishment of the rule of Guptas and not to mark the end of the Gupta Empire.

Prior to the discovery of the Mandasor inscription, it was generally accepted that the Gupta era commenced much before the epoch of the Valabhi era based on the statement of Al Beruni. Edward Thomas opined that the Gupta era was identical to the Śākānta era (78 CE). A. Cunningham fixed it as 167 CE while E. Clive Bayley thought it was 190 CE.<sup>5</sup> After the discovery of the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman, it was JF Fleet who concocted the idea that Māvala-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) was identical to the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). He also propagated the theory that the Gupta and the Valabhi eras were identical and shared the same epoch in 319 CE, quite contrary to the statement of Al Beruni.

It can be construed that the Gupta era and the Valabhi era were altogether different and that the Valabhi era commenced in 319-320 CE when the Guptas ceased to exist. But what then is the epoch of the Gupta era? We have to study the verifiable details of the inscriptions of the Gupta era to determine the real epoch of the Gupta era. The following study of solar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions leads to the conclusion that the epoch of the Gupta era was 334-333 BCE:

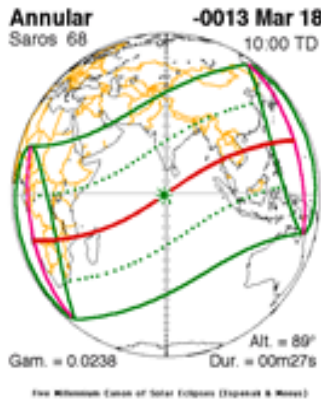
	<b>The epoch : 334-333 BCE</b>	<b>The epoch : 319-320 CE</b>
1. Solar eclipse on new moon day of Māgha month in Gupta Saṃvat 585. The date given is 5 <sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month. ( <i>Pañcāśītyāyute'tīte samānām śata-pañcake   Gaupte dadāv'adau nṛpatiḥ soparāge'rka-maṇḍale   Saṃvat 585 Phālguna śudī 5  </i> ) <b>(Morbi grant of Jāika)<sup>6</sup></b>	The year was 249-250 CE. Solar eclipse was visible on 20 <sup>th</sup> Jan 250 CE between 14:33 hrs and 16:12 hrs. It was the new moon day of Māgha month.	No Solar eclipse in M ā g h a month of 903 or 904 or 905 CE.



2. Solar eclipse on new moon day of Chaitra month in Gupta Saṁvat 322. (*Chaitra-amāvāsyāyām..... grahoparāḡe Saṁvatsara-śata-traye dvaviṁśe*) (Nāgardhan plates of Swamirāja)<sup>7</sup>

The year was 13-12 BCE. Solar eclipse was visible on 18<sup>th</sup> Mar 13 BCE. The day was the new moon day of Chaitra month.

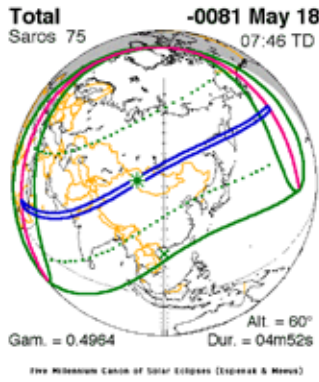
No Solar eclipse on Chaitra amāvāsyā of 640 or 641 or 642 CE



3. Solar eclipse on new moon day of Vaiśākha month in Gupta Saṁvat 254 (257?). (Sam 200 50 4 Vaiśākha ba 10 5) (Bantia plates of Dharasena I)<sup>8</sup>

Considering Gupta Saṁvat 254 current, the year was 81-80 BCE. Solar eclipse was visible on 18<sup>th</sup> May 81 BCE between 7:57 hrs and 10:10 hrs.

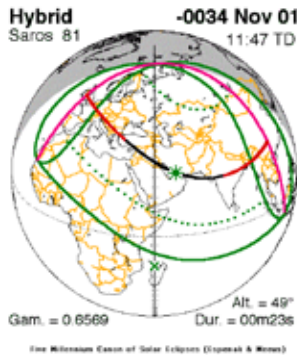
A solar eclipse occurred on 19<sup>th</sup> Mar 573 CE.



4. Solar eclipse in Gupta Saṁvat 300. (*Gauṣṭābde varṣa-śata-traye vartamāne.... Sūryoparāge.....*) (Ganjam Plates of King Śāśāṅkarāja)<sup>9</sup>

Considering Gupta Saṁvat 300 elapsed, the year was 34-33 BCE. Solar eclipse was visible on 1<sup>st</sup> Nov 34 BCE between 13:37 hrs and 16:25 hrs.

No Solar eclipse in 618-619 CE or 619-620 CE. There was a solar eclipse on 2<sup>nd</sup> Sept 620 CE.



Six inscriptions dated in the Gupta era refer to the Jovian years which can also be verified. In Indian astronomy, a Jovian year is the time taken by Jupiter in passing through one sign of zodiac. The Jovian years were named after the Nakṣatras in which Jupiter rises heliacally in the various signs. The following table gives the Nakṣatras in which Jupiter is normally seen to rise heliacally in 12 Jovian years.

Sun Sign	Name of Jovian year	Nakṣatras in which Jupiter rises
1. Aries	Āśvayuja	Revatī, Aśvinī, Bharāṇī
2. Taurus	Kārttika	Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī
3. Gemini	Mārgaśīrṣa	Mṛgaśīrā, Ardrā
4. Cancer	Puṣya	Punarvasū, Puṣya
5. Leo	Māgha	Aśleṣā, Māgha
6. Virgo	Phālguna	Pūrva Phālgunī, Uttara Phālgunī, Hasta
7. Libra	Chaitra	Chitrā, Svāti
8. Scorpio	Vaiśākha	Viśākhā, Anurādhā
9. Sagittarius	Jyeṣṭha	Jyeṣṭhā, Mula
10. Capricorn	Āṣāḍha	Pūrvāṣāḍhā, Uttaraṣāḍhā
11. Aquarius	Śrāvaṇa	Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā
12. Pisces	Bhādrapada	Śatabhiṣak, Pūrva Bhādrapadā, Uttara Bhādrapadā

Thus, we can now verify the Jovian years mentioned in six inscriptions with reference to the epoch of Gupta era, i.e., 334-333 BCE.

Jovian year (Kārttikādi)	In CE
1. Mahā-Vaiśākha-Saṁvatsare, Gupta era 156 <sup>10</sup>	178-177 BCE
2. Mahā-Āśvayuja Saṁvatsare, Gupta era 163 <sup>11</sup>	172-171 BCE
3. Mahā-Chaitra Saṁvatsare, Gupta era 191 <sup>12</sup>	143-142 BCE
4. Mahā-Āśvayuja Saṁvatsare, Gupta era 198 <sup>13</sup>	136-135 BCE
5. Mahā-Mārgaśīrṣa Saṁvatsare, Gupta era 199 <sup>14</sup>	135-134 BCE
6. Mahā-Āśvayuja Saṁvatsare, Gupta era 209 <sup>15</sup>	125-124 BCE

Other verifiable details of inscriptions dated in the Gupta era:

	The epoch : 334-333 BCE	The epoch : 319-320 CE
1. Mūla Nakśatra was crossed over and on 7 <sup>th</sup> day of Vaiśākha month in Gupta Saṁvat 157 (178-177 BCE). The statement “Mūle sampragate” indicates that one tithi before Saptamī was associated with Mūla Nakśatra. ( <i>Vaiśākha-māsa-saptamyām Mūle sampragate</i> ) <sup>16</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> Apr 178 BCE was the Saptamī of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha and Moon was in Mūla Nakśatra on 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> Apr 178 BCE.	Irregular.
2. Uttarāyaṇa on 11 <sup>th</sup> day of the dark half of Māgha month in Gupta Saṁvat 250 (86-85 BCE) [ <i>Māgha-kṛṣṇasyaikādaśyām uttarāyaṇe</i> ] <sup>17</sup>	The date was 19 <sup>th</sup> Jan 84 BCE and it was the 11 <sup>th</sup> day of the dark half of Māgha month.	The date corresponds to 18 <sup>th</sup> Jan 570 CE.

Evidently, the study of solar eclipses and Jovian years mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions clearly leads us to the epoch of the Gupta era to be around 334-333 BCE. Following are three more instances to prove that the epoch of the Gupta era cannot be fixed in 319 CE:

1. A Jain scholar Śīlācārya wrote a commentary on “Ācārāṅgasūtra” in the city of Gambhūtā (Cambay) on 5<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in Gupta Saṁvat 772 elapsed. The manuscript of this commentary has recorded the following statement in the folios 207b & 208a.

“*Dvā-saptatyadhikeṣu hi śateṣu saptasu gateṣu Guptānām saṁvatsareṣu māsi ca Bhādrapade śuklapañcamyām | Śīlācāryeṇa kṛtā Gambhūtāyām sthitena tīkaiṣā |*”<sup>18</sup>

Interestingly, the same manuscript has recorded the following statement in the last folio (256b) of the book.

“*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣu saptasu aṣṭa-  
navatyadhikeṣu vaiśākha-śuddha-pañcamyām Ācāraṭīkā kṛteti |*”

“This Ācāraṭīkā was written on the 5<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha month in Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta or Śakānta era 798 (875-876 CE).”

If, in fact, the Gupta era had commenced in 319 CE, then these two statements are contradictory. The statement in folio 207b and 208a tells us that Śīlācārya wrote a commentary in 1091-92 CE (Gupta Saṁvat 772 elapsed) whereas the statement in folio 256b tells us that Ācāraṭīkā was written in 875-876 CE (Śakānta 798). The last statement not only confirms that Śīlācārya existed either prior to 875-876 CE or in 875-876 CE but also clearly indicates that the epoch of the Gupta era in 319-320 CE is not tenable.

Therefore, the Gupta era commenced in 334-333 BCE as calculated above on the basis of the solar eclipses and Jovian years mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. Thus, Śīlācārya wrote a commentary on “Ācārāṅgasūtra” on *Bhādrapada śukla* pañcami in Gupta Saṁvat 772 elapsed, i.e., 22 Aug 437 CE. It is quite likely that the person who copied the text in his manuscript, may have recorded the date at the end as Vaiśākha śuddha pañcami of Śakānta 798, i.e., 18<sup>th</sup> Apr 875 CE. It is also probable that the manuscript contained two commentaries, i.e., one commentary of Śīlācārya written in Gupta Saṁvat 772 (437 CE) and another commentary named “Ācāraṭīkā” written in Śakānta 798 (875-876 CE). We need to verify this from the original manuscript. This manuscript, however, tells us that Gupta Saṁvat 772 was prior to Śakānta 798. Therefore, the epoch of the Gupta era is logically not possible in 319 CE.

JF Fleet, the ringmaster of the distortionists, claimed that Śīlācārya treated the Gupta era and the Śakānta era as identical.<sup>19</sup> He also stated that the mistake of Śīlācārya cannot be cleared away, unless we can obtain some independent record of the real date of Śīlācārya. In fact, it was JF Fleet who committed a forgery considering the Gupta era and the Valabhi era as identical fully knowing that the Valabhi era commenced when the Guptas no

longer existed. The manuscript of the commentary of Śilācārya unambiguously records two dates, one in the Gupta era and another in the Śākānta era. There is no evidence to prove that Śilācārya treated the Gupta era and the Śākānta era as identical. It was JF Fleet's devious mind that concocted the idea that Śilācārya treated the Gupta era and the Śākānta era as identical so that he could easily sidestep the fact that Gupta Saṁvat 772 was prior to Śākānta 798.

2. A Valabhi grant of Dharasenadeva is dated in Śākānta 400 (478 CE) in which Maitraka King Dharasenadeva, the son of Guhasena II calls himself as Sovereign king "*Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*". According to other Valabhi grants, the Maitrakas of Valabhi were feudatories of the Guptas and used the Gupta era. It is impossible to fix the date of Dharasenadeva in 478 CE considering the epoch of the Gupta era in 319-320 CE. Therefore, Western historians, without any credible evidence, rejected this grant to be a forgery. In fact, Dharasenadeva, who ruled around 478 CE, was the last known king of Maitrakas. The last grant of the Valabhi King Śilāditya VII is dated in Gupta Saṁvat 447 (113 CE) and all Maitraka kings up to Siladitya VII referred to the Gupta era. Evidently, the epoch of Gupta era was replaced by the epoch of Śākānta era during the time of Dharasenadeva. Therefore, Dharasenadeva was a later Maitraka king and flourished around 478 CE.
3. The Dhiniki grant of Jaikadeva II, the Saindhava ruler of Saurashtra, was dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 794 (737 CE)<sup>20</sup> whereas one grant of Jaika II is dated in Gupta Saṁvat 596 (262 CE). Jaika II did not mention Jaikadeva in his genealogy. If the epoch of Gupta era commenced in 319 CE, then Jaika II has to be dated around 915 CE which means Jaikadeva II lived two centuries earlier than Jaika II but it is totally absurd to date Jaika II after Jaikadeva II.

Therefore, Dr. AS Altekar rejected this grant as a forgery considering the epoch of the Gupta era in 319 CE and Jaika II to be later than Jaikadeva. However, this can be easily explained



if we consider the Gupta era as earlier than 319 CE. Actually, Jaika II flourished in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE whereas Jaikadeva II flourished in the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. This explains why, Jaika II did not mention about Jaikadeva in his genealogy and also proves the Dhiniki grant to be absolutely genuine.

Thus, the epoch of the Gupta era must be fixed in 334-333 BCE and it commenced during the reign of Chandragupta I, the founder of Gupta Empire. The Gupta era was in use in Kathiawad and the neighbourhood of Gujarat during the reign of Maitrakas but later, Valabhi astronomers introduced the epoch of Valabhi era in 319 CE. Al Beruni mentions that the epoch of the Valabhi era falls 241 years after the epoch of the Śākānta era (78 CE). He also elaborated the method of calculating this era as used by Indians. According to him, first put down the year of Śāka era and then subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 ( $216 + 25 = 241$ ) and the remainder is the year of the Valabhi era.<sup>21</sup>

Western historians and their followers distorted the statement of Al Beruni and concocted the fiction that the Valabhi and Gupta eras commenced from the same epoch, i.e., 319 CE. In reality, the Gupta era commenced in 334-333 BCE whereas the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE. Al Beruni simply indicates that the calendars of Gupta and Valabhi eras were identical because both follow the Chaitra Pūrṇimānta calendar. The Devli grant of Prabhūtavaṛṣa Govindarāja<sup>22</sup> is the earliest inscription dated in the year 500 (819 CE) of the Valabhi era and the Veraval inscription of the time of Arjunadeva<sup>23</sup> is the last inscription dated in the year 945 (1264 CE) of the Valabhi era. Though the epoch of the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE, it appears that the Valabhi era came into use only from the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards.





# 6

## The Epochs of Sri Harsha Era (457 BCE) and Kalachuri-Chedi Era (402 BCE)

Sri Harsha was one of the most celebrated kings of India and belonged to the Puṣpabhūti dynasty. According to Indian tradition, Sri Harsha founded an era in 457 BCE. Three grants<sup>1</sup> of Sri Harsha are dated in Saṁvat 22 (435 BCE), 23 (434 BCE) and 25 (432 BCE). Al Beruni, who came to India around 1017-1030 CE, states that the Sri Harsha era was founded 400 years before the Vikrama era (57 BCE):

“The Hindus believe regarding Sri Harsha..... His era is used in Mathura and the country of Kanauj. Between Sri Harsha and Vikramāditya, there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian calendar I have read that Sri Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information.”

“Now, the year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:

1. To the year 1488 of the era of Sri Harsha
2. To the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya”<sup>2</sup>

It is evident from Al Beruni’s account that the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. He also calculated that the year 1030 CE corresponds to the year 1488 in the Sri Harsha era. The epoch of 457 BCE was used by the astronomers of Mathura and Kannauj. Al Beruni simply stated that according to some Kashmirian sources, one Sri Harsha was ruling 664 years after Vikramāditya. Therefore, Al Beruni expressed his inability to explain why the people of Mathura and Kanauj believed

the existence of the rule of King Sri Harsha in 457 BCE whereas some Kashmirian sources tell us that Sri Harsha flourished 664 years after Vikramāditya. It may be noted that there is no mention of Sri Harsha having started an era 664 years after Vikramāditya in Kashmirian sources but Western historians have concocted the myth that Sri Harsha was supposed to have started an era from about 606 CE 664 years after 57 BCE. Thus, historians, by distorting and misinterpreting these facts, erroneously concluded that Sri Harsha, the son of Prabhākara vardhana, founded a non-existent era having the epoch of 606 CE.

Though Al Beruni was uncertain about the date of Sri Harsha, he followed the epoch of Sri Harsha era (457 BCE) used by Indian astronomers because the epoch of 457 BCE was in vogue in India. Historians never bothered to explain how the epoch of 457 BCE came into use in Indian calendar instead they simply brushed aside it being inconvenient data. In fact, the Kashmirian source only indicates the time of Sri Harsha who flourished 664 years after Vikramāditya. I have already explained in Chapter 3 that there were two Vikramādityas of Ujjain. Vikramāditya I founded his era in 719 BCE whereas Vikramāditya II founded his era in 57 BCE. Interestingly, Vikramāditya II was also known as Harsha. Harsha was referred to in the Kurtakoti grant of the early *Chālukyas* dated Śaka 530 (53 BCE) as the king of Uttarāpatha who was defeated by Chālukya King Pulakeśin II. Undoubtedly, the Harsha or Harshavardhana mentioned in the early Chālukya grants was none other than Vikramāditya II and the war between Harsha Vikramāditya and Pulakeśin II occurred at a date earlier than 53 BCE. Seemingly, Harsha Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa as his emissary to the court of Kuntaleśvara, i.e., Pulakeśin II after his defeat. Kālidāsa beautifully narrates his experience as an emissary in his work “*Kuntaleśvaradautyam*” which is unfortunately now lost.

The Navasari grant of Gurjara King Jayabhāta II dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 456 (54 CE) tells us that Dadda I had protected the Valabhi ruler who had been overpowered by King Harshadeva (*Sri-Harshadevābhībhūta-Valabhīpati-trāṇopārjita.....*).<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that while the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 402 BCE, historians wrongly concluded that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced around

249 CE. We will discuss this epoch in upcoming paragraphs. The only inscription of Jayabhāṭa I, the son of Dadda I is dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 355 (47 BCE)<sup>4</sup> and the earliest inscription of Dadda II, the son of Jayabhāṭa I is dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 380 (22 BCE).<sup>5</sup> Harshadeva or Harsha Vikramāditya must have defeated the Valabhi ruler at a date prior to 47 BCE. Probably, the Valabhi ruler was either the Maitraka King Dharasena II who ruled around 83-60 BCE or the Maitraka King Śilāditya I who ruled around 60-40 BCE. If the Kalachuri-Chedi era had commenced in 249 CE, the date of the inscription of Jayabhāṭa I works out to be 604 CE (Kalachuri year 355) which means Harshadeva defeated the Valabhi ruler at a date earlier than 604 CE. Colonial historians distorted these facts and concocted that it was Dadda II and not Dadda I who protected the Valabhi ruler. The inscription of Jayabhāṭa II unambiguously tells us that it was Dadda I, not Dadda II who protected the Valabhi ruler. Historians again concocted that Jayabhāṭa II of the Navasāri grant was actually Jayabhāṭa III and that he had not mentioned the names of Dadda I and Jayabhāṭa I (the names of these two fictitious kings were concocted by eminent historians) in his genealogy. Thus, eminent historians converted Dadda I to Dadda II, Dadda II to Dadda III, Jayabhāṭa II to Jayabhāṭa III and Jayabhāṭa III to Jayabhāṭa IV by creating two more fictitious kings in their genealogy as these concoctions were absolutely necessary to establish the epoch of Sri Harsha era around 606 CE.

Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty lived in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE and he cannot be a contemporary of the Gurjara King Dadda I and the early Chālukya King Pulakeśin II. It appears probable enough that it was Harsha Vikramāditya who defeated the Valabhi king at a date earlier than 48 BCE. Seemingly, Dadda I could provide protection to the Valabhi King Dharasena II or Śilāditya I because Harsha Vikramāditya immediately engaged in the conflict with Pulakeśin II and suffered defeat. More precisely, these events occurred at a date earlier than 53 BCE because the Kurtakoti grant of 53 BCE records the victory of Pulakeśin II over Harshavardhana. Thus, Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain was the contemporary of Pulakeśin II and not Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty.

In all probability, the Kashmirian sources referred to Vikramāditya II as Harsha and recorded that Harsha Vikramāditya (57 BCE) flourished 662 years after Vikramāditya I (719 BCE). The same has been read by Al Beruni in the Kashmirian calendar. Seemingly, Al Beruni mistakenly read the time difference as 664 years in place of 662 years.

In view of the above, it can be concluded that the epoch of Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE as traditionally used by the astronomers of Mathura and Kannauj. Sri Harsha himself used this epoch in his inscriptions. Later Licchavi kings of Nepal also referred to the epoch of Sri Harsha era (457 BCE) as “Saṁvat” in their inscriptions. The Bungmati inscription<sup>6</sup> of Anshuvarman I is the earliest inscription dated in Sri Harsha era (year 29, i.e., 428 BCE) whereas the Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva<sup>7</sup> is probably the last inscription dated in Sri Harsha era (year 157, i.e., 300 BCE).

### **The Epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi Era (13<sup>th</sup> Oct 402 BCE)**

It is well known from the literature and epigraphic evidence that Māhiṣmatī (near Khandwa in Madhya Pradesh) was the capital of the Kalachuri-Chedi dynasty (*Māhiṣmatīm Kalachureḥ kula-rājadhānīm*)<sup>8</sup>. Later, Tripuri in Dāhala deśa (near Jabalpur) became the capital of the Chedi dynasty. The Kalachuris and the Chedis were the descendants of the ancient Haihaya dynasty. The era used in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Māhiṣmatī and the Chedis of Tripuri is referred to as the Kalachuri-Chedi era. This era was also found in the inscriptions of the Mahārājas of Valkhā, the Gurjaras, the Sendrakas and the early Chālukyas of Gujarat, etc.

There is no direct evidence to prove the exact epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. The calendar of the Kalachuri-Chedi era was Kārttikādi and generally followed the Amānta scheme. The epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era can be calculated based on the verifiable details of dates given in epigraphs and the other references.

Historians calculated various epochs of the Kalachuri-Chedi era ranging from 244 CE to 250 CE. Dr. VV Mirashi argued that the earliest inscriptions from Gujarat and Maharashtra dated up to the year

490 followed the era which commenced on the *Amānta Kārttika śukla pratipadā*, i.e. 25<sup>th</sup> Sept 249 CE whereas later inscriptions dated from the year 722 to the year 969 which come from Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh followed the era which commenced on the *Pūrṇimānta Kārttika śukla pratipadā*, i.e., 6<sup>th</sup> Oct 248 CE.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the Kalachuri-Chedi era originally commenced in 249 CE but consequently it became antedated by one year, i.e., 248 CE and while the calendar originally followed the *Amānta* scheme, subsequently its months became *Pūrṇimānta*. Eminent historians agreed with Mirashi because this unusual approach not only gives them a convenient platform to explain the dates mentioned in the inscriptions but also facilitates the justification of their distorted chronology.

It is nothing but ridiculous to accept that Indians followed two different epochs of the same era. There is nothing to support this unusual and speculative theory of historians. Ancient Indians being well advanced in astronomy, the calendar or *Pañchāṅga* adopted by them was highly scientific and based on accurate calculations. It can be somehow reconciled that the calendar of the Kalachuri-Chedi era was originally based on the *Amānta* scheme and later its months became *Pūrṇimānta* but there is no logical justification for antedating the era by one year.

The method of antedating the era by one year will be highly unscientific and Indian astronomers would have never accepted such an unscientific approach because it would have changed the scheme of intercalary months, *ahargaṇa*, 60-year cycle, etc. Every Indian era has only one epoch and Kalachuri-Chedi era would have also commenced from only one epoch. There were many *siddhāntas* of astronomy in vogue in ancient India. It would be more appropriate to reconstruct the calendar of a particular era based on the dates and other details given in the inscriptions for finding the correct *siddhānta* applicable. We need to focus on verifiable data like solar eclipses and lunar eclipses that, irrespective of the *siddhānta* followed by the calendar of an era, can be traced in history.

The inscriptions of the Gurjara kings and the early *Chālukyas* of Gujarat were dated in the Kalachuri-Chedi era and some of them were also dated in the *Śaka* era (583 BCE). These inscriptions roughly indicate the

starting point of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. Based on the study of the solar eclipses and lunar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi era, it is easy to conclude that the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 402 BCE.

The Sarkho grant of Ratnadeva II, issued in Kalachuri year 880 on the occasion of a total lunar eclipse, provides the strongest evidence of the starting point of Kalachuri-Chedi era.<sup>10</sup> King Ratnadeva II belonged to the family of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and the great astronomer Padmanābha, respected as the Varāhamihira of his era, (*Vārāhamihirōpamaḥ*) was a member of his court. Padmanābha was plausibly a senior contemporary of Bhāskarāchārya of Siddhānta Śiromaṇi as Bhāskarāchārya had quoted a rule from Padmanābha's treatise on algebra to establish the theory that a quadratic equation has generally two roots.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, all of Padmanābha's works are now lost.

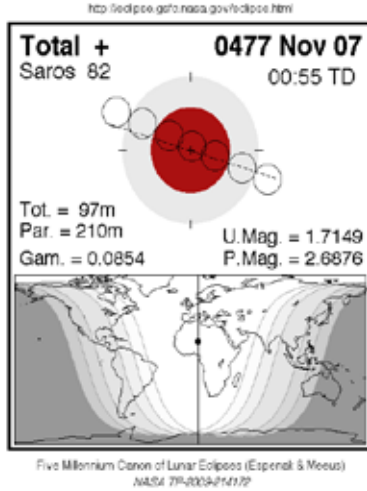
Once, in the court of Ratnadeva II and in the presence of astronomers, Padmanābha predicted that when the day of Gīḥpati or Vāchaspati, i.e. Thursday ends in the year 880 and the full moon occurs in Kṛttikā Nakṣatra, a total lunar eclipse will commence during the third quarter of the night, i.e., 0:00 AM to 3:00 AM and the time when moon enters into the asterism Rohiṇī.

*Tenāśīyadhikāṣṭa-vatsara-śate jāte dine Gīḥpateḥ,  
Kārttikyāmatha Rohiṇībha-samaye ratreśca yāma-traye |  
Śrimad-Ratnanareśvarasya sadasi jyotirvidāmagrataḥ,  
Sarvagāsamanuṣṇagah pravadatā tirṇṇa pratijñānadī ||*<sup>12</sup>

Considering the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era in 402 BCE, 476-477 CE would be the current year and 477-478 CE would be the elapsed year of the Sarkho grant. The verifiable details given in the Sarkho grant correspond regularly with the date 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 477 CE. Padmanābha clearly tells us about the end of Thursday before the beginning of total lunar eclipse in Rohiṇī Nakṣatra. It appears that Padmanābha followed Ardharātrikā system (beginning of the day at midnight). The weekday of 6<sup>th</sup> Nov 477 CE, i.e. Thursday ended at 12:00 AM and Friday started at 0:00 hrs on 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 477 CE. Kṛttikā Nakṣatra ended at 00:23 AM on 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 477 CE and Rohiṇī Nakṣatra started at the same time. Total lunar eclipse started at



2:06 hrs and ended at 7:27 hrs on 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 477 CE. Thus, the end of Kṛttikā Nakṣatra, the starting of Rohiṇī Nakṣatra and the beginning of total lunar eclipse in Rohiṇī Nakṣatra occurred in the third quarter of the night, i.e., 0:00 hrs to 3:00 hrs and after the end of Thursday. The weekday of 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 477 CE was Monday in Julian calendar but I have already established that there is an error of four weekdays in the reconstructed Julian calendar in Chapter 11 of my book titled “*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*”. Ancient Indians traditionally followed seven day week starting from 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE, Sunday, i.e., the epoch of Maya’s Surya Siddhanta.

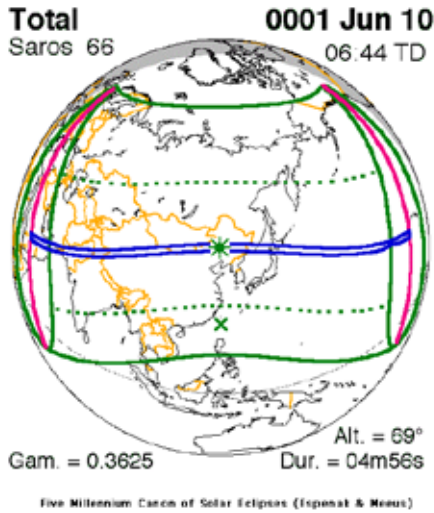


Interestingly, when the eclipse occurred at the time predicted by Padmanābha, King Ratnadeva became pleased and donated the village Chinchātalāi situated in the mandala of Anarghavalli to the great astronomer Padmanābha by issuing Sarkho copper plates.

Dr. VV Mirashi stated that Sarkho grant was issued on 8<sup>th</sup> Nov 1128 CE considering the epoch in 248 CE but the eclipse started in the second quarter of the night. The total lunar eclipse started at 23:27 hrs on 8<sup>th</sup> Nov and ended at 5:36 hrs on 9<sup>th</sup> Nov 1128 CE. This total lunar eclipse cannot qualify the details, i.e., the end of Thursday (*Jāte dine Gīhpateḥ*) and the third quarter of the night (*ratreśca yāmatraye*) given by Padmanābha. Thus, the epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era fixed by the historians is not tenable. Mischievously, historians replaced the word “Jāte” with “Yāte” by

distorting the statement of Padmanābha and propagated that “*Yāte dine Gīhpateḥ*” means the arrival of Thursday not the end of Thursday.

Thus, the Sarkho grant refers to the total lunar eclipse that occurred on 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 477 CE in the elapsed year 880 of Kalachuri-Chedi era. Therefore, we can conclusively fix the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era in 402 BCE. The Sendraka kings also used the Kalachuri-Chedi era. The Kasare grant of Nikumbhāllāśakti is dated in the year 404 (0-1 CE) on the occasion of solar eclipse on new moon day of Āṣāḍha month.<sup>13</sup> The verifiable details given in the Kasare grant correspond regularly with the date 10<sup>th</sup> Jun 1 CE. The solar eclipse was visible between 6:45 hrs and 8:44 hrs on 10<sup>th</sup> Jun 1 CE.



Therefore, it can be concluded that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced from 13<sup>th</sup> Oct 402 BCE, *Kārttika Śukla Pratipadā* and the calendar was Kārttikādi. Dr. VV Mirashi calculated the date of the Kasare grant as 1<sup>st</sup> June 653 CE considering the epoch in 249 CE. Interestingly, historians calculated the date of the Sarkho grant considering the epoch in 248 CE whereas they calculated the date of the Kasare grant considering the epoch in 249 CE.

There is no evidence to support that Indians followed two different epochs while using the Kalachuri-Chedi era. Every Indian era has only

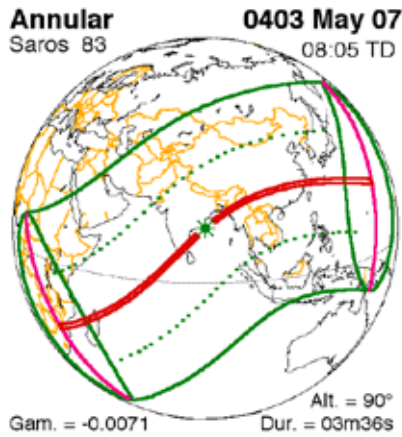
one epoch and the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced on 13<sup>th</sup> Oct 402 BCE. In the event it commenced in 248-249 CE, the Kalachuri-Chedi era was in vogue till the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE. Al Beruni refers to the kingdom of Dāhala but did not mention the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. According to the epoch of 248-249 CE, the Kalachuri-Chedi era was commonly used in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE and that begs the question as to how Al Beruni was completely ignorant of this era. In fact, the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 402 BCE and became extinct by the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) became popular from the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE onwards over the whole of North India and memories of the Kalachuri-Chedi era in the public mind completely faded away by the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE and hence, Al Beruni could not get any information about the Kalachuri-Chedi era.

Let us calculate the verifiable dates of the inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi era based on the epoch of 402 BCE.

The epoch : The epoch : The epoch :  
402 BCE      248-249 CE      249-250 CE

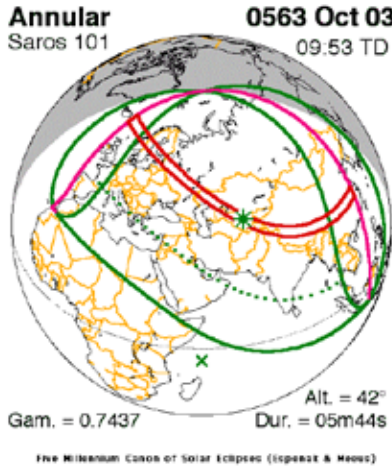
### Solar eclipses

1. Solar eclipse in the year 404 on new moon day of Āṣāḍha month. 0 - 1 BCE is current and 1 - 2 BCE is elapsed. (Kasare grant of Āllaśakti) Solar eclipse was visible on 10<sup>th</sup> Jun 1 CE from 16:24 hrs to 18.28 hrs. Irregular      1<sup>st</sup> Jun 653 CE
2. Solar eclipse in the year 805 (2<sup>nd</sup> year was 805 with reference to 812 was 9<sup>th</sup> year) on new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month. 402-403 CE is current and 403-404 CE is elapsed. (Karwi grant of Karṇa) Solar eclipse was visible on 7<sup>th</sup> May 403 CE from 10:19 hrs to 13.33 hrs. Irregular.      10<sup>th</sup> May 1054 CE.



- |   |  |                                    |  |
|---|--|------------------------------------|--|
| <p>3. Solar eclipse in the year 885 (889?) on new moon day of Kārttika month. 482-483 CE is current and 483-484 CE is elapsed. <b>(Paragaon grant of Ratnadeva II)<sup>14</sup></b></p> | <p>Irregular. (Probably, the year must be 889 and the date would be 12<sup>th</sup> Nov 486 CE.)</p> | <p>Irregular</p>                   | <p>Irregular (15<sup>th</sup> Nov 1137 CE)</p> |
| <p>4. Solar eclipse in the year 896. 493-494 CE is current and 494-495 CE is elapsed. <b>(Bhilaigarh plates of Prithvideva II)<sup>15</sup></b></p>                                     | <p>Solar eclipse was visible on 19<sup>th</sup> Jun 494 CE.</p>                                      | <p>Irregular</p>                   | <p>22<sup>nd</sup> Jun 1145 CE</p>             |
| <p>5. Solar eclipse in the year 900. 496-497 CE is current and 497-498 CE is elapsed. <b>(Koni stone inscription of Prithvideva II)<sup>16</sup></b></p>                                | <p>Solar eclipse was visible on 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 496 CE.</p>                                      | <p>26<sup>th</sup> Oct 1147 CE</p> | <p>Irregular</p>                               |
| <p>6. Solar eclipse in the year 926. 523-524 CE is current and 524-525 CE is elapsed. <b>(Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha)<sup>17</sup></b></p>                                 | <p>Solar eclipse was visible on 23<sup>rd</sup> Nov 523 CE.</p>                                      | <p>1<sup>st</sup> Jun 1174 CE</p>  | <p>11<sup>th</sup> Apr 1176 CE</p>             |

7. Solar eclipse in the year 966 Solar eclipse 5<sup>th</sup> Oct 1214 Irregular  
 on new moon day of Kārttika was visible CE  
 month and Chitrā Nakśatra. on 3<sup>rd</sup> Oct  
 563-564 CE is current and 563 CE from  
 564-565 CE is elapsed. 12:58 hrs  
 (Tahankapar plates of to 16:11 hrs  
 Pamparājadeva)<sup>18</sup> and Nakśatra  
 was Chitrā  
 when the  
 eclipse has  
 commenced.



### Lunar eclipses

1. Lunar eclipse in the year 456 11<sup>th</sup> Feb 54 Irregular 13<sup>th</sup> Feb 705  
 on full moon day of Māgha CE CE  
 month.  
 52-53 CE is current and 53-54  
 CE is elapsed.  
 (Navasari grant of Jayabhāṭa  
 II)<sup>19</sup>

2. Lunar eclipse in the year 878 (at an earlier date than **Bhādrapada śudi 5**).  
474-475 CE is current and 475-476 CE is elapsed.  
(**Sheorinarayan grant of Ratnadeva II**)<sup>20</sup>  
4<sup>th</sup> Jul 475 CE    11<sup>th</sup> Jan 1126 CE    27<sup>th</sup> May 1127 CE  
or 24<sup>th</sup> May 476 CE
3. Total lunar eclipse in the year 880 on full moon in Kṛttikā Nakśatra, during the rise of Rohiṇī Nakśatra and in 3rd quarter of the night.  
476-477 CE is current and 477-478 CE is elapsed.  
(**Sarkho grant of Ratnadeva II**)<sup>21</sup>  
7<sup>th</sup> Nov 477 CE    8<sup>th</sup> Nov 1128 CE    Irregular
4. Lunar eclipse in the year 890 on full moon day of Kārttika month.  
486-487 CE is current and 487-488 CE is elapsed.  
(**Daikoni grant of Pṛthvideva II**)<sup>22</sup>  
18<sup>th</sup> Oct 487 CE    20<sup>th</sup> Oct 1138 CE    Irregular
5. Lunar eclipse in the year 900 on full moon day of Chaitra month.  
496-497 CE is current and 497-498 CE is elapsed.  
(**Amoda grant of Prithvideva II**)<sup>23</sup>  
23<sup>rd</sup> Mar 498 CE    6<sup>th</sup> Apr 1148 CE    26<sup>th</sup> Mar 1149 CE
6. Lunar eclipse in the year 918 on full moon day of Āśvina month.  
514-515 CE is current and 515-516 CE is elapsed.  
(**Jabalpur grant of Jayasimha**)<sup>24</sup>  
26<sup>th</sup> Sep 516 CE    Irregular    30<sup>th</sup> Sep 1167 CE

7. Lunar eclipse in the year 969 Irregular. (A Irregular Irregular  
on full moon day of Āṣāḍha lunar eclipse  
month. occurred on  
565-566 CE is current and 7<sup>th</sup> July 567  
566-567 CE is elapsed. CE but it may  
(Bilaigarh grant of not be visible  
Pratāpamalla)<sup>25</sup> in India.)

#### Nakṣatra References

1. Moon in Hasta Nakṣatra on 1<sup>st</sup> Jul 526 CE 13<sup>th</sup> Jul 3<sup>rd</sup> Jul 1177  
6<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight 1176 CE CE  
of Śrāvaṇa month in the year  
928.  
524-525 CE is current and  
525-526 CE is elapsed.  
(Tewar stone inscription of  
Jayasimha)<sup>26</sup>

#### Saṅkrānti References

1. Mīna Saṅkrānti on 10<sup>th</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> Feb 19 Irregular. Irregular.  
tithi of the dark fortnight of CE  
Phālguna in the year Śaka 602  
(Kalachuri 422).  
18-19 CE is current and 19-20  
CE is elapsed.  
(Mundakhede plates of  
Jayaśakti)<sup>27</sup>
2. Viṣuva (Sāyana Meṣa 18<sup>th</sup> Mar 34 20<sup>th</sup> Mar Irregular  
Saṅkrānti) on 10<sup>th</sup> tithi of the CE 685 CE  
bright fortnight of Chaitra  
month in the year 436.  
33-34 CE is current and 34-35  
CE is elapsed.  
(Nasik plates of Dharāśraya  
Jayasimha)<sup>28</sup>

- |   |  |                   |   |
|---|--|-------------------|---|
| <p>3. Tulā Saṅkrānti on 11<sup>th</sup> tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja month in the year 460.<br/>57-58 CE is current and 58-59 CE is elapsed.<br/><b>(Anjaneri grant of Jayabhāṭa II)</b><sup>29</sup></p>  | <p>20<sup>th</sup>/21<sup>st</sup> Sep 59 CE</p> | <p>Irregular</p>  | <p>Irregular<br/>23<sup>rd</sup> Sep 710<br/>CE</p> |
| <p>4. Karkaṭaka Saṅkrānti on 12<sup>th</sup> tithi of bright half of Āṣāḍha month in the year 486.<br/>83-84 CE is current and 84-85 CE is elapsed.<br/><b>(Kavi plates of Jayabhāṭa III)</b><sup>30</sup></p>  | <p>22/23 Jun 85 CE</p>                           | <p>Irregular.</p> | <p>Irregular</p>                                    |
| <p>5. Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti on 8<sup>th</sup> tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha month in the year 821.<br/>417-418 CE is current and 418-419 CE is elapsed.<br/><b>(Raipur plate of Prithvideva I)</b><sup>31</sup></p>   | <p>15<sup>th</sup> Jan 418 CE</p>                | <p>Irregular.</p> | <p>Irregular.</p>                                   |
| <p>6. Mīna Saṅkrānti on 14<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna Month in the year 823.<br/>420-421 CE is current and 421-422 CE is elapsed.<br/><b>(Khairha plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa)</b><sup>32</sup></p>  | <p>21<sup>st</sup> Feb 422 CE</p>                | <p>Irregular.</p> | <p>Irregular.</p>                                   |
| <p>7. Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti on the 10<sup>th</sup> tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha month and Monday in the year 529 of Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).<br/>471-472 CE is current and 472-473 CE is elapsed.<br/><b>(Jabalpur Second Plate of Yaśaḥkarṇa)</b><sup>33</sup></p> | <p>20<sup>th</sup> Jan 472 CE</p>                | <p>--</p>         | <p>--</p>   |



8. Makara Sankrānti on 10<sup>th</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> Dec 562 Irregular. Irregular.  
tithi of the bright fortnight of CE  
Māgha month in the year 965.  
562-563 CE is current and  
563-564 CE is elapsed.  
(Pendrabandh plates of  
Pratāpamalla)<sup>34</sup>

Except the solar eclipse in Kalachuri year 885 and the lunar eclipse in Kalachuri year 969, all solar and lunar eclipses were visible in India and correspond regularly with the dates mentioned in the inscriptions which bear reference to the epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era that commenced in 402 BCE. Thus, the date of 13 Oct 402 BCE can be fixed as the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era with reference to certain dates of inscriptions mentioned in the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the verifiable details of the Kasare and Sarkho grants.

### The Originator of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era

Who was the originator of the Kalachuri-Chedi era? Dr. Mirashi opined that the Ābhīra King Íśvarasena, the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty, may have started this era. According to the Purāṇas, Ābhīra kings succeeded the Śātavāhanas and ruled for 67 years. The Nasik cave inscription<sup>35</sup> of Íśvarasena is dated in his 9<sup>th</sup> regnal year. But the inscriptions of the Kalachuri and Chedi kings referred to the era as “*Kalachuri Samvat*” or “*Chedi Samvat*”. The Chedis were the descendants of the ancient Haihaya branch of the Kshatriyas of lunar dynasty. It is totally absurd to assume that the Chedi kśatriya kings used the epoch of Ābhīras. Therefore, it is not logical to assume that the Kalachuris adopted the regnal years of the Ābhīra kings and later transformed it into an era.

Seemingly, the Chedi kings established a powerful kingdom in central India around 402 BCE and founded an era. Kālidāsa states in his *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* that Yudhiṣṭhira, Vikrama, Śālivāhana and Vijayābhinandana founded their eras in Kaliyuga.<sup>36</sup> Yudhiṣṭhira reigned in Hastināpura and became the founder of the Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE). Vikramāditya I founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era in 719-718

BCE. According to Kālidāsa, Śālivāhana's capital was close to Śāleya Parvata and *Vijayābhinandana's* capital was close to Chitrakuta. The epoch of Śaka era (583 BCE) was attributed to Śālivāhana. King Vijayābhinandana lived after Śālivāhana and before Kālidāsa and founded an era. In all probability, Vijayābhinandana was a Chedi king of Chitrakuta region and he was probably the founder of the Kalachuri-Chedi era that commenced around 402 BCE. The earliest inscriptions issued from the city of Māhiṣmatī are dated around Kalachuri year 167 (235 BCE).<sup>37</sup> Māhiṣmatī was the capital of Haihayas during Rigvedic era. Assumably, Kalachuri-Chedi kings had shifted their Capital from Chitrakuta to Māhiṣmatī in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE. Mahārāja Subandhu reigned from Māhiṣmatī around 235 BCE. Later, the Chedi kings shifted their capital from Māhiṣmatī to Tripurī in Dāhala region.



# 7

## An overview of Indian eras

India's contribution to the world of astronomy has been remarkable since the Rigvedic era. Ancient Indians developed mathematical astronomy by meticulous and painstaking multi-generational record-keeping of astronomical observations and finding solutions for astronomical problems through mathematical manipulations. Their immense passion to solve astronomical problems led to numerous discoveries in mathematics and astronomy. Truly speaking, India was the birth place of astronomy and mathematics and taught the basics of these sciences to the rest of the world. Indian astronomy is much older than Babylonian, Egyptian and Hellenistic astronomy. John Playfair (1748-1819 CE), a Scottish mathematician, demonstrated that the epoch of the astronomical observations recorded in the tables by Hindu astrologers had to be 4300 BCE. Ancient Indians traditionally referred to the epoch of Mahābhārata war or the Yudhiṣṭhira era and the Aihole inscription of Chālukyas mentions the epoch of Mahābhārata war that commenced in 3162 BCE. I have established the epoch of Mayāsura's Sūrya Siddhānta in 6778 BCE considering the conjunction of all five planets, Sun and Moon in Aries. The Kaliyuga epoch of Lāṭadeva's Sūrya Siddhānta is well known to be commenced in 3101 BCE. Evidently, ancient Indians knew the importance of using the epoch for astronomical calculations since 6778 BCE, which evolved the concept of eras. Some intellectually challenged historians claimed that ancient Indians were not accustomed to the use of eras and only foreigners introduced eras in India. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Al Beruni records that Hindus had an ancient era called Kālayavana with the epoch at the end of last Dvāpara Yuga.<sup>1</sup> Most probably, the epoch

of Kālayavana era may have commenced at a date earlier than the epoch of the Mahābhārata war but unfortunately no literary or epigraphic evidence is available today. We have already discussed the epochs of Śaka (583 BCE), Śakānta (78 CE), Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE), Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE), Kārttikādi Vikrama (719 BCE), Chaitrādi Vikrama (57 BCE), Gupta (334 BCE), Valabhi (319 CE), Sri Harsha (457 BCE) and Kalachuri-Chedi (402 BCE) eras in the preceding chapters. Let us discuss now the epoch of other ancient Indian eras that unravel the mysteries of the chronology of ancient Indian history.

### 1. The Epoch of Mayāsura's Sūrya Siddhānta (22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE)

Sūrya Siddhānta, an ancient Indian astronomical text, informs us that Mayāsura authored Sūrya Siddhānta at the end of the 28<sup>th</sup> Krita Yuga and there was a conjunction of Sun, Moon and all planets in the middle of Meṣa Rāśi (Aries) on the first day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month.<sup>2</sup> This conjunction took place on 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE. Mayāsura was the first Indian astronomer who introduced the concept of the Jovian cycle of 12 years and 60-year cycle. Mayāsura also introduced the concept of seven day week considering the day of 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE as Sunday. Thus, ancient Indians started following seven day week from 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE, Sunday. This epoch was well known as the end of the 28<sup>th</sup> Krita Yuga but the exact epoch was forgotten when ancient Indian astronomers had enlarged a Yuga cycle from 1200 years to 432000 years (1200 x 360) and a Chaturyuga cycle from 12000 years to 4320000 years (12000 x 360).

The concept of seven-day week was transmitted to the west and the epoch of 6778 BCE was known as the epoch of astrological era of Creation. Interestingly, Abul Fazal refers to the epoch of an astrological era of Creation that reckoned when all planets were in Aries.<sup>3</sup> Evidently, this astrological era was undoubtedly the epoch of Maya's Sūrya Siddhānta, i.e., 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE.

### 2. The Epoch of the Saptarṣi Calendar (3<sup>rd</sup> Dec 6777 BCE)

Prior to 6777 BCE, ancient Indians followed a 5-year Yuga calendar since early Rigvedic era and 20-year Chaturyuga calendar since post-Vedic era. The calendar year commenced on Māgha Śukla Pratipadā and ended on

Pauṣa Amāvāsyā in the first cycle of 20-year Chaturyuga calendar whereas the calendar year commenced on Māgha Krishna Pratipadā and ended on Pauṣa Pūrṇimā in the second cycle of 20-year Chaturyuga calendar. Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa were the intercalary months at an interval of two and half years but an Ardhamāsa of Pauṣa (half month) was intercalated at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> year, i.e., the last year of the Chaturyuga calendar. Thus, ancient Indian astronomers of post-Vedic era followed the amānta calendar for the first cycle of 20 years and the Purṇimānta calendar for the second cycle of 20 years. The list of Nakṣatras was Kṛttikādi before 6777 BCE.

Mayāsurā's Sūrya Siddhānta (6778 BCE) had revolutionized ancient Indian astronomy. Seemingly, the traditional Paitāmaha Siddhānta introduced the Jovian cycle of 12 years and the cycle of 60 years from 3<sup>rd</sup> Dec 6777 BCE under the influence of Sūrya Siddhānta. The duration of a Yuga was increased from 5 years to 1200 years (12 × 100) to facilitate accurate calendrical calculations and planetary motions. For the first time, planetary calculations became integral part of Indian astronomy. The Aśvinyādi list of Nakṣatras was also introduced in place of the Kṛttikādi list because the winter solstice had been shifted to Aśvinī Nakṣatra around 7200 BCE. Thus, the epoch of 6777 BCE was a major turning point in the history of ancient Indian astronomy.

Since the duration of a Yuga was increased from 5 years to 1200 years, it was absolutely necessary to keep the record of elapsed 100 years from the epoch of 6777 BCE. Seemingly, a Saptarṣi cycle of 2700 years was introduced and every elapsed 100 years had been named after one nakshatra starting from Aśvinī Nakṣatra. One cycle of 2700 years also consisted of 225 cycles of 12 years and 45 cycles of 60 years. This novel idea has perfectly facilitated the record keeping of elapsed years from the epoch of 6777 BCE. Later, it was hypothetically assumed that the Saptarṣis reside 100 years in each Nakṣatra. Purāṇas unanimously indicate that the Saptarṣis were in Maghā Nakṣatra during the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira, which means 3600 years had been elapsed from 6777 BCE to the Mahābhārata era.

	<b>In CE</b>
1. <b>Aśvinī</b>	<b>6777-6677 BCE</b>
2. Bharanī	6677-6577 BCE
3. Kṛttikā	6577-6477 BCE
4. Rohiṇī	6477-6377 BCE
5. Mṛgaśirā	6377-6277 BCE
6. Ārdrā	6277-6177 BCE
7. Punarvasū	6177-6077 BCE
8. Puṣya	6077-5977 BCE
9. Āśleṣa	5977-5877 BCE
<b>10. Maghā</b>	<b>5877-5777 BCE</b>
11. Pūrva Phālgunī	5777-5677 BCE
12. Uttara Phālgunī	5677-5577 BCE
13. Hasta	5577-5477 BCE
14. Chitrā	5477-5377 BCE
15. Svāti	5377-5277 BCE
16. Viśākhā	5277-5177 BCE
17. Anurādhā	5177-5077 BCE
18. Jyeṣṭhā	5077-4977 BCE
19. Mūla	4977-4877 BCE
20. Pūrvāṣāḍhā	4877-4777 BCE
21. Uttarāṣāḍhā	4777-4677 BCE
22. Śravaṇa	4677-4577 BCE
23. Śraviṣṭhā (Dhaniṣṭhā)	4577-4477 BCE
24. Śatabhiṣaj	4477-4377 BCE
<b>25. Pūrva Bhādrapadā</b>	<b>4377-4277 BCE</b>
26. Uttara Bhādrapadā	4277-4177 BCE
27. Revatī	4177-4077 BCE
1. Aśvinī	4077-3977 BCE
2. Bharanī	3977-3877 BCE
3. Kṛttikā	3877-3777 BCE

4.	Rohiṇī	3777-3677 BCE
5.	Mṛgaśīrā	3677-3577 BCE
6.	Ādrā	3577-3477 BCE
7.	Punarvasū	3477-3377 BCE
8.	Puṣya	3377-3277 BCE
9.	Āśleṣa	3277-3177 BCE
10.	Maghā	<b>3177-3077 BCE</b>
11.	Pūrvā Phālgunī	3077-2977 BCE
12.	Uttara Phālgunī	2977-2877 BCE
13.	Hasta	2877-2777 BCE
14.	Chitrā	2777-2677 BCE
15.	Svāti	2677-2577 BCE
16.	Viśākhā	2577-2477 BCE
17.	Anurādhā	2477-2377 BCE
18.	Jyeṣṭhā	2377-2277 BCE
19.	Mūla	2277-2177 BCE
20.	Pūrvāṣāḍhā	2177-2077 BCE
21.	Uttarāṣāḍhā	2077-1977 BCE
22.	Śravaṇa	1977-1877 BCE
23.	Śraviṣṭhā (Dhaniṣṭhā)	1877-1777 BCE
24.	Śatabhiṣaj	1777-1677 BCE
25.	Pūrvā Bhādrapadā	<b>1677-1577 BCE</b>
26.	Uttara Bhādrapadā	1577-1477 BCE
27.	Revatī	1477-1377 BCE
1.	Āśvinī	1377-1277 BCE
2.	Bharaṇī	1277-1177 BCE
3.	Kṛttikā	1177-1077 BCE
4.	Rohiṇī	1077-977 BCE
5.	Mṛgaśīrā	977-877 BCE
6.	Ādrā	877-777 BCE
7.	Punarvasū	777-677 BCE

8.	Puṣya	677-577 BCE
9.	Āśleṣa	577-477 BCE
10.	Maghā	477-377 BCE
11.	Pūrvā Phālgunī	377-277 BCE
12.	<b>Uttara Phālgunī</b>	<b>277-177 BCE</b>

Thus, the epoch of the Saptarṣi calendar, i.e., 3<sup>rd</sup> Dec 6777 BCE is very important in arriving the chronology of ancient India. It is also the epoch of the first cycles of 12 years and 60 years. The Kumbh Mela of Prayāga follows the epoch of the first cycle of 12 years, i.e., 3<sup>rd</sup> Dec 6777 BCE when Jupiter was in Taurus and Sun in Capricorn. Seemingly, the ancient Turkish era followed the epoch of 6777-6776 BCE for the Jovian cycle of 12 years and the 60-year cycle. The Chinese and East Asian sexagenarian cycle also follows the epoch of 6777-6776 BCE. Evidently, the Turkish, Chinese and East Asian cycles of 12 years and 60 years clearly indicate the influence of Indian astronomy.

Traditionally, Kashmir, Multan and Himachal regions have followed the Saptarṣi calendar. Kalhaṇa, the author of *Rājatarāṅginī* followed the epoch of Saptarṣi calendar (6777-6776 BCE) known as laukika Saṁvat. This laukika Saṁvat, i.e., Saptarṣi calendar was also known as Śāstrīya Saṁvat that commenced on 3076 BCE 25 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). Purāṇas mention that Mahāpadma Nanda was coronated on the throne of Magadha when Saptarṣis were in Pūrvabhadrā (Pūrvaśādhā?). The Hisse Borala inscription dated in Śaka 380 (203 BCE) refers to the position of Saptarṣis in Uttara Phālgunī.<sup>4</sup> An inscription of Chamba known as the Sai Fountain inscription of the time of King Ajayapāladeva is dated in the year 45 of Śāstrīya Saṁvat and the year 4270 of the Kaliyuga era.<sup>5</sup> Evidently, this inscription of Chamba is dated in 1169 CE. Interestingly, the epoch of 6777-6776 BCE also marks the beginning of the 28<sup>th</sup> Tretā Yuga because it is traditionally well known that Mayāsura wrote Sūrya Siddhānta at the end of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kṛta Yuga.

### 3. The Epoch of Brahma Siddhānta (6773 BCE)

Traditionally, ancient Indians of post-Vedic era followed two epochs of New Year. The calendar of the tradition of Devas reckoned from Śarad



Ritu, i.e., autumnal equinox whereas the calendar of the tradition of Asuras reckoned from Vasanta Ritu, i.e., vernal equinox. Gradually, ancient Indian astronomers realised the importance of planetary motions and the Jovian cycle of 12 years. It was felt the need of a perfect epoch for accurate calculation of planetary motions. Mayasura had identified the conjunction of all planets in Aries as an epoch and propounded his Sūrya Siddhānta in 6778 BCE and introduced the Chaitra Śuklādi calendar.

Though traditional Paitāmaha Siddhānta introduced the epoch of 3<sup>rd</sup> Dec 6777 BCE for the Jovian cycle of 12 years and the 60-year cycle but a group of Indian astronomers understood the accuracy of Chaitra Śuklādi calendar of Maya's Sūrya Siddhānta. Thus, these Indian astronomers introduced the siddhānta of Chaitra Śuklādi calendar in 6773 BCE (Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā, i.e., 26<sup>th</sup> Feb 6773 BCE) probably under the influence of Sūrya Siddhānta which came to be known as Brahma Siddhānta. Thus, there were two ancient traditions of 12-year cycle and 60-year cycle. Paitāmaha Siddhānta followed the epoch of the Jovian cycle of 12 years and the 60-year cycle in 6777-6776 BCE whereas the Brahma Siddhānta tradition followed the epoch of the Jovian cycle and the 60-year cycle in 6773 BCE. Āryabhaṭa followed the epoch of 6773 BCE and stated that 60 cycles of 60 years (3600 years) have been elapsed before the beginning of the epoch of Kaliyuga in 3173 BCE.

### The Chronological History of the 60-year Cycle

Though Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata have no reference of the sixty-year cycle, the astronomical cycles of 12 years and 60 years were in vogue since 6777 BCE. The inscriptions of Gupta era referred to the Jovian year as “Mahā-Māgha Saṁvatsara”, “Mahā-Kārttika Saṁvatsara” etc. The South Indian inscriptions have referred to the cycle of sixty years starting from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. But the literary evidence clearly suggests that the concept of Sixty-year cycle based on five revolutions of Jupiter (Jovian years) was in vogue since pre-Mahābhārata era. Vṛddhāryabhaṭa (Āryabhaṭa I), the junior contemporary of Parāśara and Āryabhaṭa II (3173-3100 BCE), the author of Āryabhaṭīyam, were the first who referred to the cycle of sixty-year. Unfortunately, the original work of Vṛddhāryabhaṭa is not available today but Āryabhaṭa III, a later Indian astronomer, compiled “Mahārya-

*Siddhānta*” in his words. Most probably, Āryabhaṭa III lived in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Lāṭadeva, the pupil of Āryabhaṭa II and the author of *Sūrya Siddhānta*, gives the method for calculation of the sixty-year cycle starting from the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). Many later works like *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of *Varāhamihira*, *Jyotiṣatattva*, *Ratnamālā of Śripati*, etc., also give the methods of calculation with reference to the epoch of the Śaka era.

As a matter of fact, Āryabhaṭa II, the author of *Āryabhaṭīyam*, lived during the *Mahābhārata* era. Aryabhata II himself indicates that he was born in Prabhava Saṁvatsara, the first year of the 61<sup>st</sup> cycle of sixty years. He was born in the first year of the fourth Yugapāda when  $60 \times 60 = 3600$  years including three Yugapādas had been elapsed. He himself states that three Yugapādas had elapsed before Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). Evidently, the fourth Yugapāda commenced in 3173 BCE 3600 years ( $60 \times 60$ ) after the epoch of 6773 BCE.

Āryabhaṭa II followed a simple cycle of 60 years without any expunged Saṁvatsaras. He stated that the Prabhava Saṁvatsara of the first 60-year cycle in the fourth Yugapāda commenced when Jupiter was in Aries in 3173 BCE. Thus, the epoch of ancient Indian cycle of 60 years commenced in 6773 BCE and total 146 cycles have been completed in 1986 CE. The present cycle is the 147<sup>th</sup> and the current year 2019-2020 is the Vikāri Saṁvatsara, the 33<sup>rd</sup> year.

Āryabhaṭa III records that Parāśara and Vṛddhāryabhaṭa siddhāntas were established in the beginning of the Kaliyuga. The Siddhānta of Vṛddhāryabhaṭa gives the method for calculation of Saṁvatsaras as “Multiply the expired Kali year by 22. Subtract 11 from the product. Divide the result by 1875. To the quotient excluding fractions add the expired Kali year + 27. Divide the sum by 60. The remainder, counted from Prabhava as 1, is the current Saṁvatsara.” Since Āryabhaṭa III recompiled Mahārya-Siddhānta in his words in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, he takes the epoch of Kaliyuga as 3101 BCE.

Lāṭadeva, the pupil of Āryabhaṭa II, who lived around 3150-3070 BCE, was the author of updated *Sūrya Siddhānta* as mentioned by Al Beruni. In fact, Lāṭadeva recompiled *Sūrya Siddhānta* based on the

Mayāsura's Sūrya Siddhānta (6778 BCE). The method of Latadeva's Sūrya Siddhānta: "Multiply the expired Kali year by 211. Subtract 108 from the product. Divide the result by 18000. To the quotient, excluding fractions, add the numeral of the expired Kali year + 27. Divide the sum by 60. The remainder, counted from Prabhava as 1, is the current Saṁvatsara."

Lāṭadeva's Sūrya-Siddhānta and Mahārya-Siddhānta, both consider the 0 year of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE) as the Vijaya Saṁvatsara. Evidently, both Siddhāntas indicate that Prabhava Saṁvatsara commenced in 3126 BCE. Both Siddhāntas also consider that Nandana, the 26<sup>th</sup> year was the expunged Saṁvatsara in the cycle of 3126-3067 BCE. Therefore, 3101-3100 BCE was Vijaya Saṁvatsara, the 27<sup>th</sup> year. In Sūrya-Siddhānta and Mahārya-Siddhānta, the Prabhava Saṁvatsara will be the same. Only the expunged Saṁvatsara may be different in the sixty-year cycles.

Varāhamihira says that "When Jupiter enters into the first Pāda of Dhaniṣṭhā Nakṣhatra in Māgha month, it marks the beginning of the Prabhava Saṁvatsara of the Sixty-year cycle." (*Ādyam Dhaniṣṭhāmsamabhiprapanno Māghe yadā yātyudayam surejyah | Ṣaṣṭyabda-pūrvaḥ prabhavaḥ sa nāmnā prapadyate bhūtahitastadābdah 11*).<sup>6</sup> According to Varahamihira's method, "Multiply the expired Śaka year by 44. Add 8589. Divide the sum by 3750. To the quotient, excluding fractions, add the number of the expired Śaka year plus 1. Divide the sum by 60. The remainder, counted from Prabhava as 1, is the current Saṁvatsara."<sup>7</sup> It is similar to Sūrya Siddhānta but Varāhamihira evolved this method with reference to the expired Śaka year instead of the expired Kali year.

According to Jyotiṣatattva's method, "Multiply the current Śaka year by 22. Add 4291. Divide the sum by 1875. To the quotient, excluding fractions, add the number of the current Śaka year. Divide the sum by 60. The remainder, counted from Prabhava as 1, is the current Saṁvatsara." It is similar to Mahārya Siddhānta. Jyotiṣatattva evolved this method with reference to the current Śaka year instead of the expired Kali year.

The early Chālukya inscription dated in Kali year 2628 (473 BCE) refers to the current year as Prabhava. The Tanjore plates of Ganga King Harivarman dated Śaka 169 (414-413 BCE) also mention the current year

as Prabhava. The Altem plates of Pulakesin I dated Śaka 411 (172 BCE) record the current year as Vibhava. Evidently, these inscriptions followed the simple cycle of 60 years without any expunged years considering the epochs of 6773 BCE and 3173 BCE.

**As discussed above, there are mainly the following three traditions:**

1. **The sixty-year cycle without any expunged years:** The epoch of this tradition is very ancient. Aryabhata II indicates the epoch of 6773 BCE. He also tells us that 3173 BCE was the first year of the fourth Yugapāda and the Prabhava Saṁvatsara. Interestingly, we are following the same tradition and the current year (2019-2020) is Vikāri Saṁvatsara, the 33<sup>rd</sup> year.
2. **Sūrya Siddhānta's method with expunged years:** Lātadeva recompiled Sūrya Siddhānta around 3101 BCE and established that 3126 BCE was the Prabhava Saṁvatsara and 3101 BCE was Vijaya Saṁvatsara, the 27<sup>th</sup> year. Nandana Saṁvatsara was the 1<sup>st</sup> expunged Saṁvatsara. According to Sūrya Siddhānta, the current year 2019-2020 is Pramādi Saṁvatsara, the 47<sup>th</sup> year. Virodhikṛt, the 45<sup>th</sup> year was the expunged Saṁvatsara in the current cycle.
3. **Mahārya-Siddhānta's method with expunged years:** According to this Siddhānta, the current year 2019-2020 is also Pramādi Saṁvatsara, the 47<sup>th</sup> year. Parābhava, the 40<sup>th</sup> year was the expunged Saṁvatsara in the current cycle.

Thus, Indian 60-year cycle commenced in 6773 BCE (Chaitrādi calendar) and in 6774-6773 BCE (Māgha Śuklādi and Kārttikādi calendars). Seemingly, an ancient Saptarshi calendar followed the 60-year cycle that commenced in 6777-6776 BCE when Jupiter was in Maghā Nakṣatra. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa indicates the beginning of 60-year cycle from Māgha Śukla Pratipadā when Jiva, i.e., Jupiter was conjuncted with Maghā Nakṣatra (*Māghaśuklam samārabhya candrārkaḥ vāsavārkaśagau, Jīvayuktau yadā syātām Ṣaṣṭyabdādīstādā smṛtaḥ*).<sup>8</sup> Seemingly, the same Indian tradition of the 60-year cycle that commenced in 6777-6776 BCE had been transmitted to the West and the Chinese also adopted the same epoch of the 60-year cycle.

#### 4. The Epoch of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kaliyuga in the Saptarṣi Calendar (3176 BCE)

As expounded above, the introduction of the Jovian cycle of 12 years and the Saptarṣi cycle of 2700 years in 6777-6776 BCE led to the concept of a larger Yuga of 1200 years. The 28<sup>th</sup> Krita Yuga ended in 6777 BCE and the 28<sup>th</sup> Tretā Yuga commenced in 6777-6776 BCE. Seemingly, the 28<sup>th</sup> Tretā Yuga lasted for only 1200 years and ended in 5577-5576 BCE. During the period of 5500-5000 BCE, the duration of Chaturyuga or Mahāyuga had been increased to 12000 years considering the duration of one thousand cycles of 12 years and a concept of differential duration of four Yugas in a ratio of 1:2:3:4 was introduced. Thus, the 28<sup>th</sup> Dvapara Yuga had the duration of 2400 years. It had commenced in 5577-5576 BCE and ended in 3176 BCE. Therefore, the 28<sup>th</sup> Kaliyuga commenced in the Saptarṣi cycle in 3176 BCE.

#### 5. Āryabhaṭa's Epoch of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kaliyuga (3173 BCE)

Āryabhaṭa followed the epoch of Brahma Siddhānta (6773 BCE) and propounded that the fourth Yuga-pāda, i.e., the 28<sup>th</sup> Kaliyuga commenced in the Prabhava Saṁvatsara on Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā, i.e., 5<sup>th</sup> Mar 3173 BCE, Thursday when 60 cycles of 60 years have been elapsed and Jupiter was in Aśvinī Nakṣatra.<sup>9</sup> I have already discussed the date of Āryabhaṭa in detail in Chapter 8 of my book titled *"The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahabharata"*.

#### 6. The Epoch of Mahābhārata War and Yudhiṣṭhira or Pāndava Era (3162 BCE)

Mahābhārata follows the 5-year Yuga calendar of Paitāmaha Siddhānta and the Saptarṣi cycle. It mentions that the Kaliyuga had already commenced before the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). King Yudhiṣṭhira founded an era after his coronation in Hastinapur in 3162 BCE. I have already discussed in detail about the epoch of Mahābhārata war in Chapter 6 of my book titled *"The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahabharata"*.

Yallayya or Yallacharya, the pupil of Suryadeva Yajvā has written notes on his guru's commentary on Āryabhaṭīyam. According to Yallayya, Pāndava Saṁvat commenced 12 years after the Āryabhaṭa's epoch of Kaliyuga (3173 BCE) [कल्यब्दाः रूपरहिताः पाण्डवाब्दाः प्रकीर्तिताः]. In

Katapayādi system, Ru (2) and pa (1) means 12. Thus, the first Chaitrādi year of the Pāndava Saṁvat commenced in 3161 BCE. Interestingly, two grants of King Janamejaya<sup>10</sup> dated in the year 89 (3073 BCE) of the Yudhiṣṭhira era were found in Karnataka. The Jaisalmer Vaiṣṇava temple inscription of Mūlarāja<sup>11</sup> erroneously refers to the year 4898 of Yudhiṣṭhira era but evidently this inscription follows the Lāṭadeva's epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE).

### 7. Lāṭadeva's Epoch of the 28<sup>th</sup> Kaliyuga (3101 BCE)

Lāṭadeva was the pupil of Āryabhaṭa (3173-3100 BCE). He recompiled Maya's Sūrya Siddhānta in 3101 BCE and propounded the epoch of 3101 BCE considering a rough conjunction of all five planets, Sun and Moon in Mina Rashi (Pisces). Interestingly, mean longitudes of planets come out to be zero in 3101 BCE. According to Lāṭadeva, the 28<sup>th</sup> Kaliyuga commenced on Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā (18<sup>th</sup> Feb 3101 BCE). The year was Vijaya Saṁvatsara.<sup>12</sup> This epoch of Kaliyuga became very popular in a later period because Sūrya Siddhānta has been recognized as the most accurate siddhanta in Indian astronomy after the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. The two inscriptions of the early Chālukya Viṣṇuvardhana are the earliest inscriptions dated in the year of Kaliyuga 2625 (477 BCE) and 2628 (474 BCE).<sup>13</sup>

### 8. The Epochs of 3223 BCE and 3188 BCE

The Hisse Borala inscription found in Vatsagulma region of Maharashtra mentions the date of the construction of Sudarśana Lake in the year 3020, in the Saptarṣi calendar as well as in the Śaka year 380. The inscription reads: "*Siddham .... Tasya vr (vri) ttasya 3000 20 Saptarṣaya Uttarāsu Phā (lguni)ṣu Śakānām 380....*".<sup>14</sup> Evidently, this inscription refers to the year 3020 when the Saptarṣis were in Uttara Phālgunī Nakṣatra and when the corresponding Śaka year was 380. Undoubtedly, the Śaka year 380 was 203 BCE considering the epoch of 583 BCE and the Saptarṣis were in Uttara Phālgunī Nakṣatra around 276-176 BCE. Thus, the Hisse Borala inscription refers to the epoch of 3223 BCE. Most probably, the epoch of 3223 BCE was either the birth year of Yudhiṣṭhira or Sri Krishna.

A verse from a lost text named “*Kutūhalamañjari*” informs us that Varāhamihira was born in the 8<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright half of Chaitra month, in Jaya Saṁvatsara and in the year 3042 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era. It is well known that Varāhamihira was in the court of King Vikramāditya and died in Śaka 509 (74 BCE). Seemingly, *Kutūhalamañjari* refers to the epoch of 3188 BCE as the year of Yudhiṣṭhira’s coronation in Indraprastha. Yudhiṣṭhira reigned in Indraprastha and performed Rājasūya Yajña before Vanavāsa of 13 years and the Mahābhārata war. Thus, the year 3042 was 146 BCE and Jaya Saṁvatsara considering the epoch of 3188 BCE. Evidently, Varahamihira was born on 25/26 Mar 146 BCE and died in 74 BCE.

Jain sources indicate that Bhadrabahu III was like an elder brother of Varāhamihira who wrote the Sthavirāvalī of Kalpasūtra. *Kalpakiraṇāvali* relates that Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu III were cousin brothers and lived in Pratiṣṭhānapura. When Bhadrabāhu III became Jain Āchārya, Varāhamihira preferred to be a Dvija (Brahmana) and wrote Vārāhi Saṁhitā (*Pratiṣṭhānapure Varāhamihira-Bhadrabāhu-dvijau bāndhavau pravrajitau | Bhadrabāhorāchāryapadadāne ruṣṭaḥ san Varāho dvijaveshamādr̥tya Vārāhisamhitām kritvān.... |*). Bhadrabahu III recited Kalpasūtra to Maitraka King Dhruvasena I (149-108 BCE) when the king lost his son. The Bhavanagar grant of King Dhruvasena I is dated in the year 210 of the Gupta era, i.e., 124 BCE.

### 9. The Epoch of the Kashmiri Saptarṣi Calendar (3076 BCE)

George Buhler has quoted a verse from a manuscript of Rajatarangini. This verse reads: “*Kalergataiḥ Sāyaka-netravarsaiḥ Saptarṣivaryāstridivam prayātāḥ, Loke hi Saṁvatsarapatrikāyām Saptarṣimānam pravadanti saṁtaḥ ||*” (When 25 years elapsed from the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE), the Saptarṣis entered into tridiva, i.e., heaven, i.e., pleasure). Evidently, this verse indicates that the Saptarṣis moved to the constellation of pleasure, i.e., Purva Phālgunī Nakṣatra in 3076 BCE (3101-25=3076). The Saptarṣis were in Maghā Nakṣatra during the period 3176-3076 BCE.

Though the Saptarṣi era consists of cycles of 2700 years, in practice the hundreds are omitted, and as soon as the reckoning reaches 100, a fresh hundred begins from 1. But numerous manuscripts found in

Kashmir refer to total elapsed years from the epoch of 3076 BCE. Thus, we can conclusively establish that Kashmir followed the Saptarṣi calendar from 3076 BCE.

Kielhorn studied a calendar of Kashmir in his article “A Note on the Saptarṣi Era” but he mistakenly assumed an expired year. Buhler purchased a manuscript of *Pañcāṅga* (calendar) from Kashmir which was in the Chambers Collection of MSS of the Berlin Library.<sup>15</sup> The year in which the calendar is intended is described as:

“Śri Saptarṣi-cārānumatena Saṁvat 4869 tathā cha Saṁvat 69 Chaitra-suti 1 Śri Śākaḥ 1715 Karaṇa-gatābdāḥ 1128 dinagaṇaḥ 412010 Śri Vikramāditya-Saṁvat 1850 Kalpa-gatābdāḥ 1972948894 Śeṣābdāḥ 2347051106 ..... Kalergatavarṣāṇi 4894 Śeṣavarṣāṇi 427106.”

This calendar unambiguously refers to the expired year as “Gatābda or Gatavarṣa”. Since there is no such explicit reference, Saptarṣi Saṁvat 4869, Saṁvat 69, Śāka 1715, Vikrama Saṁvat 1850 must be the current year. Thus, the year intended in this calendar is 1792-1793 CE. Kielhorn mistakenly assumed the year 1793-1794 CE. This Kashmiri Pañcāṅga follows the Pūrṇimānta scheme of months but it contains a calendar from Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā, Budhavāra (Wednesday), Aśvinī Nakṣatra to Chaitra Amāvāsyā, Chandravāra (Monday). Vaiśākha was an intercalary month. Some of the tithis mentioned in this Pañcāṅga are: 1. Vaiśākha Śukla Dvitiyā, Sunday. 2. Āṣāḍha Śukla Dvitiyā, Wednesday. 3. Śrāvaṇa Śukla Tritiyā, Friday. 4. Bhādrapada Śukla Tritiyā, Sunday.

Considering the epoch of the Kashmiri Saptarṣi calendar in 3076 BCE, the year 4869 was 1792-1793 CE. The current year 1715 of Śākānta era (78 CE), the current year 1850 of Vikrama era (57 BCE) and the elapsed year 4894 of Kaliyuga era (3101 BCE) was also 1792-1793 CE. The current year 587 of Śākānta era (78 CE) was 664-665 CE which was the Karaṇābda in this Pañcāṅga. Thus, the elapsed Karaṇābda year 1128 was also 1792-1793 CE. The tithis and weekdays mentioned in this Pañcāṅga regularly corresponds to the following dates in Gregorian calendar. It may be noted that there is an error of four weekdays in Gregorian calendar. Therefore, Saturday in Julian/Gregorian calendar would be Wednesday in the epoch of Sūrya Siddhānta (22 Feb 6778 BCE, Sunday) and Sunday,



Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday in Julian/Gregorian calendar would be Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday respectively.

	In CE
1. Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā, Wednesday	24 Mar 1792 CE
2. Vaiśākha Śukla Dvitiyā, Sunday	25 Apr 1792 CE
3. Dvitiyā Vaiśākha month	May-Jun 1792 CE
4. Āṣāḍha Śukla Dvitiyā, Wednesday	21 Jul 1792 CE
5. Śrāvaṇa Śukla Tritiyā, Friday	20 Aug 1792 CE
6. Bhādrapada Śukla Tritiyā, Sunday	19 Sep 1792 CE

This Kashmiri Pañcāṅga considers 5<sup>th</sup> Mar 664 CE (Śaka 587 current) as Karaṇa and mentions that total 412010 days have been elapsed by 24<sup>th</sup> Mar 1792 CE. Interestingly, Kielhorn mentions that he has received a copy of one Pañcāṅga from Pandit Govinda Kaul which is very similar to the manuscript of Berlin Library. In this Pañcāṅga, the year intended is described as:

*“Śri Saptarṣi-Cārānumatena Saṁvat 4965 (1965?), Śri-Rājādhirāja-Pratāpasimha-rājyābhiṣeka Saṁvat 3 tathā ca sphutaprakāreṇa Śri-Śubha-Saṁvat 65 Chaitra suti 1 Śri-Śākaḥ 1811 karaṇagatābdāḥ 1224 dīnagaṇaḥ 447063, Śri Vikramāditya-Saṁvat 1946 Kalpa-gatābdāḥ 1972948990 Śeṣābdāḥ 2347051010 ..... Kalergatavarṣāṇi 4990 Śeṣavarṣāṇi 427010.”*

The year intended in this Panchanga was 1888-1889 CE. The Dinagaṇa or Ahargaṇa mentioned in this Pañcāṅga regularly corresponds to 14<sup>th</sup> Mar 1888 CE, Chaitra Śukla Pratipdā. Kielhorn has mistakenly assumed the year as 1889-1890 CE and distorted the Dinagaṇa and the year in Kaliyuga. Interestingly, this Pañcāṅga refers to the 3<sup>rd</sup> regnal year of Dogra King Pratap Singh of Jammu and Kashmir. It is well known that King Pratap Singh ascended the throne on 12<sup>th</sup> Sep 1885 CE. Thus, the year Sep 1887 - Sep 1888 was the 3<sup>rd</sup> regnal year of King Pratap Singh.

Now, let us examine the verifiable dates of the inscriptions and old manuscripts in the Saptarṣi era. The earliest inscription dated in the Saptarṣi era was found at Baijnath, Himachal Pradesh written in

the Śāradā script.<sup>16</sup> This Baijnath Praśasti is dated in the 80<sup>th</sup> year of the Saptarṣi era and Śaka 7[xx]. The Śaka year mentioned must be 787 elapsed (203-204 CE) considering the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king (583 BCE). Western historians mistakenly assumed the year of this inscription as 726 with reference to the Śakānta era (78 CE). The Baijnath Praśasti records the date as:

सम्वत्सरे अशीतितमे प्रसन्ने, चैत्रस्य शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथौ च श्रीमज्जयचन्द्रनरेन्द्रराज्ये  
स्वेदिने रामकृता प्रशस्तिः । शककालगताब्दाः 7[87] ॥

*“This Praśasti composed by Rama in the 80<sup>th</sup> year (elapsed) of [the Saptarṣi era], on the first day of the bright half of the Chaitra month, Sunday, during the reign of King Jayachandra and in the elapsed year 7[87] of the Śaka era.”*

The year 203-204 CE was the elapsed year of 80 in the Saptarṣi era and the date regularly corresponds to 2<sup>nd</sup> Mar 203 CE, Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā and Sunday. Colonial historians assumed the month as Jyeṣṭha but seemingly the month intended in the Baijanath Praśasti was Chaitra. In all probability, the Barli fragmentary stone inscription found in a temple of Ajmer district refers to the 84<sup>th</sup> year of the Saptarṣi era. The Barli inscription is probably the earliest Brahmi inscription. The word “*chaturaśīti vase*” occurring in the second line indicates the 84<sup>th</sup> year of the Saptarṣi era.

The verifiable dates mentioned in old Manuscripts:

	In CE
1. <i>Samvat 4300 Āśva-vati 13 Śanau</i> (The Year was 1222-1223 CE, Āśvayuja Krishna Trayodaśī, Saturday).	4 Oct 1222 CE
2. <i>Samvat 24 Kārttika vati trayodaśyām Budhe, Śri Śākaḥ 1570</i> (The year was 1647-1648 CE, Kārttika Krishna Trayodaśī, Wednesday).	26 Oct 1647 CE
3. <i>Śri Śākaḥ 1591 Samvatsaraḥ 45 Bhādrapada-māsaḥ pakṣaḥ Sītaraḥ tithirdvādaśī vāro Kāvyaṣyeti</i> (The year was 1668-1669 CE, Bhādrapada Krishna Dvādaśī, Friday).	3 Sep 1668 CE

4. *Śri Nṛpa Vikramāditya rājyasya gatābdaḥ* 1717 31 Dec 1659 CE  
*Śri Saptarṣi-mate Saṁvat* 36 *Pau vati* 3 *Ravau*  
*Tiṣya Nakṣatre* (The year was 1659-1660 CE,  
Pauṣa Krishna Tritiyā, Puṣya Nakṣatra, Sunday).
5. *Śriman nṛpati Vikramāditya-saṁvatsare* 1717 8 May 1660 CE  
*Śri-Śālivāhana-Śake* 1582 *Śri-Śāstra Saṁvatsare*  
36 *Vaiśākha vadi trayodaśyām* *Budhavāsare*,  
*Meṣe arkasaṅkrāntau* (The year was 1659-1660  
CE, Vaiśākha Krishna trayodaśī, Wednesday  
and Saṅkrānti [transition of Sun from Aries to  
Taurus]).
6. *Śri Vikramāditya Śakaḥ* 1732 *Śrimat Śālivāhana* 15 May 1674 CE  
*Śakaḥ* 1597 *Śrimad Aurangaśāha Śakaḥ* 18 *Śri*  
*Saptarṣi-cāra-matena Saṁvat* 51 *Vai suti* 10  
*Śanau* (The year was 1674-1675 CE, Vaiśākha  
Śukla Daśamī, Saturday).
7. *Saptarṣi Saṁvat* 4951 *Āśvayuja Krishna Saptamī* 2 Oct 1874 CE  
*Maṅgalam vāsaram* (the year 1874-1875 CE,  
Āśvayuja Krishna Saptamī, Tuesday).

It is evident from the above that the epoch of the Kashmiri Saptarṣi calendar commenced in 3076 BCE. Interestingly, Al Beruni refers to a canon composed by Durlabha of Multan and says:

“That this, indeed, is the nature of the calculation is confirmed by a leaf of a canon composed by Durlabha of Multan, which I have found by chance. Here the author says: “First write 848 and add to it Laukika kāla, i.e., the era of the people, and the sum is the Śakakala.” If we write the first year of Śakakala corresponding to our gauge-year, viz., 953, and subtract 848 from it, the remainder, 105, is the year of the Laukika-kāla whilst the destruction of Somanath falls in the ninety-eighth year of the centennium or Laukika-kāla. Dulabha says, besides, that the year begins with the month Margasirsha, but the astronomers of Multan begin it with Chaitra.”<sup>17</sup>

Apparently, Dulabha of Multan indicates that the first year of the centennium of Laukika-kala commenced in 926-927 CE. Thus, Al Beruni says that the destruction of Somanath temple falls in the 98<sup>th</sup> year, i.e., 1023-1024 CE. Evidently, there were two epochs of Laukika era or

Saptarṣi Saṁvat. As discussed earlier, the Saptarṣi cycle of Paitāmaha Siddhānta commenced in 6777-6776 BCE whereas the Saptarṣi cycle of Brahma Siddhānta commenced in 6773 BCE. Kashmir followed the Mārgaśīrṣādi (Śaradādi) calendar and the Saptarṣi epoch of 6777-6776 BCE whereas Multan followed the Chaitrādi calendar and the Saptarṣi epoch of 6773 BCE. Thus, there was a difference of 3 years between these two epochs. Though Kashmiri Pandits started following the Chaitrādi calendar later but the traditional epoch of Saptarṣi calendar remained the same and it was fixed in 3076 BCE considering the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the epochs of Śaka era (583 BCE) and Śakānta era (78 CE) got mixed up around the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. The popularity of the epoch of 78 CE as Śaka era created a chronological confusion among Indian astronomers. Though entire Indian tradition indicated the date of Mahābhārata war before the epoch of 3101 BCE but some Kashmiri and Multan historians or astronomers started challenging the date of Mahābhārata war and claimed that Kuru and Pāndavas lived 653 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). The same has been reported by Al Beruni as the Pāndava Kāla. Al Beruni says that the epoch of the Pāndava Kāla commenced 3479 years before the gauge-year, i.e., 1030 CE. This may be the reason why an interpolated verse in Rājatarṅginī mentions that Kurus and Pāndavas lived 653 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE).

Seemingly, the ignorance of the difference between the epochs of Śaka and Sakānta also led to editing of a verse of Rājatarṅginī. Kalhaṇa started writing Rājatarṅginī in the 24<sup>th</sup> year of the laukika era and completed in the 25<sup>th</sup> year of the laukika era. Kalhaṇa also indicated the year in the Śaka era. If he referred to the Śaka era (583 BCE), the 24<sup>th</sup> year would be 446-447 CE which means the elapsed Śaka year was 1030. If he referred to the Śakānta era (78 CE), the 24<sup>th</sup> year would be 1148 CE which means the elapsed Śakānta year was 1070. I have conclusively and chronologically established that Kalhaṇa referred to the epoch of 583 BCE. Therefore, the original verse written by Kalhaṇa might have referred to the Śaka year 1030 as “लौकिकेब्दे चतुर्विंशे शककालस्य साम्प्रतम् । त्रिंशत्याभ्यधिकं यातं

सहस्रं परिवत्सराः ॥” but later someone has edited it as “लौकिकेब्दे चतुर्विंशे शककालस्य साम्प्रतम् । सप्तत्याभ्यधिकं यातं सहस्रं परिवत्सराः ॥”<sup>18</sup>

Kielhorn has quoted the following verse which occurs at the end of Kayyāṭa’s commentary on the Devīśataka of Anandavardhana.

वसुमुनिगगनोदधिसमकाले याते कलेस्तथालोके । द्वापञ्चाशे वर्षे रचितेयं भीमगुप्तनृपे ॥

“The author composed his commentary under the King Bhimagupta in Kaliyuga 4078 expired and in the 52<sup>nd</sup> year of Laukika era.”<sup>19</sup>

The elapsed year 4078 of Kaliyuga would be impossible to be reconciled with the Saptarṣi Saṁvat year 52. Evidently, a copyist of the manuscript wrote this verse and simply calculated the year in the Kali epoch with reference to the Śākānta era (78 CE) and the year 52 of laukika era without reconciling with the chronology of Kashmir and the date of King Bhimagupta. In fact, Bhimagupta ascended the throne of Kashmir in the 52<sup>nd</sup> year, i.e., 274-275 CE and reigned for five years. Thus, Kayyāṭa flourished around 274-275 BCE and not in the Kali year 4078, i.e., 976 CE.

Similarly, in the last verse of *Iśvara-Pratyabhijñā-Vivṛti-Vimarśiṇī*, it is stated that Abhinavagupta completed the commentary in the 90th year when 4115 years of Kaliyuga had elapsed (इति नवतितमेस्मिन्वत्सरेन्त्ये युगांशे, तिथिशशिजलधिस्थे मार्गशीर्षवसाने ॥). Abhinavagupta referred to the year 66 and 68 of the Saptarṣi era in his “Kramastava” and “Bhairavastava” respectively. He had never referred to the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE) in his other works. Evidently, a copyist, who was ignorant of the difference between the Śaka era and the Śākānta era, might have edited this verse and inserted the words “युगांशे, तिथिशशिजलधिस्थे” (the year 4115 of Kaliyuga). Chronologically, Abhinavagupta lived around 220-320 CE and cannot be dated around the year 4115 of Kaliyuga, i.e., 1013 CE. Thus, we have to carefully examine the literary evidence with reference to the sheet anchors while arriving the chronology.

## 10. The Epoch of Buddha Nirvāṇa (1864 BCE)

Gautama Buddha was born in 1944 BCE and attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE. Kālāśoka or Aśoka I ascended the throne in 1765 BCE, 100 years

after the nirvāṇa of Buddha. The epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa has already been discussed in Chapter 3.

### **11. The Epoch of Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE)**

Theravāda, one of the earliest schools of Buddhism, was formally founded in 1765 BCE during the second Buddhist Council. The Burmese and Sri Lankan followers of Theravāda Buddhism referred to the epoch of 1765 BCE as the epoch of Jinachakka or Buddha Dharma. Maurya King Aśoka or Aśoka II ascended throne in 1547 BCE 218 years after the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism. We have already discussed this epoch in Chapter 3.

### **12. The Epoch of Mahāvira Nirvāṇa (1189 BCE)**

Mahavira was born in 1261 BCE and attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE 605 years and 5 months before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and 470 years before the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE). The epoch of Mahavira nirvāṇa has already been discussed in Chapter 4.

### **13. The Epoch of the Era of Paraśurāma (1176 BCE)**

James Princep mentions that Kerala regions followed an epoch of 1176 BCE, which derives its name from a prince, who is supposed to have reigned 1176 years before Christ.<sup>20</sup> The epoch of this era was probably the elapsed year 1925 of Kaliyuga. This era is reckoned in cycles of 1000 years. The year itself is solar, or rather sidereal, and commences when the Sun enters the sign Virgo (Kanyā Rāśi). The commencement of the 977<sup>th</sup> year of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cycle concurs with the 1<sup>st</sup> Āśvina of 1723 Śaka, i.e., 14 Sep 1800 CE.

In all probability, Kerala traditionally followed the epoch of Paraśurāma era since Rigvedic era. I have established the date of Paraśurāma I around 11177 BCE in the first volume of this book. The vernal equinox occurred around 11177 BCE when Sun entered the sign Virgo, i.e., Kanyā Saṅkrānti. This epoch was reckoned in cycles of 1000 solar years. Seemingly, a prince of the Chera dynasty of the Sangam era had revived this epoch in 1176 BCE. Thus, the third cycle of 1000 years ended in 1823 CE. North Kerala's Malayalam solar calendar follows the epoch of Kanyā Saṅkrānti. Interestingly, the epoch of Paraśurāma era is identical to the epochal year of the centennium of the Saptarṣi era. In fact,

the epoch of the later Kollam era (824 CE) was the commencement of the third cycle of 1000 years.

#### 14. The Epoch of Āguptāyika Era (950 BCE)

A set of copper plates were found in 1926 in Belgaum district of Karnataka. N Lakshmana Rao has published a transcript and translation of these plates as “Gokak Plates of Dejjā Maharaja” in *Epigraphia Indica*.<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, this copper plate grant was a donation of 50 nivartanas of land to a Jain Monk Āryanandī of Jambūkhanda Gaṇa by Sendraka King Indrananda, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dejjā Mahārāja. This Gokak grant is dated in the year 845 of Āguptāyika era. The date recorded is as follows:

“स्वस्ति । वर्धतां वर्धमानेन्दोः वर्धमानगणोदधेः, शासनं नाशितरिपोः भासुरं मोहशासनम् ॥ इत्यस्याम् अवसर्पिण्यां तीर्थकराणां चतुर्विंशतितमस्य सन्मतेः श्री वर्धमानस्य वर्धमानायाम् । आगुप्तायिकानां राज्ञाम् अष्टसु वर्षशतेषु पञ्चचत्वारिंशद् अग्रेषु गतेषु...”

“When 845 years elapsed in the years of Āguptāyika kings and in the time of Avasarpiṇī and in the spiritual lineage of 24<sup>th</sup> Tirthaṅkara Vardhamāna...”

This grant clearly refers to an epoch of Āguptāyika kings. The Palaeography of the plates clearly indicates that the epoch of the Āguptāyika kings must have commenced at least 600 years before the reign of the Gupta dynasty. Therefore, the epoch of Āguptāyika kings must have commenced at an earlier date than the epoch of the Gupta era (334 BCE). Historians concocted that this grant refers to the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. If so, it would have been mentioned as “*Āmauryāyikānām rājñām*” instead of “*Āguptāyikānām rājñām*”. The Maurya kings have never been referred to as Gupta kings. It is, therefore, totally absurd to identify Āguptāyika kings as the Maurya kings. Some historians (DC Sircar) speculated without any evidence that Āguptāyika era might have commenced from 200 BCE.

Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu I, was a king of Ujjain. Hemachandra unambiguously mentions that Chandragupta became the ruler of Ujjain 155 years after Mahāvīra-nirvāṇa. Jain sources such as *Tiloyapannati* of Yativṛṣabha (1<sup>st</sup> century BCE), *Harivaṃśa* of Jinasenāsūri

(122 CE), *Vicāraśreṇī* of Meruttuṅga (645 CE), etc., mention that Chandragupta ascended the throne in Ujjain 215 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa. Jain sources also mention that Murundas started ruling 215 years after Mahavira nirvāṇa. Meruttunga erroneously considered Murundas as Mauryas under the influence of Hemachandra. Seemingly, the date of Chandragupta mentioned by Hemachandra appears to be accurate considering the date of Bhadrabāhu I. Therefore, we can fix the date of ascension of Chandragupta of Ujjain in 1034 BCE 155 years after Mahavira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE). All Jain Paṭṭāvalīs record that Bhadrabāhu I attained nirvāṇa in 1019 BCE, 170 years after Mahāvira's nirvāṇa.

A Jain tradition related in Rajāvalikathā mentions that Chandragupta's son was Simhasena. Bhāskara, the grandson of Chandragupta, came to south and built a town named Belgola. The Himavant Theravali published in Nāgari Prachāriṇī Patrikā relates that the grandson of Chnadragupta defeated Kśemarāja, a king of Kalinga in the year 239 of Mahavira Nirvāṇa era, i.e., 950 BCE and founded a Gupta era.<sup>22</sup> Seemingly, a scribe of Himavant Theravali had mistakenly assumed Chandragupta as Chandragupta Maurya and his grandson Aśoka under the influence of Hemachandra. It is totally absurd to say that Aśoka founded an epoch of Gupta era.

Undoubtedly, the Gupta era founded by Bhāskara was the Āguptāyika era and this epoch commenced in 950 BCE. The Gokak grant refers to the epoch of 950 BCE. This epoch is very important for the Jains of South India because Jainism was introduced in South India during the period of Bhadrabāhu I and Ujjain King Chandragupta. Bhadrabāhu I had predicted a drought of 12 years and asked a group of Jain monks to proceed towards South. Chandragupta, the king of Ujjain, became the disciple of Bhadrabāhu I and accepted Jainism. He also adopted the name of Viśākhāchārya. Chandragupta handed over the reins of Ujjain to his son Simhasena and accompanied Bhadrabāhu I. Chandragupta's grandson Bhāskara was the founder of the epoch of Āguptāyika era in 950 BCE.

Historians have still puzzled for identification of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dejjā Mahārāja. Some speculated that Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Avidheya might



have been referred to as Dejjā Mahārāja. In fact, Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings were ruling in Maharashtra before the rise of Early Chālukyas. The inscriptions of Kalyani Chālukyas clearly mention that Jayasimha, the father of Raṇarāga and the grandfather of Pulakeśin I, defeated Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra, the son of Krishna and established the kingdom of Chālukyas. Undoubtedly, Krishna and Indra were early Rāṣṭrakūṭas who lived more than 250 years before Dantidurga. Evidently, Dejjā Mahārāja was one of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We know about the Sendraka kings only from the Hali inscription of Kadamba King Harivarman which refers to a Sendraka King Bhanuśakti. An inscription of Āllaśakti, the grandson of Bhānuśakti, is dated Śaka 577 (6 BCE).<sup>23</sup> An inscription of Jayaśakti, the son of Āllaśakti, is dated Śaka 602 (19 CE).<sup>24</sup> Therefore, we can easily fix the date of Bhānuśakti not earlier than 130 BCE. The Sendraka feudatory King Indrananda, son of Vijayananda was the author of the Gokak grant, which was issued in the year 845 of the Āguptāyika era, i.e., 105 BCE. Evidently, Sendrakas were the feudatories of Kadamba king and the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. When Kirtivarman I, the son of Pulakeśin I, defeated Kadambas and annexed Vanavāsī, the Sendrakas became the feudatories of early Chālukyas. Interestingly, the Merkara grant of the Ganga King Avinita dated Śaka 388 (195 BCE) refers to the region of Sendraka.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, we can conclusively fix the epoch of Āguptāyika era in 950 BCE, 239 years after the epoch of Mahavira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE). The Gokak grant of the Sendraka King Indrananda is dated in the year 845 elapsed of the Āguptāyika era. Therefore, the Gokak grant can be conclusively dated in 105 BCE.

### 15. The Epoch of the Licchavi Era of Ancient Nepal (966-965 BCE)

The Chāngū pillar inscription of the Licchavi King Mānadeva<sup>26</sup> is dated in the year 386 of an ancient era of Nepal. Interestingly, the later successors of Mānadeva I used the Sri Harsha era (457 BCE) in their inscriptions. The date recorded in the inscription of Mānadeva regularly corresponds to 16<sup>th</sup> Apr 580 BCE (*Samvat 300 80 6 Jyeṣṭhamāse Śuklapakṣe Pratipadi Rohiṇī-nakṣatre candramasi muhūrte praśaste abhijiti.....*). Thus, the epoch of the era used in the inscriptions of Mānadeva may have commenced around 966-965 BCE. It would be appropriate to name this ancient Nepali

era as “*Licchavi era.*” Evidently, an ancient system of intercalation, i.e., Pauśha-Āṣāḍha intercalation was followed by the Licchavi kings, which was based on Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa calendar. It may be noted that Mānadeva flourished before the lifetime of Sri Harsha who founded an era in 457 BCE. Historians simply assumed, without any evidence whatsoever, that Mānadeva I used the Śakānta era (78 CE).

#### **16. The Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa or Kārtikādi Vikrama Era (719 BCE)**

The era of Vikramāditya earlier known as “Kṛta” and “Mālava-gaṇa” commenced in Oct-Nov 719 BCE. The calendar of this era was Kārtikādi. The epoch of this era has already been discussed in Chapter 4.

#### **17. The Epoch of the Gāṅgeya Era (657-656 BCE)**

Many inscriptions found in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh are dated in the Gāṅgeya era. Actually, the kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty recorded the regnal year starting from the initial year of the establishment of their dynasty in their inscriptions which has been named as Gāṅgeya era by modern historians. The Eastern Gaṅgas ruled from the city of Kaliṅga. Kaliṅga deśa is well known from the Mahābhārata era. Khāravela’s Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty was reigning in Kaliṅga around the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Seventeen inscriptions of the Māṭharas of Piṭhāpura found till date indicate that the Māṭharas also ruled the Kaliṅga region. Probably, the Māṭharas reigned around the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. It is evident that the eastern Gaṅgas were the successors of the Māṭharas.

Unfortunately, as there is no direct or indirect evidence available to fix the starting regnal year of the eastern Gaṅga dynasty, we have to do so based on the solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions. These inscriptions are dated between the year 39 and the year 526. Interestingly, the Sānta Bommali grant of the time of Devendravarman dated in Gāṅgeya era 520 refers to the victorious reign of the Gaṅga and Kadamba dynasties (*Gaṅga-Kadamba-varṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsare pañca-śate vimśottare....*).<sup>27</sup> It appears that the eastern Gaṅgas and Kadambas united to fight the rise of the Chālukyas but Kīrtivarman I decisively defeated the Kadambas whereas probably the rise of the Maukhari King Isānavarman ended the rule of the eastern Gaṅgas by the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Thus, it can be concluded that

the eastern Gaᅅga dynasty flourished around the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.

Eminent historians wrongly identified the Madhukāmārᅇava of the Chicacole grant<sup>28</sup> dated in Gāᅅgeya era 526 with the later Gaᅅga King Madhukāmārᅇava mentioned in the genealogy of Vajrahasta V and Anantavarman Choᅇagaᅅga. Evidently, historians concocted this identity to cut short the chronology of the eastern Gaᅅgas and the later Gaᅅgas. Madhukāmārᅇava of the Chicacole grant and Devendravarman of the Sānta Bommali grant were the sons of Anantavarman whereas the later Gaᅅga kings Kāmārᅇava and Madhukāmārᅇava were the sons of Vajrahasta IV. Therefore, Madhukāmārᅇava of the Chicacole grant was the early Gaᅅga king and cannot be identified with the later Gaᅅga King Madhukāmārᅇava.

Eight inscriptions of the eastern Gaᅅgas mention solar eclipses and two inscriptions mention lunar eclipses. Based on verifiable details of these epigraphs and considering the end of the eastern Gaᅅga and Kadamba dynasties in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, the starting regnal year of the eastern Gaᅅga dynasty can be placed in 657-656 BCE. The calendar of Gāᅅgeya era was probably Kārttikādi.

1. **Madras plates of Indravarman:**<sup>29</sup> Lunar eclipse occurred on full moon day of Mārgaśīrᅇa month in the year 128 of Gāᅅgeya era (529-528 BCE). The date corresponds to 29 Nov 529 BCE or 17 Nov 528 BCE.
2. **Tekkali grant of Indravarman:**<sup>30</sup> Solar eclipse occurred in the year 154 of Gāᅅgeya era (503-502 BCE). The date corresponds to 21 Jun 502 BCE.
3. Lunar eclipse occurred in the year 192 of Gāᅅgeya era (465-464 BCE) before Māgha month.<sup>31</sup> The date corresponds to 11 Dec 465 BCE.
4. **Santa Bommali plates of Nandavarman:**<sup>32</sup> Solar eclipse occurred before the 5<sup>th</sup> tithi of Āᅇāᅇha (on new moon day of Jyeᅇᅇha month) in the year 221 of Gāᅅgeya era (436-435 BCE). The date corresponds to 31 May 435 BCE.

5. **Chicacole plates of Devendravarman:**<sup>33</sup> Solar eclipse occurred in the year 251 of Gāṅgeya era (407-406 BCE). The date corresponds to 22 May 407 BCE.
6. **Alamanda plates of Anantavarman II:**<sup>34</sup> Solar eclipse occurred in the year 304 of Gāṅgeya era (354-353 BCE). The date corresponds to 24 Jun 353 BCE.
7. **Musunika plates of Devendravarman III:**<sup>35</sup> Solar eclipse occurred in the year 306 of Gāṅgeya era (351-350 BCE). The date corresponds to 22 Apr 350 BCE.
8. **Chicacole plates of Satyavarman:**<sup>36</sup> Solar eclipse occurred in the year 351 of Gāṅgeya era (307-306 BCE). The date corresponds to 14 Jun 306 BCE.
9. **Tekkali plates of Anantavarman:**<sup>37</sup> Solar eclipse occurred in the year 358 of Gāṅgeya era (300-299 BCE). The date corresponds to 26 Jul 299 BCE.
10. **Cheedivalasa plates of Devendravarman:**<sup>38</sup> Solar eclipse occurred in the year 397 of Gāṅgeya era (260-259 BCE). The date corresponds to 4 Jun 259 BCE.

Thus, we can conclusively fix the epoch of the Gāṅgeya era in 657-656 BCE.

### 18. The Śaka Era (583 BCE)

According to tradition, King Śālivāhana founded an epoch of 636 BCE 2526 years after the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era, i.e., 3162 BCE. Probably, the Śaka kśatrapa Nahapāna referred to the epoch of 636 BCE in his inscriptions. The Śaka kśatrapa Caṣṭana conquered Ujjian and he was likely coronated in 583 BCE. He might have reset the epoch of Śālivāhana era (636 BCE) in 583 BCE and introduced the Chaitra Śuklādi calendar that reckoned from 20/21 Mar 583 BCE. This epoch has already been discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

### 19. The Sri Harsha Era (458-457 BCE)

This era was founded by Puṣpabhūti King Sri Harsha of Sthāṇvīśvara. According to Al Beruni, the Sri Harsha era was in vogue in Mathura and

Kanauj. He also states that there was an interval of 400 years between Sri Harsha and Vikramāditya. The Vikramāditya mentioned here was the king of Ujjain linked to the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). It is evident that the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. This era has already been discussed in Chapter 5.

## 20. The Kalachuri-Chedi Era (402 BCE)

This era was founded by the kings of Kalachuri and Chedi dynasty. The epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 402 BCE. This era has also been discussed in Chapter 5.

## 21. The Gupta Era (334 BCE)

The Gupta King Chandragupta I founded an era in 334 BCE known as the Gupta era. This era has been elaborately discussed in Chapter 4.

## 22. The Mānadeva Era of Nepal (86-85 BCE)

Sumatitantra (probably authored by a South Indian named Sumati), a popular treatise on astronomy in Nepal, is dated in the year 304 of Mānadevābda, i.e., the era of Mānadeva (304 Śri-Mānadevābda....).<sup>39</sup> The manuscript of Sahottaratantra is also dated in the year 301 of Mānadeva era (*Rājñī Śri-Mānadeve ..... varṣe caikottare'smin tritaya-śatagate*).<sup>40</sup> The Lokeśvara pedestal inscription of Patan is also dated in the year 180 of Mānadeva era (*Rājye Śri-Mānadevasya varṣe'sityuttareśate*).<sup>4</sup> Some manuscripts of Harivaṁśa and Jātakajyā also mention a Mānadeva Saṁvat confirming that a Mānadeva era was in vogue in ancient Nepal.

Some scholars propounded that the Mānadeva Saṁvat started during the reign of King Mānadeva II who founded it in Śākānta 498 (576 CE). According to some Vaṁśāvalīs, Mānadeva II ruled for 53 or 25 years between Udayadeva and Gaṇadeva. There is a controversy about the existence of Mānadeva II and quite possibly, the reference to Mānadeva II may be the result of scribal error, which has been handed down to all the Vaṁśāvalīs of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Some historians even declared that the inclusion of the name of Mānadeva II is a historical fraud. Kamal P. Malla, a proud member of the Royal Society, London, made an investigation into this so-called historical fraud.<sup>42</sup>

The main problem is that some historians assumed that the inscriptions of the Licchavi kings are dated in Śakānta era (78 CE). The inscriptions of Mānadeva I are dated in an ancient era of Nepal and the earliest inscription of Mānadeva I is dated in the year 386 (580 BCE). Thus, it may be noted that the earliest inscriptions of Nepal used an ancient Licchavi era (966-965 BCE) which was replaced by the Sri Harsha era (457 BCE) during the reign of Śivadeva and his feudatory Añśuvarman I. Undoubtedly, the Licchavi feudatory Añśuvarman I and the successors of the Licchavi King Śivadeva used the Sri Harsha era in their inscriptions. Most probably, Sri Harsha conquered Nepal around 430-429 BCE and introduced his era in Nepal. Therefore, the inscriptions of Añśuvarman I are dated from the year 29 of Sri Harsha era onwards.

Some historians ridiculously argued that Añśuvarman I just dropped the figure of hundreds since the year 529 and used only 29. A recently found Gokarṇa inscription of Añśuvarman I dated in 536 (430 BCE)<sup>43</sup> provides firm evidence that Añśuvarman I did not drop the figure of hundreds starting from the year 529. The Gokarṇa inscription was written in the intercalary Pauṣa month which also confirms that Añśuvarman I used the epoch of the ancient era that commenced around 966 BCE. Since Sri Harsha subjugated the Licchavis around 430 BCE and introduced his era (457 BCE) in Nepal, Añśuvarman I started using Sri Harsha era from the year 29 (429-428 BCE).

Undoubtedly, Mānadeva Saṁvat came into use in Nepal much later. According to Sumatitantra, Mānadeva era commenced in the 498<sup>th</sup> year of the Śaka era (583 BCE).

*Jāto Duryodhano rājā kalisandhyām pravartate ।  
Yudhiṣṭhiro Mahārājo Duryodhanastayopi vā ।  
Ubhau rājau sahasre dve varṣantu saṁpravarttati ॥  
Nandarājyam śatāṣṭaṅ ca Chandraguptastatopare ।  
Rājyam karoti tenāpi dvātrimśaccādhikam śatam ॥  
Rājā Śūdrakadevaśca Varṣa-saptābdhi cāśvinau ।  
Śakarājā tato paścād Vasu-Randhra-kritān tatha ॥  
Śeṣā yutāśca kṛtāmbarāgni 304 Śri Mānadevābda prayujyamānetāni pinda  
kali-varṣamāhuḥ ॥<sup>44</sup>*

Historians misinterpreted the compound word “*Śatāṣṭam*” and declared that it meant 800. Actually, “*Śatāṣṭam*” is a Samāhāra Dvandva compound and derived as *śatam ca aṣṭa ca = Śatāṣṭam*. In case it is a Saṅkhyā tatpuruṣa compound and derived as *Śatānām aṣṭa*, then the compound word should be “*aṣṭaśatam*”. Thus, “*Śatāṣṭam*” means 108 and it cannot be interpreted as 800. It is totally absurd to accept the reign of the Nandas for 800 years. The author of Sumatitantra states in the above verses that the Nanda dynasty ascended the throne after the completion of 2,000 years from the eve of Kaliyuga when Duryodhana and Yudhiṣṭhira were ruling. The Nandas ruled for 108 years. Thereafter, Chandragupta and his dynasty ruled for 132 years; King Śūdraka and his dynasty followed Chandragupta and ruled for 247 years; thereafter, the Śaka king ascended the throne and 498 years elapsed from the reign of the Śaka king. We need to add 304 years of the Mānadeva era to arrive at the current year of Kaliyuga, i.e., 117 BCE. There is an error of 32 years because the Śaka king was coronated in 583 BCE as conclusively proven in Chapter 2.

*Sumatitantra* clearly tells us that the Mānadeva era commenced in the year 498 of the Śaka era. Considering the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king (583 BCE), the epoch of Mānadeva Saṁvat can be placed in 86-85 BCE. *Sumatitantra* was written in the year 304 of Mānadeva Saṁvat, i.e., 217-218 CE and *Sahottaratantra* was written in the year 301 of Mānadeva Saṁvat, i.e., 214-215 CE. Thus, the epoch of the Mānadeva era can be conclusively fixed in 86-85 BCE.

### 23. The Chaitrādi Vikrama Era (57 BCE) and the Śakānta Era (78 CE)

Two major eras, i.e., the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) and the Śaka era (583 BCE) were widely in vogue in India by the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. The Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) was popular in North India whereas the Śaka era was popular in South India. The Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa or Vikrama era (719) followed the Kārttikādi calendar whereas the Śaka era (583 BCE) followed the Chaitrādi calendar.

During the first century BCE, Ujjain King Vikramāditya II defeated a Śaka king (probably, a Kidarite king) around 57 BCE and founded an era. The Indian astronomers of the first century CE felt the necessity to fix a new epoch for ayanāmśa calculations. Thus, Indian astronomers

discovered the perfect epoch in the year 78 CE when 3179 years elapsed from the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE).

All astronomical treatises written after 78 CE have adopted this epoch for formulating various methods for accurate astronomical calculations. Indian astronomers referred to this epoch as “*Śakanṛpasyānte*” meaning from the end of Śaka king or from the death of Śaka king. Though the epoch of 78 CE was introduced by the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, it was known only to learned astronomers. The common people and royal administrations used only the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Interestingly, the famous Indian astronomer Bhāskarāchārya used the epoch of “*Śakanṛpasyānte*” in his treatise *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi* for astronomical calculations but refers to the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) while mentioning the year of his birth. He states that he was born in the year 1036 from the epoch of Śaka king (*Rasa(6)-Guṇa(3)-Pūrṇa(0)-Mahī(1) sama-Śaka-nṛpa-samaye’bhavanmamotpatihī*).<sup>45</sup> Therefore, the date of birth of Bhāskarāchārya must be fixed in the year 452-453 CE and not in 1114 CE.

Thus, the Vikrama era (57 BCE) was founded by King Vikramāditya II whereas the Śakānta era (78 CE) was actually introduced by Indian astronomers. We have already discussed these epochs in Chapter 2 and 4.

#### 24. The Grahaparivṛtti Cycle (23 BCE)

According to James Princep, South Indians used a cycle of 90 years from the epoch that occurs on the expiration of the 3078<sup>th</sup> year of Kaliyuga, i.e., 23 BCE.<sup>46</sup> Portuguese Missionary Beschi has analyzed this cycle of 90 years who lived in Madurai for 40 years. The South Indian astronomers say that it is constructed of the sum of the products in days of 15 revolutions of Mars, 22 of Mercury, 11 of Jupiter, 5 of Venus, 29 of Saturn and 1 of the Sun. The years follow the ordinary solar or sidereal reckoning. This epoch known as Grahaparivṛtti cycle that commenced in 23 BCE.

#### 25. The Epoch of Bhaumakara Era (75 CE)

The copper plate inscriptions of the Bhaumakara kings of Orissa refer to an era probably founded by King Śāntikara I. The Dhauli cave inscription<sup>47</sup> mentions the era as “*Śri-Śāntikaradeva-Rājya-Sarvat 90 3*” and the Ganesha gumphā inscription<sup>48</sup> has also the expression “*Śri Śāntikara-*



*svarājyābda-chandrāṅka 91*". Unfortunately, we have no verifiable details of the dates recorded in the inscriptions of the Bhauma kings except the Bhimanagarigarh or Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevi dated in the year 160 which indicates that Tribhuvanamahādevi alias Gosvāmini, the queen of King Lalitahāra was a daughter of Western Gaṅga King Rājamalladeva. Seemingly, the grant was issued by Tribhuvanamahādevi when her father King Rājamalla II was ruling in the South. The Gaṅga King Rājamalla II reigned around Śaka 810-824, i.e., 227-241 CE. Considering the chronological error of 660 years, the epoch of the Bhaumakara era can be fixed in 75 CE based on the verifiable details of the following inscriptions:

1. The Dasapalla grant<sup>49</sup> was made in the year 198 on the occasion of Viśuva Saṅkrānti (vernal equinox) falling on a Sunday, on the 5<sup>th</sup> tithi of an unspecified month (Chaitra) when moon was in Mrgaśirā Nakśatra (*viśuva saṅkrānti pañcamyām ravidine mrgaśirā nakśatreṇa*). This date regularly corresponds to 20/21 Mar 272 CE, Viśuva Saṅkrānti, Chaitra Śukla Pañcamī, Sunday and Mrgaśirā Nakśatra.
2. The Ganjam grant<sup>50</sup> was made in the year 198 on the occasion of Devotsava-dvādaśī (Kārttika Śukla Dvādaśī) on a Wednesday when moon was in Revatī Nakśatra (*Devotsava-dvādaśyām saumyadine Revatī-nakśatreṇa*). This date regularly corresponds to 19/20 Oct 272 CE, Kārttika Śukla Dvādaśī, Revatī Nakśatra and Wednesday.
3. The Dhanachanguda plates of Śatrubhañjadeva<sup>51</sup> are dated in the year 203, Devotsava Dvādaśī, Revatī Nakśatra and Thursday. The date corresponds to 13 Oct 278 CE.
4. A grant of Vakulamahādevi<sup>52</sup> was made in the year 204 on the occasion of Viśuva Saṅkrānti, Vaiśākha Krishna Pañcamī. The date regularly corresponds to 20 Mar 279 CE.
5. The Orissa Museum grant of Nettabhañjadeva<sup>53</sup> was made in the year 213 on the occasion of Devotsava Dvādaśī, on a Monday when moon was in Revatī Nakśatra. This date regularly corresponds to 24/25 Oct 288 CE.

6. The Ganjam grant of Dandimahādevi<sup>54</sup> was issued in the year 180 on the occasion of Saṅkrānti, in the dark half Mārgaśirṣa month. The tithi is not clear in the grant though Kielhorn presumed it as the 5<sup>th</sup> day with a question mark. Most probably, the tithi was the 9<sup>th</sup> day. This date regularly corresponds to 21/22 Nov 254 CE.
7. The Shantiragrama grant of Dandimahādevi<sup>55</sup> was issued in the year 180 on the occasion of solar eclipse. The date of solar eclipse is not mentioned. A solar eclipse occurred on 4<sup>th</sup> May 254 CE and it was visible in Orissa.
8. The Arabala grant of Dandimahādevi<sup>56</sup> was issued in the year 187 (183?) on the occasion of solar eclipse that occurred on Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā. An annular solar eclipse occurred on 4<sup>th</sup> Jun 262 CE, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā and it was visible in Orissa.
9. The Pandiathar plates of Nalodbhava King Bhimasena<sup>57</sup> are dated in the year 159 (234-235 CE). This grant was issued on Māgha Krishna Dvitiyā, on the occasion of Saṅkrānti. The date corresponds to 23 Jan 235 CE.
10. The Gatarei Plate of Jayastambha<sup>58</sup> was issued in the year 100 (175 CE) on Śrāvāṇa Śukla ekādaśī, Thursday (*Saṁvat 100 Śrāvāṇa ekādaśī bṛhaspativāre*). The date regularly corresponds to 17 Jul 175 CE.
11. The Jokab plate of Jayastambha<sup>59</sup> was issued in the year 130 (204-205 CE) on Chaitra Krishna Ṣaṣṭhī, Tuesday (*Saṁvat 100 30 Chaitra vadi tithau Ṣaṣṭhī Maṅgalara*). The date regularly corresponds to 9 Mar 204 CE.
12. The Kāma-Nalinakshapur plates of Sāmantavarman<sup>60</sup> refer to the Vibhava Saṁvatsara in the year 173 (248 CE) [*Saṁvat 100 70 3 Vibhava di 5*]. The year 248 CE was indeed Vibhava Saṁvatsara.

Based on these verifiable details, we can conclusively fix the epoch of the Bhaumakara era in 75 CE. Historians have fixed the epoch of Bhaumakara era in 736 CE. Initially, the date of Arabala grant was read as 187 and identified the solar eclipse that occurred on 6<sup>th</sup> May 924 CE,

Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā but this solar eclipse was not visible in India. Therefore, the year of Arabala grant has been distorted from 187 to 183 and identified the solar eclipse that occurred on 18 Jul 920 CE but the day was Āṣāḍha Amāvāsyā and not Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā. Evidently, the epoch of 736 CE miserably fails to explain the solar eclipse referred to in the Arabala grant of Dandimahādevi.

## 26. The Epoch of Kolamba or Kollam Era (166-167 CE and 824-825 CE)

The epoch of the Kolamba or Kollam era was an important milestone in the chronological history of Kerala. Though historians believe that there is only one epoch of the Kollam era and that commenced in 824-825 CE, the verifiable astronomical details of the inscriptions indicate that there were two different epochs of the Kollam era. One epoch commenced in 166-167 CE whereas another epoch commenced in 824-825 CE.

According to the traditional story, King Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varmā of Kolamba kingdom convened a great assembly of Kerala astronomers at the city of Kollam and it was decided to adopt the new calendar starting from Simha Saṅkrānti instead of from Kanyā Saṅkrānti. There are many theories about the origin of the Kollam era.

1. According to P Shungoony Menon, Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varmā convened the great assembly in Kaliyuga year 3926 (824-825 CE).
2. According to a tradition, the epoch of Kollam era commenced with the construction of a Śiva temple in Kollam. Herman Gundert supported this traditional theory and stated that this theory backs the statement of Ibn Batuta as well.
3. Some historians speculated that the epoch of Kollam era commenced from the death of Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya in 820 CE but Ādi Śaṅkara lived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.
4. Keralolpathi mentions that Śaṅkarāchārya established Kerala anācārams or irregular customs on new Kollavarṣam at both Kollams. The Kollavarṣam of Malabar starts from Kanyā Saṅkrānti whereas the new Kollavarṣam of Travancore starts from Simha Saṅkrānti. Some scholars speculated that Śaṅkarāchārya established Kerala anācārams in 824 CE. They

also invented a chronogram “Ācāryavāgabhedaya” = 0 6 1 4 3 4 1 and concocted that it is ahargana of 1434160 days in Kali epoch corresponding to 25<sup>th</sup> Sep 824 CE. First of all, there is no evidence to prove that Ādi Śaṅkara ever established Kerala anācārams. Moreover, modern scholars believe that Ādi Śaṅkara died in 820 CE. The details of Kerala anācārams were mentioned for the first time in Śaṅkara Smṛti. In all probability, Keralaolpathi mentions that a Śaṅkarāchārya of Sringeri established Kerala anācārams on the beginning of a new year in the Kollam era. Therefore, the epoch of the Kollam era has nothing to do with the introduction of Kerala anācārams.

5. Some scholars have concocted that the Kollam era originally followed the calendar of the Saptarṣi era and commenced from 824 CE.
6. Some historians have speculated that the Kollam era came into existence from the date of founding of the towns, Kurakkeni Kollam in the south and Pantalayani Kollam in the north. The words “*Kollam Tonri*” in inscriptions can only be interpreted as “*Kollam came into existence.*”
7. The origin of the Kollam era is also associated with the Onam festival of Kerala. But Onam was celebrated in Kerala even in the early Sangam age.

According to the traditional historical accounts of Kerala, the Kollam era was founded by King Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varmā at his capital city of Kollam after consultations with his court astronomers. If we consider the epoch of the Kollam era around 824-825 CE, the following inconsistencies cannot be explained.

- According to the chronology of Kerala as given in modern textbooks, King Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varmā of Kulaśekhara dynasty did not reign in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Historians identified Rājaśekhara Varmā (820-844 CE), the father of Sthāṇu Ravi Varmā (844-885 CE) as the founder of the Kollam era, which is contrary to the traditional account.
- Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varmā was the king of Kollam city whereas Rājaśekhara Varmā was the King of Mahodayapuram.

- Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa was the court astronomer of King Sthāṇu Ravi Varmā. He wrote “*Laghubhāskarīyavivarāṇa*” a commentary on *Laghubhāskarīyam* in 869 CE (Śakānta 791). He did not mention anything about the Kollam era.
- The three inscriptions found in Travancore state are dated in the year 365, 368 and 622. These inscriptions give the verifiable details of the date which cannot be explained in the epoch of 824-825 CE.

### The Early Epoch of Kolamba Era (166-167 CE)

Traditionally, the Kolamba kingdom was under the control of the Kulaśekhara dynasty since ancient times. Seemingly, King Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varmā was ruling in Kollam in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. He convened a council of astronomers in 166 CE and introduced a new calendar that commenced from Simha Saṅkrānti. Kerala traditionally celebrated “*Onam*” festival in the month of Chingham but the reckoning of a year commenced from Kanyā Saṅkrānti. It appears that King Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varmā wanted to begin the calendar year from the celebrations of Onam and introduced the calendar from Simha Saṅkrānti. Thus, this epoch of Simha Saṅkrānti calendar commenced on 24<sup>th</sup> Jul 166 CE, 1<sup>st</sup> day of Chingham month of solar calendar.

Let us Examine the epigraphic evidence considering the epoch of 166-167 CE.

- **Inscription 1:** Sun was in Dhanus (Sagittarius) and Jupiter was in Cancer in the year of Mārtāṇḍa, i.e., 365. Āditya Varmā, the bearer of the umbrella of Koḍa Mārtāṇḍa was the king of Kolamba.<sup>61</sup> Considering the epoch of 166-167 CE, the 365<sup>th</sup> elapsed year was 531-532 CE. The date regularly corresponds to Nov-Dec 531 CE. If the epoch commenced in 824-825 CE, the 365<sup>th</sup> year of the Kollam era would be 1189-1190 CE but Jupiter was not in Cancer. Jupiter entered cancer only in 1195 CE.
- **Inscription 2:** Sun was in Taurus and Jupiter was in Virgo in the year 368.<sup>62</sup> Kerala Varmā Tituvadi was the king of Kollam. Considering the epoch of 166-167 CE, the 368<sup>th</sup> year was 533-534 CE. The date regularly corresponds to Apr-May 534 CE.

If the epoch commenced in 824-825 CE, the 368<sup>th</sup> year of the Kollam era would be 1192-1193 CE but Jupiter was not in Virgo. Jupiter entered Virgo only in 1198 CE.

- **Inscription 3:** “In Kollam year 622, when Jupiter was in Kumbham and Sun was in Mithuna...”<sup>63</sup> Considering the epoch of 166-167 CE, the 622<sup>nd</sup> year was 787-788 CE. The date regularly corresponds to 25<sup>th</sup> May 788 CE. If the epoch commenced in 824-825 CE, the 622<sup>nd</sup> year of the Kollam era would be 1446-1447 CE but Jupiter was not in Kumbha Rāśi. Jupiter entered Kumbha Rasi only in 1452 CE.

Evidently, the epoch of 166-167 CE was in vogue in Kollam which was introduced by King Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varmā.

### **The Epoch of Kollam Era (824-825 CE)**

Traditionally, ancient Kerala followed the epoch of the era of Paraśurāma which was almost identical to the epoch of the Saptarṣi calendar. Rishi Paraśurāma I lived around 11177 BCE as already explained in my book titled “*The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahabharata*”. Vernal equinox used to occur in Kanyā Rāśi around 11177 BCE. This may be the origin of the Kanyā Saṅkrānti calendar of ancient Kerala. The calendar was probably reset after every 1000 solar years. In all probability, a prince of the Kulaśekhara dynasty had reset the calendar of Paraśurāma era in 1176 BCE as mentioned by James Princep. Interestingly, ten thousand years of the Paraśurāma era have been elapsed by 1176 BCE.

One inscription found in Travancore state is dated in the year 1701 which clearly refers to the epoch of 1176 BCE.<sup>64</sup> This inscription refers to the death of Tomma Rajava on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of 2<sup>nd</sup> month of the year 1701. Considering the epoch of 1176 BCE, this inscription can be conclusively dated in 525 CE. Evidently, Travancore state followed the epoch of the Paraśurāma era from 1176 BCE which was reset in 824 CE considering the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle of 1000 years. The third cycle of 1000 years commenced in 824 CE. Thus, the year 824-825 CE became the epoch of the Kollam era.

Interestingly, an inscription found in the Vishnu Temple of Tirukkakkaraï village of Ernakulam district is dated in the year 3706.<sup>65</sup> The inscription reads: *“In the month of Kanni of the year opposite to the 3705 which was current after the consecration of the God at Tirukkakkaraï and which was the year in which Jupiter stood in Meṣa.....”* Evidently, this inscription indicates that the Vishnu Temple of Tirukkakkaraï was built in 3176 BCE. The year 3705 elapsed in 528 CE and the year 3706 was current in 528-529 CE. The date regularly corresponds to Aug/Sep 528 CE when Sun was in Virgo (Kanyā Rāṣi) and Jupiter was in Aries (Meṣa Rāṣi).

### 27. The Nepali Saṁvat (218 CE) and the Newari Saṁvat (879-880 CE)

There is a difference of 801 years between the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Nepali Saṁvat. Sumatītantra indicated an epoch of the year 304 of Mānadeva era (86-85 BCE) which seems to be the epoch of Nepali Saṁvat. The Parvatīya Vaṁśāvalī tells us that Nānyadeva conquered Nepal in the Śaka year 811 Śrāvaṇa śudi 7 or in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Nepali Saṁvat.<sup>66</sup> Evidently, the epoch of Nepali Saṁvat commenced in 218 CE. Seemingly, Sumatītantra introduced the epoch of 218 CE which came to be known as Nepali Saṁvat. Another epoch called *“Newari”* commenced in 879-880 CE when the epochs of Śaka (583 BCE) and Śakānta (78 CE) have been assumed as identical.

Historians concluded that Nepali and Newari eras are identical and commenced in Śaka 801, i.e., 879-880 CE. Since historians brought forward the date of Mānadeva by more than 1000 years and wrongly believed that the epoch of Sri Harsha era commenced in 606 CE, they had no other option to fix the chronology of Licchavi dynasty around 400 CE to 877 CE. Therefore, it is now impossible to place Nānyadeva in 890 CE (Śaka 811). Thus, historians arbitrarily fixed the date of Nānyadeva around 1097 CE despite number of glaring inconsistencies in the chronology. In reality, the epoch of Nepali Saṁvat and the epoch of Newari Saṁvat are not identical. The Nepali Saṁvat commenced in 218 CE whereas the Newari era commenced in 879-880 CE. We discuss these eras in detail in the context of the chronology of Nepal in Chapter 26.

### 28. The Valabhi Era (319 CE)

This era was in use in Kathiawad and the neighbourhood of Gujarat and commenced in 319 CE. Al Beruni mentions that the epoch of the Valabhi

era falls 241 years after the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE). He also elaborated the method of calculating this era as used by Indians. According to him, first put down the year of Śakānta era and then subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 ( $216 + 25 = 241$ ) and the remainder is the year of the Valabhi era.<sup>67</sup>

Western historians and their followers distorted the statement of Al Beruni and concocted the fiction that the Valabhi and Gupta eras commenced from the same epoch, i.e., 319 CE. In reality, the Gupta era commenced in 334 BCE whereas the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE. The epoch of Valabhi era has already been discussed elaborately in Chapter 5.

### 29. The Chālukya Vikrama Saṁvat (415-416 CE)

Chālukya King Vikramāditya IV also known as Tribhuvanamalla and Permadideva ascended the throne in 415-416 CE. His capital was the city of Kalyana and he reigned for 50 years. He founded an era in 415-416 CE, Anala or Nala Saṁvatsara (50<sup>th</sup> year in the cycle of 60 years) which came to be known as the Chālukya Vikrama Saṁvat. More than 100 inscriptions of the Chālukyas refer to Chālukya Vikrama Saṁvat (CV) starting from the year 2 to the year 149? (179?) out of which the following inscriptions provide verifiable details of solar eclipses.

		Date of eclipse	Reference
<b>Solar eclipses</b>			
1.	CV 17, Śaka 1015, Śrimukha saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.	29 Sep 433 CE	SII, IX, No. 163
2.	CV 33 (32?), Śaka 1031, Sarvadhari (Sarvajit?) saṁvatsara, Āṣāḍha Amāvāsyā, Wednesday, Solar eclipse.	28/29 Jun 447 CE	SII, XX, No. 70
3.	CV 44, Śaka 1042, Vikāri saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, Sunday, Solar eclipse.	28 May 458 CE	SII, IX, No. 197
4.	CV 45, Śaka 1042, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.	28 May 458 CE	SII, XXVII, No. 23



- |     |   |  |                        |
|-----|---|--|------------------------|
| 5.  | CV 46, Śaka 1044, Śarvarī saṁvatsara, Āśvayuja Amāvāsyā, Monday, Solar eclipse.                         | 20 Sep 461 CE  | SII, XX, No. 80        |
| 6.  | CV 46, Plava Saṁvatsara, Talira Amāvāsyā, Sunday, Solar eclipse.  | 20 Sep 461 CE  | SII, IX, No. 201       |
| 7.  | CV 47, Plava Saṁvatsara, Phālguna Amāvāsyā, Saṅkrānti, Solar eclipse.                                   | 17 Mar 462 CE and Meṣa Saṅkrānti   | SII, XX, No. 81        |
| 8.  | CV 47, Śaka 1045, Chaitra Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.  | 17 Mar 462 CE  | SII, XXVII, No. 21     |
| 9.  | Śaka 1045, Śubhakarī Saṁvatsara, ... Amāvāsyā, Friday, Solar eclipse.                                   | 17 Mar 462 CE  | SII, XX, No. 82        |
| 10. | CV 50, Śaka 1048, Viśvāvasu saṁvatsara, Māgha Śuddha Pratipadā (Pauṣa Amāvāsyā), Friday, Solar eclipse. | 13 Jan 465 CE (Eclipse was visible around 10:48 hrs to 12:27 hrs. Amāvāsyā ended around 11:53 hrs and Māgha Pratipadā started at the same time.) | SII, IX, No. 210       |
| 11. | CV 51, Śaka 1048, Parābhava saṁvatsara, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā, Sunday, Solar eclipse.                        | 19 May 467 CE  | SII, IX, No. 211 & 212 |
| 12. | CV 54, Śaka 1052, Sādhāraṇa Saṁvatsara, Kārttika Śuddha Pratipadā, Thursday?, Solar eclipse.            | 21 Oct 469 CE  | EC, XII, Tiptur, 104   |
| 13. | CV 55, Śaka 1053, Virodhikṛt Saṁvatsara, Āśvija Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.                                | 21 Oct 469 CE  | EC, VII, Shikarpur, 87 |
| 14. | CV 58, Śaka 1056, Pramādi saṁvatsara, Puṣya Amāvāsyā, Uttarāyaṇa, Vyatipāta, Sunday, Solar eclipse.     | 4 Jan 474 CE   | SII, IX, No. 228       |

- |     |   |               |                            |
|-----|---|---------------|----------------------------|
| 15. | CV 149 (179?), Śarvarī Saṁvatsara, Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti, Solar eclipse, Vyatipāta Yoga. | 16 Jan 595 CE | EC, VII,<br>Shimoga,<br>40 |
|-----|---|---------------|----------------------------|

**Lunar eclipses**

- |    |  |               |   |
|----|--|---------------|---|
| 1. | CV 2, Piṅgala Saṁvatsara, Māgha Pūrṇimā, Monday? lunar eclipse.            | 8 Jan 418 CE  | EC, VII,<br>Shikarpur, 135                |
| 2. | CV 13, Vibhava Saṁvatsara, Pauṣa Krishna Pratipadā, Sunday, lunar eclipse. | 18 Jan 428 CE | EC, VIII,<br>Sorab, 388                   |
| 3. | CV 25, Vikrama Saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa Pūrṇimā, Sunday, lunar eclipse.      | 6 Dec 439 CE  | EC, XI,<br>Davanagere,<br>139             |
| 4. | CV 31, Vyaya Saṁvatsara, Māgha Pūrṇimā, Monday, lunar eclipse.             | 29 Jan 446 CE | Inscriptions of<br>Solapur,<br>3, pp. 4-6 |
| 5. | CV 39, Jaya Saṁvatsara, Chaitra Pūrṇimā, Sunday, lunar eclipse.            | 28 Feb 454 CE | EC, VII,<br>Shikarpur, 137                |
| 6. | CV 52, Plavanga Saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā, Monday, lunar eclipse.       | 3 Jun 467 CE  | EC, VII,<br>Shimoga, 99                   |

**Following references of solar and lunar eclipses need to be verified**

- |    |   |               |                              |
|----|---|---------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | CV 4, Siddhārthi Saṁvatsara, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.                           | ?             | SII, IX, No.<br>145          |
| 2. | CV 4, Siddharthi Saṁvatsara, Māgha Amāvāsyā, Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti, Solar eclipse.       | ?             | EC, VII,<br>Shikarpur, 293   |
| 3. | CV 9, Śubhakṛt Saṁvatsara, Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti, Solar Eclipse                          | 6 Mar 425 CE? | EC, VII,<br>Shikarpur, 94    |
| 4. | CV 15, Pramādi Saṁvatsara, Āśvayuja Amāvāsyā, Sunday, Solar Eclipse.                    | ?             | SII, IX,<br>No.158           |
| 5. | CV 25, Pramādi Saṁvatsara, Pauṣa Amāvāsyā, Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkrānti, Sunday, Solar eclipse. | ?             | EC, XI,<br>Davanagere,<br>80 |

6.	CV 31, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Chaitra Amāvāsya, Viṣu-saṅkramaṇa, Solar eclipse.	?	SII, IX, No.118
7.	CV 32, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Chaitra Amāvāsya, Monday, Solar eclipse.	?	SII, XX, No. 67
8.	CV 32, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Āśvayuja Amāvāsya, Wednesday, Solar eclipse.	?	SII, XX, No. 68
9.	CV 32, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa Amāvāsya, Monday, Solar eclipse.	?	SII, IX, No. 173
10.	CV 33, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa Amāvāsya, Monday, Solar eclipse.	?	SII, XX, No. 69
11.	CV 37, Nandana Saṁvatsara, Chaitra Amāvāsya, Sunday, Solar eclipse.	?	SII, IX, No.189
12.	CV 37, Nandana Saṁvatsara, Phālguna Amāvāsya, Solar eclipse.	?	EC, XI, Davanagere, 149
13.	CV 49, Krodhi Saṁvatsara, Chaitra Amāvāsya, Monday, Solar eclipse.	?	EC, XI, Davanagere, 122
14.	CV 31, Vyaya Saṁvatsara, Kārttika Pūrṇimā, Sunday, lunar eclipse	?	Insr. of Solapur, 2, pp. 2-3
15.	CV 41, Hevilambi Saṁvatsara, Chaitra Pūrṇimā, Sunday, lunar eclipse.	?	EC, VII, Shikarpur, 316

Some of the inscriptions of Chālukyas refer to the year in both the epochs of Śaka era (583 BCE) and Chālukya Vikrama era. Thus, it can be conclusively established that the epoch of Chālukya Vikrama era commenced in 415-416 CE. The solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in 21 inscriptions also validate the epoch of Chālukya Vikrama era. However, as pointed above, the eclipses mentioned in 15 inscriptions cannot be

explained in the epoch of 415-416 CE. There is a genuine need of further research to re-examine these 15 inscriptions.

### 30. The Lakśmaṇasena Saṁvat (445 CE) and Lakśmaṇasena Atitarājya Saṁvat (458 CE)

Lakśmaṇasena was the most illustrious king of the Sena dynasty, the dynasty which ruled Bengal and Bihar during the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Edilpur grant of the time of Ballālasena is probably dated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era 1136 (417 CE) as claimed by some sources.<sup>68</sup> Ballālasena was the father of Lakśmaṇasena. Interestingly, the Bisapi grant of Śivasimhadeva<sup>69</sup> is dated in the 293<sup>rd</sup> year of Lakśmaṇasena era, in the year 1455 elapsed of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and in the elapsed year 1321 of Śaka era (583 BCE). This grant was issued in favour of the poet Vidyāpati Śarmā on the 7<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa month, i.e., 7<sup>th</sup> Jul 737 CE, Thursday (*La sam 293 Srāvaṇa Śudi 7 Gurau.... Abde Lakśmaṇasena-bhūpati-mate vahni-graha-dvyankite, Māse Srāvaṇasamjñake munitithau pakṣe avalakṣe gurau..... Sana 807, Saṁvat 1455 Śāke 1321*). Thus, the epoch of the Lakśmaṇasena era commenced in 445 CE and the calendar was Chaitrādi. Interestingly, the Bisapi grant is also dated in the Hijrah year 807 considering the epoch of Hijrah in 44 BCE (29 Apr 44 BCE). My book titled “*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*” may be referred to for further details on the epoch of the Hijrah era.

The Tilakeshwar temple inscription of Darbhanga refers to the year 212 of Lakśmaṇasena era, i.e., 656-657 CE. This inscription was written on the 7<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa month, Svāti Nakṣatra, Guruvāra (“*abde netra-Śaśāṅka-pakṣa-gaṇite (212) Śri-Lakśmaṇa-kṣmāpater Māsi Śrāvaṇa-samjñake munitithau Svātyām gurau śobhane, Karmāditya-sumantriṇeha vihitā Saubhāgyadevyājñayā*”). The date regularly corresponds to 3<sup>rd</sup> Jul 656 CE. A manuscript of Madhusūdana’s Kaṅṭhakoddhāra written in Maithili characters refers to the year 491 of Lakśmaṇasena era, i.e., 936-937 CE. Seemingly, Madhusūdana wrote Kaṅṭhakoddhāra on 7<sup>th</sup> day of Phālguna month, Sunday (*Chakre Rāmakanīyaso avanipateḥ Śītāñśu-Nandāmbudhau (491) aṅke Phālguna-saptamī Ravidine Gaṅgā-Gaṇeshārcakaḥ...*). The date regularly

corresponds to 2<sup>nd</sup> Mar 936 CE. A manuscript of Narapatijayacharyā Tikā found in Nepal is dated Śaka 1536 and Lakśmaṇasena Samvat 494.

Evidently, the Bisapi grant is the strongest epigraphic evidence for calculating the epoch of the Lakśmaṇasena era and we can conclusively fix the epoch of the Lakśmaṇasena era in 445 CE. One inscription on the base of the image of goddess Chandī found in Dhākā reads: “*Śrimallakśmaṇasena devasya Sam 3...*”. Thus, these inscriptions unambiguously refer to the epoch that commenced during the reign of King Lakśmaṇasena.

There are some inscriptions and manuscripts which clearly refer to the epoch the end of the reign of Lakśmaṇasena. A manuscript of the Smṛtitattvāmṛta is dated in “*Laksh: Sam: 505 = Śaka Sam: 1546*”. A manuscript of Bhavadatta’s commentary on the “*Śiṣupālavadhā*” is dated in La Sam 512, Śakābdaḥ 1552.<sup>70</sup> These manuscripts indicate the commencement of the epoch of Lakśmaṇasena era in 458 CE. Two inscriptions of the time of King Aśokachalla are dated in the year 51 and in the year 74 which refer to the epoch of the end of the reign of Lakśmaṇasena.<sup>71</sup> It is also a fact that the reckoning of the Lakśmaṇasena era was calculated differently in different places. Evidently, there were two epochs of Lakśmaṇasena era. One epoch might have commenced from the first regnal year of king Lakśmaṇasena in the new capital city of Lakśmaṇāvati, i.e., 445 CE whereas another epoch commenced from the end of the reign of King Lakśmaṇasena, i.e., 458 CE. The inscription dated in the year 74 refers to the tithi as Vaiśākha Krishna Dvādaśī, Guruvāra which regularly corresponds to 16 May 532 CE considering the epoch of the Lakśmaṇasena era in 458 CE. The reference “*Lakśmaṇasenasya atītārājye*” clearly informs us that one epoch undoubtedly commenced from the end of the reign of Lakśmaṇasena. Seemingly, King Lakśmaṇasena died in 458 CE.

According to the author of Samaya-Prakāśa, King Ballālasena wrote Dānasāgara in Śaka 1011 (428 CE). Two later manuscripts of Dānasāgara indicate that Ballālasena wrote Dānasāgara in Śaka 1091. A manuscript of Adbhutasāgara, another treatise written by Ballālasena mentions that Ballālasena started writing of Adbhutasāgara in Śaka

1090 (*kha-nava-khendvabde ārebhe Adbhutasāgaram*) whereas another manuscript of Adbhutasāgara indicates the year 1089 of the Śaka era (*Śāke navāṣṭakhendvākhye ārebhe Adbhutasāgaram*). RD Banerji has confirmed that these verses are absent in the old manuscripts of Dānasāgara, available in the library of the Mahārāja of Pāthuriāghāta. Similarly, an old manuscript of Adbhutasāgara available in the India Office collection does not contain these verses.<sup>72</sup> Evidently, these verses referring to the Śaka year in Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara are later interpolations. Therefore, the date of Dānasāgara given by the author of Samaya-Prakāśa appears to be authentic because it can be reconciled with the epigraphic evidence.

Śridharadāsa, son of Vatudāsa wrote Sadukti Karaṇāmṛta in the year 1127 of Śaka era and in the 27<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Lakśmaṇasena. Śridharadāsa himself was a mahā-māṇḍalika under the kingship of Lakśmaṇasena. He selected verses written by 500 Sanskrit poets and compiled “*Sadukti Karaṇāmṛta*”. We will discuss the Śaka year mentioned in Sadukti Karaṇāmṛta in the context of the chronology of Bengal in Chapter 25.

Kielhorn had opined that the epoch of the Lakśmaṇasena era commenced in 1119 CE. Babu Nagendranath Vasu propounded that Ballālasena founded an era on the occasion of the birth of his son Lakśmaṇasena.<sup>73</sup> According to Laghubhārata, Ballālasena was away fighting in Mithilā when it was rumoured that he was dead. At that time, Lakśmaṇasena was born at Vikramapura. Eminent historians simply dubbed the Bisapi grant spurious because it ran contrary to their distorted chronology and they ridiculously assumed the epoch as the birth of Lakśmaṇasena without any credible evidence.

As discussed above, there were two epochs of Lakśmaṇasena era. The epoch of Lakśmaṇasena Saṁvat might have commenced from the first regnal year of king Lakśmaṇasena in the new capital city of Lakśmaṇāvati, i.e., 445 CE whereas the epoch of Lakśmaṇasena Atītarājya Saṁvat commenced from the end of the reign of King Lakśmaṇasena, i.e., 458 CE.

### 31. The Simha Saṁvat (450-451 CE) and the Śiva Simha Saṁvat (1109 CE or 1113 CE)

The Chaulukya King Jayasimha Siddharāja (433-480 CE) founded this era in 450-451 CE and the calendar was probably Kārttikādi. Thus, the epoch of Simha Saṁvat commenced on 22<sup>nd</sup> Sep 450 CE. The Mangrol inscription<sup>74</sup> of the time of the Chaulukya King Kumārapāla is dated on the 13<sup>th</sup> tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvina month in KV 1202 and Simha era 32, i.e., 15<sup>th</sup> Oct 483 CE. A grant of Bhīmadeva II<sup>75</sup> is dated on the 11<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month in Simha era 93 and on the occasion of Meṣa saṅkrānti, i.e., 21<sup>st</sup> Mar 544 CE. Another grant of Bhīmadeva II<sup>76</sup> is dated on the 14<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa month in KV 1266 and Simha era 96, i.e., 22<sup>nd</sup> Nov 546 CE. It is, therefore, evident that the reckoning of the Simha era started from 450-451 CE.

Two later inscriptions also refer to Simha Saṁvat which indicates that another Simha era was founded in 1109 CE or 1113 CE. The Junagarh inscription is dated in the year 850 of the Valabhi era and in the year 60 of the Simha era.<sup>77</sup> The Veraval inscription is dated in the year 1320 of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era, in the year 945 of the Valabhi era and in the year 151 of the Simha era.<sup>78</sup> Evidently, the Junagarh inscription indicates the epoch of 1109 CE whereas the Veraval inscription considered the epoch of 1113 CE. The inscriptions of the Chaulukya kings used only the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). The Valabhi era came into use much later. Therefore, the Junagarh and Veraval inscriptions belong to later kings of Anhilwad and the Simha Saṁvat used in these inscriptions is different from the Simha Saṁvat used in the Mangrol inscription and the two grants of Bhīmadeva II.

The old Simha era was founded in 450-451 CE by the Chaulukya King Jayasimha Siddharāja whereas another Simha era commenced in 1109 CE or 1113 CE. Undoubtedly, the Simha era referred to in the Junagarh and Veraval inscriptions is the Śiva-Simha era which was established by the Gohils in the island of Div as stated by Col James Tod.<sup>79</sup>

### 32. The Bhātika Saṁvat (623-624 CE)

Bhatti Rajputs are the descendants of the Yadu dynasty of Sri Krishna. The early history of Bhatti Rajputs begins from the reign of Raja Gaj, son of Subāhu and grandson of Bahubal. Raja Gaj founded the city of Gajani. According to Yadu-Bhatti annals, Raja Gaj defeated the Mlecchā army of Farid Shah Mamrez, king of Khurasan in the year 3008 of Yudhiṣṭhira Saṁvat (3162 BCE), i.e., 154 BCE on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of Vaiśākha month, Rohiṇī Nakśatra. The date regularly corresponds to 17<sup>th</sup> Apr 154 BCE. Bhatti Rajput King Shalibahan was the son of Raja Gaj. Probably, Mahārāja Bhatti mentioned in the Dhule plate dated in the year 73 belonged to the clan of Bhatti Rajputs.<sup>80</sup>

Seemingly, Raja Bhatti II conquered fourteen princes and re-established Bhatti kingdom in Jaisalmer and founded the epoch of Bhātika era in 623 CE. Probably, the inscriptions of Mahārāja Devagana are the earliest which are dated in the Bhātika era. The plate of Mahārāja Bhavihit is dated in the year 48 (671 CE) and the plate of Mahārāja Babhat is dated in the year 83 (706 CE). An inscription on a Buddhist relic casket has been found having mention of the year 127 of Kāṭhika era. Seemingly, it was Bhātika era and not Kāṭhika era. The calendar of Bhātika era was Chaitra Śuklādi. The following inscriptions dated in Bhātika era give the dates with weekdays which can be verified.<sup>81</sup>

#### In CE

- |   |   |                |
|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | The inscription of Lodhrava is dated Bhātika Saṁvat 534, Kārttika Badi 2 and Monday. The year was 1156-1157 CE.   | 1 Nov 1156 CE  |
| 2 | The inscription on a Govardhana about 10 miles from Jaisalmer is dated Bhātika 539, Bhādrapada śudi 10 and Sunday. The year was 1161-1162 CE.   | 30 Aug 1161 CE |
| 3 | Three inscriptions on memorial pillars near Gogākitalāi are dated Bhātika 685, Aṣāḍha-badi 3 and Thursday. The year was 1307-1308 CE.   | 18 Jun 1307 CE |
| 4 | Two inscriptions on the pedestal of memorial slabs in the Jaisalmer fort are dated Bhātika 691, Pauṣa Badi 11 and Thursday. These inscriptions belonged to the time of Bhatti King Mularājadeva. The year was 1313-1314 CE. <sup>82</sup> | 13 Jan 1314 CE |



- |    |   |                |
|----|---|----------------|
| 6  | An inscriptions on the pedestal of memorial slabs in the Jaisalmer fort is dated Bhātika 698, Aṣāḍha śudi 9 and Thursday. The year was 1320-1321 CE. <sup>83</sup>  | 15 Jun 1320 CE |
| 7  | The Jaisalmer Vishnu temple inscription and three inscriptions on memorial tables at Jaisalmer fort are dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1494 current, Bhātika Saṁvat 813, Māgha śudi 6, Friday and Aśvinī Nakśatra. The year was 1435-1436 CE. | 23 Jan 1436 CE |
| 8  | An inscription on a slab built into the wall of Vyasonki Baithak in the Jaisalmer fort is dated Vikrama 1494, Bhātika 813, Māgha śudi 10 and Wednesday. The year was 1435-1436 CE   | 28 Jan 1436 CE |
| 9  | The Mahādeva Temple inscription is dated Vikrama 1673 elapsed, Śaka 1538, Bhātika 993, Uttarāyaṇa in Mārgaśirṣa month. The year was 1615-1616 CE.   | 31 Dec 1615 CE |
| 10 | An inscription on a pillar near Isarlālji's tank is dated in Vikrama 1673, Śaka 1538, Bhātika 993, Māgha śudi 5 and Friday. The year was 1615-1616 CE.  | 12 Feb 1616 CE |

The verifiable details of ten inscriptions dated in Bhātika era clearly indicate that the epoch of the Bhātika era commenced in 623 CE on Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā.

### 33. The Bengali Saṁvat (593 CE), the Vilayati Era and the Amlī Era (592-593 CE)

An era named “Bongābdo” or Bengali Saṁvat is used in Bengal. The epoch of Bengali Saṁvat commenced on 8<sup>th</sup> Apr 593 CE, Sunday and the calendar is Vaiśākhādi. The epoch of Bengali calendar is often attributed to King Śaśāṅka but his inscription is dated in the year 300 of the Gupta era (334 BCE). Thus, King Śaśāṅka flourished in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE and not around 593 CE. In all probability, Bengali and Maithili astronomers selected the epoch of 8<sup>th</sup> Apr 593 CE, Sunday to implement the calendar of Sūrya Siddhānta. Though they have adopted Sūrya Siddhānta, preferred to follow the traditional Vaiśākhādi calendar instead of the Chaitrādi calendar of the Śakānta era (78 CE).

Seemingly, numerous Saṁvats came into practice in Bengal in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Apart from the famous Lakṣmaṇasena Saṁvat, the Govindapāladeva Saṁvat also came in vogue. The Vishnupāda temple inscription indicates that Govindapāladeva came to the throne about the year 501 CE because his 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year was equivalent to Vikrama Saṁvat 1232. A manuscript is dated in the 37<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Govindapāladeva. The Belāva copper plate of Bhojavarman is dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Śrīmad Bhojavarmadevapādiya Saṁvat. In all probability, the epoch of Bengali Saṁvat (593-594 CE) was probably the first regnal year of King Daśarathadeva. According to the genealogical account given by Hari Mishra, a king named Danujamādhava succeeded the Sena dynasty. The Adāvādi copper plate of Daśarathadeva refers to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Arirāja Danujamādhava Daśarathadeva*. This plate was issued from Vikramapura and dated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> regnal year of Daśarathadeva. Some coins found in Bengal are dated in Śaka 1339 and refer to King Danujamardana. In all probability, either the epoch of Bengali Saṁvat commenced from the first regnal year of King Daśarathadeva or Bengali astronomers selected the epoch of 593 CE to introduce the calendrical scheme of Sūrya Siddhānta.

Interestingly, Abul Fazal records that a hairy comet appeared in the Solar Hijrah year 662 (593 CE), when the sun was in the Sign Leo. On that night there was a lunar eclipse to the extent of eleven digits 11/12. It passed to the countries of Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kāshghār, Farghāna, Transoxiana (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan) and Khurāsān, and was visible for eighty-five days. Japanese medieval documents (Genpei Josuiki) record the observation of a comet in 593 CE. According to Abul Fazl, the comet appeared on 17<sup>th</sup> Aug 593 CE and was visible up to 10<sup>th</sup> Nov 593 CE. Sun was in the Sign Leo around 23 Jul – 22<sup>nd</sup> Aug 593 CE and a total lunar eclipse occurred on 17<sup>th</sup> Aug 593 CE. The Japanese sources mention that the comet appeared around 10<sup>th</sup> Dec 593 CE and was visible at least up to 26<sup>th</sup> Jan 594 CE. Interestingly, Abul Fazal mentions that for a long time people reckoned their years and months from the epoch of this comet. The Vilayati era of Bengal reckons from Kanyā-Saṅkrānti in the year 592-593 CE. The Amlī era of Orissa also follows the epoch of 592-593 CE but it reckons from Bhādrapada

Śukla Dvādaśī because Kanyā Saṅkrānti took place on Bhādrapada Śukla Dvādaśī in 592 CE, i.e., 25/26 Aug 592 CE. According to SB Dikshit, the Amlī era commences from the birthday of King Indradyumna of Vedic era.

#### **34. The Fasali Era (69-68 BCE)**

During the reign of Akbar, the Fasali calendar was introduced by Indianising the lunar Hijrah calendar. This Fasali calendar was lunisolar and Pūrṇimānta and it commenced from Aśvina Krishna Pratipadā. Abul Fazal used the epoch of Fasali or lunisolar Hijrah era that commenced in 69-68 BCE. I have discussed this epoch in detail in Chapter 2 of my book titled “*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*” Historians have mistakenly assumed the epoch of Fasali era around 593-594 CE.

#### **35. The Tripura Era (590 CE)**

The Tripura era was prevalent in the kingdom of Tripura and it commenced three years ahead of the epoch of Bengali era (593 CE). Thus, the Tripura era reckoned from 590 CE. According to traditional legends, the Tripura era marks the conquest of Bengal by Hamtor Fa, the 118<sup>th</sup> king.

#### **36. The Māgi or Magwe Era (638 CE)**

The Māgi era was prevalent in the district of Chittagong. This era is similar to the Bengali era but it starts 45 years after the epoch of Bengali era. Thus, the epoch of Māgi era commenced in 638 CE. Most probably, the so-called Burmese era (638 CE) is identical with the epoch of Magi or Magwe era.

#### **37. The Malla Era (694 CE)**

The Malla era was in vogue in the state of the Malla rulers of Bishnupur in Bankana district of West Bengal. The Malla era commenced in 694 CE 101 years after the epoch of Bengali era.

#### **38. The Mohnyin Era (1435 CE)**

According to the Burmese tradition, the astrologers convinced King Mohnyin that the current era was going to end two years before its time and that he should sacrifice himself allowing a new era to begin. Evidently, the year 798 must be counted from the epoch of 638 CE, i.e., the epoch of Magi or Magwe era. Thus, the epoch of “*Mohnyin*” era commenced on 30 Mar 1435 CE, Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā, Aśvinī Nakṣatra and Sunday.

### **39. The Rajshak Calendar of Kooch Bihar (1510 CE)**

Mahārāja Chandan was ascended in the year 917 of Bengali Saṁvat and probably founded an epoch of calendar in 1510 CE which came to be known as the Rajshak calendar of Kooch Bihar.

### **40. Shivaji Rajyabhisheka Era (1674 CE)**

The Great Maratha King Shivaji was coronated on Jyeṣṭha Śukla Trayodaśī in Śaka 1596, i.e., 6<sup>th</sup> Jun 1674 CE, Ananda Saṁvatsara. Shivaji founded an epoch of Rajyabhisheka era in 1674 CE.

Thus, we have briefly discussed the epochs of various Indian eras. These eras would be the sheet anchors for arriving the chronological history of India. There are some other eras of Bactria like Yavana era and Azes era, etc. We will discuss them in the context of the chronology of Gāndhāra and Bactria in Chapter 11.



# 8

## The Chronological Overview of Mahābhārata Era (3162 BCE)

The Manu and the Puru dynasties of Vedic era have been evolved into the Ikṣvāku or Sūryavaṁśa and the Aila or Chandravaṁśa during the post-Vedic era respectively. The chronological history of ancient India from Svāyambhuva Manu (~14500 BCE) to the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE) has already been discussed in detail in my book titled “*The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahabharata*”. Based on the sheet anchor date of Mayāsura’s Sūrya Siddhānta, i.e., 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 6778 BCE, it can be conclusively established that the Kṛtayuga ended in 6777 BCE. The Tretāyuga lasted for 1200 years from 6777 BCE to 5577 BCE and the period of Dvāpara Yuga (2400 years) was from 5577 BCE to 3177 BCE. The Sūryavaṁśī kings of Ayodhyā had dominated India during the Tretāyuga and the first half of Dvāpara Yuga. The Rāmāyaṇa era was around 5677-5577 BCE and Sri Rāma was born on 3<sup>rd</sup> Feb 5674 BCE in the last century of Tretāyuga. After the death of Ayodhyā King Agnivarṇa, the 25<sup>th</sup> descendant of Sri Rāma around 4750 BCE, the Sūryavaṁśī kings lost their dominance over north India. Gradually, the Kuru dynasty emerged as a dominating power in north India whereas the Bṛhadratha dynasty established a powerful kingdom in Magadha.

Purāṇas give the genealogy of the early Kuru dynasty of Vedic period but seemingly, the updaters of Mahābhārata and Purāṇas have mistakenly mixed up the genealogies of the early Kurus and the later Kurus. The Kuru kings of Mahābhārata era were the descendants of the early Kuru dynasty of Vedic era. Therefore, Śāntanu, Devāpi and Bāhlika, the sons of King Pratīpa flourished in the Vedic period whereas Śāntanu, the son

of Paryaśravas was the king of Hastinapur during the Mahābhārata era. Mahābhārata gives the following genealogy of the later Kuru kings.<sup>1</sup> Though it appears to be a mix up of the genealogy of early Kurus and later Kurus, it gives the name of the wife of every Kuru king which indicates that these Kuru kings might have flourished just before Mahābhārata era. Moreover, Mahābhārata indicates that Śāntanu was the son of Paryaśravas. The proposed chronology of later Kuru kings:

	<b>Later Kuru kings</b>	<b>Royal consorts of Kuru kings</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1.	Puru	Kauśalyā	4350-4300 BCE
2.	Janamejaya	Anantā	4300-4270 BCE
3.	Prāchīnavān	Aśmakī	4270-4230 BCE
4.	Samyāti	Varāngī, Daughter of Dṛṣadvat	4230-4200 BCE
5.	Ahamyāti	Bhānumatī, Daughter of Kṛtavīrya II	4200-4170 BCE
6.	Sārvabhauma	Sunandā, Daughter of Kaikeya	4170-4130 BCE
7.	Jayatsena	Vaidarbhī	4130-4100 BCE
8.	Arāchina	Maryādā, princess of Vidarbha	4100-4070 BCE
9.	Mahābhauma	Suyajñā, daughter of Prasenajit	4070-4030 BCE
10.	Ayutanāyi	Bhāsā, daughter of Prithuśravas	4030-4000 BCE
11.	Akrodhana	Kālīni Karandu	4000-3970 BCE
12.	Devātithi	Maryadā, daughter of Vaideha	3970-3930 BCE
13.	Richah	Sudevā, daughter of Aṅga	3930-3900 BCE
14.	Rikśa	Jabālā, daughter of Takśaka	3900-3870 BCE
15.	Matināra	Sarasvatī	3870-3830 BCE
16.	Tansu	Kālīndī	3830-3800 BCE
17.	Ilina	Rathantarī. [They had five sons]	3800-3770 BCE
18.	Duṣhyanta		3770-3730 BCE
19.	Bharata	Sunandā, daughter of Sarvasena, Kāshi king	3730-3700 BCE
20.	Bhumanyu	Jayā, daughter of Daśārha	3700-3670 BCE
21.	Suhotra	Suvarnā, daughter of Ikśvāku king	3670-3630 BCE

22.	Hasti II	Yaśodharā, princess of Traigarta	3630-3600 BCE
23.	Vikunthina	Sudevā, Princess of Daśārha	3600-3570 BCE
24.	Ajamīḍha II	(He had many wives and 124 sons.)	3570-3530 BCE
25.	Samvaraṇa IV	Tāptī, daughter of Vaivasvata	3530-3500 BCE
26.	Kuru III	Śubhāngī Dāśarhī	3500-3470 BCE
27.	Vidūratha	Sampriyā Māgadhī	3470-3430 BCE
28.	Arugvān	Amṛtā Māgadhī	3430-3400 BCE
29.	Parīkṣīt	Suyaśā Bāhudāmā	3400-3370 BCE
30.	Bhimasena	Sukumārī Kaikeyī	3370-3320 BCE
31.	Paryaśravas	Sunandā Śaivyā	3320-3270 BCE
32.	Śāntanu	Gangā Bhāgirathī and Satyavatī	3270-3245 BCE

Śāntanu succeeded his father Paryaśravas around 3270 BCE. The Mahābhārata war took place in 3162 BCE as already discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of my book titled “*The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahabharata*”. The Mahābhārata war lasted for 18 days from 24/25 Dec 3162 BCE to 10/11 Nov 3162 BCE. King Yudhiṣṭhira ascended the throne of Hastinapur on 8 Dec 3162 BCE and Bhishma died on Māgha Śukla Aṣṭamī, i.e., 29<sup>th</sup> Jan 3161 BCE. It is difficult to fix the exact date of the birth of Yudhiṣṭhira but interestingly, the Hisse Borala inscription<sup>2</sup> probably refers to an epoch of 3223 BCE. Traditional Tamil chronology indicates that Madhurākavi Alvar was born in 3223-3222 BCE 122 years before the epoch of the Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). Seemingly, the epoch of 3223 BCE was in vogue but the significance of this epoch is not found mentioned. Probably, the epoch of 3223 BCE was the birth year of either Yudhiṣṭhira or Sri Krishna. Thus, we can roughly arrive the chronology of Mahābhārata era as shown below:

**In CE**

1. **Śāntanu** married Gangā and Satyavatī, daughter of the royal family of Matsya Janapada. 3280-3242 BCE
2. **Bhishma** was the son of Gangā and Śāntanu. He was probably born around 3260 BCE and died on 29<sup>th</sup> Jan 3161 BCE. He was ~98 years old during Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). 3260-3161 BCE

3. **Vyāsa** was the son of Parāśara and Satyavatī. 3260-3125 BCE  
Śāntanu married Satyavatī around 3259 BCE. Most probably, Vyāsa was also born in the same year of the birth of Bhishma. Vyāsa might have lived for 135 years. He was probably still alive when Sri Krishna died in 3126 BCE.
4. **Chitrāngada** and Vichitravirya were the sons of Śāntanu and Satyavatī. Most probably, Chitrāngada was born in 3258 BCE and Vichitravirya was born in 3257 BCE. Chitrāngada was killed in a war. Vichitravirya succeeded his father around 3242 BCE. He married Ambikā and Ambālikā. 3257-3230 BCE
5. **Dhṛtarāṣṭra** was the son of Ambikā and Vyāsa. 3240-3144 BCE.
6. **Pāndu** was the son of Ambālikā and Vyāsa. He died when Yudhiṣṭhira was ~18 years old. 3240-3204 BCE
7. **Vidura** was the son of a maid and Vyāsa. 3240-3140 BCE
8. **Karna** was born to Kunti before her marriage. He was raised by a Sūta. 3225-3162 BCE
9. **Yudhiṣṭhira** was the son of Pāndu and Kunti. He was probably born around 3223 BCE. He was coronated in Hastinapur on 8th Dec 3162 BCE and founded the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162-3161 BCE). 3223-3124 BCE
10. **Sri Krishna** was probably born in 3223 BCE and died in 3126 BCE 36 years after the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). 3223-3126 BCE
11. **Bhima**, son of Pāndu and Kunti was born around 3222 BCE. 3222-3124 BCE
12. **Arjuna**, son of Pāndu and Kunti was born around 3220 BCE. 3220-3124 BCE
13. **Nakula**, son of Pāndu and Mādri was born around 3218 BCE. 3218-3124 BCE
14. **Sahadeva**, son of Pāndu and Mādri was born in 3217 BCE. 3217-3124 BCE



15. **Duryodhana**, son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī 3222-3162 BCE was born in 3222 BCE.
16. **Abhimanyu**, son of Arjuna and Subhadra was 3180-3162 BCE born around 3180 BCE. He married Uttarā in 3162 BCE and died in Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). He was just 18 years old when he died.
17. **Parīkṣit**, son of Abhimanyu and Uttarā born 3162-3100 BCE in Dec 3162 BCE. He married Madravatī. Yudhiṣṭhira handed over the reins of Hastinapur and Indraprastha to Parīkṣit in 3126 BCE, 36 years after the Mahābhārata war.
18. **Janamejaya**, son of Parīkṣit and Madravatī 3100-3050 BCE became the King of Hastinapur and Indraprastha around 3100 BCE.

### King Yudhiṣṭhira's Reign in Indraprastha and His Rajasūya Yajña (3188-3175 BCE)

*Kaliyuga Rājavarṭtānta* tells us that Yudhiṣṭhira was reigning in Indraprastha when Saptarṣis entered into Maghā Nakṣatra in 3176 BCE, 75 years before the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE).<sup>3</sup> Seemingly, Dhṛtarāṣṭra gave half of the Kuru kingdom to Pāndavas around 3188 BCE and Yudhiṣṭhira became the king of Indraprastha. While giving the date of birth of Varāhamihira, a śloka of *Kutūhalamañjarī* refers to an unknown epoch of the King “Sūrya-Sūnuja”, i.e., the son of Sūrya (Vyāsa). According to purānas, Sūrya was the name of the 5<sup>th</sup> Veda Vyāsa. *Kutūhalamañjarī* states that Varāhamihira was born in the year 3042 and Jaya Saṁvatsara. The year 146 BCE was the Jaya Saṁvatsara because Āmarāja mentions that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509, i.e., 74 BCE. Seemingly, *Kutūhalamañjarī* refers to the epochal year 3188 BCE in which Yudhiṣṭhira ascended the throne of Indraprastha.

Yudhiṣṭhira reigned in Indraprastha for 13 years but he lost his kingdom in “*Akśadyūta*” around Jan/Feb 3175 BCE. During his reign in Indraprastha, Yudhiṣṭhira performed Rajasūya Yajña. Mahābhārata gives the glimpses of political situation in India during Yudhiṣṭhira's Rājasūya Yajña. Sabhā Parva indicates that there were roughly one hundred clans of the descendants of Aila or Ikśvāku dynasties during Mahābhārata

era (ऐलवंश्यास्तु ये राजंस्तथैवेक्ष्वाकवो नृपाः, तानि चैकशतं विद्धि कुलानि भरतर्षभ)<sup>4</sup> out of which the descendants of Yayāti and Bhoja were great. Sri Krishna tells Yudhiṣṭhira that Jarāsandha, king of Magadha is not only enjoying sovereignty but he has also placed many kings under his dominion like Chedi King Śiśupāla, Karūṣa King Vakra or Dantavakra, the king of Kalabhas, the king of Meghavāhanas, Hamsa, Dimbhaka, King Bhagadatta, the kings of Vaṅga, Pundra, Kirāta (Nepal), Vāsudeva, the king of Pundra and Bhishmaka, the king of Bhojas, etc. Many kśatriyas like the Bhojas, Śūrasenas, Bhadrakas, Bodhas, Śālvas, Pāṭaccharas, Sustharas, Sukuttas, Kuṇindas, Kuntis, Śālveyas, Dakṣiṇa-Pāñchālas, Pūrva-Kosalas and the Matsyas, etc., have immigrated in fear of King Jarāsandha because Jarāsandha had imprisoned many kings of his neighbourhood. Jarāsandha had also invaded Mathura with the support of Kashmir King Gonanda. Therefore, Yudhiṣṭhira and Sri Krishna decided to subjugate Jarāsandha. Sri Krishna went to Magadha kingdom along with Bhima and Arjuna. Bhima eliminated Jarāsandha under the leadership of Sri Krishna. Sahadeva, son of Jarāsandha succeeded in Magadha. All imprisoned kings of neighbouring kingdoms have been released. Arjuna invaded Prāgjyotiṣa kingdom of Assam and defeated King Bhagadatta and his allies, i.e., Kirātas and Chinas.

In the process of Rajasūya Yajña, Arjuna marched towards north India and subjugated Kuṇindas, Ānartas, Kālākūṭas, the kings of Śākala-Dvipa and Kulūta (Kullu) king of Himachal. He also conquered five kingdoms of north, King Chitrāyudha's Simhapura, Paurava, Kāshmiraka, Traigartas, Dārva, Kokanada, Abhisāra, Uraga, Bāhlika, Darada, Kāmboja, Paramakāmboja, Loha, Rishika, Śvetapārvata, Hāṭaka kingdom close to Mānasa lake, Uttara-Harivarṣa and Uttara-Kurus. Bhimasena marched towards east India and subjugated the king of Pāñchāla, King Janaka of Videha, King Sudharmā of Daśārṇa, King Sumitra of Pulinda Nagara, King Śiśupāla of Chedi, Kosala King Bṛhadbala, Ayodhyā King Dīrghaprajña, Golapakacṣa, Mallas, Kāśi, Matsyas, Malayas, Gayas, Vastabhūmi, Bhargas, Niṣādas, Śarmakas, Varmakas, Kirātas, Suhmas, Magadhas, Girivraja, King Karna, Modagiri, King Vāsudeva of Paundra, Vaṅgas, King Samudrasena, King Chandrasena, and Mlecṣa kings.

Sahadeva marched towards south direction and subjugated the Śūrasenas, Matsyas, King Dantavakra, King Sukumāra, King Sumitra, Aparamatsyas, Pāṭaccharas, Niśādas, Gośriṅga-Parvata, Śreṇimat, Navarāṣṭra, Kuntibhoja, King Jambhaka's son on the banks of Charmaṇvatī, Avanti, King Nila of Māhiṣmatī, Tripura, Potana, Saurāṣṭra, Bhojakata, Bhishmaka, Kosala, Kāntārakas, Natakeyas, Herambakas, Marudha, Muñjagrāma, Nachinas, Arvukas, Vatadhīpa, Pulinda, Kiṣkindhā, Vānara kings Mainda and Dwivīda, Śūrpāraka, Mlecchā kings of islands, Kālamukhas, Kollagiri, Murachīpattana, Tāmradvīpa, Rāmaka-Parvata, Pāndyas, Keralas, Draviḍas, Andhras, Tālavana, Kaliṅga, Uṣtrakarṇikas, Yavanas, Bharukacchā and King Vibhiṣaṇa of Sri Lanka.

Nakula marched towards western direction and subjugated the Mattamayūras of Rohītaka, the king of Śairīṣaka (Sirsa), the king of Māhecchā, the Śivis, the Traigartas, the Ambaṣṭhas, the Mālavas, the Pañca-Karpatas, the king of Mādhyamikā city, the Vātadhānas, the king of Puṣkara, the Śūdras and the Ābhīras on the banks of Sarasvati, the Matsyas and the kings of Pañchāla regions, the king of Uttara-Jyotiṣa, the king of Vṛndātaka-Pura, the Dvārapālas, the Rāmaṭhas, the Hārahūṇas, the king of Śākala city of Madras, King Śalya, the Mlecchās, the Pahlavas and the Barbaras.

After conquering all kings and kingdoms of India, Yudhiṣṭhira performed Rajasūya Yajña. He invited Bhishma, Drona, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Vidura, Kṛpāchārya and Duryodhana etc. The kings who attended Yudhiṣṭhira's Rajasūya were King Subala of Gāndhāra, Śakuni, Achala, Vriṣhaka, Karna, King Śalya of Madras, King Bāhlika, Somadatta and Bhūriśravas of Kuru dynasty, King Jayadratha of Sindh, King Yajñasena, King Sālva, King Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa, King Bṛhadbala, King Vāsudeva of Paundraka, Kings of Vanga and Kaliṅga, Kings of Akarsha, Kuntala, Vanavāsī, Andhra, Draviḍa and Simhala, King of Kashmir, Kuntibhoja, Suhma, Bāhlika, King of Virātanagara, King Śiśupāla of Chedi, princes of many janapadas, Rama, Aniruddha, Babhru, Pradyumna, Sāmba, Chārudeṣṇa, Ulmuka, Niśatha and many kings of central India.

Evidently, Yudhiṣṭhira conquered entire India including Sri Lanka and founded a powerful empire. Indraprastha was his capital. He lost

his entire kingdom to Duryodhana in “Akśadyūta” in Jan/Feb 3175 BCE. Pāndavas had to dwell in forests for 12 years from Feb 3175 BCE to Feb 3163 BCE and one year Ajnātavāsa from Feb 3163 BCE to Feb 3162 BCE.

### **The Date of Mahābhārata War (24/25 Oct 3162 BCE)**

Though Pandavas completed the Vanavāsa of 12 years and the Ajnātavāsa of one year as per the terms of Akśadyūta, Duryodhana refused to return the kingdom to Yudhiṣṭhira. All negotiations with Duryodhana had been failed and the war became inevitable. When Balarāma learnt the failure of the peace mission and realized that the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE) cannot be avoided, he went on pilgrimage. He left Upaplāvya city when moon was at Anurādhā Nakśatra (तीर्थयात्रां हलधरः सरस्वत्यां महायशाः मैत्रे नक्षत्रयोगे समसहितः सर्वयादवैः), i.e., 27/28 Sep 3162 BCE and reached Dwārakā. He started his pilgrimage when moon was at Śravaṇa Nakśatra, i.e., 2 Oct 3162 BCE.

Mahābhārata indicates that Balarāma visited a big city on the banks of Sarasvati River. This city is not named in Mahābhārata but it had a big market place of international trade where Balarāma purchased horses, chariots, jewels, etc. Most probably, this big city was indeed the archaeological site of Chanhudaro in Sindh, Pakistan because Mahābhārata mentions that Sarasvati turned east at one location after the visit of Balarāma to the unnamed city. The satellite map of Post-Vedic Sarasvati river shows that Sarasvati turned east after the city of Chanhudaro. The archaeological study reveals that the city of Chanhudaro perished around 3000-2500 BCE because the Sarasvati had completely dried up by 2500 BCE.

In the meantime, Sri Krishna decided to go to Hastinapur for final peace mission. He left Upaplāvya on 7 Oct 3162 BCE when moon was at Revatī Nakśatra and reached Hastinapur on 9 Oct 3162 BCE when moon was at Bharanī Nakśatra. But the final peace mission of Sri Krishna also failed. Mahābhārata war began on 24/25 Oct 3162 BCE, Kārttika Amāvāsyā and ended on 10/11 Nov 3162 BCE. Balarāma came to Kurukṣetra on the last day of Mahābhārata war, i.e., 10/11 Nov 3162 BCE when moon was at Punarvasū/Puṣya Nakśatra. Yudhiṣṭhira was coronated on the throne of Hastinapur on 8<sup>th</sup> Dec 3162 BCE, Pauṣa Pūrṇimā. Bhisma fell on the 10<sup>th</sup>

day of Mahābhārata war, i.e., 2<sup>nd</sup> Nov 3162 BCE and died on 29<sup>th</sup> Jan 3162 BCE, Māgha Śukla Aṣṭamī, Rohiṇī Nakṣatra. Yudhiṣṭhira reigned for 36 years from 3162 BCE to 3126 BCE. Sri Krishna died in 3126 BCE, in the 36<sup>th</sup> year after the Mahābhārata war. Dwarakā was submerged by sea in the same year.

### King Yudhiṣṭhira and His Successors (3162-2300 BCE)

Yudhiṣṭhira handed over the reins of Hastinapur to Parīkṣit, son of Abhimanu in 3126 BCE. Janamejaya succeeded his father Parīkṣit around 3100 BCE. Some copper plate inscriptions of Janamejaya are dated in the 89<sup>th</sup> year of Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE), i.e., 3073-3072 BCE. These grants were made in the month of Sahasya (Pauṣa month) on the day of new moon, Monday and solar eclipse (*Svasti Śri Jayābhyudaya Yudhiṣṭhira Śake Ekonanavatitama-vatsare Plavaṅgākhye Sahasya-masi amāvāsyāyām somavāsare..... Uparāgasamaye...*). The date regularly corresponds to 26<sup>th</sup> Feb 3072 BCE and a solar eclipse occurred on that day. The year 3073-3072 BCE was also Plavaṅga Samvatsara. Though these copper plates of Janamejaya have been reproduced based on the old records during the time of Vijayanagara kings, but the authenticity of these grants cannot be questioned because one inscription of Vijayanagara King Harihara mentions that the king had personally inspected the fragments of Dharmarāja's grants to a temple.

The genealogy of Pāndava kings of Hastinapur as given in the Vishnu Purāṇa:<sup>5</sup>

	In CE
1. Yudhiṣṭhira	3162-3126 BCE
2. Parīkṣit (son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Arjuna)	3126-3100 BCE
3. Janamejaya	3100-3050 BCE
4. Śatānīka	3050-3030 BCE
5. Aśvamedhadatta	3030-3000 BCE
6. Adhisīma Krishna	3000-2970 BCE
7. Nichakśu	2970-2930 BCE
8. Ushna	2930-2900 BCE

9.	Chitraratha	2900-2870 BCE
10.	Shuchiratha	2870-2830 BCE
11.	Vriṣṇimān	2830-2800 BCE
12.	Suṣeṇa	2800-2770 BCE
13.	Sunītha	2770-2730 BCE
14.	Nṛcakṣu	2730-2700 BCE
15.	Sukhāvala	2700-2670 BCE
16.	Pariplava	2670-2630 BCE
17.	Sunaya	2630-2600 BCE
18.	Medhāvi	2600-2570 BCE
19.	Ripuñjaya	2570-2530 BCE
20.	Mṛdu	2530-2500 BCE
21.	Tigma	2500-2470 BCE
22.	Bṛhadratha	2470-2430 BCE
23.	Vasudāna	2430-2400 BCE
24.	Śātānīka II	2400-2370 BCE
25.	Udayana	2370-2330 BCE
26.	Ahīnara	2330-2300 BCE
27.	Dandapāṇi	2300-2370 BCE
28.	Nirāmitra	2370-2330 BCE
29.	Kṣemaka II	2330-2300 BCE

King Kṣemaka II was the last Pāndava king of Hastinapur. Purāṇas mention that Hastinapur was completely destroyed by Gangā River during the reign of King Nichakṣu (2970-2930 BCE). Seemingly, the Pandava kings might have shifted their capital from Hastinapur to Indraprastha. Vishnu Purāṇa mention that King Nichakṣu lived in the city of Kaushāmbi after the destruction of Hastinapur. It appears that King Nichakṣu stayed in Kaushāmbi for a short period and thereafter, he might have made Indraprastha as his capital. Assumingly, the Pāndava kings from Nichakṣu to Kṣemaka II reigned in Indraprastha. According to Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara, King Śātānīka (3050-3030 BCE) the 4<sup>th</sup> Pāndava king of Hastinapur had a son named Sahasrānīka (3030-3000

BCE) who became the king of Kauśāmbi. Seemingly, King Śātānika also had another son, Yajñadatta who became the king of Hastinapur. The descendants of King Sahasrānika of the Pāndava dynasty reigned over Vatsa janapada after 3000 BCE. Evidently, the Vatsa kingdom of Pāndavas came into existence before the destruction of Hastinapur.

### The Chronology of the Kuru Dynasty as given in Bhavishya Purāṇa

Interestingly, Pratisargaparva of Bhavishya Purāṇa<sup>6</sup> relates that the Pāndava kings up to Kśemaka reigned in the Dvāpara Yuga and gives the duration of the reign of Pāndava kings.

		Duration of Reign			Duration of Reign
1.	Parīkṣit	1000 years	14	Pariplava	--
2.	Janamejaya	3000 years	15	Sunaya	--
3.	Śātānika I	--	16	Medhāvi	--
4.	Yajñadatta	5000 years	17	Nripaṅjaya	--
5.	Niśchakra	1000 years	18	Mridu	--
6.	Uṣtrapāla	--	19	Tigmajyoti	--
7.	Chitraratha	--	20	Bṛhadratha	--
8.	Dhṛtimān	--	21	Vasudāna	--
9.	Suṣeṇa	--	22	Śātānika II	--
10.	Suneetha	--	23	Udayana	--
11.	Makhapāla	--	24	Ahinara	--
12.	Chakṣu	--	25	Nirmitra	--
13.	Sukhavanta	--	26	Kśemaka I	1000 years

Bhavishya Purāṇa relates that King Kśemaka renounced his kingdom and started living in the village of Kalāpa but died in a war with the Mlecchas. Pradyota succeeded his father Kśemaka I in Hastinapur and performed a Mleccha-Yajña in Kurukṣetra as advised by Rishi Nārada. He defeated all Mlecchas and came to be known as the destroyer of Mlecchas (*Mleccha-hantā*). King Pradyota reigned for 10000 years. His son Vedavān succeeded him. King Vedavān reigned for 2000 years. His son Sunanda succeeded him. King Sunanda reigned for 2000 years but he was childless.

In all probability, the Bhavishya Purāṇa gives the account of Kśemaka I who was the descendant of Janamejaya of the Vedic era whereas Vishnu Purāṇa refers to Kśemaka II who was the descendant of Janamejaya of the Mahābhārata era. I have already established in my book titled “*The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahabharata*” that the historical account of Jaiminiya Aśvamedha belongs to the Rigvedic period. It appears that the later updaters of Bhavishya Purāṇa inadvertently mixed up the accounts of the descendants of Janamejaya of the Vedic era and Janamejaya of the Mahābhārata era. This may be the reason why Bhavishya Purāṇa refers to the descendants of Janamejaya of the Vedic era as the kings of Dvāpara Yuga.

As recorded in Vishnu Purāṇa, King Kśemaka II was the last king of the Pāṇḍava dynasty of Hastinapur and he was the descendant of Janamejaya of Mahābhārata era. King Sahasrāṇika, the grandson of Janamejaya of Mahābhārata era, was the founder of the Pāṇḍava dynasty of Vatsa kingdom.





# 9

## The Magadha Empire

The Bṛhadratha dynasty was ruling over Magadha Empire during Mahābhārata era. Bṛhadratha I, son of Uparichara Vasu of Kuru dynasty, was the progenitor of the Bṛhadratha dynasty. Magadha region was probably the part of Aṅga kingdom during the Vedic era. Mahābhārata mentions Bṛhadratha, the King of Aṅga as one of the sixteen most celebrated kings of ancient India. Seemingly, Bṛhadratha I (11225 BCE) reigned over the Aṅga kingdom. Rigveda refers to Kīkaṭas who were probably the original inhabitants of Magadha region. Later, Kīkaṭas came to be known as Māgadhas because they settled on the banks of Māgadhi River of Gayā region. According to some Puranic legends, King Pṛthu of the Vedic era was the father of Magadhas. It is also stated that Magadha was the son of a Kṣatriya mother and a Vaiśya father. Traditionally, Magadhas have been entrusted to maintain the records of genealogies. Gradually, Magadha became the name of janapada.

Girivraja or Rajagriha was the capital of Bṛhadratha dynasty. King Jarāsandha laid a strong foundation of Magadha Empire before the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). Though the kings of Hastinapur and Indraprastha emerged as powerful rulers after the Mahābhārata war, Magadha emerged as the power center of north India after the rule of King Śātānīka (3050-3030 BCE), son of Janamejaya. Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva died in the Mahābhārata war and his son Somapī became the King of Magadha. Thus, Somapī was the first King of the Bṛhadratha dynasty after the Mahābhārata war. According to the *Vāyu*, *Brahmānda*, *Matsya*, *Bhāgavata*, *Vishnu Purāṇas* and the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, 22 kings of Bṛhadratha dynasty ruled for 1000 years.

**The Bṛhadhratha Dynasty (3162-2162 BCE):**

	<b>Duration of Reign</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1. Somapī or Mārjāliya	58 years	3162-3104 BCE
2. Śrutaśravā	64 years	3104-3040 BCE
3. Apratipin or Ayutāyu	36 years	3040-3004 BCE
4. Nirāmitra	40 years	3004-2964 BCE
5. Sukritta	56 years	2964-2908 BCE
6. Bṛhatkarman	23 years	2908-2885 BCE
7. Senajit	50 years	2885-2835 BCE
8. Śrutañjaya	40 years	2835-2795 BCE
9. Mahābala or Vibhu	35 years	2795-2760 BCE
10. Śuchi	58 years	2760-2702 BCE
11. Kśema	28 years	2702-2674 BCE
12. Anuvrata	64 years	2674-2610 BCE
13. Dharmanetra	35 years	2610-2575 BCE
14. Nirvṛti	58 years	2575-2517 BCE
15. Suvrata	38 years	2517-2479 BCE
16. Dṛdhasena	58 years	2479-2421 BCE
17. Sumati	33 years	2421-2388 BCE
18. Suchala	22 years	2388-2366 BCE
19. Sunetra	40 years	2366-2326 BCE
20. Satyajit (His reign of 79 (83?) years was probably inclusive of the reign of his brother.)	79 years	2326-2247 BCE
21. Virajit	35 years	2247-2212 BCE
22. Ripuñjaya	50 years	2212-2162 BCE

**The Pradyota Dynasty (2162-2024 BCE)**

Pulaka or Munika was the minister of the last King Ripuñjaya. He killed the king treacherously and placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Magadha. Thus, the Pradyota dynasty replaced the Bṛhadhratha dynasty. According to the Purānas, five kings of the Pradyota dynasty ruled for 138 years.

		Duration of Reign	In CE
1.	Pradyota	23 years	2162-2139 BCE
2.	Pālaka	24 years	2139-2115 BCE
3.	Viśākhayupa	50 years	2115-2065 BCE
4.	Janaka	21 years	2065-2044 BCE
5.	Nandivardhana	20 years	2044-2024 BCE

### The Śiśunāga Dynasty (2024-1664 BCE)

During the reign of Nandivardhana, Śiśunāga, the king of Kāshi, conquered Magadha and founded the Śiśunāga dynasty. According to Purānas, ten kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty ruled for roughly 360 years. Mahāvamśatikā indicates that Śiśunāga was the son of a Licchavi king of Vaiśālī.

		Duration of Reign	In CE
1.	Śiśunāga	40 years	2024-1984 BCE
2.	Kākavarṇa	36 years	1984-1948 BCE
3.	Kśemadharman	26 years	1948-1922 BCE
4.	Kśatraujas	40 years	1922-1882 BCE
5.	Vidhisāra	38 years	1882-1844 BCE
6.	Ajātaśatru	27 years	1844-1817 BCE
7.	Darśakaor Darbhaka	35 years	1817-1782 BCE
8.	Udāsin or Udayāsva or Ajaya	33 years	1782-1749 BCE
9.	Nandivardhana	42 years	1749-1707 BCE
10.	Mahānandin	43 years	1707-1664 BCE

### The Date of Foundation of the City of Puṣpapura (1999 BCE)

According to *Yugapurāṇa* of *Vṛddha Garga Jyotiṣa*, King Śiśunāga's son Udāyī, founded the city of Puṣpapura on the southern bank of Ganga River (*Tataḥ kaliyuge rājā Śiśunāgātmajo balī, Udāyī nāma Dharmātmā Pṛthivyām prathito gunaiḥ | Gaṅgātire Sa Rājarsir dakṣiṇe sa Mahāvare, Sthāpayannagaram ramyam Puṣpārāma-janākulam | taccha Puṣpapuram ramyam nagaram Pātālīsutam ||*).<sup>1</sup> It is also stated in *Yugapurāna* that King Śāliśūka ascended the throne of Puṣpapura 505 years after the date of its foundation.<sup>2</sup> Maurya King Śāliśūka ascended the throne in 1494 BCE considering the date of coronation of Aśoka in 1547 BCE 218 years after

1765 BCE, i.e., the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism. Therefore, the city of Puṣpapura was founded by Udāyī in 1999 BCE. Seemingly, Śiśunāga had two sons, Udāyī and Kākavarṇa.

According to *Bṛhatkathā and Kathāsaritsāgara*, Putraka, son of a wealthy king left his kingdom and founded the city of Pātaliputra.<sup>3</sup> Evidently, the city of Pātaliputra existed before the lifetime of Udāyī. Seemingly, the city of Puṣpapura was built adjacent to Pātaliputra. Thus, Pātaliputra and Puṣpapura became the names of the same city. Historians mistakenly assumed Udāyī II as the founder of Pātaliputra but he was the son of Ajātaśatru not Śiśunāga. Udāyī II lived after the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Buddha visited Pātaliputra city in his lifetime. Therefore, Udāyī II cannot be the founder of Puṣpapura.

### **The Haryaṅka Dynasty (1925-1715 BCE)**

Seemingly, the Śiśunāga kings lost Rajagriha to the Haryaṅka dynasty after 1950 BCE. They reigned in Pātaliputra after 1950 BCE but Udāyī II annexed Pātaliputra around 1841 BCE. Probably, the Śiśunāgas shifted to Vaiśālī after 1841 BCE as the Buddhist sources indicate Vaiśālī as the capital of Śiśunāgas.

The Gilgit manuscript of *Vinayavastu (Pravrajyāvastu)* tells us that King Mahāpadma was ruling in Rajagriha of Magada kingdom during the time of Buddha's birth. Buddha was born in 1944 BCE. According to *Mahāvamśa*, Bhattiya, the father of Bimbisāra anointed him the king of Rajagriha at the age of 15 years.<sup>4</sup> Evidently, Mahāpadma and Bhattiya were the names of the same king and his son Bimbisāra was born in 1940 BCE. Ajātaśatru was the son of Bimbisāra and Buddha attained nirvāṇa in his 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year, i.e., 1864 BCE. Udāyī, son of Ajātaśatru killed his father and became the king of Magadha in 1840 BCE. He shifted his capital from Rajagriha to Pātaliputra.

Kālāśoka or Aśoka I was the greatest king of this dynasty. According to *Mahāvamśa*, *Dīpavamśa* and Burmese Buddhist sources, Kālāśoka was the son of Śiśunāga whereas *Divyāvadāna* mentions Kālāśoka as the son of Bindusāra. Since Aśokāvadāna is comparatively a later text than *Mahāvamśa*, therefore, *Mahāvamśa* must be more authentic

than *Divyāvadāna*. Seemingly, *Divyāvadāna* might have mixed up the genealogy of Kālāśoka and Aśoka Maurya.

### **Who was King Aśoka the Great? Aśoka (Kālāśoka) of the Haryāṅka Dynasty or Aśoka of the Maurya Dynasty?**

Archaeologists have found the following rock and pillar inscriptions of Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi written in Brahmi and Kharoshthi in India.

- Major Rock edicts (14 edicts) have been found at 9 places from Shahbazgarhi Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to Sannati (Gulbarga district), Karnataka.
- Pillar edicts (7 edicts) have been found in 11 places from Ranighat, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh
- Minor Rock edicts have been found in 19 places from Mahasthan, Bangladesh to Brahmagiri, Karnataka.
- Minor Pillar edicts have been found at 2 or 3 places (Lumbini, Nigali Sagar and Orissa?)

All these edicts and inscriptions refer to the reigning king as “*Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi*.” But the minor edicts found at Gujarrā (Madhya Pradesh), Maski, Nittur, and Udegolam (Karnataka) mention the name of the King as Aśoka.

The following Greek and Aramaic inscriptions have also been found in Kandhar, Kabul and Takśāsilā region.

- Two Greek inscriptions found in Kandhar.
- Six Aramaic inscriptions found in Kabul and Takśāsilā region.

Historians mistakenly identified these Greek and Aramaic inscriptions as Aśokan edicts because some of these inscriptions refer to the reigning King as “Priyadarśana”, “Piodasses” etc. But these inscriptions do not mention the famous title “Devānāmpriya” of Aśoka. The text of these inscriptions also drastically differs from that of Brahmi and Kharoshthi inscriptions. Historians somehow tried to speculate that the Greek and Aramaic inscriptions may be the abridged versions of certain portions of Aśokan edicts but it is certain that these inscriptions have not been engraved during the reign of Aśoka. Seemingly, a Bactrian Buddhist King called “Piodasses” or “Priyadarśana” was the real author of these

inscriptions. We will discuss these Greek and Aramaic inscriptions and the Yavana kings mentioned in the Rock edicts in detail in the context of the history of Bactria and Gāndhāra kings in Chapter 11.

Now the question is who was the King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi Aśoka? Modern historians identified Aśoka the great as the King of Maurya dynasty and the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya. Let us survey various sources for the history of Aśoka.

### 1. North-Indian Buddhist Tradition: (Short Chronology)

1. *Vinaya-Piṭaka* mentions that the difference between the coronation of Aśoka and Buddha Mahāparinirvāṇa was 100 years.
2. *Divyāvadāna (Pāñśupradānāvadāna)* gives the genealogy of Aśoka: Bimbisāra - Ajātaśatru - Udāyi or Udayabhadra - Munda - Kākavarṇi - Sahali - Tulakuchi - Mahāmandala - Prasenajit - Nanda - Bindusāra. Bindusāra was ruling in Pātaliputra. His son was Susim. Incidentally, a Brahmana of Champa city went to Pātaliputra along with his daughter Subhadrāṅgī. This Brahmana had an intuition that the son of Subhadrāṅgī will be a great king. At the request of the Brahmana, Subhadrāṅgī was sent to the “antaḥpura” of Bindusāra but she was given a job of hair-dresser. One day, she met the King Bindusāra and became his wife. Aśoka and Vītaśoka were born to Subhadrāṅgī. Aśoka was not a good looking boy and therefore, he was not liked by his father. Probably, Aśoka was referred to “Kālāśoka” because of his physical appearance. Bindusāra appointed Aśoka as the governor of Takśaśilā to counter the mutiny in north-western region. Bindusāra wanted to coronate his son Susim but Aśoka revolted. Khallāṭaka and Rādhāgupta, the ministers of Bindusāra also wanted Aśoka as king. When Bindusāra died, Aśoka took control over Pātaliputra and killed Susim. Thus, Aśoka became the King of Pātaliputra 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa and installed 84000 Pillars. (*Varṣa-śata-parinirvṛtasya mama Pātaliputre nagare Aśoko Nāma rājā bhaviṣyati chaturbhāga-chakravarti dharmarājah... Chaturaśīti-Dharma-rajikā-sahasram pratiṣṭhāpayiṣyati...*).

3. Tibetan sources also follow the genealogy of Aśoka given in Divyāvadāna. Most of the Tibetan and Chinese sources mention that Aśoka reigned 100 or 110 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.
4. *Rājatarāṅginī* records that Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka reigned 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa which clearly indicates that Aśoka, the King of Kashmir might have reigned 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.
5. In entire North-Indian Buddhist tradition, only a Khotanese chronicle places the reign of Aśoka 234 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.
6. **First Buddhist Council:** It was held at Rajagriha within three months after Buddha nirvāṇa and during the reign of Ajātaśatru.
7. **Second Buddhist Council:** It was held at Vaiśālī during the reign of Aśoka.
8. **Third Buddhist Council:** It was held in Kashmir or Jalandhar during the reign of Kanishka. Vasumitra headed the council. Commentaries on Abhidharma of Sarvāstivāda were compiled in Sanskrit instead of Prakrit. King Kanishka made Mahāyana Buddhism the state religion.

## 2. South-Indian Buddhist Tradition: (Long Chronology)

1. Sri Lankan chronicles like *Dīpavaṃśa* and *Mahāvāṃśa* give the genealogy of Aśoka as follows:

<b>Dīpavaṃśa</b>	<b>Mahāvāṃśa</b>
1. Bimbisāra (52 y)	Bimbisāra (52 y)
2. Ajātaśatru (32 y)	Ajātaśatru (32 y)
3. Udayabhadda (16 y)	Udayabhadda (16 y)
4. Nāgadasaka (24 y)	Anuruddha Munda (8 y)
5. Śīsunāga (10 y)	Nāgadasaka (8 y)
6. Kālāśoka (28 y)	Śīsunāga (18 y)
7. 10 sons of Kālāśoka (22 y)	Kālāśoka (28 y)
8. Nine Nandas (22 y)	10 sons of Kālāśoka (22 y)
8. Chandragupta (24 y)	Nine Nandas (22 y)
10. Bindusāra (28 y)	Chandragupta (24 y)
11. Aśoka (37 y)	Bindusāra (28 y)
12.	Aśoka (37 y)

2. Burmese tradition is influenced by *Mahāvamśa* and it gives the genealogy of Aśoka exactly same as given in *Mahāvamśa*.
3. According to Buddhist sources, Aśoka had 10 sons, namely, Bhadrasena, Korandavarṇa, Mangara, Sarvanjaha, Jalika or Jaloka, Ubhaka, Sañjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana and Pañchamaka. They reigned simultaneously for 22 years.
4. According to *Mahāvamśa*, Ajātaśatru killed his father Bimbisāra. Udayabhaddaka killed his father Ajātaśatru, Anuruddha killed his father Udayabhaddaka, Munda killed his father Anuruddha and Nāgadasaka killed his father Munda and so on. This was a dynasty of patricides. At the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Kālāśoka's reign a century had gone after Buddha nirvāṇa.
5. **First Buddhist Council:** It was held at Rajagriha immediately after Buddha nirvāṇa and during the reign of Ajātaśatru. Mahākassapa headed the first Council and compiled Dhamma in seven months. Ananda compiled *Sutta Piṭaka* and Upāli compiled *Vinaya Piṭaka*.
6. **Second Buddhist Council:** All Theras met at Valikārāma in Vaiśālī under the leadership of the Thera Revata and Yasa and the second Buddhist council was convened during the reign of Kālāśoka and compiled Dhamma in eight months.
7. *Dīpavamśa*, *Mahāvamśa* and *Samantapāsādikā*, etc., tell us that Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, ascended the throne 218 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.
8. **Third Buddhist Council:** The third council was held at Aśokārama, Pātaliputra in the 18<sup>th</sup> regnal year (or in 236<sup>th</sup> year after Buddha nirvāṇa) of King Aśoka. Moggaliputta Tissa headed the council and compiled Kathāvattu, 5<sup>th</sup> of 7 books of Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Various Buddhist Theras were sent to propagate Buddhism. Mahinda and Sanghamitra went to Sri Lanka. Mahārakṣita Thera went to Yavana janapada and Sona Thera and Uttara Thera went to Suvarṇabhūmi (Thailand and Cambodia).



### 3. Puranic Tradition

1. Purāṇas have no reference to the Haryāṅka dynasty. They relate only the chronology of Śiśunāgas, Nandas and Mauryas. There is no reference of Kālāśoka in Purāṇas.
2. It appears that the Śiśunāgas were the weak rulers of Magadha. Probably, it was Mahāpadma or Bhattiya, the father of Bimbisāra conquered Rajagriha and founded the rule of the Haryāṅka dynasty. The Śiśunāgas might have settled at Vaiśālī as mentioned in *Avantisundarīkathā*. According to *Avantisundarīkathā*, Mahānandin, the last Śiśunāga king was ruling in Vaiśālī. Buddhist sources also indicate Vaiśālī as the capital of Śiśunāgas.
3. The Haryāṅka dynasty lost their reputation because it was the dynasty of patricides. Moreover, Kālāśoka promoted Buddhism. These may be the reasons why Purāṇas give only the genealogy of Śiśunāgas.

### 4. Jain Tradition

1. Later Jain sources (*Pariśiṣṭaparva etc.*) give the genealogy of Aśoka:  
Śreṇika or Bhambhasāra – Kuṇika – Udāyin or Udayana – Nanda Kings – Chandragupta – Bindusāra – Aśoka.
2. Udāyi or Udayana was the brother-in-law of Pālaka who succeeded his father Chanḍa Pradyota, the King of Avanti. Chanḍa Pradyota died on the same night of Mahāvira nirvāṇa.

Modern historians attempted their best to reconcile the account of four different sources as given above but failed to do so in the distorted chronology. They came to a conclusion that these cannot be reconciled chronologically. Therefore, they resorted to their childish methodology of selective acceptance and rejection. Historians rejected the short chronology of North-Indian tradition and accepted the long chronology of South-Indian or Sri Lankan tradition. Unable to explain the account of Purāṇas, Jain and Buddhist sources, historians blamed that Indians had no discipline of writing their history. They fixed the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE and propagated that Maurya Aśoka reigned

218 years later. They selectively ignored the account of Kālāśoka of South-Indian tradition. They accepted the Aśoka of Kashmir but opined that Aśoka of Kashmir was the contemporary of Maurya Aśoka without any evidence. Let us try to reconcile the chronological account of all four sources.

First of all, we have to understand the chronological errors committed by later Jain scholars. It was well known in the Jain tradition that Bhadrabāhu was the contemporary of Chandragupta of Ujjain but later Jain scholars mistakenly identified him to be Chandragupta Maurya. Thus, they also identified Śreṇika or Bhambhasāra as Bimbisāra and Kuṇika as Ajātaśatru. These mistaken identities have led to enough confusion in the chronology. I have already explained that Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE whereas Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE. Therefore, Chandragupta Maurya cannot be the contemporary of Bhadrabāhu and Bimbisāra (Śreṇya) and Ajātaśatru cannot be identified with Śreṇika (Bhambhasāra) and Kuṇika respectively.

All Buddhist sources and Kalhaṇa clearly place Aśoka 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. He was undoubtedly the Kālāśoka of South-Indian tradition. He installed 84000 Pillars all over India. He ruled from Puruṣapura (Peshawar), Takśāśilā and Kashmir in North-west to Pundravardhana (Bangladesh) in East and Karnataka in South. The second Buddhist Council was held during the reign of Kālāśoka. It appears that Buddhism split into two sects, Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda. Theravāda spread to South India, Sri Lanka and Burma after the third council. Thus, South Indian tradition of Buddhism separated from North Indian tradition of Buddhism.

The Chronology of Haryaṅka dynasty as given in Buddhist sources can be reconciled with the Puranic chronology of the Śiśunāga dynasty as attempted below:

	In CE
1. The Birth of Buddha	1944 BCE
2. Mahāpadma or Bhattiya conquered Rajagriha from the Śiśunāga dynasty and founded his rule in Magadha.	~1950 BCE

3. The Birth of Bimbisāra 1940 BCE
4. Bimbisāra ascended the throne at the age of 15 years and reigned for 52 years. 1925-1872 BCE
5. Ajātaśatru ascended the throne eight years before Buddha nirvāṇa and reigned for 32 years. 1872-1840 BCE
6. Buddha Mahāparinirvāṇa 1864 BCE
7. The first Buddhist Council 1864 BCE
8. Udayabhadda reigned for 16 years. 1840-1824 BCE
9. Anuruddha reigned for 8 years. 1824-1816 BCE
10. Nāgadasaka reigned for 24 years. 1816-1792 BCE
11. Śīsunāga reigned for 18 years (Only Divyāvadāna mentions that Bindusāra was the father of Kālāśoka. Divyāvadāna is a later work. It might have been composed when Jains identified Chandragupta Maurya to be contemporary of Bhadrabāhu). 1792-1774 BCE
12. Mahāvamśa and Dīpavamśa mention that Kālāśoka ascended the throne 90 years after Mahāparinirvāṇa whereas all North-Indian sources mention that Aśoka ascended 100 years after nirvāṇa. 1774-1765 BCE
13. Aśoka or Kālāśoka (Chandāśoka, Kāmāśoka & Dharmāśoka) reigned for 28 years. 1765-1737 BCE
14. The second Buddhist Council 1765 BCE
15. Ten sons of Kālāśoka reigned for 22 years (Jaloka reigned in Kashmir). 1737-1715 BCE
16. The Śīsunāga King Nandivardhana reconquered Rajagriha and established the rule of Śīsunāga dynasty in Magadha. 1715-1707 BCE
17. The Śīsunāga King Mahānandin reigned for 43 years 1707-1664 BCE
18. Mahāpadma Nanda founded his Nanda dynasty and ascended the throne in 1664 BCE and reigned for 56 years. 1664-1608 BCE
19. Eight sons of Mahāpadma Nanda ruled for 12 years. 1608-1596 BCE
20. Chandragupta Maurya reigned for 24 years. 1596-1572 BCE
21. Bindusāra reigned for 25 years. 1572-1547 BCE
22. Aśokavardhana reigned for 36 Years. 1547-1511 BCE

23. Maurya Aśoka ascended the throne 218 years after the 1547 BCE epoch of Jinachakka or Theravāda Buddhism i.e. 1765 BCE.
24. The third Buddhist Council held 236 years after the 1529 BCE epoch of Jinachakka, i.e., 1765 BCE.
25. Buddhist missions were sent to Sri Lanka, Burma, 1529 BCE Thailand and Yavana janapada.

In view of the above, it is evident that the Aśoka, who reigned 100 years after Buddha's Mahāparinirvāṇa (1864 BCE) was indeed Kālāśoka (1765-1737 BCE) of the Haryaṅka dynasty and not Aśokavardhana (1547-1511 BCE) of the Maurya dynasty. Aśoka (Kālāśoka) of Haryaṅka dynasty was also the king of Kashmir because Rājatarāṅginī clearly indicates that Kashmir King Aśoka did not belong to the Gonanda dynasty. Aśoka (Kālāśoka) of Haryaṅka dynasty was the real author of all rock and pillar edicts written in Brahmi and Kharoshthi scripts. During the time of Mauryas, Buddhism had already been split into two major sects, i.e., Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda. The Maurya King Aśokavardhana patronized the Theravāda Buddhism and convened the third council 236 years after the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE). The Theravāda Buddhism became popular in Sri Lanka and Burma whereas the Sarvāstivāda dominated in the north India. Since the Theras headed the third council, seemingly, the North-Indian tradition did not count the council of Pātaliputra. According to North-Indian tradition, the third council was held during the reign of Kanishka.

### **The Nanda Dynasty (1664-1596 BCE or 1662-1596 BCE)**

The Śiśunāga dynasty reigned around 2024-1664 BCE for 360 years whereas the Haryaṅka dynasty reigned around 1950-1714 BCE for ~236 years. Seemingly, the second Śiśunāga King Kākavarṇa lost Rajagriha to the Haryaṅka dynasty and shifted his capital to Vaiśālī. Later, the ninth Śiśunāga King Nandivardhana conquered back Pātaliputra and Rajagriha from the Haryaṅka dynasty around 1714 BCE and made Pātaliputra as his capital.

The last king of the Śiśunāga dynasty, Mahānandin had an illegitimate son named Mahāpadma Nanda who succeeded him in 1664

BCE and founded the rule of the Nanda dynasty. Mahāpadma Nanda had eight sons and Sumālya was the eldest. In general, Mahāpadma Nanda and his eight sons were referred to as the nine Nandas. According to the Purānas, Mahāpadma Nanda defeated all the kings of his time and established the mighty Magadha Empire. He was the first emperor who ruled almost over the whole of India after the Mahābhārata war. After the account of Śīsunāgas, Purānas indicate that 24 kings of Ikśvākus, 27 Kings of Pāñcāla, 24 kings of Kāshi, 28 kings of Haihayas (Chedi), 32 kings of Kaliṅga, 25 kings of Aśmaka, 36 kings of Kauravas, 28 Kings of Mithilā, 23 Kings of Śaurasenas and 20 kings of Vītihotras reigned up to the time of Mahāpadma Nanda. Seemingly, Mahāpadma Nanda not only subjugated the kings of Ikśvāku, Pāñcāla, Kāshi, Haihaya, Kaliṅga, Aśmaka, Kuru, Mithilā, Śūrasena and Vītihotras of Avanti but also annexed their kingdoms to Magadha Empire.

The Matsya Purāṇa tells us that roughly 1500 years elapsed from the birth of King Parīkṣit till the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda [*Mahāpadmābhiṣekāttu yāvajanma Parīkṣitaḥ | ekameva sahasrantu jñeyam pañca-śatottaram* ]<sup>5</sup>

Considering the birth of King Parīkṣit in the same year of the Mahābhārata war, i.e., 3162 BCE, 1498 years have been elapsed as on 1664 BCE. According to Saptarṣi cycle of 2700 years, the Great bear was at Maghā Nakṣatra around 3176-3076 BCE and at Pūrva Bhādrapadā Nakṣatra around 1676-1576 BCE. Unfortunately, this śloka of Matsya Purāṇa has been distorted by the later updaters of Purānas due to the confusion in the chronology. According to Purānas, the interval between the birth of Parīkṣit and the anointing of Mahāpadma Nanda was 1050 (*evam varṣa-sahasram tu jñeyam pañcāśatuttaram*) or 1150 (*śatam pañcāśattuttaram*) or 1115 (*śatam pañca-daśottaram*) or 1500 (*jñeyam pañcha-śatottaram*). If we count the regnal years of the Bṛhadrathas (1000 years), the Pradyotas (138 years) and the Śīsunāgas (360 years) given in Purānas, the interval between the birth of Parīkṣit and the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda was roughly 1498 years. Evidently, “*jñeyam Pañcaśatottaram*” was the correct version of the śloka. Since some Purānas assumed only 1050 years, it is erroneously stated that Saptarṣis were at the Pūrvāshāḍha constellation when Mahāpadma Nanda was coronated. Kaliyuga Rāja

Vṛttānta mentions that the Great Bear (Saptarṣis) was at the Śravana constellation during the reign of Nandas because it probably counts 1150 years from 3102 BCE.

Only Sumatitantra mistakenly records that the Nandas started ruling after 2000 years from the start of the Kaliyuga era (3102 BCE) but the Purānas completely differ from such chronology. Seemingly, the author of Sumatitantra was under the influence of Jain historians who had mistakenly identified King Chandragupta of Ujjain, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu with the Maurya King Chandragupta of Magadha.

Mahāpadma Nanda ascended the throne of Magadha in 1664 BCE 1498 years after 3162 BCE. If we consider the reign of Śiśunāgas for 362 years, Mahāpadma Nanda was coronated in 1662 BCE exactly 1500 years after the birth of Parīkṣit (3162 BCE). All Purānas mention that nine kings of the Nanda dynasty ruled for 100 years. Sumatitantra tells us that Nandas reigned for 108 years. According to Dīpavaṁśa and Mahāvaṁśa, Nandas ruled for only 22 years which seems to be incorrect. Purānas mention that Mahāpadma Nanda reigned for 88 years and his eight sons reigned for 12 years. It appears that Mahāpadma Nanda died at the age of 88 years but he might have reigned only for 56 or 54 years. Buddhist sources refer to Mahāpadma Nanda as Ugrasena. Mahāvamsaṭīkā mentions that Ugrasena became the leader of a gang of robbers. Probably, Ugrasena led the army of robbers and conquered the Magadha kingdom. According to Mahābodhivaṁśa, nine Nanda kings were Ugrasena, Panduka, Pandugati, Bhūtapāla, Rāṣṭrapāla, Goviśanaka, Daśasiddhaka, Kaivarta and Dhana. Though Purānas refer to eight sons of Mahāpadma Nanda, they name only one son, Sumālya.

	<b>Duration of Reign</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1. Mahāpadma Nanda or Ugrasena	56 or 54 years	1664-1608 BCE or 1662- 1608 BCE
2. Eight sons of Nanda	12 years	1608-1596 BCE

### **The Maurya Dynasty (1596-1459 BCE):**

According to Dhunḍhirāja's commentary on *Mudrārākṣasa*, Yogānanda and Pūrvananda were the last rulers of Nanda dynasty. Chandragupta was the son of Murā and Pūrvananda. Chāṇakya or Vishnugupta, the legendary

scholar of Takṣaśilā Chāṇakya became the patron of Chandragupta, an illegitimate child of Pūrvananda. He led Chandragupta to kill the last Nanda king and placed him on the throne of Magadha around 1596 BCE ending the tyranny of the Nanda dynasty, thus did Chandragupta come to found the rule of the Maurya dynasty. Ḍhunḍhirāja indirectly indicates that Chandragupta killed King Yogānanda and became the King of Magadha (*Yogānande Yaśaḥśeṣe Pūrvanandasutastataḥ, Chandraguptaḥ kṛto rājye Chāṇakyena Mahaujasā*). In all probability, Yogānanda or Pūrvananda was also known as Dhana Nanda.

According to Purāṇas, the Maurya dynasty ruled for 137 years. *Vishnu Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* mention that Maurya kings reigned for 137 years (मौर्याह्निते दशनृपाः सप्तत्रिंशच्छतोत्तरम्).<sup>6</sup> Though Purāṇas give 137 years for the Maurya dynasty, they have many differences in the names and number of kings as shown below:

	<b>Matsya Purāṇa</b>	<b>Vāyu Purāṇa</b>	<b>Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa</b>
1.	Chandragupta	Chandragupta	Chandragupta
2.	Śatadhanvā	Bhadrasāra	Bhadrasāra
3.	Bṛhadratha	Aśoka	Aśoka
4.	Aśoka	Kuśala	Kuśala
5.	Dasona	Bandhupālita	Bandhupālita
6.	Daśaratha	Indrapālita	Indrapālita
7.	Samprati	Devavarman	Devavarman
8.		Śatadhara	Śatadhanu
9.		Bṛhadratha	Bṛhadratha
	<b>Vishnu Purāṇa</b>	<b>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</b>	<b>Vāyu Purāṇa</b>
1.	Chandragupta	Chandragupta	Chandragupta
2.	Bindusāra	Vārisāra	Nandasāra
3.	Aśokavardhana	Aśokavardhana	Aśoka
4.	Suyaśas	Suyaśas	Kulala
5.	Daśaratha	Saṅgata	Bandhupālita
6.	Samyuta	Śāliśūka	Dasona
7.	Śāliśūka	Somaśarman	Daśaratha

8.	Somaśarman	Śatadhanvan	Samprati
9.	Śatadhanvan	Bṛhadratha	Śāliśūka
10.	Bṛhadratha		Devadharman
11.			Śatamdhanus
12.			Bṛhadratha

Though Bhāgavata Purāna lists nine kings, counts ten kings. Seemingly, Vishnu Purāna is the most authentic in the context of the genealogy of Mauryas. It appears that Suyaśa and Daśaratha were the sons of Aśokavardhana and reigned simultaneously for eight years. It can, therefore, be concluded that total ten Maurya kings reigned for 137 years. The chronology of the Maurya Dynasty (1596-1459 BCE):

		<b>Duration of Reign</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1.	Chandragupta	24 years	1596-1572 BCE
2.	Bindusāra or Bhadrasāra	25 years	1572-1547 BCE
3.	Aśoka or Aśokavardhana	36 years	1547-1511 BCE
4.	<b>Suyaśa</b>	<b>8 years</b>	<b>1511-1503 BCE</b>
5.	<b>Daśaratha</b>	<b>8 years</b>	<b>1511-1503 BCE</b>
6.	Samyuta or Saṅgata	9 years	1503-1494 BCE
7.	Śāliśūka	13 years	1494-1481 BCE
8.	Soma Śarma	7 years	1481-1474 BCE
9.	Śatadhanvā	8 years	1474-1466 BCE
10.	Bṛhadratha	7 years	1466-1459 BCE

### **Who was Sandrokottus?**

Greek historians mention Indian King Sandorokottus who was the contemporary of Alexander and Seleucus. Modern historians have mistakenly identified Indian King “Sandrokottus” with Chandragupta Maurya. In fact, the historians blindly believe in the historicity of the epoch of Christian era (1 CE) and fix the lifetime of Alexander around 356-323 BCE and the reign of Seleucus Nicator around 305-281 BCE. I have already established in my book titled “*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*” that the epoch of 1 CE is fictitious and not historical. Therefore, the epoch of the Christian era does not deserve to be the sheet



anchor of the chronologies of western kingdoms. In fact, Alexander lived around 1015-982 BCE and Seleucus Nicator reigned around 972-940 BCE. Thus, the Maurya King Chandragupta (1596-1572 BCE), the Gupta King Chandragupta I (334-330 BCE) or Samudragupta (330-280 BCE) cannot be identified as Sandrokottus because they were not the contemporaries of Alexander or Seleucus.

Greek historians like Megasthenes, Plutarch, Strabo, Pliny, Justin and Arrian mention an Indian king named “Sandrokottus” who was the contemporary of Alexander and Seleucus Nicator. William Jones (1746-1794 CE) was the first who identified “Sandrokottus” with Chandragupta Maurya. Modern historians have blindly propounded this identification as the sheet anchor of Indian chronology. TSN Shastry and Kota Venkatachalam have challenged this identification and propounded that Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty must be identified as “Sandrokottus.” Pandit Bhagavaddatta has proposed King Chandraketu to be Sandrokottus. Thus, there are mainly three hypotheses about the identification of Sandrokottus.

### **Chandragupta Maurya as Sandokottus**

William Jones says: “The jurisprudence of the Hindus and Arabs being the field which I have chosen for my peculiar toil, you cannot expect that I should greatly enlarge your collection of historical knowledge; but I may be able to offer you some occasional tribute; and I cannot help mentioning a discovery which accidentally threw in my way, though my proofs must be reserved for an essay which I have destined for the fourth volume of your transactions. To fix the situation of that Palibothra (for there may have been several of the name) which was visited and described by Megasthenes, had always appeared a very difficult problem; for though it could not have been Prayāga; where no ancient metropolis ever stood, nor Kānyakubja, which has no epithet at all resembling the word used by the Greeks; nor Gaur, otherwise called Lakṣmaṇavatī, which all know to be a town comparatively modern, yet we could not confidently decide that it was Pāṭaliputra, though names and most circumstances nearly correspond, because that renowned capital extended from the confluence of the Sone and the Ganges to the site of Patna, while Palibothra stood at the junction

of the Ganges and Erannoboas, which the accurate M. D'Anville has pronounced to be the Yamuna; but this only difficulty was removed when I found in a classical Sanskrit book, near 2000 years old, that Hiranyabahu, or golden-armed, which the Greeks changed into Erannoboas, or the river with a lovely murmur, was in fact another name for the Sona itself; though Megasthenes, from ignorance or inattention, has named them separately. This discovery led to another of greater moment; for Chandragupta, who, from a military adventurer, became, like Sandrocottus, the sovereign of Upper Hindustan, actually fixed the seat of his empire at Pataliputra, where he received ambassadors from foreign princes; and was no other than that very Sandrocottus who concluded a treaty with Seleucus Nicator; so that we have solved another problem, to which we before alluded, and may in round numbers consider the twelve and three hundredth years before Christ as two certain epochs between Rama, who conquered Ceylon a few centuries after the flood, and Vikramāditya, who died at Ujjayini fifteen-seven years before the beginning of our era.”

Almost all western historians have agreed with William Jones and re-constructed the chronology of ancient India considering the contemporaneity of Alexander and Chandragupta Maurya as sheet anchor. These western historians were generally Christians by birth. Therefore, they blindly believed that Jesus was born around 1 CE and considered the epoch of 1 CE as the sheet anchor of the world chronology. Thus, they have fixed the date of Alexander around 330-323 BCE. Accordingly, the date of Chandragupta Maurya has been brought forward by ~1274 years and fixed the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession in 322 BCE. Purāṇas indicate the date of Chandragupta Maurya to be around 1596-1572 BCE.

### **Chandragupta I or Samudragupta as Sandrokottus**

Kota Venkatachalam concludes that “It is most likely that Chandragupta I and Samudragupta were the contemporaries of Alexander and Seleucus Nicator; and were known to the Greeks under the name of Xandrames, Sandrokottus and Sandrocyptus.” He follows the traditional Puranic chronology and arrives the date of Maurya dynasty around 1534-1218 BCE and the date of Gupta dynasty around 327-82 BCE. Thus, he establishes

the contemporaneity of Gupta King Chandragupta I and Alexander (330-323 BCE).

### **Chandraketu as Sandrokottus**

Pandit Bhagavaddatta speculated that Yamuna was flowing through Palibotha i.e., Paribhadra, the capital of the Prassi kingdom. Palibothra was 200 miles from Prayāga on way to Mathura. The kśatriyas of this region were known as Prabhadrakas or Paribhadrakas. Their king was Chandraketu. The capital Paribhadra was near to Sindhu-Pulinda which is in Madhya Desha and is today termed as Kali-Sindha. The Karuṣa Sarovara was between Sindhu-Pulinda and Prayāga. According to Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacharitam*, Chandraketu was a king of Chakora.<sup>7</sup> He was a contemporary of King Śūdraka. There were two Śūdrakas. Śūdraka I of Avanti lived around 2287 BCE and Śūdraka II of Bengal flourished around 856-756 BCE. We will discuss the date of Śūdraka later in this chapter.

### **The Methodology of Historians**

In fact, the methodology adopted by western historians was fallacious. They followed a fictitious epoch of 1 CE and fixed the date of Alexander around 330-323 BCE. Thereafter, they fixed the date of Chandragupta Maurya based on the concocted contemporaneity of Alexander and Chandragupta Maurya and reconstructed the chronology of ancient India in contrary to the traditional chronology of ancient India. In fact, it is pertinent to arrive the complete chronology of ancient Greece and ancient India independently and thereafter, we need to establish the identity of the Indian King Sandrokottus, a contemporary of Alexander. TSN Shastry and Kota Venkatachalam have reconstructed the traditional chronology of ancient India based on literary evidence but simply believed in the authenticity of the date of Alexander (330-323 BCE). Thus, they have proposed that Sandokottus must be identified with Chandragupta I or Samudragupta. Pandit Bhagavaddatta has also blindly accepted the date of Alexander (330-323 BCE) and identified King Chandraketu as Sandrokottus.

The date of Alexander has been elaborately discussed in my book titled “*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*” and it is conclusively established that Alexander reigned over Macedonia, Egypt and Persia around 990-982 BCE considering the error of 660 years in dating of Jesus birth. Therefore, neither Maurya King Chandragupta Maurya (1596-1572 BCE) nor Gupta King Chandragupta I (334-330 BCE) can be identified as Sandrokottus, a contemporary of Alexander. Let us study the references of Sandrokottus found in Greek Sources.

### **The references of Sandrokottus in Greek Sources**

1. Sandrokottus, an Indian king at the time of Alexander and Seleucus Nicator, ruled over the powerful nation of the Gandaridae (Gangaridae?) and Prasii on the banks of the Ganges. The capital of Sandrocottus was Palibothra. The Greek writers relate that the father of Sandrocottus was a man of low origin. Sandrocottus or his father extended his dominions over the greater part of northern India. Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus not only his conquests, but also the country of the Paropamisus. Seleucus in return received five hundred war elephants. The peace was cemented by a matrimonial alliance. Megasthenes subsequently resided for many years at the court of Sandrocottus as the ambassador of Seleucus.
2. Athenaeus gives us the name of Sandrocyptus.
3. Strabo says; “Both of these men were sent ambassadors to Palimbothra, Megasthenes to Sandrocottus and Deimachus to Allitrochades, his son.” ..... “The king in addition to his family name must adopt the surname of Palibothros, as Sandrokottus, for instance did, to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy.” ..... “The Indus runs in a parallel course along the breadth of these regions. The Indians possess partly some of the countries lying along Indus, but these belonged formerly to the Persians. Alexander took them away from the Arianoi and established in them colonies of his own. Seleukos Nikator gave them to Sandrokottus in concluding a marriage alliance, and received in exchange 500 elephants.”

4. Diodorus and Curtius have named Xandrames or Agrammes as the ruler of India before Sandrokottos.
5. Greek scholars have named Amitrochates or Allitrochades as the ruler of India after Sandrokottus.
6. According to Pliny, Megasthenes described 30 walled cities of the Andrae (Andhras). Five of these walled cities of the Andhras have been excavated in Dhulikatta, Karimnagar district.
7. Megasthenes says that the Śakas or Skythians were living in the northern side of India: “India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemodos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Śakai, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile”.
8. Megasthenes describes the system of city administration of Palibothra.
9. Megasthenes, who was also sent as ambassador to King Porus by Seleucus, mentions that Porus was even greater than Sandrokottus.
10. Plutarch mentions that Androkottus marched over the whole of India with an army of 600 thousand men.

First of all, the Puranic chronology of ancient India explicitly indicates that King Chandragupta Maurya reigned ~600 years before Alexander. Thus, both can never be the contemporaries. Secondly, the names like Xandrames and Allitrochades can never be identified as Dhanananda and Bindusāra. Thirdly, Greeks have no knowledge of Chāṇakya and Aśoka, etc. Fourthly, Megasthenes mentions that the Śakas were the rulers of North-western India whereas according to the Aśokan inscriptions, the Yavanas, not Śakas, were the powerful rulers of Indian neighbourhood in the west. Fifthly, there is no similarity between the city administration described by Megasthenes and the city administration described in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

Chandragupta I and Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty also can never be the contemporaries of Alexander. In fact, Alexander reigned ~648 years before the foundation of the Gupta Empire. Moreover, the kingdom of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta was never extended up to Indus River.

### **The Identification of Sandrokottus and Polibothra**

According to *Samyukta Ratna Piṭaka Sūtra*, Kanishka ascended the throne 700 years after Buddha Nirvāṇa (1864 BCE).<sup>8</sup> Arhat Ki-ye-to was a contemporary of Kanishka. *Samyukta Ratna Piṭaka Sūtra* also indicates that King Kanishka had three friends, his minister Māthara, physician Charaka and Aśvaghoṣa who were his advisors. The Gilgit Manuscript of Vinayavastu mentions that Kanishka flourished 400 years after the nirvāṇa of Vajrapāni (~1550 BCE). Hiuen Tsang also gives the date of Kanishka 400 years after nirvāṇa (nirvāṇa of Vajrapāni). Thus, we can roughly fix the chronology of Kanishka I the Great around 1150-1118 BCE. Nāgārjuna, the greatest Buddhist philosopher lived after the reign of King Kanishka around 1100-1034 BCE. According to Sarat Chandra Das's article titled "Life and Legend of Nāgārjuna"<sup>9</sup> and M Walleser's book titled "The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources" Nāgārjuna was born a century before King Chandragupta's accession. Puzzled historians have rejected this historical account of Nāgārjuna because Chandragupta Maurya cannot be dated after Nāgārjuna.

Tibetan sources record that Nāgārjuna was born in a Brahmana family and received the "siddhi" from Tārā during his stay at Kahora, a part of Kāñchi. He proceeded over the Sitavana to Nāendra (Nalanda) where he became a monk and attained the zenith of his knowledge in the five sciences. He also stayed at Rajagriha for twelve years. Thereafter, he went Ghantaśaila and here from to the Śriparvata in the south where he spent the rest of his long life. There is also a reference of his relations with Śālabhadra transformed by him into a king. Tibetan monk Taranatha records that Nāgārjuna is supposed to have appeared in the country of Bhangala only after the presence of King Harichandra, the first of Chandra family. Sri Rāhula was the contemporary of him. Sri Sarat Chandra Das mentions with reference to Tibetan texts that Nāgārjuna was born in Vidarbha.

The Nāgas used to attend Nāgārjuna's sermons at Nālendra (Nalanda). They begged him to take up his permanent domicile in the domain of the Nāgas which he declined saying that he had to propagate in entire Jambūdīpa. He went back to Nālendra with costly presents, with jewels of immense value, and with the religious text called "Nāgasāhasrikā". On account of his connections with the Nāgas, he received the name of "Nāgārjuna". After the death of Rāhula Bhadra or Saraha Bhadra, Nāgārjuna became the head of Nālendra (Nalanda). King Sadvāhana of Chandra dynasty, a junior contemporary of Nāgārjuna might have reigned around 1050-1020 BCE.

**Xandremes was King Chandra (1000-984 BCE) of the Chandra Dynasty** Chandra was the greatest King of the Chandra family of the Naga dynasty. In fact, King Chandra was the author of the Iron Pillar inscription of Delhi. Historians have mistakenly assumed that Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty was the author of this inscription. The strongest evidence is that the script of Iron Pillar does not match with the script of other inscriptions of Chandragupta II. Seemingly, the script of Iron Pillar is older than the script of Prayāga Praśasti of Samudragupta.

*English translation of the Iron Pillar inscription:*

**Verse 1:** "He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the Vaṅga countries, he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (him); he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vahlikas were conquered;-he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed."

**Verse 2:** "He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned-out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quit this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) from to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions, (but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame."

**Verse 3:** “By him, the king, attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm and (enjoyed) for a very long time; (and) who, having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full-moon,- having in faith fixed his mind upon (the god) Vishnu, this lofty standard of the divine Vishnu was set up on the hill (called) Vishnupada.”

An inscription of Anangpāla is also engraved on the Pillar as “*Samvat Kinlli 1109 Angapāla bahi or badi*”. The year 1109 is given in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE).

The Iron Pillar inscription records that the King Chandra conquered from Vanga (Bengal) to the banks of Sindhu (Indus) River. He also crossed Sindhu and subdued the Bāhlika kings. In commemoration of his great victory, King Chandra erected this Iron Pillar on the hill of Vishnupāda. In all probability, Chandra was the King Xandrames as mentioned by Greek historians. Nāga kings did not belong to any Kshatriya dynasty. They trace their origin from Śeṣa Nāga. The Gupta inscriptions indicate that Nāgas were elevated to a clan of Kśatriyas. This is the reason why Greek historians refer to the low origin of Xandrames.

### **Sandrokottus was King Chandragupta (984-930 BCE), the Son of Xandrames or King Chandra**

We know only the name of King Chandra (Xandrames) in the Iron Pillar inscription. There is no information about the successor of King Chandra. Interestingly, Vamana’s *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-Sūtravṛtti* clearly mentions that *Chandraprakāśa* was the son of Chandragupta and his minister was Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE), the great Buddhist philosopher.<sup>10</sup>

साभिप्रायत्वं यथा—

सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा  
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ॥

आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यस्य वसुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरत्वात् साभिप्रायत्वम्... ।

According to Tibetan Buddhist monk Taranatha, Vasubandhu lived during the reign of Dharmachandra, son of Sri Chandra. We can now fix the chronology of the Chandra kings:



Chandra(Xandremes)	1000-984 BCE
Chandragupta or Sri Chandra (Sandrokottus or Andokottus)	984-930 BCE
Chandraprakāśa or Dharmachandra (Amitrochates or Allitrochades)	930-890 BCE

### **Polibothra was Prayāgabhadra or Pratiṣṭhānapura**

According to Greek historians, Polibothra was the capital of Sandrokottus located close to the confluence of Ganges and Errannaboas (Yamuna). Undoubtedly, this confluence of Ganga and Yamuna rivers takes place at Prayaga. Therefore, Prayāgabhadra or Pratiṣṭhānapura must be identified as Polibothra.

Chinese translation of Paramartha’s “Life of Vasubandhu” tells us that Vasubandhu’s teacher Budhamitra was in the court of King Pi-ka-la-ma-a-chi-ta (Vikramāditya) of A-yu-ja (Ayodhyā). The crown prince and the son of Vikramāditya was Ba-la-chi-ti-ya (Bālāditya). After the death of Vikramāditya, Bālāditya became the king. He invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhyā. Vasubandhu accepted the invitation of King Bālāditya and settled in Ayodhyā. Evidently, Vikramāditya was Chandragupta (984-930 BCE) and Bālāditya was his son Chandraprakāśa (930-890 BCE). A Nāga King Bi-li-sha-ka-na (Vṛṣagaṇa or Vārṣagaṇya) was ruling near Vindhyachal. The greatest Sāṅkhya philosopher Vindhyāvāsin was in the court of Nāga King. Vindhyāvāsin (970-890 BCE) defeated Budhamitra (970-900 BCE), the teacher of Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE). We will discuss the dates of Vindhyāvāsin, Budhamitra and Vasubandhu in the context of the date of Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya in Chapter 14.

Ayodhyā is located 175 kms in the north of Prayāga whereas Vindhyāchala is located within 100 kms in the South-east of Prayāga. Greek historians refer to the river “Errannaboas”. In all probability, Greeks referred to Yamuna as Errannaboas. Historians have speculated Errannaboas as Hiraṇyabāhu but Megasthenes refers to Sone River in another context because Sone River flowed through the kingdom of Śoṇabhadra. Therefore, it is totally absurd to identify Sone River as Errannaboas. Undoubtedly, Errannaboas was indeed Yamuna River and

the confluence of rivers mentioned by Greek historians was the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna at Prayāga.

In ancient times, Pratiṣṭhānapura was located close to Prayāga which was the capital of Chandravamśi kings. Historians have identified Jhusi to be Pratiṣṭhānapura. Evidently, King Chandra, Chandragupta Vikramāditya and Chandraprakāśa Bālāditya must be identified as Xandremes, Sandrokottus and Allitrochades respectively. They probably belonged to the Nāga dynasty. Vasubandhu was the minister of King Chandraprakāśa Bālāditya. The city of Polibothra was Prayāgabhadra or Pratiṣṭhānapura.

### **Gandaridae was Gāndhāra not Gangaridae**

Western historians have translated Gandaridae as Gangaridae and speculated the region of Ganga River to be as Gangaridae. Smith writes, “The Gangaridae, also written Gandaridae, and the Prasii, are probably the same people; the former name signifying the people in the neighbourhood of the Ganges, and the latter being of Hindu origin, and the same as the Prāchī, the eastern country of Sanskrit writers.” The Greek historians mention that Sandokottus was the king of Gandaridae and Prasii. Prasii (Prāchī) was the name of eastern India. King Chandra or Xandrames crossed Sindhu (Indus) and conquered the parts of Gāndhāra and Bāhlika kingdom as recorded in the Iron Pillar inscription. Therefore, Gandaridae must be Gāndhāra Kingdom and not the region of Ganga River. It may be noted that a king who controlled the Gāndhāra Kingdom can only be in conflict with Seleucus Nicator, the King of Syria and Parthia. Porus, the later descendant of Paurava Chandravamśi king, was ruling over northern Pakistan, Bactria, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, etc. He was controlling the traditional silk route. In all probability, Porus fought a battle against Alexander on the bank of Hydaspes (Jhelum) at Rawalpindi and forced him to return to Babylon. There is a genuine need to study once again the original Greek texts to understand the episode of Porus-Alexander conflict. Moreover, Megasthenes mentions that Porus was greater than Sandrokottus.

### **The Marriage Alliance**

Strabo says that the Indians possess partly some of the countries lying along Indus, but these belonged formerly to the Persians. Alexander took

them away from the Arianoi and established in them colonies of his own. Seleucus Nikator gave them to Sandrokottus in concluding a marriage alliance, and received in exchange 500 elephants.

In all probability, Arianoi is the region of Khurasan closer to Kandhar. It appears that Seleucus was desperate to get elephants because he realized the importance of elephantry in the battle field. Most probably, Seleucus negotiated with Sandrokottus for 500 elephants. He had sent Megasthanes to negotiate the deal.

### **The Śakas or Skythians of North-Western side of India**

Megasthanes says that the Śakas or Skythians were living in the northern side of India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemodos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Śakai. Evidently, Megasthanes indicates the kingdom of Śakas in the North-Western India.

### **The Andhrae**

According to Pliny, Megasthanes described 30 walled cities of the Andrae. Evidently, Andrae were the Andhra Ikśvāku kings or early Śātavāhana kings. It may be noted that Simuka was not the founder of the Śātavāhana dynasty. The Śātavāhana kings existed in the South India many centuries before the time of King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE). Five of these walled cities of the Andhras have been excavated in Dhulikatta, Karimnagar district. Purāṇas generally refer to the Śātavāhana kings as Andhra kings. The Śātavāhanas lost their kingdom in the south before the rise of the Gupta dynasty. Thus, Maurya King Chandragupta or Gupta King Chandragupta I cannot be identified as Sandrokottus.

### **The Śuṅga Dynasty (1459-1346 BCE)**

Puṣyamitra was the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya King Bṛhadratha. He forcibly took the reins of the Magadha Empire from Maurya King Bṛhadratha and founded the rule of the Śuṅga dynasty around 1459 BCE. The Yavanas of Śākala invaded Pataliputra during the reign of Maurya King Śāliśūka as recorded in *Yugapurāṇa*. The Yavanas of Śākala were the patrons of Buddhism. Seemingly, the Buddhists of Magadha indirectly supported

the Yavanas. Pushyamitra removed the weak Maurya ruler of Magadha and founded the rule of the Śuṅga dynasty. Probably, the Śuṅgas belonged to the Āgniveśya gotra. Puṣyamitra defeated Yavanas and successfully limited their power up to the Punjab region of Pakistan. The Buddhists might have opposed Puṣyamitra. Therefore, Puṣyamitra probably ordered to kill many Buddhists as recorded in the Buddhist sources.

Puṣyamitra was the first king after Mahābhārata war who performed Aśvamedha or Rājasūya Yajña and Patanjali was his priest (*iha Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ*). Patanjali authored the “*Mahābhāṣya*”, a detailed commentary on Pāṇini’s grammar during the reign of the Śuṅga King Puṣyamitra. According to the Purānas, ten kings of the Śuṅga dynasty ruled for 112 years. It appears that Agnimitra and Vasujyeṣṭha reigned simultaneously.

	Duration of Reign	In CE
1. Puṣyamitra	36 years	1459-1423 BCE
2. Agnimitra	8 years	1423-1415 BCE
3. Vasujyeṣṭha or Sujyeṣṭha	7 years	1423-1416 BCE
4. Vasumitra	10 years	1415-1405 BCE
5. Bhadraka	2 years	1405-1403 BCE
6. Pulindaka	3 years	1403-1400 BCE
7. Ghoṣāvasu	3 years	1400-1397 BCE
8. Vajramitra	9 years	1397-1388 BCE
9. Bhāgavata	32 years	1388-1356 BCE
10. Devabhūti	10 years	1356-1346 BCE

### Heliodorus and the Śuṅga King Bhāgavata or Bhāgabhadra (1374 BCE)

Heliodorus, son of Diya (Dion), the resident of Takśaśilā and a Yavana pilgrim (who was a Vaiṣṇava devotee) was the ambassador of the Yavana King Amtialkita and visited Vidiśā temple during the 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra. He erected the Garuda-dhvaja or Garuda pillar in Vidiśā’s Vishnu temple. The Inscription on the Garuda Pillar reads: “*Devadevasa Va[sude]vasa Garudadhvajo ayam kārito i[a] Heliodorena bhāgavatena Diyasa putreṇa Takśaśilakena Yonadātena āgatena mahārājasa Amtalikitasa upa[m]ta samkasam rano Kāsiput[r]asa [Bh]āgabhadrasa tratarasa vasena [chatu]dasena rajena vadhamanasa*”.

Amtialkita, a Yavana king, was ruling at Takśaśilā. *Milindapanho* tells us that Yavana King Milinda or Minander was ruling up to Śākala (Sialkot) 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). It is well-known that the Yavanas were ruling in the west of Indus River from Pre-Aśokan era. Aśoka was controlling the region up to Shahbajgadhi. It appears that the Yavanas took the control of Takśaśilā around 1700 BCE and gradually, the Yavanas of Takśaśilā and Gāndhāra became indianised. From 1500 BCE onwards, the Yavanas started patronising Buddhism. The rise of the Śuṅgas under Puṣyamitra around 1459 BCE led to a conflict between Yavanas and Śuṅgas. These Yavanas also conquered Khurasan and Persia and introduced Buddhism. Most probably, the Yavana King Amtialkita might have reigned before Milinda around 1390-1360 BCE. Therefore, Heliodorus visited Vidhiśā in the 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1374 BCE) of the Śuṅga King Bhāgavata or Bhāgabhadra. We will discuss the chronology of Yavana kings in detail in the context of the history of Bactria and Gāndhāra in Chapter 11.

### The Kaṇva Dynasty (1346-1301 BCE)

The last Śuṅga King Devabhūti was an incompetent ruler and addicted to unvirtuous ways from his childhood. His minister Vasudeva killed him and became the King of Magadha (देवभूतिं तु शुङ्गराजानं व्यसनितं तस्यैवामात्यः कण्वो वसुदेवनामा तं निहत्य स्वयमवनीं भोक्ष्यति).<sup>11</sup> Harṣacharitam also indicates that Vasudeva killed Devabhūti Śuṅga with the help of a daughter of Devabhūti's Dāsi (maid) disguised as his queen (अतिस्त्रीसङ्गरतमनङ्गपरवशं शुङ्गममात्यो वसुदेवो देवभूतिदासीदुहित्रा देवीव्यञ्जनया वीतजीवितमकारयत्).<sup>12</sup> Vasudeva was the descendant of the Kānvāyana gotra and founded the rule of the Kaṇva dynasty. According to the Purānas, four kings of the Kaṇva dynasty ruled for a period of 45 years (एते काण्वायनाश्चत्वारः पञ्चचत्वारिंशद् वर्षाणि भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति).<sup>13</sup>

	Duration of Reign	In CE
1. Vasudeva	9 years	1346-1337 BCE
2. Bhumimitra	14 years	1337-1323 BCE
3. Nārāyaṇa	12 years	1323-1311 BCE
4. Suśarman	10 years	1311-1301 BCE

### **The Magadha Kings From 1301 BCE to 826 BCE**

The Vishnu Purāṇa mentions that Śīprata of Andhra country was either an official or a feudatory of the last Kaṇva King Suśarmā. Śīprata killed Suśarmā and became the king of Magadha (सुशर्माणं कण्वञ्च भृत्यो बलात् शिप्रतनामा हत्वा आन्द्रजातीयो वसुधां भोक्ष्यति). The Vāyu Purāṇa names him as Sindhuka. Some other Purāṇas refer to him as Simuka or Simhaka. Aitareya Brāhamaṇa mentions that Andhras were the cursed sons of Viśvāmitra. Thus, Andhras were originally Brāhamaṇas but they became Kśatriyas later. Mahābhārata indicates that Andhras supported Duryodhana during the Mahābhārata war.<sup>14</sup> The Rock edict 13 of Emperor Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE) mentions the Andhras. A fragment of 6<sup>th</sup> Pillar edict of Aśoka indicates that the Śātavāhanas were the feudatories of Aśoka. Mahāpadma Nanda (1664-1608 BCE) also conquered Andhras. Thus, Andhras were the feudatories of Magadha kings since the time of Aśoka. Seemingly, Śīprata of Andhra community had killed the last Śuṅga King Suśarmā and became the king of Magadha in 1301 BCE. He might have reigned for 25 years. It appears that the sons of Śīprata could not retain their control over Magadha and lost it to a local king who was probably the father of Śreṇika or Bhambhasāra.

Jain sources inform us that Śreṇika or Bhambhasāra was ruling over Rajagriha of Magadha during the lifetime of Mahāvira (1261-1189 BCE). I have already established the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE) considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE. Kuṇika succeeded his father Śreṇika in 1211 BCE. Udāyi, son of Kuṇika-died in 1129 BCE without any successor. The ministers of Udāyi selected a warrior named Nanda or Nandarāja who was the son of a barber. Nandarāja became the king of Magadha in 1129 BCE in the 60<sup>th</sup> year after Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE).

Kushana King Kanishka conquered Magadha around 1150 BCE and the Kśatrapas of Kushana kings reigned over Magadha approximately for 130 years. We will discuss the chronology of Kushanas in the context of the history of Bactria and Gāndhāra in Chapter 11. The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela informs us that King Khāravela sacked Goradhagiri in his 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year that caused pressure on Rajagriha. Yavana

King Vimaka retreated to Mathura. King Khāravela attacked Uttarāpatha and Magadha in his 12<sup>th</sup> regnal year, i.e., 1019 BCE. He brought back the idol of Jina of Kalinga which had been taken to Magadha by Nandarāja. He also appointed Bahasatimita (Bṛhaspatimitra) as the king of Magadha. Khāravela reigned around 1031-1000 BCE. We will discuss the date of Khāravela in detail in the context of the chronological history of Kalinga in Chapter 23.

Seemingly, Bṛhaspatimitra was a later descendant of the Śuṅga dynasty. Though Bṛhaspatimitra became the king of Magadha with the support of Khāravela, the rise of Chandra kings might have reduced him to be a feudatory king. The Chandra kings dominated in North India during the period 1000-880 BCE. Prayāga and Sāketa were the capitals of the Chandra kings. After the decline of Chandra dynasty around 900-880 BCE, it appears that some later Śuṅga kings might have reigned over Magadha. Vishnu Purāṇa mentions three kings named Puṣpamitra, Padhumitra and Padmamitra who may have belonged to the clan of later Śuṅgas. The proposed chronology of Magadha from 1301 BCE to 828 BCE is as follows:

	<b>Duration of Reign</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1. Śiprata (Andhra King)	26 years	1301-1275 BCE
2. The Father of Śreṇika or Bhambhasāra	25 years	1275-1250 BCE
3. Śreṇika or Bhambhasāra	39 years	1250-1211 BCE
4. Kuṇika	36 years	1211-1175 BCE
5. Udāyi	46 years	1175-1129 BCE
6. Nandarāja (Probably, he was a feudatory of Kanishka.)	19 years	1129-1110 BCE
7. Huvishka	--	1110-1058 BCE
9. Vasudeva	--	1058-1019 BCE
10. Bṛhaspatimitra	19 years	1019-1000 BCE
11. The Chandra or Nāga Kings (Chandra, Chandragupta & Chandraprakāśa etc.)	120 years	1000-880 BCE
12. The Later Śuṅgas (Puṣpamitra, Padhumitra and Padmamitra)	54 years	880-826 BCE

### The Śātavāhana Dynasty (826-334 BCE)

According to *Kathāsaritsāgara*, King Dipakarṇi found an abandoned child in a forest close to the den of a lion. Probably, Śāta was a synonym for lion in a Prakrit dialect. Thus, the child came to be known as “Śātavāhana”. He succeeded King Dipakarṇi and founded the Śātavāhana dynasty. Most probably, Dipakarṇi was the king of Pratiṣṭhāna. Guṇāḍhya, the author of *Bṛhatkathā* and Śarvavarmā, the author of *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* were contemporaries of an early *Śātavāhana* king.

The Purānas tell us that Simuka or Simhaka, a descendant of the Śātavāhana dynasty ascended the throne of Magadha after overthrowing the last Kaṇva King Suśarmā. Interestingly, Vāyu Purāna mentions that Sindhuka also conquered the later kings of Śuṅga dynasty (काण्वायनस्ततो भृत्यः सुशर्माणं प्रसह्य तं शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षपयित्वा बलं तदा सिन्धुको आन्ध्रजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुन्धराम्). My hypothesis is that the Andhra king who killed the Kaṇva King Suśarmā and the Andhra king who conquered the kingdom of later Śuṅgas were two different persons because the last Kaṇva king Suśarmā reigned around 1311-1301 BCE whereas the Śātavāhanas founded their dynasty around 828 BCE 836 years after the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda. It is stated in *Matsya Purāna* that there was an interval of 836 years between the coronation of Mahāpadma and the beginning of the reign of Andhras (पौलोमास्तु तथान्ध्रास्तु महापद्मान्तरे पुनः अन्तरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ षट्त्रिंशत्तु समास्तथा).<sup>15</sup> Seemingly, Śiprata was the Andhra king who killed Suśarmā around 1301 BCE and Simuka or Simhaka or Sindhuka was the Andhra king who conquered the kings of later Śuṅgas and founded the rule of Śātavāhanas in Magadha around 826 BCE.

The Vāyu Purāna clearly states that the Great Bear was in Maghā constellation for a hundred years (3176-3076 BCE) during the reign of King Parīkṣit and will again be in the 24<sup>th</sup> Nakṣatra constellation, i.e., Ārdrā (i.e., the 24<sup>th</sup> Centennium) from Maghā by the time of the start of the Andhra (Śātavāhana) dynasty around 876-776 BCE.

*“Saptarṣayo Maghāyuktāḥ kāle Pārīkṣite śatam ।  
Āndhrāṁśe sa caturvīmśe bhaviṣyanti mate mama ॥”*<sup>16</sup>



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

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

It is well known that King Śudraka (Śudraka II) was the author of the famous Sanskrit drama “*Mṛcchakaṭīkam*”. Vamana’s *Kāvyaśāstra* mentions Śudraka as the author of *Mṛcchakaṭīkam*. But *Mṛcchakaṭīkam* refers to King Śudraka as a king of past. According to *Mṛcchakaṭīkam*, Śudraka I performed *Aśvamedha Yajña* and lived for 100 years and 10 days. His son succeeded him. Śudraka has been mentioned in *Daśakumāracharitam* of Dandī, *Kādambarī* of Bānabhaṭṭa, *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva and *Bṛhatkāthamañjarī*. In *Harṣacharitam*, King Śudraka has been referred to as the enemy of Chandraketu, the king of Chakora. Bāna’s *Kādambarī* indicates Vidiśā to be the capital of Śudraka whereas *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Bṛhatkāthamañjarī*’s Vetala kathā refer to his capital as Śobhāvati and Vardhana or Vardhamāna respectively. According to *Kadambarī*, Vidishā King Śudraka was an incarnation of Chandrāpida, son of Avanti King Tārāpida.

*Avantisundarikathā* describes Śudraka as a Brahmana king of Avanti and mentions that he defeated Svāti, a prince of the Śātavāhana dynasty. Poet Rājasekhara mentions that Śudraka was a Brahmana minister of a Śātavāhana king. The Śātavāhana king bestowed upon Śudraka one half of his dominions for rescuing his queen when she was abducted by a demon. Interestingly, Ananta’s *Viracharita* describes Śudraka as an associate of Śālivāhana and his son Śaktikumāra. Later, Śudraka enters into conflict with Śaktikumāra and defeats him. Evidently, Jain poet Ananta mistakenly assumes Śātavāhana as Śālivāhana.

As a matter of fact, there were two Śudrakas. Śudraka I belonged to the Aśmaka Janapada of South India. He was a Brahmana minister of King Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna and became the king of Vidiśā and Avanti. Since *Bṛhatkāthā* and *Kathāsaritsāgara* relates the story of Śudraka, therefore, Śudraka I might have flourished before Guṇāḍhya (~2200-2100 BCE). Seemingly, Vidiśā was also known as Śobhāvati in ancient times. Skanda Purāṇa mentions that Śudraka lived 3290 years after the epoch

of Kaliyuga (त्रिषु वर्षसहस्रेषु कलेर्यातेषु पार्थिवः। त्रिशतेषु दशन्यूनेष्वस्यां भुवि भविष्यति। शूद्रको नाम वीराणामधिपः सिद्धिमत्र सः। चर्चितायां समाराध्य लप्स्यते भूभरापहः ॥).<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, Skanda Purāṇa places Śudraka before Nandas and Chāṇakya. It appears that Skanda Purāṇa counts 3290 years from the epoch of the beginning of Dvāpara Yuga (5577 BCE) but later updaters mistakenly referred to the epoch of Kaliyuga. According to Skanda Purāṇa, Buddha was born 3600 years after an unknown epoch (ततस्त्रिषु सहस्रेषु षट्शतैरधिकेषु च। मागधे हेमसदनादंजन्यां प्रभविष्यति ॥). As discussed earlier, Buddha was born in 1944 BCE. Therefore, *Skanda Purāṇa* counts 3600 years from the epoch of 5577 BCE and indicates that Buddha was born roughly after 1977 BCE. Thus, King Śudraka I might have ascended the throne in Śobhāvati or Vidiśā around 2287 BCE 3290 years after 5577 BCE. Kathāsaritsāgara relates that King Śudraka I gave Lāta and Karṇāta kingdoms to Viravara and his son Sattvavara. Kathāsaritsāgara also indicates that King Yaśaḥketu reigned in the city of Śobhāvati before the lifetime of King Śudraka I.

Śudraka II was the king of North Bengal (Punḍravardhana). Abul Fazal mentions a Bengali Khatri King Śudraka in his *Ain-e-Akbari* who lived for 93 years. An inscription of the Pala King Yakṣapāla mentions that Śudraka was the emperor of Gauda (Gauḍeśvara). According to this inscription, Śudraka II was the son of Paritośa and his son Viśvarūpa became the king of Gayā.<sup>18</sup> In all probability, Śudraka II flourished not only before the time of Śālivāhana (~659-630 BCE) but also the time of Vikramāditya I (719-659 BCE). The popular traditional notion indicates that Śudraka II preceded Vikramāditya I. Kashmiri poet Kalhaṇa says that Śudraka II flourished before Vikramāditya. Evidently, Śudraka must have undoubtedly flourished before Vikramāditya I (719 BCE). *Sumatitantra* mentions that King Śudraka flourished 2245 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE), i.e., around 856 BCE. According to Yellāchārya, King Śudraka II lived 1945 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga and King Vikramāditya flourished 1098 years after King Śudraka II (*Bāṇa-Veda-Nava-Candra-varjitāḥ te api Śudraka-samāḥ, tebhyaḥ Vikrama-samāḥ bhavanti vai Nāga-Nanda-Viyad-Indu-varjitāḥ*!). Seemingly, Yellāchārya followed the Puranic chronological error of 300

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

It can, thus, be roughly established that Śudraka II flourished in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE. He might have ascended the throne of Pundravardhana or Gauda in 856 BCE 2245 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). Probably, Śudraka II became an ally of Śātavāhana King Simuka around 826 BCE when he conquered Magadha. After the death of Simuka, Śudraka II might have extended his kingdom up to Gayā. He placed his son Viśvarūpa as the king of Gayā. Most probably, King Śudraka II reigned in North Bengal or Pundravardhana around 856-790 BCE. King Śudraka II was the author of “*Mṛcchakaṭikam*”, “*Viṇāvāsavadattam*” and “*Padmaprabhṛtikā*”. Kulaśekhara Varman gives the chronological order of Sanskrit poets in his drama “*Tapatisāmvaraṇam*” in which Śudraka placed before Kālidāsa, Harsha and Dandi (*Śudraka-Kālidāsa-Harsha-Dandi-prabandhānām...*). Dandi places Śudraka after Subandhu who was the contemporary of Bindusāra (*Subandhu-Guṇāḍhya-Mūladeva-Śudraka*).

### Epigraphic and Literary Evidence of the Śātavāhanas

Somadeva’s *Kathāsaritsāgara* tells us that Guṇāḍhya (~2200-2100 BCE), the author of *Bṛhatkathā* was the contemporary of King Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna. A fragment of the 6<sup>th</sup> pillar edict of Aśoka has the reference of the Śātavāhanas. Evidently, the early Śātavāhana dynasty ruled over Pratiṣṭhāna during the post Mahābhārata era. Seemingly, they were the feudatories of the Aśmaka Kings and the Andhra kings before the rise of King Simuka. One inscription at Naneghat mentions the King Simuka Śātavāhana and an inscription at the Nasik cave refers to the name of the second King Kānha. Most probably, the inscriptions found in the cave of Naneghat<sup>19</sup> belong to the reign of the fifth Śātavāhana King Śrī Śātakarṇi and the Nāgānikā mentioned in the inscriptions was his mother. Śrī

Śātakarṇi was also known as Vedi Śri Śātakarṇi. One coin found in the village Bālpur in Raipur district, Chhattisgarh mentions the name of the eighth King Apīlaka or Apītaka. The eighteenth King Ariṣṭa Śātakarṇi and the nineteenth King Hāla Śātakarṇi were contemporaries of the Śaka King Rudradāman.

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

According to the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, there were 32 kings of the Śātavāhana dynasty and ruled for approximately 506 years. Interestingly, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* names only 19 kings but tells us that there were 30 kings. The *Matsya Purāṇa* also states that 19 kings ruled for 460 years but actually enumerates 31 kings and omits the name of the ninth King Meghaswāti and does not give the number of regnal years of Saumya Śātakarṇi. The individual reigns of 30 kings given by the *Matsya Purāṇa* adds up to a total of 460 years.<sup>20</sup> It is likely that the people who were entrusted with the periodical updating of the Purāṇas committed these errors. It is clear that the *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta* provide accurate and authentic information about the Śātavāhana dynasty and it can be concluded that 30 or 32 Śātavāhana kings ruled approximately for 492 years.

### The Śātavāhana Dynasty (826-334 BCE):

	Duration of Reign	In CE
1. Simuka or Simhaka	23 years	826-803 BCE
2. Krishna Śri Śātakarṇi or Kānha	18 years	803-785 BCE
3. Śri Malla Śātakarṇi	10 years	785-775 BCE
4. Purṇotsaṅga	18 years	775-757 BCE
5. Śri Śātakarṇi	56 years	757-701 BCE
6. Skandhastambhin	18 years	701-683 BCE
7. Lambodara	18 years	683-665 BCE
8. Apītaka or Apīlaka	12 years	665-653 BCE

9. Meghaswāti	18 years	653-635 BCE
10. Swāti	18 years	635-617 BCE
11. Skandasvati Śātakarṇi	7 years	617-610 BCE
12. Mrgendra Śātakarṇi	11 years	610-599 BCE
13. Kuntala Śātakarṇi	8 years	599-591 BCE
14. Saumya Śātakarṇi	12 years	591-579 BCE
15. Śāta or Svativarṇa Śātakarṇi	1 year	579-578 BCE
16. Pulomān I	24 years	578-554 BCE
17. Megha Śātakarṇi	38 years	554-516 BCE
18. Ariṣṭaparṇi Śātakarṇi	25 years	516-491 BCE
19. Hāla Śātavāhana	5 years	491-486 BCE
20. Mantalaka	5 years	486-481 BCE
21. Purīndrasena	12 years	481-469 BCE
22. Sundara Śātakarṇi	1 year	469 BCE
23. Chakora & Mahendra	1 year	468 BCE
24. Śivasvati Śātakarṇi	28 years	467-439 BCE
25. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi	21 years	439-418 BCE
26. Pulomān II	28 years	418-390 BCE
27. Śivaśri Śātakarṇi	7 years	390-383 BCE
28. Śivask anda Śātakarṇi	7 years	383-376 BCE
29. Yajnaśri Śātakarṇi	19 years	376-357 BCE
30. Vijayaśri Śātakarṇi	6 years	357-351 BCE
31. Chandraśri Śātakarṇi	10 years	351-341 BCE
32. Pulomān III	7 years	341-334 BCE

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

### Magadha Empire During 1301-334 BCE

*Vishnu Purāṇa* records that *Śiprata*, an Andhra-Jāṭiya, killed the last Śuṅga King Suśarmā and became the king of Magadha but it also says that Andhrabhṛtyas reigned for 456 years (ऐवमेते त्रिंशच्चत्वार्यब्दशतानि षट्पञ्चाशदधिकानि पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यन्ति अन्ध्रभृत्याः). The Puranic reference of Andhras and Andhrabhṛtyas indicates that the early Śātavāhanas were probably the feudatories of Andhra kings. Later, the Śātavāhanas became

sovereign kings in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE and Simuka conquered Magadha. Since the Śātavāhanas dominated over entire Andhra kingdom from the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, they have also been referred to as Andhras.

According to Pliny, Megasthenes described 30 walled cities of the Andrae. Megasthenes visited the court of Sandrokottus in the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Evidently, a powerful Andhra kingdom existed before the rise of Śātavāhanas in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Traditionally, Aśmakas and Andhras had their kingdoms in Telangana and Andhra regions since pre-Mahābhārata era. Mahāpadma Nanda conquered the Aśmakas and the Andhras around 1664 BCE. Though the Aśmaka kingdom declined, probably, the Andhras retained their kingdom as the feudatories of Magadha kings. Finally, Andhra King Śīprata killed the Kaṇva King Suśarmā in 1301 BCE and became the king of Magadha and controlled a vast kingdom for a short period. Though the Andhras lost control over Magadha around 1275 BCE, they continued to be sovereign and powerful kings of Southern India.

Though Purāṇas generally mention that Andhras succeeded the Kaṇva dynasty, there is enough evidence to establish that the Andhra kings had control over Magadha for a short period. Andhra King Śīprata reigned over Magadha around 1301-1275 BCE and the first Śātavāhana King Simuka ruled Magadha around 826-803 BCE. King Yajñaśri Śātakarṇi, Vijayaśri Śātakarṇi and Chandraśri Śātakarṇi reigned over Magadha around 376-341 BCE. Except these three short periods, seemingly, the Andhra kings had no direct control over Magadha kingdom. Since they were the most powerful kings of India after 1301 BCE, the Purāṇas record them as the successors of the Kaṇva dynasty.

Interestingly, Purāṇas give the list of numerous dynasties those reigned during the period of Andhra kings. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says that the dynasties like Ābhīra, Gardabha, etc., will rule for 1099 years, while the Mauna kings will reign for 306 years. According to *Vishnu Purāṇa*, seven Ābhīras, ten Gardabhas, sixteen Śakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tuṣāras, thirteen Muruṇdas and eleven Maunas will reign for total 1399 years.<sup>21</sup> It also relates that eleven Pauras will be kings for 300 years. Thereafter,

the Kailakila Yavanas, namely, Vindhyaśakti, Purañjaya, Ramachandra, Adharma, Varāṅga, Kṛtanandana, Sushinandi, Nandiyaśas, Śisuka and Pravāri will reign for 106 years. Thereafter, thirteen descendants of Yavana kings, three Bāhlikas, Puṣpamitra, Padhumitra, Padmamitra, ten Mekalas, seven Kosalas and nine Naiṣadhas will be the Kings. In Magadha, King Viśvasphatika will establish Kaivartakatus, Pulindas and Brāhmaṇyas. Nine Nāga kings will reign in Padmāvati, Kāntipuri, Mathurā and Prayāga. Māgadha Guptas will reign in Gaya. Devarakṣita will reign over a city on the sea shore, Kosalas, Andhras, Oḍras, Punḍras and Tāmraliptas. The Guhas will reign over Kalinga, Māhiṣa, Mahendra and Bhauma. The kings of Manidhānyaka dynasty will reign over Naiṣadha, Naimiṣika and Kālatoya. Kanaka will reign over Trirājya and Mūśika Janapadas. Ābhīras and Śūdras, will occupy Śaurāṣṭra, Avanti, Śūra, Arbuda and Marubhūmi and Mlecchās will be the kings of Sindhu, Dārvika, the Chandrabhāgā, and Kashmir.

It is difficult to establish the chronology of these dynasties accurately but we can arrive a rough chronology as attempted below:

1. **Ābhīras:** Most probably, Ābhīras belonged to the Yadu dynasty of Vedic era. They lived in the regions of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Mālava. Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra indicates that Ābhīras reigned during the time of Andhras. It also relates that Ābhīra Jayatsena, a king of Kota (Rajasthan), was killed by a servant who was employed by his brother. Purāṇas indicate that Ābhīras reigned before the Gardabha kings (750-583 BCE). Vātsyāyana, the author of Kāmasūtra, lived around ~1000 BCE because Diṅnāga (~900 BCE), the disciple of Vasubandhu criticised Vātsyāyana in his works. Thus, Ābhīra kings reigned in Kota around 1100-800 BCE. The Nasik cave inscription refers to Ābhīra King Iśvarasena, who was the son of Śivadatta and Māḍharī, a daughter of Māḍhara king. This inscription records that Viṣṇudatta of the Śaka tribe, mother of Viśvavarman, wife of Rebhila, daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman has donated for guilds dwelling at Govardhana in order to provide medicines for Buddhist monks dwelling in the monastery on Tiraśmi Parvata. It refers to Kārṣāṇa coins.

Evidently, the Ābhīra King Ísvarasena was the contemporary of Northern Śaka kśatrapas (900-750 BCE) and flourished around 830-800 BCE. Western Śaka kśatrapas (583-250 BCE) had introduced Dināra and Drama coins in place of Kārṣāpaṇa coins. The reference of Kārṣāpaṇa also indicates that the Ābhīra King Ísvarasena can only be dated before the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The legends on silver coins of the so-called Traikūṭakas refer to the early Ābhīra kings Indradatta, Dāhrasena and Vyāghrasena. The Pārdi plates of Dāhrasena informs us that he performed Aśvamedha Yajña.<sup>22</sup> A silver coin of Dāhrasena refers to him as Parama Vaiṣṇava. King Madhyamasena succeeded his father Vyāghrasena whose Matavan copper plates were issued from Aniruddhapurā.

2. **Gardabhas:** The Gardabhas were the Gardabhilla kings of Mālava who reigned around 750-583 BCE. King Vikramāditya I (719-659 BCE) also belonged the clan of Gardabhas, who founded the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE). The Gurvāvalī of Vṛddhagacṇa of Jain tradition tells us that four successors reigned after King Vikramāditya I.
3. **Pauras:** Purāṇas record that eleven Paura kings reigned for 300 years. One famous Paura king was the contemporary of Alexander and Seleucus. Seemingly, the Paura Kings reigned over Rawalpindi and Punjab regions of Pakistan around 1200-900 BCE.
4. **Yavanas:** The Kailakila Yavanas, namely, Vindhyaśakti, Purañjaya, Ramachandra, Adharma, Varāṅga, Kṛtanandana, Sushinandi, Nandiyaśas, Śísuka and Pravāri reigned for 106 years. Seemingly, these Buddhist Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) reigned in Sauvīra and Gāndhāra Janapadas around 900-800 BCE. The Kārle cave inscription mentions two Yavanas named Simhadhaya and Dhamma. The Junnar Cave inscription refers to three Yavanas, one called Chanda and other two from the Garta country called Chita and Irila. The Nasik Cave inscription mentions Indrāgnidatta, son of Dharmadeva, a resident of Dattāmitra, a town in Sauvira.



5. **Tushāras:** Most probably, Tushāras were the kings of north-western Pakistan and Uttara Kuru region and neighbours of Kashmir and Bāhlika kingdoms.
6. **Bāhlikas:** Seemingly, three Bāhlika kings mentioned in Purāṇas were the Kushana kings namely Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva and they reigned around 1150-1020 BCE.
7. **Muruṇḍas:** In all probability, the Muruṇḍas were a branch of the Śakas and they came to Kauśāmbi and Varanasi as governors of Kushana Kings. After the decline of Kushana rule, they might have joined the army of the Nāga kings as military officials. Seemingly, they took advantage of the declining power of Nāga kings after 900 BCE and established their kingdom in the Tri-Kalinga region. They became the rulers of Tri-Kalinga region around 900-800 BCE.
8. **Maunas:** Probably, the Maukhari kings of Kannauj were called Maunas in Purāṇas. They reigned around 640 BCE-334 BCE.
9. **Nāga Kings of Prayāga:** Chandra, Chandragupta and Chandraprakāśa were the Nāga kings, who reigned around 1000-900 BCE. The King Chandra mentioned in the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription was a Nāga king.
10. **King Puṣpamitra, Padhumitra and Padmamitra:** Seemingly, they were the later Śuṅga kings and reigned around 885-826 BCE. According to *Himavant Therāvali*, Puṣpamitra became the king of Pātaliputra in the year 246 of Mahāvira nirvāna era, i.e., 943 BCE.<sup>23</sup> His son Vṛddharatha succeeded him in the year 280, i.e., 909 BCE. Puṣpamitra killed Vṛddharatha in the year 304, i.e., 885 BCE and became the King of Pātaliputra.
11. **King Viśvasphatika:** Most probably, King Viśvasphatika reigned over Magadha around 800-700 BCE.
12. **Nāga Kings of Padmāvati, Kantipuri and Mathurā:** These Nāga kings might have reigned around 700-300 BCE.
13. **Māgadha Guptās of Gayā:** The early Gupta kings of Magadha reigned in Gayā region around 630-300 BCE. The Apsad stone inscription of Ādityasena dated in the year 66 of Sri Harsha era

(457 BCE), i.e., 391 BCE gives the genealogy of Māgadha Gupta dynasty. Historians mistakenly date them after the time of the Imperial Guptas and refer to them as “Later Guptas”. In reality, they reigned before the rise of Imperial Guptas. Therefore, they must be referred to as “Early Guptas”.

14. **King Devarakṣita:** Most probably, King Śatrubhañja of Kalinga was named as Devarakṣita in Purāṇas. The Asanpat inscription refers to King Śatrubhañja as Devaputra.
15. **Guhas:** The kings of Niśādas were probably called Guhas. The Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman refers to the kingdom of Niśādas.
16. **Maṇidhānyaka kings:** Probably, Maṇidhānyaka kings reigned over Vidarbha region.
17. **King Kanaka:** Seemingly, King Kanaka was a king of Kalabhra dynasty who reigned over Trairājya, i.e., Chera, Chola, Pāndya and Mūśika kingdoms.
18. **Chutu Śātakarṇis:** The Chutu Śātakarṇi kings reigned over the Kuntala kingdom and their capital was Vaijayantī also known as Vanāvāsi. Vātsyāyana (~1000 BCE) relates that a Śātakarṇi king of Kuntala killed his wife Malayavatī with kartari (scissors) by striking her in the passion of love.

Interestingly, *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* relates that King Pālaka ascended the throne in the year of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE). The Pālakas reigned for 60 years, the Viṣaya kings reigned for 150 years, the Muruṇḍas reigned for 40 years, Puṣpamitra reigned for 30 years, Vasumitra and Agnimitra reigned for 60 years, the Rāsabha kings reigned for 100 years, Naravāhana ruled for 40 years, the Bhaṭṭubāṇas ruled for 240 years, the Gupta kings ruled for 231 years, Kalkiraja ruled for 42 years and his son Ajitañjaya reigned in Indrapura. Seemingly, King Agnimitra was Śudraka because Samudragupta’s *Krishnacharitam* mentions that King Śudraka was also known as Agnimitra (*Śudrako Agnimitrākhyah*). It appears that King Śālivāhana was referred to as King Naravāhana in Jain sources. There is an error of 135 years in the chronology given in *Harivaṁśa*. The corrected chronology can be presented as:

	Harivamśa	Corrected chronology	In CE
1. Ujjain King Chanḍa Pradyota died on the same night of Mahāvira nirvāṇa.			1189 BCE
2. Chanḍa Pradyota's son Pālaka became the king of Ujjain. His descendants came to be known as Pālakas.	60 years?	155 years	1189-1034 BCE
3. Viṣaya Kings	150 years	150 years	1034-884 BCE
4. Muruṇḍa Kings	40 years	40 years	884-844 BCE
5. Puṣpamitra	30 years	30 years	844-814 BCE
6. Vasumitra and Agnimitra (Śudraka?)	60 years	60 years	814-754 BCE
7. Rāsabha or Gardabha kings	100 years	100 years	754-654 BCE
8. Naravāhana (Śālivāhana?)	40 years	40 years	654-614 BCE
9. Interregnum	--	40 years	614-574 BCE
10. Bhaṭṭubāṇas (Bāṇa kings of Karnataka?)	240 years	240 years	574-334 BCE
11. Gupta Kings	231 years	231 years	334-103 BCE
12. Kalkiraja	42 years	42 years	103-61 BCE
13. Ajitañjaya			61 BCE

### The Gupta Dynasty (334-89 BCE)

It is well known that the rise of the Guptas ended the rule of the Śātavāhanas. Śrigupta and his son Ghaṭotkacha Gupta were the earliest kings of the Gupta dynasty but were either officials or feudatories of the Śātavāhanas. Chandragupta I, the son of Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, was the founder of the Gupta Empire and the one who annexed the Magadha kingdom. Some historians speculated that Śrigupta and Ghaṭotkacha

Gupta may have been feudatories of Indo-Scythian kings but there is no evidence to support this argument.

Chandragupta I married Kumāradevi, a princess of the king of Nepal who belonged to the Licchavi dynasty. Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi's wife was the elder sister of Kumāradevi (*Licchaviyām samudvāhya devyāscandraśriyo'nujām*). With the support of the Licchavis and being one of their important family members (Rāṣṭriya-Śyālako bhūtvā), Chandragupta I not only became the commander-in-chief (*Senādhyakṣa*) of the Śātavāhanas but also controlled the Magadha Empire. With the support of his queen, Kumāradevi's sister (*Rājapatnyā ca coditaḥ*), he killed the Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi (351-341 BCE) on the pretext of acting as the guardian of his minor son Pulomān III (341-334 BCE). Thus, Chandragupta I took complete control of the Magadha Empire. Later, he also killed the minor king Pulomān in 334 BCE and founded the Empire of the Guptas in Magadha. Chandragupta I anointed himself as "*Mahārājādhirāja*" in Pātaliputra and founded an era in 334 BCE known as the Gupta era, which was used in eastern, central and western India. We have already discussed the epoch of the Gupta era in Chapter 5.

### The Rise of the Gupta Dynasty

**Chandragupta I (334-330 BCE):** According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta,<sup>24</sup> Chandragupta I killed the Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and his minor son Pulomān III and proclaimed himself the Emperor of Magadha. He founded the Gupta era in 334 BCE and ruled for only four years. It appears that Chandragupta I killed Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi in 341 BCE and Puloman III in 334 BCE and ascended the throne of Pātaliputra and founded the Gupta era. His regnal title was "Vijayāditya".

*“Chandraśriyam ghātayitvā miṣeṇaiva hi kenacit ।  
tatputrapratibhūtitvam sa rājye caiva niyojitaḥ ॥ .....  
Tatputram ca Pulomānam vinihatya nrpārbhakam ॥  
Vijayādityanāmna tu sapta pālayitā samāḥ ।  
svanāmna ca śakam tvekam sthāpayisyati bhūtale ॥ ”*

**Samudragupta (330-279 BCE):** Chandragupta I selected his son Kacha as Yuvarāja of the Gupta Empire but Samudragupta, his eldest

son by the Licchavi princess Kumāradevi, revolted against his father. Ultimately, Samudragupta had to kill his father and his half-brother Kacha and became the Mahārājādhirāja of the Gupta Empire. He ruled for a long period of 51 years. His regnal title was “Aśokāditya”. The Nālanda grant of Samudragupta is the earliest inscription dated in Gupta Saṁvat 5 (330-329 BCE). The Gaya grant of Samudragupta is dated in Gupta Saṁvat 9 (326-325 BCE). According to the Nālanda grant, Samudragupta was ruling in Gupta Saṁvat 5, which means Chandragupta I had died by then. The Purāṇas tell us that Chandragupta I ruled for seven years. Therefore, it can be construed that Chandragupta I founded the Gupta era at the end of his 3<sup>rd</sup> regnal year. Surprisingly, eminent historians arbitrarily assumed that Chandragupta I ruled for around 16 to 20 years despite contrary epigraphic and literary evidence.

JF Fleet declared Nālanda and Gaya grants “*spurious*” due to minor grammatical mistakes in the language. He also observed that some of the characters of these inscriptions were antique and some were comparatively modern. There are numerous inscriptions, which contain minor grammatical mistakes and cannot, therefore, be the basis to evaluate the genuineness of the epigraphs. Fleet’s palaeography, which is based on distorted chronology, cannot qualify to be the yardstick to fix the dates of epigraphs. JF Fleet and his followers concocted the idea that there were some forged copper plate inscriptions to justify their distorted chronology. Fleet used this idea selectively to reject certain inscriptions, which were not in line with his distorted chronology. Deliberately, Western historians propagated the myth of the existence of forged copper plate inscriptions to suit their nefarious designs. I challenge historians to put forth some credible evidence other than Fleet’s distorted palaeography to prove the myth of the existence of forged copper plate inscriptions.

Samudragupta was the most ambitious king and the greatest warrior among the Guptas, thus making him the most powerful emperor of India at that time. According to the Allahabad pillar inscription<sup>25</sup> composed by the great poet Hariṣeṇa, Samudragupta defeated eleven kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha, i.e., South India including King Mahendra of Kosala, the Pallava King Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchi, the Śālaṅkāyana King Hastivarman of

Veṅgi, etc., and nine kings of Āryāvārtha, i.e., Central and Northern India. It is also recorded that the Devaputras of Śāhī-Śāhānuśāhi, the Northern Śāka Kśatrapas, the Muruṅḍas and the Yavanas of Afghanistan also acknowledged his supremacy. Eastern kingdoms like Samataṭa, Dāvaka, Kāmarūpa (Assam) and Nepal also became his tributary provinces. Thus, Samudragupta established the authority of the Gupta Empire in Eastern, Southern (up to Kāñchi) and Central India and in the Western frontier provinces of Devaputra Śāhī-Śāhānuśāhis, Śakas, Muruṅḍas and also in Simhala (Sri Lanka).

### **The Gupta Empire after Samudragupta**

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

**Rāmagupta (279-278 BCE):** Three Vidiśā stone image inscriptions<sup>26</sup> indicate that Rāmagupta succeeded his father Samudragupta but he ruled for a very short period. The “*Nātyadarpaṇa*” of Rāmachandra Guṇachandra tells us that Rāmagupta was the successor of Samudragupta. According to a Sanskrit drama “*Devīchandrāguptam*” written by Viśākhadatta, Rāmagupta was besieged by a Śāka ruler in the course of a war. Rāmagupta had to agree to surrender his queen Dhruvadevi but his brother Chandragupta II could not tolerate this humiliating agreement. He decided to go to the enemy’s camp in the guise of the queen in order to kill the Śāka king. He succeeded in his plan and freed his brother Rāmagupta but the reputation of Rāmagupta suffered a lot. Gradually, this resulted in enmity between the brothers. Ultimately, Chandragupta II killed his brother Rāmagupta and became the king of Gupta Empire. He also married Rāmagupta’s wife Dhruvadevi. Bāṇabhaṭṭa’s *Harsacharitam* also mentions that Chandragupta, in the guise of female, killed the Śāka king at the capital city of the enemy.

Seemingly, Viśākhadatta, the author of “*Devīchandrāguptam*” was a contemporary of King Chandragupta II. Viśākhadatta was the grandson of

Sāmanta Vateśvaradatta and the son of Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta or Prithu. Poet Māgha (20 BCE - 60 CE) reproduces a phrase from Mudrārakśasam in his work *Śiśupālavadha*. Viśākhadatta mentions the reigning king “Dantivarmā” at the end of Mudrārakśasam. Many manuscripts refer to Dantivarmā but Dhunḍhirāja of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a later commentator of Mudrārakśasam, mentions the king as Chandragupta II. It appears that the name of Dantivarmā got distorted in some of the manuscripts as “Rantivarmā” and “Avantivarmā.”

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

**Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE):** Chandragupta II was the son of Samudragupta and Dattadevi. His regnal title was “*Vikramāditya*”. According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Chandragupta II ruled for 36 years, which is in conformity with his inscriptions dated between Gupta Saṃvat 61 (273 BCE) and 93 (241 BCE). Probably, the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II was dated in his 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year and Gupta Saṃvat 61. He defeated the Western Śaka kśatras and advanced to the Arabian Sea and subjugated the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra or Kāṭhiāwār. Chandragupta II married Dhruvadevi and also Kuveranāgā of the Nāga family. Kumāragupta I was born to Dhruvadevi whereas the daughter Prabhāvati Gupta was born to Kuveranāgā. Prabhāvati Gupta was married off to the Vākātaka King Rudrasena II. Prabhāvati Gupta’s son the Vākātaka King Pravarasena II referred to his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II as Devagupta.<sup>27</sup>

The King Chandra mentioned in the Mehrauli iron pillar inscription<sup>28</sup> is generally identified as Chandragupta II, who conquered Bāhlikas after crossing “the seven mouths of the river Sindhu.” According to my research, King Chandra of the Mehrauli inscription may not be Chandragupta II because there is no supporting evidence that he ever

conquered the Bāhlika kings crossing the Indus River. Seemingly, King Chandra was the ruler of the Nāga dynasty and flourished in the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

**Kumāragupta I (241-199 BCE):** Kumāragupta was the son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvadevi. His regnal title was “Mahendrāditya”. According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Kumāragupta I ruled for 42 years, which is in conformity with his inscriptions dated between Gupta Saṁvat 96 (238 BCE) and 129 (205 BCE). His silver coins give his last date as Gupta Saṁvat 136 (198 BCE). He had two sons, Purugupta and Skandagupta. It appears that Kumāragupta I had a younger brother, named, Govindagupta. According to one Mandasor inscription<sup>29</sup> of King Prabhākara, Chandragupta II’s son Govindagupta was ruling in central India in Mālava-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) 524 (194 BCE).

Another Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman<sup>30</sup> was engraved and placed in the temple of Sun during the reign of Kumāragupta I. This inscription is dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 493. JF Fleet assumed that the Mālava-gaṇa era and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) share the same epoch in 57 BCE. Actually, the Mālava-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) also named as Kṛta era commenced in 719-718 BCE, which means 662 years before the commencement of Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Thus, the inscription of Bandhuvarman is dated in Mālava-gaṇa 493 (226-225 BCE) and the inscription was engraved on 6<sup>th</sup> Dec 226 BCE.

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



Eminent historians accepted that Vatsabhaṭṭi's inscription is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 529 (472 CE). Actually, the statement of Vatsabhaṭṭi clearly indicates that a considerable long time passed and that some other kings also passed away after Bandhuvarman and Kumāragupta I. Bandhuvarman was the son of Viśvavarman. The earliest inscription of Viśvavarman<sup>31</sup> is dated in Mālava-gaṇa 480. Bandhuvarman would have ascended the throne as the ruler of Dāsapura (Mandasor) around Mālava-gaṇa 492. Kumāragupta II was ruling up to Gupta Saṃvat 136 (Mālava-gaṇa 519). Undoubtedly, Skandagupta was the ruler in Mālava-gaṇa 529. Therefore, Bandhuvarman and Kumāragupta II may have passed away by Mālava-gaṇa 529 but this does not justify the statement of Vatsabhaṭṭi.

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

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

**Skandagupta (199-177 BCE):** Skandagupta was the son of Kumāragupta I. His regnal title was "*Parākramāditya*". It appears that Skandagupta himself led the army against the Hūṇas and defeated them during the reign of his father Kumāragupta I as recorded in the Bhitari inscription<sup>32</sup> found in Ghazipur district of Uttar Pradesh. According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Skandagupta ruled for 25 years. The Sāranāth

inscriptions<sup>33</sup> of Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta are dated in Gupta Saṁvat 154 (180 BCE) and 157 (177 BCE) respectively but Budhagupta was mentioned as “*Mahārājadhīrāja*” only in Gupta Saṁvat 159 (175 BCE) onwards.<sup>34</sup>

According to the Jūnāgarh inscription<sup>35</sup> of Skandagupta, the embankment of the Sudarśana lake in Saurāṣṭra burst due to incessant rains in Gupta Saṁvat 136 (198 BCE). It went into major repair works during the reign of Western Śaka Kśatrapa Rudradāman I in Śaka 72 (511 BCE). Skandagupta’s Governor in Saurāṣṭra named Chakrapālita, the son of Paṇḍadatta, undertook the task of repairing Sudarśana lake and completed it by Gupta Saṁvat 137 (197 BCE).

### **The Decline of the Gupta Empire**

The Gupta Empire began to decline after the death of Skandagupta. Skandagupta had no heir of his own and adopted Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, the son of his half-brother Purugupta or Sthiragupta Prakāśāditya and Chandradevi. According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta,<sup>36</sup> Sthiragupta (Purugupta) and Narasimhagupta ruled for 40 years from 176 BCE to 136 BCE.

*“Tato Nṛsimhaguptaśca Bālāditya iti śrutaḥ |  
putraḥ Prakāśādityasya Sthiraguptasya bhūpateḥ ||  
Niyuktaḥ svapitr̥vyena Skandaguptena Jivatā |  
Pitraiva sākam bhavitā catvāriṁśat samāḥ nṛpaḥ ||”*

Epigraphic evidence suggests that Budhagupta, probably the elder son of Purugupta and Chandradevi, also ruled between Gupta Saṁvat 157 (177 BCE) and 168 (166 BCE). Probably, Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta jointly ruled the Gupta Empire under the guidance of their father Purugupta after the death of Skandagupta.

According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, Kumāragupta II, the son of Narasimhagupta and Mittradevi, ruled for 44 years from 136 BCE to 92 BCE. His regnal title was “*Kramāditya*”. Kumāragupta II defeated the Maukhari King Isānavarman. The Haraha (Barabanki, UP) stone inscription<sup>37</sup> of Sūryavarman (son of Isānavarman) is dated in Kṛta era 611 (107 BCE).

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

*“Anyah Kumāragupto’pi putrastasya mahāyāsāḥ ।  
Kramāditya iti khyāto Hūṇairyuddham samācaran ॥  
Vijityeśānavarmādīn Bhatārkenānusevitaḥ ।  
catuścatvāriṃśadeva samāḥ bhokṣyati medinīm ॥”*

It seems that the Maukhari King Isānavarman established his kingdom around 130-100 BCE. Verse 13 of the Haraha inscription clearly mentions that Isānavarman defeated the kings of Āndhra (Probably, Viṣṇukundin King Indra Bhaṭṭarakavarman) and Gauda.

*“Jivvāndhrādhipatim sahasra-gaṇita-tredhākṣaradvāraṇam,  
vyāvalgan niyutāti-saṅkhya-turagān bhaṅktvā raṇe Śūlikān ।  
Kṛtvā cāyatimaucita-sthala-bhuvo Gaudān samudrāśrayān,  
adhyāsiṣṭa nata-kṣitīśa-caraṇaḥ simhāsanam yo jiti ॥”*

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

The meteoric rise of Yaśodharman<sup>38</sup> in Mālava region in Mālava-gaṇa era 589 (129 BCE) is also another example of the declining Gupta Empire. Kumāragupta II was succeeded by his son Vishnugupta. Damodarpur grant<sup>39</sup> of Vishnugupta is dated in Gupta Saṃvat 224 (110 BCE). According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, the Gupta Empire disintegrated completely by the end of the rule of Kumāragupta II (*Magadhānām mahārājyam chinnaṃ bhinnam ca sarvaśaḥ*).

Western historians said that the later Gupta kings replaced the imperial Guptas based on the Shahpur and Apsad stone inscriptions of Ādityasena.<sup>40</sup> These scholars knew that the Shahpur inscription of Ādityasena was dated in the Sri Harsha era 66. According to Al Beruni, the

Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. Thus, Shahpur inscription was engraved around 391 BCE and therefore, the so-called later Gupta kings were actually the early Gupta kings. Western historians distorted the statement of Al Beruni to establish the fictitious epoch of the Sri Harsha era in 606 CE.

According to Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta, the Gupta dynasty ruled for 245 years (*Bhokṣyanti dve śate pañca-catvāriṁśacca vai samāḥ*). The last Gupta inscription (Damodarpur grant of Viṣṇugupta) is dated in Gupta Samvat 224. Jinasena's Harivaṁśa Purāṇa<sup>41</sup> tells us that the Guptas ruled for 231 years whereas Jinabhadra Kśamāśramaṇa refers to the duration of the Gupta rule as 255 years. Thus, the 245 years duration of the Gupta rule seems to be more accurate.

### The Chronology of the Gupta Dynasty:

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

### The Vākātaka Dynasty

The Vākātaka dynasty was one of the greatest royal dynasties of Central and South India. This dynasty flourished around the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Their Kingdom once extended from Vidiśā (Mālava) and Gujarat in the north to the Tungabhadra in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. Vindhyaśakti of

Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra was the founder of Vākātaka dynasty. The Amarāvati (Guntur) pillar inscription<sup>42</sup> mentions a certain Gṛhapati Vākātaka “*Gahapatisa Vākātakasa*” who had gone to Amarāvati with his wives to make donations which indicates the south-Indian origin of Vākātaka dynasty. Unfortunately, all the inscriptions of Vākātakas are dated only in regnal years. The chronology of the Vākātakas can be reconstructed based on the Poona plates<sup>43</sup> of Prabhāvati Gupta, the queen of Vākātaka King Rudrasena II. Prabhāvati Gupta was the daughter of the Gupta King Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE). Therefore, Vindhyaśakti must have ruled at least 100 years before this matrimonial alliance between the Guptas and Vākātakas, placing his period of reign around 385-365 BCE.

Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, succeeded him and consolidated the Vākātaka kingdom taking advantage of the decline of the Śātavāhana Empire. According to Purāṇas,<sup>44</sup> Pravarasena I ruled for 60 years (365-305 BCE) [*Vindhyaśaktisutaścāpi Praviro nāma vīryavān | Bhokṣyate ca samā Shaṣṭi purīm kāncanakā ca vai ||*]. Interestingly, the coins of Pravarasena I were found only in the Mathura region and not in the Vākātaka kingdom. Purika city in Vidarbha was the earliest capital of the Vākātakas. Pravarasena I had four sons but only two names, Gautamiputra and Sarvasena, are known to us. Gautamiputra’s son Rudrasena I succeeded his grandfather Pravarasena I whereas Sarvasena also became king and founded the Vatsagulma (Basim) branch of the Vākātakas.

According to the Vākātaka genealogy given in inscriptions, King Bhavanāga of Bhāraśiva dynasty was the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I who was ruling at Padmāvati near Gwalior. King Bhavanāga’s successor was Nāgasena, who was defeated by Samudragupta. It appears that Rudrasena I established his authority in the Vākātaka succession struggle with the help of his maternal grandfather despite his three uncles. Thus, Rudrasena I became the successor of the main branch of the Vākātakas and ruled for 25 years (305-280 BCE). He was succeeded by his son Prithvisena I. Chandragupta II was engaged in regular conflict with Western Śaka kṣātraps. It seems that Prithvisena I supported Chandragupta II in his expedition leading to the conquest of Saurāṣṭra. Thus, Vākātakas became the allies of the Guptas and Chandragupta II married off his

daughter, Prabhāvātīguptā to Vākātaka Yuvarāja Rudrasena II around 265 BCE. Prithvisena I may have ruled for 30 years (280-250 BCE). His son Rudrasena II ascended the throne but unfortunately died after completing five regnal years (250-245 BCE). The Mandhal grant<sup>45</sup> of Rudrasena II is dated in his 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year.

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

It appears that Pravarasena II's great-grandfather Rudrasena I or grandfather Prithvisena I may have shifted the Vākātaka capital from Purika to Nandivardhana (Nāgardhan) near Rāmagiri or Rāmtek, Nagpur. Kālidāsa's Meghadūtam also mentions Rāmagiri (*Rāmagiryāśrameṣu*). The Poona plates of Prabhāvātīguptā were issued from Nandivardhana. Pravarasena II shifted his capital from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura (Probably, Pavanar in Wardha district) prior to his 18<sup>th</sup> regnal year. The Chammak grant<sup>46</sup> of Pravarasena II was issued from Pravarapura in his 18<sup>th</sup> regnal year. From the more than 16 copper plate inscriptions of Pravarasena II that have been discovered so far, it is clear that the reign of Pravarasena II was generally peaceful and prosperous. Undoubtedly, Pravarasena II ruled for at least 30 years (210-180 BCE). The Pandhurna grant<sup>47</sup> of Pravarasena II was issued in his 29<sup>th</sup> regnal year. He also married his son Narendrasena to Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, a daughter of Kuntala king, probably the Kadamba King Siṃhavarman II (205-182 BCE).

Interestingly, the Riddhapur plates<sup>48</sup> dated in the 19<sup>th</sup> regnal year (201 BCE) of Pravarasena II describe Prabhāvātīguptā as “Sāgra-varṣa-śata-jīva-putra-paurā” which clearly tells us that Prabhāvātīguptā was

in her 101<sup>st</sup> year amidst her sons and grandsons. It is evident that the Riddhapur plates were issued on the occasion of the completion of the 100<sup>th</sup> birth year of Prabhāvatīguptā. Dr. RC Majumdar once rightly argued that Prabhāvatīguptā was already more than a 100 years old by the time of the 19<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Pravarasena II but Dr. VV Mirashi distorted the fact by claiming that the expression referred to the long life blessing for her sons and grandsons.<sup>49</sup> Undoubtedly, the expression “Sāgra-varṣa-śata-jīva-putra-pautrā Śrī Mahādevī Prabhāvatīguptā” tells us that she lived more than 100 years. Therefore, Prabhāvatīguptā must have born around 291 BCE and married Rudrasena II around 265 BCE. Dr. Mirashi also distorted the meaning of the expression “*Vākātakānām Mahārāja-Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena-janani*” and argued that Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II were identical and Dāmodarasena assumed the coronation name of Pravarasena II but he could not provide any evidence.

Dr. VV Mirashi and other historians have distorted these facts to establish that Kālidāsa was still alive during the initial years of Pravarasena II’s accession. Pravarasena II was also a learned person. He wrote the famous “*Setubandha*”, a Kāvya glorifying Rama in the Prakrit language. He also composed several Prakrit Gāthās, which have been included in the Gāthāsaptaśatī. According to Rāmadāsa the commentator of the *Setubandha*, the same kāvya was revised or re-composed in Sanskrit by Kālidāsa in obedience to the order of King Vikramāditya (*Mahārājādhirāja Vikramādityenājñapto nikhila-kavi-cakra-cūḍāmaṇiḥ Kālidāsa-mahāśayaḥ Setubandha-prabandham cikīrṣur.....*). Indian historians blindly believed in the concocted theory of Western historians that Chandragupta II was the Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa was in his court. Since Prabhāvatīguptā attained 100 years of age in the 19<sup>th</sup> regnal year of her youngest son, she ought to have been 81 years old when Pravarasena II ascended the throne but undoubtedly, Chandragupta II died at least a few years before his accession. Kālidāsa, who referred to himself as “*nṛpasakhā*” means the same age group friend of Vikramāditya, may have also died by then. Therefore, it would have been impossible for Chandragupta II to order Kālidāsa to re-compose the work of Pravarasena II.

It is well known from Indian literary sources that Kālidāsa was in the court of Ujjain King Vikramāditya and not the Pātalīputra King

Chandragupta II and lived in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Chandragupta II ruled around 277-241 BCE and Pravarasena II ruled around 210-180 BCE. As discussed in Chapter 4, Kālidāsa lived around 101-25 BCE. Therefore, Pravarasena II wrote “Setubandha” at least 100 years before the birth of Kālidāsa. Setubandha became very popular among the scholars during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Considering the popularity of Setubandha, the Ujjain King Vikramāditya might have requested Kālidāsa to re-compose it in Sanskrit in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Interestingly, some corrupt scholars even doubted Pravarasena II’s authorship of Setubandha on the ground that while the theme of the kāvya is Vaiṣṇava, the king was a devotee of Śiva. Since Rāma was himself a devotee of Śiva, therefore this ridiculous argument is not tenable.

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son Narendrasena. He, probably, ruled for 20 years (180-160 BCE) but faced an invasion by the Nala King Bhavadattavarman in his initial years. The Nala dynasty was ruling in South Kosala (Chhattisgarh). Narendrasena lost his kingdom up to Nandivardhana. It seems that he was forced to shift his capital from Pravarapura to Padmapura (in Bhandārā district of Maharashtra). Padmapura was also the city of the ancestors of the famous Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti. After the death of Bhavadattavarman, Narendrasena not only recaptured his kingdom but also subjugated the kings of Kosala, Mekala and Mālava as stated in the Bālāghat plates.<sup>50</sup> Prithvīsenā II succeeded his father Narendrasena as the last of the Vākātaka kings; he ruled for 10 years (160 BCE-150 BCE) and with him, the rule of the Vākātakas ended by 150 BCE.

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

	<b>In CE</b>
1. Vindhyaśakti	385-365 BCE
2. Pravarasena I	365-305 BCE
3. Rudrasena I	305-280 BCE
4. Pṛthvīsenā I	280-250 BCE
5. Rudrasena II	250-245 BCE
6. Prabhāvatīguptā (as regent of his son Divākarasena)	245-230 BCE



7.	Dāmodarasena	230-210 BCE
8.	Pravarasena II	210-180 BCE
9.	Narendrasena	180-160 BCE
10.	Pr̥thvisena II	160-150 BCE

### The Vatsagulma Branch of Vākātakas

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

Sarvasena was a learned king and the author of the Prakrit kāvya “Harivijaya”. He also authored many Prakrit Gāthās, some of which have been included in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Sarvasena’s son Vindhyaśakti II ruled for a long period, at least for 40 years. The Basim plates<sup>51</sup> of Vindhyaśakti II were issued in his 37<sup>th</sup> regnal year. It appears that Vindhyaśakti II’s successor Pravarasena II may have ruled for a very short period. According to the Ajanta cave XVI inscription,<sup>52</sup> Pravarasena II’ son ascended the throne when he was just 8 years old. Therefore he may have ruled for 50 years. His son Devasena became the king by 210 BCE because his Hisse-Borala inscription<sup>53</sup> is dated in Śaka 380 (203 BCE). This inscription clearly refers to the Śaka era (583 BCE) as “Śakānām 380” and not Śākānta era (78 BCE). Hariṣeṇa succeeded his father Devasena as the last king of Vākātakas of Vatsagulma branch.

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

### **The Feudatories of the Guptas (Maitrakas, Parivrājakas, Uchhalkapas, Gārulakas and Saidhavas)**

The Maitrakas were the feudatories of the Gupta kings and used Gupta Saṁvat in their inscriptions. Bhaṭārka was the founder of this dynasty. Bhaṭārka and his elder son Dharasena I were the Senāpatīs or commanders of the Gupta army in Saurāṣṭra during the reign of Skandagupta and Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya. Maitrakas established the city of Valabhi as their capital. Bhaṭārka's second son Droṇasiṁha called himself “*Mahārāja*” and used the term “*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*” in his Bhamodra Mahota inscription<sup>54</sup> dated in Gupta Saṁvat 183 (152-151 BCE). It seems that Droṇasiṁha achieved the status of a feudatory king of the Guptas during the reign of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya by 152 BCE. Droṇasiṁha's younger brother Dhruvasena I succeeded him.

Guhasena ruled between Gupta Saṁvat 235 to 252. The Gupta Empire declined by Gupta Saṁvat 242 (92 BCE). Taking advantage of the disintegration of the Gupta Empire, Guhasena became a sovereign ruler. Silāditya VII was the last ruler of Valabhi. The Alina grant<sup>55</sup> of Silāditya VII is dated in Gupta Saṁvat 447 (112 CE). More than 70 inscriptions of Maitrakas are available, based on which the chronology of Maitrakas can be reconstructed:

	Gupta Saṁvat (334 BCE)	In CE
Bhaṭārka	140-150	194-184 BCE
Dharasena I	150-170	184-164 BCE
Droṇasiṁha	170-185	164-149 BCE

Dhruvasena I	185 -226	149-108 BCE
Dharapaṭṭa	227-235	108-99 BCE
Guhasena	235-251	99-83 BCE
Dharasena II	252-275	83-59 BCE
Silāditya I (Dharmāditya)	275-295	59-39 BCE
Kharagraha I	295-300	39-34 BCE
Dharasena III	300-312	34-22 BCE
Dhruvasena II (Bālāditya)	312-323	22-11 BCE
Dharasena IV	323-333	11-1 BCE
Dhruvasena III	333-337	1 BCE-2 CE
Kharagraha II	337-340	2-5 CE
Silāditya II	340-347	5-12 CE
Silāditya III	347-381	12-46 CE
Silāditya IV	381-390	46-55 CE
Silāditya V	390-415	55-80 CE
Silāditya VI	415-442	80-107 CE

A grant<sup>56</sup> of Valabhi dated in Śakānta (*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta*) 400 (478 CE) tells us that Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Dharasenadeva was ruling in Valabhi. He was the son of Guhasena II and the grandson of Bhaṭṭārka II. It seems that Bhaṭṭārka II re-established the rule of Maitrakas in the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. Thus, Bhaṭṭārka II ruled around 400-430 CE and Guhasena II ruled around 430-460 CE. This grant is also evidence to prove that the Gupta era commenced much earlier than 319-320 CE. Interestingly, this grant tells us that Guhasena II was proficient in three languages, i.e., Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa.

	Śakānta era (78 CE)	In CE
Bhaṭṭārka	322-352	400-430 CE
Guhasena II	352-382	430-460 CE
Dharasenadeva or Dharasena V	382-400	460-478 CE

Interestingly, Buhler declared this Valabhi grant a forgery one by erroneously identifying Dharasenadeva with Dharasena II; this is clear because if one considers the epoch of the Gupta era in 319 CE, it is impossible to fix the date of Guhasena's son Dharasena II around 478 CE. The inscriptions of Guhasena and Dharasena II are dated between Gupta Saṃvat 240 and 270. Actually, this erroneous identification of

Dharasenadeva could have been avoided if he had accepted the epoch of the Gupta era in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE instead of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. In fact, the blind belief of Western historians in the contemporaneity of Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander not only led to numerous distortions and concoctions in the chronology of ancient India but also created the myth of the existence of forged inscriptions. Truly speaking, the distorted chronology of the Gupta dynasty and the Maitrakas given by Western historians and their followers is a forgery and not the cited Valabhi grant.

Buhler concocted that the Valabhi grant is a forgery because the seal of the grant and the genealogy given are different from other Valabhi grants. There is a gap of 266 years between the last grant of Śilāditya VII [Gupta Samvat 447 (112 CE)] and the Valabhi grant of Dharasenadeva [Śakānta 400 (478 CE)]. Dharasenadeva was the grandson of Bhaṭṭārka whereas Dharasena II was the grandson of Dharapaṭṭa. Moreover, Dharasena II never used the title “Deva”— attached to the names of later Valabhi kings from the Grants of Śilāditya III to Śilāditya VII. Thus, Dharasenadeva cannot be identified as Dharasena II, the son of Guhasena I but undoubtedly, a later Valabhi king and the son of Guhasena II who ruled in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, 250 years after Śilāditya VII. Therefore, the seal and the genealogy of Dharasenadeva are different from those of Dharasena II.

Buhler also argued that the Valabhi grant is written in Gurjara characters and closely resembles those of Umeta, Bagumra and Ila plates of Gurjara ruler Dadda II Praśāntarāga of Bharukaccha (Bharoch). Historians again wrongly identified the Dadda of Umeta, Bagumra and Ila grants to be Dadda II. The Kaira grants of Dadda II are dated in the Kalachuri-Chedi era from the year 380 to 392 and two more grants of Dadda II are dated in the year 427 of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. It may be noted that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 402 BCE. Thus, Dadda I and Dadda II flourished in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE and 1<sup>st</sup> century CE respectively whereas Dadda of Umeta, Bagumra and Ila grants lived in 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. Therefore, he must be identified as Dadda IV.

Interestingly, Dharasenadeva's Valabhi grant and Umeta grant of Dadda IV Praśāntarāga were issued on the same date, i.e., 3<sup>rd</sup> April 478 CE (*full moon day of Vaiśākha month in Śākānta 400*). Valabhi grant and Ilaog grant both were written by Reva, the son of Mādhava. Actually, Dadda IV Praśāntarāga was a feudatory of the Valabhi king Dharasenadeva as inscribed on the seals "*Śri-Sāmanta-Dadda*". Thus, these grants not only closely resemble each other but are also almost exact copies of the same text. Therefore, the Valabhi grant of Dharasenadeva is genuine. Interestingly, JF Fleet has rejected the Umeta, Bagumra and Ilaog plates of Dadda IV Praśāntarāga due to some other complications in his distorted chronology.

The Parivrājakas and Ucchakalpas were also feudatories of the Gupta Kings in Madhya Pradesh and Bundelkhand region. The chronology of the kings of Parivrājakas and Ucchakalpas can be reconstructed based on the Gupta era mentioned in their inscriptions.

	Gupta Saṁvat (334 BCE)	In CE
<b>The Parivrājakas</b>		
Devāḍhya	—	—
Prabhañjana	—	—
Dāmodara	—	—
Hāstin	156-198	178-136 BCE
Saṁkśobha	199-210	135-124 BCE
<b>The Ucchakalpas</b>		
Aughadeva	—	—
Kumāradeva	—	—
Jayasvāmī	—	—
Vyāghra	—	—
Jayanta	174-190	160-144 BCE
Sarvanātha	191-215	145-119 BCE

It is quite likely that the Gārulaka kings were also feudatories of the Guptas or the Maitrakas because they used Gupta Saṁvat in their inscriptions. *Varāhadāsa* I was the founder of the Gārulaka family. It seems that he was a Senāpati. According to the Palitāna plates,<sup>57</sup> his

son Varāhadāsa II and grandson Simhāditya ruled in Gupta Saṁvat 230 to 255.

	<b>Gupta Saṁvat (334 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
Varāhadāsa I	—	—
Varāhadāsa II	230	104 BCE
Simhāditya	255	79 BCE

The Saindhavas of Saurāṣṭra were the contemporary kings of the Maitrakas in Gujarat. Probably, they were also feudatories of the Gupta Kings because they used Gupta Saṁvat in their inscriptions. Saindhavas were ruling from the ancient city of Bhūtāmbilika or Bhumilika (Ghumli) in Western Kāthiāwār. They claimed that Jayadratha of the Mahābhārata era was the founder of their family. Jayadratha was the son-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the ruler of Sindhu-deśa. The name of Saindhava has been derived from the word Sindhu. Six copper plate inscriptions of the Saindhavas<sup>58</sup> were found at Ghumli and dated in Gupta Saṁvat 513 to 596. One more grant<sup>59</sup> of Jaika II was found in Morbi and dated in Gupta Saṁvat 585.

One undated grant<sup>60</sup> found in Prabhaspatan (in Junagarh) was issued by a Saindhava King Ahivarman. According to the genealogy given in the grants of Jaika II, Puṣyadeva was the founder of the Saindhava kingdom. The name of Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati Puṣya, the son of Ahivarman is mentioned on the clay seal found at Valabhi. The Navasāri Plates<sup>61</sup> of Chālukya King Avānijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 490 (87 CE) mentions the kingdom of Saindhavas. Probably, Puṣyadeva or Krishnarāja I was the contemporary of the Chālukya King Pulakeśirāja. The chronology of the kings of Saindhava family can be reconstructed based on the date mentioned in the Gupta era in their inscriptions.

	<b>Gupta Saṁvat (334 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
Ahivarman	--	--
Puṣyadeva	400-420	65-85 CE
Krishnarāja I	420-440	85-105 CE
Agguka I	440-460	105-125 CE
Raṇaka	460-480	125-145 CE

Krishnarāja II	480-500	145-165 CE
Agguka II	500-525	165-190 CE
Jaika I	525-556	190-221 CE
Chāmunḍarāja	556-565	221-230 CE
Agguka III	565-580	230-245 CE
Jaika II	580-600	245-265 CE

All the grants of the Saindhava kings refer to them as “Mahāsāmanta” meaning feudatories. The Dhiniki grant of King Jaikadeva<sup>62</sup> dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 794 (737 CE) refers to him as “*Saurāṣṭramanḍalādhipatiḥ Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvaraḥ*” denoting that he was an independent ruler.

Dr. AS Altekar rejected the Dhiniki grant as a forgery because all Saindhava rulers were feudatories and the name of Jaikadeva is not mentioned in the genealogy given by Jaika II. Actually, the problem is again with the epoch of the Gupta era. Considering the epoch of the Gupta era in 319-320 CE, Dr. Altekar believed that Jaika II ruled around 899-919 CE. Thus, Jaikadeva flourished as a sovereign king at least 160 years earlier but Jaika II did not give the name of Jaikadeva, the only sovereign Saindhava ruler in his genealogy consisting of seven generations. Therefore, he declared the Dhiniki grant of Jaikadeva a forgery. Dr. Altekar also argued that the date of the grant is also spurious due to non-occurrence of the eclipse on the date given.

As explained in Chapter 5, the Gupta era commenced in 334 BCE and not in 319 CE. Thus, Jaika II flourished in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE whereas Jaikadeva flourished in the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. Therefore, the Dhiniki grant is absolutely genuine. The date given in the grant regularly corresponds to 26<sup>th</sup> Nov 737 CE, which was the new moon day of Kārttika Month. Moon was at Jyeṣṭha nakshatra and a solar eclipse also took place on this day. Narahari, the chief of accounts department (*Mahākṣapāṭalika*), the writer of this grant probably had the information that the astronomers of Gujarat predicted the occurrence of solar eclipse on 26 Nov 737 CE based on the observation of lunar eclipse at the time of moonrise on 12 Nov 737 CE. A comprehensive list of inscriptions dated in the Gupta era is provided in Annexure II.

### **Magadha Kingdom After the Gupta Dynasty**

After the decline of the Gupta dynasty, Magadha and Pataliputra not only lost their dominance but also sovereignty. The Pala and the Sena kings of Bengal reigned over Magadha from 1<sup>st</sup> century CE to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.





# 10

## The Chronology of Mahājanapadas

Traditionally, the Jambūdvīpa (Indian subcontinent) had many territorial kingdoms since early Rigvedic era. These territorial kingdoms gradually led to the development of territorial political identities and regional communities which came to be known as janapadas. Some of these janapadas had politically dominated over the neighbouring janapadas for a long period and came to be known as Mahājanapadas. Rigveda mentions Purus, Bharatas, Turvaśas, Yadus, Anus and Druhyus. Yajurveda has the reference of Magadha.<sup>1</sup> Atharvaveda mentions Aṅga, Magadha, Gāndhāra and Mujavat kingdoms or janapadas. Numerous janapadas are found mentioned in texts like Aitareya, Śatapatha, Purāṇas, Rāmāyana, and Mahābhārata, etc. The Indian subcontinent was broadly divided into sixteen Mahājanapadas after Mahābhārata era.

According to early Buddhist sources like *Aṅguttara Nikāya* of *Sutta Piṭaka*, Aṅga, Magadha, Kāshi, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Chedi, Vatsa, Kuru, Pāñchāla, Matsya, Śūrasena, Aśmaka, Avanti, Gāndhāra and Kāamboja (Bāhlika) were the sixteen Mahājanapadas. *Dirgha Nikāya* refers to six pairs of Mahājanapadas of Uttarāpatha, namely, Aṅga-Magadha, Kāshi-Kosala, Vajji-Malla, Chedi-Vatsa, Kuru-Pāñchāla and Matsya-Śūrasena. In ancient times, the region north of Narmadā River was known as Uttarāpatha whereas the region south of Narmadā River was known as Dakṣiṇāpatha. Seemingly, *Dirgha Nikāya* did not mention the Avanti-Aśmaka janapadas of Dakṣiṇāpatha and the Gāndhāra-Kāamboja janapadas of north-western India. Thus, there were mainly sixteen janapadas. *Chullaniddeśa* mentions another Mahājanapada named Kaliṅga and also substitute Yona or Yavana for Gāndhāra. Post decline of Aśmakas during the reign of Nanda dynasty of Magadha, Kaliṅga also emerged as a Mahājanapada. Since the Yavanas

occupied and reigned over the Gāndhāra region around 1800-1200 BCE, which also came to be known as Yavana Mahājanapada. Śivi, Daśārṇa, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kāshmira, Paurava, Vaṅga, Paundra and Kāmarūpa were also important janapadas.

The Kosala Mahājanapada of Ikśvāku kings dominated over north India during the period of Tretā Yuga (6777-5577 BCE) and the first half of Dvāpara Yuga (5577-4377 BCE) whereas the Kuru Mahājanapada of Kuru kings dominated over north India during the Mahābhārata era. The Magadha Mahājanapada emerged as a major political power after Mahābhārata era. Let us discuss the origin and the chronological history of janapadas.

### **Aṅga**

According to Puranic legends, the Ānava King Bali requested Rishi Dīrghatamas Māmateya to raise a few wise sons through his wife Sudeṣṇā. Rishi Dīrghatamas had five children, namely, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma from Sudeṣṇā. The kingdom of Bali (Balīa of Uttar Pradesh) was divided into his five children. Thus, five janapadas in the names of Aṅga (east of Magadha), Vaṅga (South Bengal), Kaliṅga (Orissa), Puṇḍra (North Bengal) and Suhma (Bangladesh) came into existence during the early Rigvedic period and Aṅga emerged as Mahājanapada. King Aṅga and his descendants reigned over the Aṅga janapada. King Bṛhadratha, son of Uparichara Vasu of the Kuru dynasty reigned over Aṅga janapada during the Rigvedic era as indicated in Mahābhārata.

Karna became the king of Aṅga during the Mahābhārata era. The Bṛhadratha kings of Magadha dominated over Aṅga in the post Mahābhārata era but the Aṅga kingdom had survived till the lifetime of Buddha. According to Gilgit manuscript of *Vinayavastu (Pravrajyāvastu)*, King Rājādhirāja was ruling in the Aṅga kingdom and Champā city was his capital when Buddha was born in 1944 BCE. Magadha King Bimbisāra killed Rājādhirāja and annexed his kingdom. Thus, Aṅga janapada became part of Magadha janapada. During the lifetime of Mahāvira (1261-1189 BCE), Brahmadatta was the king of Aṅga. King Śreṇika Bhambhasāra of Magadha defeated Brahmadatta and appointed his son Kuṇika as governor of Aṅga. Kuṇika reigned over Aṅga kingdom from the city of Champā.

### Kosala and Ayodhyā

Rāmāyana tells us that the city of Ayodhyā, the capital of Kosala janapada was built by King Manu.<sup>2</sup> The Ikśvāku dynasty had reigned over Kosala janapada since Rigvedic era. The Kosala Mahājanapada of Ikśvāku kings dominated over the north India during the period of Tretā Yuga (6777-5577 BCE) and the first half of Dvāpara Yuga (5577-4377 BCE). The powerful Ayodhyā kingdom of Ikśvākus gradually declined after the reign of King Agnivarṇa around 4750 BCE. Mahābhārata indicates that Kosala and Ayodhyā were two independent kingdoms. Seemingly, many clans of Ikśvāku dynasty evolved after 4750 BCE. King Bṛhadbala was ruling in Kosala whereas Dīrghaprajña was ruling in Ayodhyā during the Mahābhārata era. King Bṛhadbala died in the Mahābhārata war and his son Bṛhatkśaya succeeded him. Purāṇas give the genealogy of Ikśvāku kings of Kosala, who flourished after the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). Ikśvāku King Divākara was the senior contemporary of King Senajit (2885-2835 BCE) of the Bṛhadratha dynasty of Magadha.

#### In CE

1.	Bṛhatkśaya	3162-3100 BCE
2.	Urukriya	3100-3050 BCE
3.	Vatsavyūha	3050-3000 BCE
4.	Prativyoma	3000-2950 BCE
5.	Bhānu	2950-2900 BCE
6.	Divākara	2900-2850 BCE
7.	Sahadeva	2850-2810 BCE
8.	Bṛhadaśva	2810-2770 BCE
9.	Bhānuratha	2770-2720 BCE
10.	Pratitasya	2720-2680 BCE
11.	Supratika	2680-2650 BCE
12.	Marudeva	2650-2610 BCE
13.	Śunakśatra	2610-2570 BCE
14.	Puṣkara or Kinnara	2570-2530 BCE
15.	Antarikśa	2530-2490 BCE

16.	Suvarṇa	2490-2450 BCE
17.	Sumitra or Amitrajit	2450-2410 BCE
18.	Bṛhatrāja	2410-2370 BCE
19.	Barhi	2370-2330 BCE
20.	Kṛtañjaya	2330-2290 BCE
21.	Raṇañjaya	2290-2240 BCE
22.	Sañjaya	2240-2200 BCE
23.	Śākya	2200-2150 BCE

Buddhist sources give the genealogy of Gautama Buddha starting from King Okkaka and Purāṇas provide the list of the successors of King Śuddhodana. Undoubtedly, Ikśvāku is Okkaka in Prakrit. King Sumitra was the contemporary of Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Mahāpadma Nanda annexed the kingdom of Ikśvākus around 1664 BCE.

According to *Mahāvastu*, King Okkaka banished his legitimate sons and declared Jenta, the son of a concubine as his successor. The legitimate sons of King Okkaka made Kapilavastu as their capital. King Simhahanu had four sons, Śuddhodana, Dhautodana, Śuklodana and Amṛtodana. Śuddhodana married Māyā, daughter of King Subhūti of Koliya lineage. Koliyas were the descendants of King Kola of Varanasi, who married a daughter of King Okkaka.

<b>In CE</b>		
24.	Okkamukha or Ulkāmukha	2150-2120 BCE
25.	Sivisamjaya	2120-2080 BCE
26.	Sihassara	2080-2040 BCE
27.	Jayasena	2040-2000 BCE
28.	Simhahanu	2000-1950 BCE
29.	Śuddhodana	1950-1900 BCE
30.	Siddhartha	1920-1915 BCE
31.	Rāhula	1900-1850 BCE
32.	Prasenajit	1850-1820 BCE
33.	Kśudraka	1820-1780 BCE
34.	Ranaka	1780-1740 BCE

35.	Suratha	1740-1700 BCE
36.	Sumitra	1700-1664 BCE

Seemingly, the Purāṇas mixed up the genealogy of the Ikṣvāku kings of Kosala and the Ikṣvāku kings of Kapilavastu. The Gilgit manuscript of *Vinayavastu* informs us that King Brahmadatta was the king Kosala when Buddha was born in 1944 BCE and Śrāvastī was his capital. His son was Prasenajit. In fact, Brahmadatta was the king of Kāshi and conquered Kosala kingdom. According to Purāṇas, Sumitra was the last king of Ikṣvāku dynasty. Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha annexed the kingdom of Kosala around 1664 BCE.

### Kāshi

The Kings of the Puru dynasty were the earliest rulers of Varanasi region during the Rigvedic era. Kāsha, the great grandson of King Ayu, son of Pururavā, was the founder of the city of Kāshi. Thus, Kāshi Mahājanapada came into existence in the Rigvedic era. *Paippalāda Samhitā* of Atharvaveda refers to Kāshis.<sup>3</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions that Śātānīka Sātrajit subjugated the king of Kāshi,<sup>4</sup> Bharata of the clan of Sātvatas had conquered Kāshi<sup>5</sup> and Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Ajātaśatru were the kings of Kāshi.<sup>6</sup>

Bhīmasena defeated a Kāshi king during Mahābhārata era. Purāṇas indicate that there were 25 kings of Kāshi after Mahābhārata era. King Śīsunāga (2024-1984 BCE) was the king of Kāshi who conquered Magadha and founded the rule of Śīsunāga dynasty in Magadha. His son reigned over Kāshi when Śīsunāga was ruling over Magadha. Seemingly, King Brahmadatta and his son Prasenajit were ruling over Kāshi during the lifetime of Buddha. Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha annexed the kingdom of Kāshi around 1664 BCE.

### Vajji and Malla

Vaiśālī was an ancient city founded by King Viśāla, son of Tṛṇavindu and Ilavilā during the Rigvedic era. Vaiśālī was divided into Vajji and Malla janapadas after the Rāmāyaṇa era (5677-5577 BCE). Licchavis and Mallas were the descendants of Ikṣvāku dynasty but they were Vrātya Kṣatriyas. King Licchavi was the eighth descendant of Sri Rāma. King Malla was

the son of Chandraketu and the grandson of Lakṣmaṇa. The Licchavis became the rulers of Vajji janapada whereas the Malla kings became the rulers of Malla janapada. Bhimasena defeated a Malla king during the Mahābhārata era. Vajji janapada or Vaiśālī was ruled by Śiśunāga kings during the lifetime of Buddha. *Mahāsudassana Jātaka* mentions a Malla king named Mahāsudarśana. Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha had annexed Vaiśālī in 1664 BCE. During the reign of Mauryas and Śuṅgas, Vaiśālī or Vajji became a Gaṇarājya known as Vajji Saṅgha that appears to have comprised the Gaṇas of Vrijis, Licchavis, Jnātrkas, etc. Mahāvira belonged to the Jnātrka clan of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. King Cheṭaka was the king of Vaiśālī during the lifetime of Māhāvira.

### **Videha and Mithilā**

King Videha Mādhava, the father of King Janaka, had migrated from the banks of Sarasvati River to the banks of Sadānirā River (Gandaki) when Sarasvati River lost in desert. He founded the Videha kingdom in Mithilā region. There were many Videha kings from the Rigvedic era to the post Rāmāyaṇa era. Bhimasena defeated King Janaka of Videha kingdom during the Mahābhārata era. Seemingly, Videha region was part of Mahākosala janapada during the lifetime of Buddha. King Brahmadata of Kāshi-Kosala was also the king of Videha. His daughter was married to King Bimbisāra. Therefore, Ajātaśatru, son of Bimbisāra, has also been referred to as Vaidehīputra in Buddhist sources.

### **Śūrasena**

The Kingdom of Yadavas of Mathurā was also known as Śūrasena, which was founded during the Rigvedic era. This janapada was named after the Yādava King Śūrasena, the father of Vasudeva. Rāmāyaṇa also refers to Śūrasena janapada (भविष्यति पुरी रम्या शूरसेना न संशयः । सा पुरी दिव्यसङ्कांशा वर्षे द्वादशमे शुभे । निविष्टा शूरसेनानां विषयश्चाकुतोभयः ॥).<sup>7</sup> The Yādavas of Vriṣṇi clan were ruling in Śūrasena during the Mahābhārata era. Bāṇa's *Harṣacharitam* mentions that Mathura King Bṛhadratha was killed by Vidūratha's army when he was digging treasure at night. Buddhist texts tell us that Avantiputta was the king of Śūrasenas during the lifetime of Mahākacchāna, a disciple of Buddha. Purāṇas indicate that total 24 kings

of Śūrasena flourished before the reign of Nandas. Mahāpadma Nanda had annexed the kingdom of Śūrasenas around 1664 BCE.

### **Matsya**

Matsya janapada was located in the south-west of Indraprastha and south of Śūrasena janapada. This janapada was also founded during the early Rigvedic era. Virātanagari was the capital of Matsya janapada during the Mahābhārata era. Bharatpur, Alwar and Jaipur regions of Rajasthan were part of the Matsya janapada. Mahābhārata refers to the city of Upaplāvya of Matsya janapada.

### **Kuru**

Kuru Janapada was originally located in Haryana and Punjab regions. Kuru (~11500 BCE), the founder of the Kuru dynasty, was the great grandson of Rigvedic King Ajamīḍha II. The city of Āsandivat or Asandh of Hissar district was the capital of Vedic Kuru King Parīkṣit and his son Janamejaya. Atharvaveda refers to the Kuru King Parīkṣit. Seemingly, the Kurus lost their kingdom of Kurukṣetra to the Pāñchālas. Rāmāyaṇa mentions Kurujāngala, which indicates the existence of Kuru janapada before the Rāmāyaṇa era. Later, the Kurus re-established themselves in Hastinapur after the decline of the Ikṣvāku dynasty around 4300 BCE.

### **Pāñchāla**

King Bāhyāśva, great grandson of King Ajamīḍha of the Bharata dynasty, was the progenitor of Pāñchālas. He had five sons, Mudgala, Yavīnara, Vikranta, Kṛmilāśva and Sriñjaya. Seemingly, King Bāhyāśva divided his kingdom into five provinces. Thus, the kingdom of Bāhyāśva came to be known as Pāñchāla during the post Rigvedic era. During the Mahābhārata era, Ahicṇatra (Ramnagar of Bareilly district) was the capital of Uttara Pāñchāla and Kāmpilya (Kampil in Farrukhabad district) was the capital of Dakṣiṇa Pāñchāla. King Yagñasena was the king of Pāñchālas during the Mahābhārata era. According to *Divyāvadāna*, Hastinapura was the capital of Uttara Pāñchāla. Seemingly, the Pāñchāla kings occupied Hastinapura after the reign of King Kṣemaka (2300 BCE), a descendant

of Janamejaya. Buddhist sources indicate that Durmukha was the king of Kāmpilya of Pāñchāla. Many Pāñchāla kings flourished after Mahābhārata era. Mahāpadma Nanda had annexed the kingdom of Pāñchālas around 1664 BCE.

### **Chedi**

The Chedis were the descendants of the Haihayas of Rigvedic era as they claimed in their inscriptions. Rigveda refers to a Chedi King Kāśu.<sup>8</sup> Originally, the Chedis reigned over Māhiṣmatī and were the neighbours of the Matsyas. Later, they have extended their kingdom beyond Bundelkhand. Mahābhārata indicates that the Chedis lost their kingdom during the reign of King Sahaja. Seemingly, Uparichara Vasu of the Kuru dynasty annexed the kingdom of Chedis during the Rigvedic era. Gradually, Māhiṣmatī became part of Avanti janapada and the region on the banks of Śuktimatī River came to be known as Chedi janapada. Thus, the Chedis became the neighbours of Vatsa janapada in the post Mahābhārata era. *Revā Khanda* of *Skanda Purāṇa* indicates that Chedi was also known as Mandala.

Damaghoṣa's son Śiśupāla was the Chedi King during the Mahābhārata era. Mahābhārata also refers to the Chedi King Sunitha and his sons, Dhṛṣṭaketu and Śarabha. Purāṇas tell us that total 24 or 25 Chedi kings flourished after the Mahābhārata era. Mahāpadma Nanda had annexed the kingdom of Chedis around 1664 BCE. Later, the Kalachuri-Chedi kings, the descendants of Chedi dynasty founded an epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era in 402 BCE and reigned over Dāhala-Mandala from 402 BCE to the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. We will discuss the chronology of the Kalachuri-Chedi kings in Chapter 15. There are some references of Cheṭas or Cheṭaraṭṭa in Jātaka texts of Buddhism but the Cheṭa was one of the Gaṇas of Vajji janapada. King Cheṭaka, a contemporary of Māhāvira was the king of Vaiśālī. Therefore, the Cheṭas and the Chedis were two different communities.

### **Daśārṇa**

Rāmāyaṇa refers to the region of Daśārṇa, which was closely located with Mekala and Utkala regions. During the Mahābhārata era, Bhimasena



defeated King Sudharmā of Daśārṇa janapada. Kālidāsa mentions in his *Meghadūtam* that Vidiśā, a city located on the banks of Vetravatī River, was the capital of Daśārṇa janapada. Jain sources indicate that the city of Mṛttikāvati was the capital of Daśārṇa.

### Vatsa

According to Puranic legends, Vatsa was the son of Bhṛgu Rishi Dadhīchi. The descendants of Bhṛgu Rishi Vatsa were known as Vatsas or Vātsyāyanas. The Vatsa janapada came to be named so because the kings of Vatsa gotra might have reigned over this region. Traditionally, Kauśāmbī was its capital. The Vatsa janapada is found mentioned in Mahābhārata. Buddhist Pāli texts refer to Vatsa as Vamśa. Some historians have identified the Vaśas mentioned in Rigveda, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and Kauśītakī Upaniṣad with the Vamśas but the Vaśas had connection with the Uśīnaras and the Matsyas. Therefore, the Vaśas of Vedic and post-Vedic eras cannot be identified with Vatsas.

According to Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Śātānika I the son of Janamejaya, became the king of Kauśāmbī city of Vatsa janapada. His son Sahasrānika I succeeded him. The genealogy given in Purāṇas indicates that Aśvamedhadatta was the successor of Śātānika I. Seemingly, Śātānika I had many sons. Aśvamedhadatta became the king of Hastinapur and Sahasrānika I became the king of Kauśāmbī after the death of Śātānika I. The Puranic genealogy also informs us that Śātānika and his son Udayana were the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> successors of Janamejaya and probably reigned in Indraprastha. Considering the traditional date of Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE), the chronology of early Vatsa kings can be roughly arrived as follows:

Yudhiṣṭhira (3162-3126 BCE)  
|  
Parīkṣit (3126-3100 BCE)  
|  
Janamejaya (3100-3050 BCE)  
|  
Śātānika I (3050-3030 BCE)

### Śatānīka I (3050-3030 BCE)

(Hastinapur Kingdom)

Aśvamedhadatta or  
Yajñadatta  
(3030-3000 BCE)

(Vatsa Kingdom)

Sahasrānīka I  
(3030-3000 BCE)  
|  
Udayana I  
(3000-2950 BCE)  
|  
Naravāhanadatta  
(2950-2900 BCE)

### Guṇāḍhya's Br̥hatkathā (~2200-2100 BCE)

Guṇāḍhya's *Br̥hatkathā* relates the historical account of Vastarāja Udayana I and his son Naravāhanadatta. It is well known that *Br̥hatkathā* was written in a Paisāchi or Bhūtabhāṣā by Guṇāḍhya in ancient times. According to *Nepāla-Māhātmya* of *Skanda Purāṇa*, Guṇāḍhya was born in Mathurā and he was the court poet of King Madana of Ujjain. Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* indicates that the historical legends of the Vidyādhara kings have been traditionally preserved in the form of folklore. Guṇāḍhya lost a bet to his rival Śarvavarmā, the author of *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* and had to renounce Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa* was also known as "Kalāpa" and "Kaumāra" vyākaraṇa. Patanjali (1480-1400 BCE) refers to *Kalāpa Vyākaraṇa* in his *Mahābhāṣya*. Vararuchi (1660-1580 BCE) wrote a commentary on one chapter (Kṛdanta portion) of *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*. Seemingly, Śarvavarmā lived many centuries before the time of Vararuchi. When Guṇāḍhya lost bet to Śarvavarmā, he had no other option to live in the hills of Vindhya. He learnt the Paisāchi language and the legends of the Vidyādhara kings from Kaṇabhūti in the hills of Vindhya. Thus, Guṇāḍhya wrote *Br̥hatkathā* of Vidyādhara kings in the Paisāchi language of common people in seven lakh verses. Bāṇa's *Harṣacharitam* indicates that Bhairava was the first who became Vidyādhara.<sup>9</sup> Thus, Bhairava or Śiva was the progenitor of Vidyādharas.

Guṇāḍhya sent his two disciples, Guṇadeva and Nandideva, to the city of Pratiṣṭhāna and desired to dedicate his *Br̥hatkathā* to a Śātavāhana

king. But King Śātavāhana rejected Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* without even reading it because it was written in the Paiśāchi language. Guṇāḍhya was deeply disappointed and started burning every page after reading it. In the meantime, King Śātavāhana realized his mistake and apologized to Guṇāḍhya. He requested him to narrate *Bṛhatkathā*. Since six lakh verses have already been destroyed, the disciples of Guṇāḍhya could read only one lakh verses to King Śātavāhana. Thus, only the last portion of *Bṛhatkathā* survived which contained the historical account of Vatsa King Udayana and his son Naravāhanadatta.

Seemingly, Paiśāchi was the popular language of the common people of northern, northwestern and central India, which was prevalent during the period from the post Vedic era to the Post-Mahābhārata era. It appears that Paiśāchi was the language of the common people of the so-called Indus-Sarasvati civilization, i.e., the post Vedic civilization. Most probably, the Indus-Sarasvati script was used to write Paiśāchi language. Unfortunately, no fragment or quote from the original *Bṛhatkathā* written in Paiśāchi is available today. In fact, ancient Indian academia used only Brahmi script and Sanskrit or Prakrit language for imparting education and writing books. The Paiśāchi language became gradually extinct after the lifetime of Vararuchi Kātyāyana (1670-1580 BCE) who lived during the reign of the Nanda dynasty of Magadha. He was also a minister of the last Nanda king.

According to *Prākṛita-Prakāśa* of Vararuchi, Paiśāchi was close to Śaurasenī Prakrit. Rudraṭa and Rājaśekhara refer to Paiśāchi as Piśācha Bhāṣā or Bhūtabhāṣā, which indicates that the Paiśāchi language has already been extinct before the lifetime of them. Hemachandra refers to three types of Paiśāchi. Markandeya, the author of *Prākṛitasarvasva*, mentions that the Paiśāchi language was spoken in Kekaya, Śūrasena and Pāñchāla regions.

Vararuchi Kātyāyana learnt Paiśāchi and compiled Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* in Prakrit language, which came to be known as "*Vaḍḍakathā*." The Ganga King Durvinita (193-138 BCE) had translated *Vaḍḍakathā* into Sanskrit in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE as recorded in the copper plate inscriptions. Thereafter, Kṣemendra and Somadeva (4<sup>th</sup> century CE) recompiled the historical legends of *Bṛhatkathā* in their works (*Bṛhatkathāmañjari* and *Kathāsaritsāgara*).

Evidently, Guṇāḍhya lived before the lifetime of Vararuchi Kātyāyana (1660-1580 BCE) but after the reign of Udayana I (3000-2950 BCE) and Naravāhanadatta (2950-2900 BCE). Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Guṇāḍhya around 2200-2100 BCE. Since Guṇāḍhya was the contemporary of a Śātavāhana king, historians have simply assumed his contemporaneity with King Hāla Śātavāhana but there is no evidence to establish it. Most probably, the early Śātavāhanas were feudatories of the Aśmaka kings and the Andhra kings during the post Mahābhārata era. A fragment of the 6<sup>th</sup> pillar edict of Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE) mentions Śātavāhanas. Thus, a king of early Śātavāhanas was ruling around 2200-2100 BCE during the lifetime of Guṇāḍhya.

### **The Legend of Udayana I**

According to Guṇāḍhya's *Brhatkathā* and Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Sahasrāṅika*, the king of Kauśāmbī of Vatsa Janapada was the grandson of Janamejaya and the son of Śātāṅika. King Sahasrāṅika and his wife, Mṛgāvati, the princess of Ayodhyā had a son whom they named Udayana. He had three ministers, Yugandhara, Supratika and Narmasuhrid. Yugandhara's son was Yaugandharāyaṇa, Supratika's son was Rumaṇvān and Narmasuhrid's son was Vasantaka. King Udayana I had four ministers, Yaugandharāyaṇa, Rumaṇvān, Vasantaka and Rīṣabha. He married Vāsavadattā of Avanti and Padmāvati of Magadha. Udayana I was also a great musician. Avanti King Pradyota and his minister Sālaṅkāyana play a trick and capture King Udayana in order to have him teach music to princess Vāsavadattā. Udayana falls in love with Vāsavadattā while giving her lessons in music. Yaugandharāyaṇa, the minister of Udayana, facilitates Udayana and Vāsavadattā to escape from Ujjain. Pradyota had no other option to accept Vatsa King Udayana as his son-in-law. Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam* also tells us that King Udayana eloped with Vāsavadattā, daughter of Pradyota (*Pradyotasya Priyaduhitaram Vatsarājotra jahre*).

Kśemendra's *Brhatkathāmañjari* and Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* inform us that Mahāseṇa, the father of Vāsavadattā, was the king of Avanti and Pradyota, father of Padmāvati, was the king of Magadha. Mahāseṇa's son was Gopāla and Gopāla's son was Avantivardhana. Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadattam*, Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam* and Buddhasvami's

*Bṛhatkathāślokaśāgraha* mention that Pradyota was the king of Avanti. Seemingly, Mahāsena was another name of the father of Vāsavadattā. Many kings of Avanti had the name of Pradyota. Therefore, Pradyota might be the name of a clan of the Vītihotra dynasty of Avanti. *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives the genealogy of Avanti King Mahāsena, who was the son of Jayasena and the grandson of Mahendra Varmā. Buddhadatta was his minister. Mahāsena married Aṅgaravatī, daughter of a Daitya or Asura (Sri Lankan?) King.

King Udayana I was popular as a romantic hero among Sanskrit dramatists. Bhasa's Sanskrit play "*Svapnavāsavadattam*" is based on the legend of the Vatsa King Udayana I and his two wives Vāsavadattā, daughter of King Pradyota of Avanti and Padmāvati, sister of King Darśaka of Magadha. There are two more plays, namely, "*Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*" written by Bhāsa and "*Tāpasavatsarāja*" written by Anaṅgahaṛṣa, which deal with the story of Udayana I. While referring to the legend of Udayana I, Yakṣa gives directions to Megha (cloud), the messenger in Kālidāsa's *Meghadutam*: "Having arrived at Avanti janapada, where the men of the villages are acquainted with the legend of Udayana, proceed to the city of Sri Viśālā, i.e., Ujjain (प्राप्यावन्तीनुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान् पूर्वोद्दिष्टामनुसर पुरीं श्रीविशालां विशालाम्).

*Svapnavāsavadattam* and *Kathāsaritsāgara* relate that Yaugandharāyaṇa played a key role in making Udayana, a chakravarti king. He ensures a marriage alliance between Vatsa and Magadha kingdoms. Udayana married Padmāvati, a daughter of Magadha king. This marriage alliance secured peace at the eastern front of Vatsa kingdom. Udayana had already in control of north and central India. *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions that Udayana also married Kaliṅgasenā, daughter of King Kaliṅgadatta of Takśaśilā. A Sanskrit play "*Viñāvāsavadattam*" written by Śudraka indicates that prince Sañjaya, son of the Aśmaka king, was the contemporary of Udayana. According to Sri Harsha's *Priyadarśikā*, Udayana also married Priyadarśikā, a daughter of the Aṅga King Dr̥ḍhavarman. Udayana marched into South India and defeated the Chola king on the banks of Kāveri River.

Sri Harsha's *Ratnāvalī* tells us that Ratnāvalī, also known as Sāgarikā, was a daughter of Simhala King Vikramabāhu who was the maternal uncle of Vāsavadattā. Ratnāvalī was travelling in a ship that gets wrecked by a sea storm. A businessman of Kauśāmbī rescues Ratnāvalī. Thus, Ratnāvalī accidentally lands in the court of King Udayana. Yaugandharāyaṇa again plays a trick to ensure the marriage of Udayana and Ratnāvalī. Thus, Vatsa king Udayana becomes the emperor of entire India including Sri Lanka. The credit must go to the marriage diplomacy cunningly executed by his minister Yaugandharāyaṇa. Naravāhanadatta was the son of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. He succeeded his father.

Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives the most interesting account of the military achievements of King Udayana. Having subdued the Chola king, Udayana reached Avanti. His father-in-law Pradyota was still alive. Udayana marched towards Sindh and defeated the king of Sindh. Thereafter, he destroyed Mlecchās, Śakas and Turuṣkas. Udayana received the tribute from all his western and north-western foes. He cut off the head of the wicked king of the Pārasīkas or Persians.

Thus, Vatsa King Udayana's greatest military achievements made him a legendary king of ancient India. The stories of his dramatic marriages with Vāsavadattā, Padmāvati, Kaliṅgasenā, Ratnāvalī and Priyadarśikā and the role of his minister Yaugandharāyaṇa became the central theme of many Sanskrit dramas for many centuries.

### **King Udayana in Buddhist Literature**

Gilgit manuscript of *Vinayavastu* and Buddhist text "*Lalitavistara*" inform us that Śātānīka II was the king of Kauśāmbī and his son Udayana II was the contemporary of Buddha. In fact, Udayana and Buddha share the same date or year of birth. Hiuen Tsang relates that King Udayana made the statue of Buddha in red sandal-wood during the life-time of Buddha. He also informs us that he has seen the same statue under a stone dome in the ancient palace of the kings. Considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE), we can fix the date of Śātānīka II around 1970-1900 BCE and the date of Udayana II around 1944-1860 BCE. Buddhist sources simply mention King Udayana II as the contemporary of Buddha. We have no information in the Buddhist sources to establish the legendary

status of Udayana II. According to *Aṭṭhakathā* of Dhammapāda, King Parāntapa of Kauśāmbī, was the father of Udena. There is no reference of Naravāhanadatta, son of Udayana in Buddhist sources. According to Tibetan tradition, Rāṣṭrapāla was the son of Udayana. *Karmaśataka* mentions that Śaraṇa was the son of Udayana Sauvira.

### King Udayana in Jain Literature

*Mṛgāvati-charita* of Devaprabha and *Kumarapālapratibodha* of Somaprabha mention that Mṛgāvati was the wife of King Śātānika of Kauśāmbī. Pradyota was the king of Avanti. Jain sources inform us that on the completion of the second rainy season, Mahāvira proceeded towards the Vatsa country. The ruler of Vatsa, Śātānika, had died and Kauśāmbī, the capital of Vatsa janapada, was administered by the widow, Queen Mṛgāvati, on behalf of her minor son Udayana. Udayana's story is more popular in later Jain literature. Haribhadra Sūri wrote a commentary (*Āvaśyaka Tikā*) on Āvaśyaka Sūtra. He mentions that Udayana was the king of the city of Vītabhaya, a capital of Sauvira Janapada. His wife Prabhāvati (Padmāvati?) was a Jain. Udayana went war with King Pradyota of Avanti and captured him but then released him. Hemachandra also relates that Udayana defeated and imprisoned Pradyota. The story of Udayana is also found in the Prakrit commentaries on the Āvaśyaka Sūtra (Chūrṇi) and Āvaśyaka Tikā.

Jain sources unanimously agree that Vatsa King Udayana was the contemporary of Avanti King Chanda Pradyota. Jain historians also relate that Pālaka succeeded his father Chanda Pradyota. Jinadāsa Gani's Āvaśyaka Sūtra gives the detailed account of Udayana, Pradyota and Vāsavadattā. Interestingly, Āvaśyaka Sūtra gives the historical account of Sthūlabhadra before the story of Udayana and Pradyota. It mentions that Sthūlabhadra's father Śakatāra was the minister of Mahāpadma. Śri, the brother of Sthūlabhadra, assassinated the hostile Brāhmaṇa Vararuchi (Kātyāyana, the author of Vārtikas, Bṛhatkathā and Prakrit Vyākaraṇa) in the presence of the king. Āvaśyaka Sūtra tells us that Pradyota marched against Magadha King Śreṇika and captured his son Abhaya. Abhaya and Pradyota gradually became friends. Abhaya advised Pradyota to capture King Udayana.

### The Date of King Udayana

The study of Sanskrit, Buddhist and Jain sources reveals that there were at least three Vatsa kings who had the name of Udayana. According to Bṛhatkathā tradition, Vatsa King Udayana I was the son of King Sahasrānīka, grandson of Hastinapur King Janamejaya. Considering the epoch of Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE), we can roughly fix the date of Udayana I around 3000-2950 BCE and the date of Naravāhanadatta, son of Udayana I around 2950-2900 BCE. King Udayana II was the son of Vatsa King Śatānīka. He was the contemporary of Gautama Buddha. Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Udayana II around 1944-1860 BCE considering the epoch of Buddha Nirvana (1864 BCE).

King Udayana III, son of Śatānīka was the contemporary of Mahāvira. When Mahāvira visited Kauśāmbī, Udayana III was a minor and his mother was ruling over Kauśāmbī. There was another Udayana, who was the king of Sauvira Janapada. Udayana Sauvira lived in the city of Vītabhaya. According to Jain sources, King Chanḍa Pradyota of Avanti died on the same day of Mahāvira nirvāṇa, i.e., 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 1189 BCE. Therefore, Chanḍa Pradyota was in conflict with the Sauvira King Udayana and not Vatsa King Udayana because he was a minor during the lifetime of Chanḍa Pradyota. Thus, we can fix the date of the Sauvira King Udayana around 1260-1180 BCE considering the epoch of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE) and the date of the Vatsa King Udayana III around 1200-1100 BCE. Seemingly, the Buddhist scholars inadvertently mixed up the historical accounts of Udayana I and Udayana II whereas the Jain scholars mixed up the historical accounts of Udayana I, Udayana III and Udayana Sauvira.

### Subandhu's Vāsavadattā

Subandhu was the author of “*Vāsavadattā*”, the earliest available Sanskrit “*Ākhyāyikā*” written in prose. According to *Avantisundarikathā* of Dandi, Subandhu escaped from the prison of Maurya King Bindusāra (*Subandhuḥ kila niṣkrānto Bindusārasya bandhanāt...*). In all probability, Subandhu belonged to the Vatsa Janapada (Kauśāmbī was its capital) and he might have visited the court of Bindusāra Maurya as an emissary of the king of Vatsa. According to traditional legends, Subandhu was the



nephew of the grammarian Vararuchi Kātyāyana. Vararuchi was also the minister of Nandas and lived around 1660-1580 BCE. Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne around 1596 BCE and his son Bindusāra reigned around 1572-1547 BCE. Thus, we can fix the date of Subandhu around 1620-1540 BCE.

The tenth introductory śloka of Vāsavadattā mentions King Vikramāditya “सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये”. This reference created a lot of confusion among Indologists. They finally rejected the reference of Dandin and argued that Subandhu lived after Chandragupta Vikramāditya. Thus, modern historians date Subandhu around 400 CE to 600 CE. It may be noted that there were many kings, who had the title of Vikramāditya. Seemingly, the Vidyādhara kings of Vatsa janapada were the first who had the title of Vikramāditya. Therefore, Subandhu might have referred to a Vatsa king of Vidyādhara having the title of Vikramāditya, who flourished before 2500 BCE.

There is no connection between the story of Vāsavadattā given by Subandhu and the story of Udayana-Vāsavadattā given Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*. According to Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, King Chintāmaṇi's son Kandarpaketu, was in love with Vāsavadattā, daughter of King Śṛṅgāraśekhara of Kusumapura. Historians have simply identified Kusumapura with the city of Pātaliputra but Subandhu informs us that Kusumapura was located close to Gangā River and Vindhya mountains. A famous temple of Kātyāyana was situated close to Kusumapura. In all probability, Vindhyaśālini temple of Mirzapur, UP, was the Kātyāyana temple as mentioned by Subandhu and Kusumapura was located close to Vindhyaśālini town or Mirzapur. King Śṛṅgāraśekhara of Kusumapura had already fixed the marriage of Vāsavadattā with Puṣpaketu, son of King Vijayaketu of the Vidyādhara dynasty. Therefore, Kandarpaketu eloped with Vāsavadattā with the help of his friend Makaranda and took shelter in the Vindhya Mountains. Finally, King Śṛṅgāraśekhara agrees to marry off Vāsavadattā to Kandarpaketu.

It is difficult to fix the timeline of Kusumapura King Śṛṅgāraśekhara's daughter Vāsavadattā, King Chintāmaṇi's son Kandarpaketu and Vidyādhara King Vijayaketu's son Puṣpaketu but the mythical narrative of Vāsavadattā turning into a stone image indicates the antiquity of the

legend. Seemingly, the historical legend of Kusumapura's Vāsavadattā belongs to the period of pre-Mahābhārata era. Evidently, the Vidyādhara were the kings of Vatsa janapada during the period from the post Vedic era to the Mahābhārata era. King Sahasrānika, son of Śātānika, founded the reign of the Pāndava dynasty in Vatsa janapada and King Udayana I reigned around 3000 BCE. The Pāndava dynasty of Kauśāmbī declined after 1100 BCE.

### **Avanti and Mālava**

Māhiṣmatī was the earliest capital of Avanti janapada. The Haihaya King Arjuna Kārtavīrya reigned over central India during the Rigvedic era. Talajaṅgha was the grandson of Arjuna Kārtavīrya. Vītihoṭra, the founder of the Vītihoṭra dynasty, was the son of Talajaṅgha. The Vītihoṭra dynasty reigned over Avanti janapada from the post-Vedic era to the time of Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Vītihoṭras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tuṇḍikeras were known as five lineages of the Vītihoṭras. Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī refers to the Ujjayini King Tārāpīḍa and his son Chandrāpīḍa who might have flourished during the pre-Mahābhārata era.

King Pradyota Mahāsena of Avanti, the father of Vāsavadattā, lived around 3000 BCE and he was the contemporary of King Udayana I of Vatsa janapada. According to the Gilgit manuscript of Vinayavastu, King Anantanemi was ruling over Ujjayini and his son Pradyota was the contemporary of Buddha (1944-1864 BCE). King Śūdraka I Vikramāditya was the King of Avanti and Vidiśā around 2287 BCE. Māhapadma Nanda conquered Avanti and the Vītihoṭra kings became feudatories of Magadha Empire. Varāhamihira refers to Dravyavardhana, an ancient King of Avanti (*Bhāradvājamatam dṛiṣṭvā yaśca Śri-Dravyavardhanaḥ, Āvantiko nṛpaḥ prāha Mahārājādhirājakaḥ*).<sup>10</sup> Jain sources tell us that King Chanḍa Pradyota, the contemporary of Mahāvira, was the king of Avanti. He died in 1189 BCE on the same night when Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa. Pālaka, son of Chanḍa Pradyota, became the king of Avanti in 1189 BCE. The Chronology of Avanti kings after Mahāvira Nirvāṇa:

	<b>Kings of Avanti</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1.	Chanḍa Pradyota	1240-1189 BCE
2.	Pālaka and his descendants (155 years)	1189-1034 BCE

3. Viṣaya or Gupta Kings (150 years)
4. Chandragupta 1034-1020 BCE
5. Simhasena (He died in the year 209 of Mahāvira Nirvāṇa era.) 1020-980 BCE
6. Bhāskara (He defeated Kśemarāja of Kalinga and founded the Āguptāyika era in the year 239 of Mahāvira Nirvāṇa era, i.e., 950 BCE. He died in the year 244.) 980-945 BCE
7. Samprati (He died in the year 293 of Mahāvira nirvāṇa era, i.e., 896 BCE.) 945-896 BCE
8. Muruṇḍas 884-844 BCE
9. Puṣpamitra 844-814 BCE
10. Vasumitra and Agnimitra 814-754 BCE
11. King Gardabhilla 736-723 BCE
12. Śaka kings 723-719 BCE
13. King Vikramāditya I 719-659 BCE
14. Four successors of Vikramāditya I 659-583 BCE
15. Śaka King Caṣṭana and his descendants 583-246 BCE
16. Gupta kings 246-170 BCE
17. Aulikara kings Prakaśadharman and Yaśodharman 169-120 BCE
18. King Gandhrvasena 120-82 BCE
19. King Vikramāditya II (also known as Harsha) 82-20 BCE

### Sauvira, Kekaya, Madra and Sindhu

Suvira, Kekaya and Madra were the sons of King Śibi, son of Uśīnara. The regions reigned by Suvira, Kekaya and Madra came to be known as Sauvira, Kekaya and Madra janapadas respectively in the post Vedic period. The Sindh region was part of Sauvira janapada. We will discuss the chronology of Sindhu-Sauvira janapada in Chapter 20.

### Gāndhāra and Bāhlika

Gāndhāra is found mentioned in Rigveda and Atharvaveda. Gāndhāra I, a descendant of Druhyu I, was the founder of Gāndhāra kingdom.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa indicates that Nagnajit, son of Gāndhāra I, was the contemporary of Rishi Parvata and Nārada of the Rigvedic era. Thus, Gāndhāra janapada came into existence during the Rigvedic era. Bāhlika was the son of the Vedic Kuru King Pratīpa and younger brother of Śāntanu. He reigned over the region of Bactria. Thus, Bāhlika janapada came into existence. We will discuss the chronology of Gāndhāra and Bāhlika kings in Chapter 11.

### **Aśmaka and Andhra**

According to Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas, King Aśmaka was the son of Ayodhyā King Saudāsa Kalmāṣapāda's queen Madayantī and Rishi Vasiṣṭha. He settled in South India and established his kingdom between Godāvāri and Krishna rivers. He founded the city of Paudanya as his capital. Most probably, Bodhan city of Nizamabad district, Telangana, was the ancient city of Paudanya. Seemingly, Kusumapura of Adilabad district was the centre of education where Āryabhaṭa lived. Aśmaka kings supported Pāndavas in Mahābhārata war under the leadership of Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna. According to Śudraka's *Viṇāvāsavadattam*, Sañjaya, son of the Aśmaka kingdom, was the contemporary of Vatsa King Udayana I (3000-2950 BCE).

Andhras were the descendants of Rishi Viśvāmitra as mentioned in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra. Thus, the Aśmakas and the Andhras had their origins in the Rigvedic period. We will discuss the chronological history of Aśmakas and Andhras in Chapter 24.

### **Kuntala and Karṇāta**

Kuntala kingdom (North Karnataka) existed during the Rigvedic era. *Jaiminiya Aśvamedha* mentions the Kuntala King Chandrahāsa who was an abandoned child of the king of Kerala. Mahābhārata refers to Karṇātas. We will discuss the chronological history of Kuntala and Karnataka in Chapter 16.

### **Pāndya, Chola, Kerala and Kolla**

According to *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Marutta, the fifth descendant of Turvaśa King Vahni, adopted Duṣkṛta or Duṣmanta, a son of King Raibhya of the Puru dynasty. Duṣkṛta's grandson King Janāpida or Ahrida had four

sons, Pāndya, Kerala, Chola and Kolla who founded their kingdoms in Tamilnadu and Kerala regions. We discuss the chronology of Tamilnadu in Chapter 21 and the chronology of Kerala in Chapter 22.

### Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa

Prāgjyotiṣa kingdom of Assam also has its origin in the Rigvedic era. Naraka, son of Hiranyākṣa, was the earliest known king of Prāgjyotiṣa. Bhagadatta was the king of Prāgjyotiṣa during the Mahābhārata era. We will discuss the chronology of Prāgjyotiṣa, also known as Kāmarūpa, in Chapter 25.

### Uttara Kuru (Khotan)

Uttara Kuru was also a janapada of ancient India during the post Vedic period. The earliest reference of Uttara Kuru is found in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. According to Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara Kuru Janapada was located in the north of Śailodā River (Neelum or Kiśangaṅgā River). Kichaka type of Bamboo trees were grown on the banks of Śailodā River. It was also called as Nimnagā because it flows from north to south and merges with Vitastā or Jhelum River.

तं तु देशम् अतिक्रम्य शैलोदा नाम निम्नगा ।  
उभयोः तीरयोः तस्याः कीचका नाम वेणवः ॥  
तेन यान्ति परं तीरं सिद्धान्प्रत्यानयन्ति च ।  
उत्तराः कुरवः तत्र कृतपुण्यप्रतिश्रियाः ॥<sup>11</sup>

Mahābhārata indicates that Śailodā River was located between Meru (Karakoram) and Mandara (Pir Panjal) ranges.

मेरुमन्दरयोर्मध्ये शैलोदामभितो नदीम्  
ये ते कीचकवेणूनां छायां रम्यामुपासते ॥<sup>12</sup>

In the process of Rājasūya Yajña, Arjuna conquered Uttara Kuru during the Mahābhārata era. According to Khotanese legends, King Aśoka Maurya's son Kroṣṭana or Khuṣṭana founded the Khotan Kingdom around ~1500 BCE. Seemingly, the name "Khotan" derived from Kroṣṭana. Khotanese or Uttara Kuru King Vijaya Kirti was a contemporary of Kushana King Kanishka (1150-1118 BCE). Interestingly, many Sino-Kharoshthi coins have been found in Khotan. These coins refer to a King, namely, Gurgadama (*Maharajasa Yidirajasa Gurgadamasa*).

### **Ancient Indian Geography as Described by Rājasekhara (3<sup>rd</sup> century CE)**

Sanskrit poet Rājasekhara was the teacher of Pratihāra King Mahendrapāla. He divided Āryavarta into five parts, Pūrvadeśa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Paścāddeśa, Uttarāpatha and Madhyadeśa.

1. Pūrvadeśa      The region lying east of Vārānasi is called Pūrvadeśa. It has the janapadas of Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Magadha, Mudgara, Videha, Nepāla, Puṇḍra, Prāgjyotiṣa, Tāmraliptaka, Malada, Mallavartaka, Suhma and Brahmottara etc.
2. Dakṣiṇāpatha      The region lying south of Māhiṣmatī city or Narmadā River is called Dakṣiṇāpatha. It consists of the janapadas of Maharashtra, Māhiṣaka, Aśmaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Krathakaiśika, Śūrpāraka, Kāñchi, Kerala, Kāvera, Murala, Vānavāsaka, Simhala, Chola, Dandaka, Pāndya, Pallava, Gāṅga, Nāsikya, Konkaṇa, Kollagiri and Vallāra, etc.
3. Paścāddeśa      The region lying west beyond Devasabhā is called Paścāddeśa. It consists of the janapadas like Devasabhā, Surāṣṭra, Dāseraka, Travana, Bhṛgukaccha, Kacchiya, Ānarta, Arbuda, Brāhmaṇavāha and Yavana etc.
4. Uttarāpatha      The region lying north of Pṛthūdaka is called Uttarāpatha. It consists of the kingdoms like Śaka, Kekaya, Vokkāṇa, Hūṇa, Vānyuja, Kāmboja, Bāhlika, Pahlava, Limpāka, Kulūta, Kira, Tangana, Tuṣāra, Turuṣka, Barbara, Hārahūṇa, Huhuka, Sahuda, Haṅsamārga, Rāmaṭha and Karakanṭha, etc.
5. Madhyadeśa      Between these regions lies the Madhyadeśa.

Apart from the history of janapadas as briefly discussed above, the chronology of Nepal, Tibet, Sri Lanka, and Burma is also integral part of the history of ancient India. Therefore, we will also discuss the chronology of Nepal, Tibet, Sri Lanka, and Burma in the upcoming chapters.



# 11

## **The Epochs of Yavana Era (972 BCE) and Azes Era (844 BCE) and the Chronology of Gāndhāra and Bāhlīka Janapadas**

The epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE), the date of Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE), the date of Kushana King Kanishka, the epochs of the Yavana era and the Azes era are the sheet anchors for arriving at the true chronology of Gāndhāra and Bāhlīka (Bactria) *janapadas*. We have already discussed the date of Buddha nirvāṇa and the date of Aśoka I or Kālāśoka in previous chapters. The Great Kushana King Kanishka flourished 700 years after the *mahāparinirvāṇa* of Buddha as indicated in Buddhist sources. Numerous inscriptions found in Gāndhāra, Bactria, Pakistan, Punjab and Mathura regions reveal that the epochs of the Yavana and the Azes eras were in vogue with a difference of 128 years between them. The Yavana era was introduced by the Greeks whereas the Indo-Scythian King Azes reigned over a vast kingdom and founded his era 128 years after the epoch of the Yavana era. Eminent historians have concocted that the epoch of the Azes era is identical with that of the Vikrama era and commenced in 57 BCE but none of these historians has ever produced any credible evidence to support their hypothesis. Moreover, they arrogantly propagate it to be a historical fact because it somehow fits into the scheme of their distorted chronology.

Though some historians have now conclusively established based on the Macedonian intercalary month referred to in a dated inscription found in North-western India<sup>1</sup> that the Vikrama era and the Azes

era cannot be identical but all historians firmly believe that King Azes flourished ~175 years before the Kushana King Kanishka. Interestingly, majority of historians still believe that there were two kings, namely, Azes (Azes I and Azes II) but RC Senior has now conclusively proved based on the numismatic evidence that there was only one king named as Azes. According to my chronological studies, King Kanishka started his reign ~306 years before the epoch of the Azes era. We will discuss the chronology of Kushanas in detail later in this Chapter. First of all, it is extremely important to understand the antiquity and evolution of Indic, Gāndhāran and Bactrian scripts to establish the true chronology of Gāndhāra and Bactria.

### The Antiquity and Evolution of Bactrian Script and Ionian Script



The Rabatak inscription of King Kanishka was written in the Bactrian script and the Bactrian language. The letters of the Bactrian script can easily be reconstructed based on the Rabatak inscription and the coins of Kushanas as shown below:

A	Α	J		SH	ρ
B	Β	K	κ	T	τ
C		L	λ	U	υ
D	Δ	M	μ	V	
E	ε	N	ν	W/z	ω
V	κ	O	ο	X	χ
F	φ	Q		Y	
G	γ	P	π	Z	ζ
H		R	ρ		
I	ι	S	σ		


Evidently, the Bactrian script had only 22 letters. It is well known that the archaic Ionian script had been evolved from the Phoenician script. The archaic Ionian script had 23 letters whereas the Phoenician script had 22 letters. The later Ionian and the Greek scripts had 24 letters.



Seemingly, the Bactrian script of 22 letters had been evolved from the archaic Ionian script of 23 letters and was in vogue before the birth of the later Ionian or the Greek script of 24 letters. This is evident if we correct the chronology considering the true epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE).

Undoubtedly, the Bactrian script has been evolved from the archaic Ionian script to address the needs of the Bactrian language. The Bactrian script used “” for Ω “Omega” and ‘C’ for Σ “Sigma”. Moreover, the Bactrian script added a special letter  for “Sh” which never existed in the entire tradition of the archaic Ionian script and excluded the letter of theta (Θ).

### The Evolution of the Bactrian script of 22 letters from the Archaic Ionian Script of 23 letters

	A	B	G	D	E	I	È	Th	I	K	L	M
<b>Archaic Ionian</b>	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	⊥	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M
<b>Bactrian</b>	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	⊥	H	--	I	K	Λ	M
	N	O	P	R	S	T	U	Ph	X	W	Sh	Kh, Ch
<b>Archaic Ionian</b>	N	O	Π	P	Σ	T	Y	θ	≡	Ω	--	X
<b>Bactrian</b>	N	O	Π	P	C	T	Y	θ	X	W		

### The Evolution of Indic Scripts

The archaeological findings suggest that the Indus script was the most ancient script of North-western India. Most probably, the common people of Northern, Central and North-western India used to speak the Paiśāchī language and the so-called Indus script before 2500 BCE. The learned people of India might have used a phonetic script (proto-Brāhmi) for Sanskrit since the Rigvedic era. It may be noted that Vedic hymns cannot be composed without a phonetic script because Vedic hymns perfectly follow the rules of *Saṅdhi* (conjunctions). Since Sanskrit is an artificially evolved language from a natural language (proto Sanskrit),

the Vedic Rishis had certainly created a phonetic script and evolved the basic grammar of *Saṅdhi*. It is impossible to evolve the grammar of *Saṅdhi* without a phonetic script. The grammatically evolved Sanskrit language and the phonetic script was used by only learned people since the Rigvedic era.

During the period of the Post-Vedic era (~10500-6777 BCE), the Tretā Yuga (6777-5577 BCE) and the Dvāpara Yuga (5577-3176 BCE), the common people started learning spoken Sanskrit. Since the common people could not strictly follow the discipline of Sanskrit grammar, numerous corrupted dialects of Sanskrit have been evolved. These dialects of Sanskrit collectively came to be known as “Prakrit” and “Pāli.” Many dialects of Prakrit like Paiśāchī, Gāndhāri, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Mahārāṣṭrī, etc., have also been evolved.

Interestingly, the learned people also evolved a grammar for Prakrit languages so that further corruption in Prakrit language can be contained. Post-Mahābhārata era, the Prakrit language was close to Sanskrit which is evident from the Aśokan inscriptions and Pāli texts of Buddhism. Eminent historians mistakenly refer to early Prakrit as “Sanskritised Prakrit” which indicates the influence of Sanskrit on Prakrit in a later stage. Hemachandra, a Jain and Prakrit grammarian, clearly states: “*Prakṛtiḥ Sanskritam, Tatra bhavam tata āgatam vā Prākṛtam*”, “Sanskrit is the basis (Prakṛti), what originated from it or what is derived from it, is called Prakrit”. Therefore, “Sanskritised Prakrit” is a misleading term in the chronological history of Indic scripts.

Vararuchi Kātyāyana, the minister of Nanda kings, was the first who formally and systematically compiled a treatise on Prakrit grammar in the 17<sup>th</sup> century BCE. But it was humanly impossible to regulate the languages of masses. Gradually, Apabhraṃṣa, local dialects of Prakrit and modern Indian languages have been evolved. Ancient south Indian language/ languages might have been originally evolved from the proto Sanskrit of Rigvedic era but highly influenced from Sanskrit starting from the Tretā Yuga due to regular public performances of Sanskrit Nātakas.

The Indus script was used to write the Paiśāchī or local language before 3000 BCE. Thereafter, the proto-Brāhmi script might have become

popular because it was more user-friendly than the Indus script. Thus, the common people started using the proto-Brāhmi script after the Mahābhārata era and gradually, Indus script became extinct after 3000 BCE. During the period 3000-2000 BCE, the Kharoshthi and the Brāhmi scripts have been evolved from the proto-Brāhmi script. The Kharoshthi became popular in the west of Indus and Brāhmi became popular in the east of Indus. The passion for calligraphic writing of the Brāhmi script led to the evolution of Kushana Brāhmi, Box-headed Brāhmi and Siddha-māṭṛkā Brāhmi. The Siddha-māṭṛkā script became popular in North and west-central India. Śāradā and Nāgari scripts evolved from Siddha-māṭṛkā script. The Śāradā script replaced Kharoshthi in North-western India and the Nāgari script replaced Brāhmi in northern, central and southern (Maharashtra) India. All South Indian scripts have also been evolved from the Brāhmi script.

### **The Evolution of Gāndhāran and Bactrian Scripts**

The Kharoshthi script was popularly used in Gāndhāra and Bactria for writing Sanskrit and Prakrit since pre-Buddhist period. When the Ionian governors occupied Gāndhāra and Bactria after the invasion of the Greek King Heracleas (1925-1868 BCE) around 1890 BCE, they introduced the archaic Ionian script. According to ancient Indian sources, the Yavanas were the descendants of Turvasu. Since they were living in North-western borders of India, they had gradually mixed up with the people of central Asia and Persia. These Yavanas were one of the original inhabitants of Bactria and Gāndhāra. In ancient times, the Paṇis of India migrated to Lebanon and Syria and came to be known as Phoenicians whereas Yavanas migrated to western Anatolia and Greece and came to be known as Ionians. The Paṇis and the Yavanas took the logic of the phonetic script from India. The Paṇis evolved the Phoenician script with minimum letters (22) possible. Proto Anatolian, Egyptian, Babylonian and central Asian scripts had traditionally never distinguished between short and long vowels and alpa-prāṇa (non-aspirated) and Mahā-prāṇa (aspirated) consonants and did not distinguish between Dental (ऋ, थ...) and Linguolabial (ऌ, ऍ...) consonants. These scripts had numerous letters or symbols with a cumbersome logic. Therefore, Paṇis or Phoenicians having the knowledge of Indian phonology attempted to evolve a script

with minimum alphabet possible. Thus, the Phoenician script of 22 letters came into existence around 2500 BCE and became popular in Phoenicia, Greece and Western Anatolia.

Evidently, the Ionians of Greece and Western Anatolia (the migrated Yavanas of Bactria) evolved the archaic Ionian script from the Phoenician script around 2000 BCE. The Ionian warrior Heracles conquered Gāndhāra and Bactria around 1890 BCE and appointed his governors in this region. After the fall of Troy (1842 BCE), many Ionians might have settled in Gāndhāra and Bactria. Thus, the archaic Ionian Script came into use in Gāndhāra and Bactria much before the invasion of Alexander (990-982 BCE). Historians wrongly believe that the Ionian script was introduced in Gāndhāra and Bactria only after the invasion of Alexander.

The epigraphic and numismatic evidence of the Bactrian script is available from the time of Kushanas. As on today, we have no evidence of the Bactrian script before the time of Kushanas. Considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE), I have fixed the time of Kushanas around 1250-1000 BCE. Evidently, the Bactrian script might have evolved around 1500-1300 BCE under the influence of the archaic Ionian script. The Bactrian script also follows Indian phonology as details given below.

**Vowels (6)**

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ
A A		E E		U U	
ए	ऐ	ओ	औ		
É É	I I	O O			

**Consonants (17)**

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	
K K		G G			
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	
X X		J J			
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	
त	थ	द	ध	न	
T T		D D		N N	

प	फ	ब	भ	म	
𑀧 P	𑀫 F	𑀅 B		𑀭 M	
य	र	ल	व		
𑀲 Y	𑀲 R	𑀬 L	𑀶 V		
श	ष	स	ह		
𑀢 SH		𑀱 S			

Evidently, Phoenician, Archaic Ionian and Bactrian scripts evolved on the concept of Indian phonology. The Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Assyrians had a great heritage of their own scripts. The Egyptians used hieroglyphic script whereas Babylonians, Assyrians and Akkadians used cuneiform script since ancient times. The hieroglyphic and cuneiform scripts were more ancient than the Phoenician script.

Under the influence of Phoenician script, Palaeo-Hebrew started evolving in Israel around 1800 BCE. The great Jewish King David (1702-1662 BCE) used Palaeo-Hebrew alphabet in his inscription. Phoenician script and Palaeo-Hebrew script both have 22 alphabet. There is hardly any difference between these two scripts.



The Aramaic script started evolving from the Phoenician script in modern Syria and Armenia around 1600 BCE. Later, the Aramaic influenced the evolution of Hebrew letters. Modern historians and

linguists mistakenly believe that some of the letters of the Kharoshthi script evolved from the Aramaic script. King Aśoka the Great (1765-1737 BCE) used a well-developed Kharoshthi script in his Shahbazgarhi rock edict. Moreover, there is no evidence of the use of the Aramaic script in Gāndhāra before the establishment of Achaemenid Empire (1198-990 BCE). Achaemenid kings were the first who introduced the Aramaic script in some areas of Gāndhāra but it came into popular use in Gāndhāra and Bactria only during the reign of the Parthian kings of Persia. Thus, the Kharoshthi script was fully developed much before the birth of Aramaic script. Therefore, it is totally absurd to establish that some letters of Kharoshthi have been derived from Aramaic.

Interestingly, modern linguists believe that the Phoenician alphabet derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphs but the phonetic glyphs evolved only during the period of middle Egyptian language. According to Al Beruni, Aphrodisios, an Indian King ruled over Egypt about 900 years after the deluge (3768 BCE), i.e., 2868 BCE. He also indicates that the Indian King was the first who introduced the chariots drawn by two horses.<sup>2</sup> Seemingly, the Indian King Aphrodisios (Afridi clan of Ābhīras) introduced the Indian phonology that led to the evolution of phonetic glyphs in Egypt and the Phoenician alphabet.

### **The Chronology of Various Scripts in Gāndhāra and Bāhlika**

***Brāhmi and Kharoshthi Scripts (~2500 BCE):*** These two scripts were used in the regions of Gāndhāra, Bactria, Modern Pakistan and Kashmir from ~2500 BCE. The Aśokan inscriptions (1765-1737 BCE) found at Shahbazgarhi and Manshera clearly indicate that the Kharoshthi Script was traditionally popular in the west of Indus River whereas Brāhmi Script was popular in the east of Indus River. Kharoshthi and Brāhmi were the phonetic scripts and therefore, strictly used only for Sanskrit, Prakrit and other Indian languages. The Shahbazgarhi inscription was written in Kharoshthi script in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE during the reign of Kālāśoka or Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE). Evidently, Kharoshthi script was in popular use much before the 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

**Archaic Ionian Script (1890-1800 BCE):** Archaic Ionian script was introduced in Gāndhāra and Bactria after the invasion of Heracles (1925-1868 BCE) around 1890-1800 BCE.

**Later Ionian Script (1200-1100 BCE):** Most probably, the later Ionian script came into practice in Gāndhāra and Bactria after 1100 BCE.

**Archaic Latin Script (1600-1500 BCE):** According to Roman legends, Latinus was the son of Heracles who reigned over the aborigines of Italy. Before the foundation of the city of Rome around 1410 BCE, the Romans were called Latins. Evidently, the archaic Ionian and the Latin scripts evolved from the same origin. Gradually, Latin evolved “C” letter for Sigma, “W” letter for Omega and “X” letter for Xi (Ξ). Most probably, the archaic Latin script was evolved at least two centuries before the foundation of Rome city (1410 BCE).

**Old Bactrian Script (1400-1300 BCE):** The Kushanas (1250-1000 BCE) used the old Bactrian script for Bactrian language and the Kharoshthi script for Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. King Kanishka’s Rabatak inscription was written in the old Bactrian script and Bactrian language.

The Kushana King Kanishka flourished in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE, 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Evidently, the Bactrian script was in vogue in Bactria much before the time of Alexander (990-982 BCE). Therefore, the old Bactrian script might have been evolved from the archaic Ionian script. The Scythians of North-central Asia and Eastern Europe might have used archaic Latin alphabet. This may be the reason why the Bactrian script strictly used “C” letter for Sigma, “W” letter for Omega and “X” letter for Xi (Ξ).

**Later Bactrian Script (900-800 BCE):** The later Bactrian script was used by Indo-Scythians. Evidently, the later Bactrian script evolved under the influence of the later Ionian script and Roman alphabet of Eastern Europe. We can easily identify this transformation from the script used in the coins of Śaka Kśatrapas like Nahapāna, Caṣṭana, etc.

**Aramaic Script (1400-1100 BCE):** The Aramaic script was introduced during the period of later Kayanian kings of Persia or the kings of Achaemenid Empire (1400-1100 BCE) in Gāndhāra.

***Pahlavi Script (1000-800 BCE):*** The Pahlavi script evolved in eastern Turkmenistan and Parthia under the influence of Aramaic. The Parthian kings of Persia used Pahlavi script.

***Old Avestan script (1800 BCE) and New Avestan Script (550-400 BCE):*** New Avestan script evolved based on old Avestan script during the reign of early Sasanian kings around 550-400 BCE. Most probably, old Avestan script evolved under the influence of Kharoshthi script and Indian phonology.

*It is extremely important to understand these timelines of various scripts in the chronological studies of the inscriptions and coins found in Gāndhāra and Bactria.*

### **Archaic Ionian Script vs. Later Ionian Script**

The numismatic study of the coins of Indo-Greeks reveals that the archaic Ionian script had no letter of Psi (Ψ) whereas the later Ionian script used the letter “Ψ” for Psi. This was the main difference between archaic Ionian script and later Ionian script. Moreover, the later Ionian script used X letter for Xi letter sometimes under the influence of the Latin script which was not visible in the archaic Ionian script.

### **Old Bactrian Script vs. Later Bactrian Script**

Eminent historians did not differentiate between the old Bactrian and the later Bactrian scripts to cover up the chronological inconsistencies. Surprisingly, none of these historians ever raised this issue. But someone who understands the basics of Palaeography can easily observe that the Kushanas used archaic letters of Bactrian script whereas Nahapāna and Caṣṭana used later Bactrian script.

**Vim Kadphishes**



**Kanishka**



**Nahapāna**



**Caṣṭana**



Evidently, the coins of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana clearly indicate that the letters of Bactrian script have been well-developed under the influence of



the later Ionian script. Thus, the palaeography unambiguously indicates the difference between the old Bactrian script and the later Bactrian script.

**The Greek and Aramaic Inscriptions of King Priyadarśana or Piyodasses**  
Historians have mistakenly attributed six Aramaic inscriptions (Takśāsilā, Lampaka, Laghaman I, Laghaman II, Kandhar I and Kandhar bilingual) and two Greek inscriptions (Kandhar I and Kandhar bilingual) to King Aśoka. I have conclusively established that Kālāśoka or Aśoka was the real author of the Rock and Pillar edicts found from Shahbazgarhi to Karnataka and he flourished around 1765-1737 BCE considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE. The Aramaic script was introduced in Gāndhāra not earlier than 1300 BCE. The palaeography of two Greek inscriptions of Kandhar reveals that it was written in the later Ionian script with letters of X and Ψ. The later Ionian or Greek script came to Gāndhāra after 1000 BCE.

*Kandhar Greek Inscription*



*Kandhar Greek-Aramaic Inscription*



These Greek inscriptions of Gāndhāra used Psi letter and X letter for Xi. Evidently, two Greek inscriptions of Kandhar were written in later Ionian script. Therefore, these Greek and Aramaic inscriptions of Gāndhāra and North-western Pakistan were undoubtedly engraved after 1000 BCE. Thus, King Priyadarśana or Piyodasses mentioned in these inscriptions cannot be identified with King Aśoka. In all probability, King Piyodasses or Priyadarśana was an Indo-Greek King reigned after the decline of Kushanas.

### **The Chronological History of Gāndhāra and Bactria**

Gāndhāra, Kāmboja, Śaka, Yavana, Bāhlīka and Pahlava were the ancient tribes lived in the west of Indus since the post-Vedic period. Gāndhāras

and Kāmbojas were the most dominating tribes. Therefore, Gāndhāra and Kāmboja became geographical terms and Gāndhāra Mahājanapada and Kāmboja Mahājanapada came into existence. It is difficult to mark a boundary between Gāndhāra and Bactria because there was so much intermigration of various tribes and political intrusion into each other's territories. Most probably, Kabul River was the boundary between Gāndhāra and Kāmboja janapadas. Gāndhāras, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Yavanas, Bāhlikas and Pahlavas were traditionally co-existed in the region of Afghanistan and North-western Pakistan.

According to Purāṇas, the dynastic history of Gāndhāra begins with the reign of the Druhyu King Gāndhāra and his son Nagnajit who flourished in the Rigvedic period. According to Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, King Nagnajit was the contemporary of Parvata and Narada of the Rigvedic era. Rigveda refers to Gandhāris<sup>3</sup> and Atharvaveda refers to Gandhāris and Bāhlikas.<sup>4</sup> The Uttarakānda of Rāmāyaṇa relates that Bharata's two sons, Takśa and Puṣkara, reigned over Gāndhāra. Takśa founded the city of Takśasīlā and Puṣkara founded the city of Puṣkarāvati or Puṣkalāvati. Later, the cities of Puruṣapura (Peshawar), Kapiśa and Udabhāṇḍapura of Gāndhāra came into existence.

Evidently, Gāndhāra and Bāhlika (Bactria) were the *janapadas* of ancient India since the early Vedic period. Ancient Indians traditionally referred to the tribes like Kāmboja, Śaka, Yavana, Bāhlika, Pahlava, Turuṣka and Tuṣāra, etc., of Gāndhāra and Bāhlika *janapada* as “Mlecchā Kśatriyas” because they had culturally mixed up with the non-Indian tribes of central Asia. The Gāndhāra and Bāhlika kings originally belonged to the Chandra Varṃśa. The Āraṭṭa kingdom of Armenia and northern Iran was the western neighbour of Gāndhāra and Bāhlika *janapadas*. The Āraṭṭa kings and the Kayanian kings of Persia were in conflict during the time of Zoroaster I (~7100-7000 BCE). The Āraṭṭa kings dominated over Persia after 7000 BCE. The Āraṭṭa kings were the contemporaries of the Sumerian and the Assyrian kings around the period 7000-3000 BCE. There are numerous mentions of the Āraṭṭas in Sumerian literature.

Seemingly, the Paṇis (businessmen of Gāndhāra and Baluchistan), Yavanas, Śakas, Turuṣkas and Tuṣāras had migrated out of Gāndhāra, Bāhlika and north-western India during the period 6000-5000 BCE.

- **The Paṇis (Phoenicians):** Paṇis, the sea-farer businessmen of Gāndhāra and Baluchistan, migrated to Phoenicia after a quarrel with Persians as recorded by Herodotus. Probably, the Paṇis might have attempted to establish themselves on the Persian coastline which led to a quarrel between the Paṇis and the Persians. Thus, the Paṇis might have decided to migrate to Phoenicia and came to be known as Phoenicians. These Paṇis used to produce lot of commodities for trade from the forests and hills of Baluchistan. Therefore, they have been also referred to as “Kānana” (a Sanskrit word that means a tribe or group that lives in the forests). The same “Kānana” word of Sanskrit has been transformed into “Canaan” or “Canaanites” in Hebrew Bible and ancient Greek sources.
- **The Yavanas (Ionians):** A large group of Yavanas also migrated to western Anatolia and Greece around 6000-5000 BCE and came to be known as Ionians. Evidently, Yavanas or Ionians were the later entrants of Greece. There is no record of Ionians in ancient Greece. The trail of the Ionians begins only in the Mycenaean Greek records of Crete. Greek sources say that Ion, the progenitor of Ionians was the illegitimate son of Xuthus and the brother of Achaeus. Probably, Greek “Xuthus” was identical with Indian King “Turvaśa or Turvasu”. Turvaśa had many sons. It appears that some of the sons of Turvaśa had already been migrated to Greece during the post-Rigvedic era and came to be known as Aeolians, Achaeans and Dorians. The migrated Yavanas of Gāndhāra around 6000-5000 BCE became the fourth major tribe of Greece known as “Ionians”. Old Testament or Hebrew Bible refers to Yavanas as Javans. Evidently, Sanskrit word “Yavana” became Javan in Hebrew and Prakrit word “Yona” became Ion in Greek. It is totally absurd that modern historians have speculated the transformation of the word “Ion” of Greek as Yona or Yavana in Sanskrit. If so, how Ion became Javan in Hebrew? Interestingly, Strabo quotes from the works of Hecataeus of Miletus that Javans or Ionians came from Asia into Greece. Herodotus also indicates that

Ionians and Macedonians were foreigners. European historians have concocted that Ionians came to Greece from Anatolia. It may be noted that Greek historians have never used Asia word for Anatolia. Undoubtedly, Ancient Asia was in the east of Anatolia. Evidently, the ancestors of Ionians were indeed the Yavanas of ancient India.

- **The Śakas (Scythians):** There were numerous migrations of the Śakas of Bactria and Gāndhāra to Eastern Europe and northern Anatolia via Pontic Steppe since Rigvedic period. Many large groups of Scythians also migrated to Central Asia, Eastern Europe and Northern Anatolia around 6000-5000 BCE.
- **The Turuṣkas of Bāhlika (Turks):** The Turuṣkas of Bāhlika janapada also migrated to Anatolia. Most probably, the Hittites and the Mitannis of Anatolia were none other than the migrated Turuṣkas of Bāhlika who worshiped Vedic gods like Mithra, Indra, Varuṇa, Nāsalya, etc. In fact, these migrated groups of Turuṣkas introduced the worship of Mithra god or sun in the west. The same has been evolved into a religion known as Mithraism.
- **The Tuṣāras (Tokharins):** The Tuṣāras originally belonged to the region of Hindu-Kush range of snowy mountains in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The migrated Tuṣāras came to be known as Tokharins.

Though Gāndhāra and Bactria witnessed many migrations during the period 6000-3000 BCE, both janapadas continued to prosper because of their location on important trade routes. Suvala was the King of Gāndhāra and Bāhlika was the King of Bāhlika during the Mahābhārata period. Suvala's daughter Gāndhārī married Hastinapur King Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Śakuni was the son of Suvala and the brother of Gāndhārī. King Sudakṣiṇa was ruling in Kāmboja janapada and King Śalya was ruling in Madra janapada during the Mahābhārata period. Mahābhārata also refers to the Āraṭṭas who paid tribute to King Yudhiṣṭhira. King Sudakṣiṇa led the army of Kāmbojas and Yavanas and supported Kauravas in the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). The Madra princess (Mādri) married King Pāndu and she

was the mother of Nakula and Sahadeva. Her brother Śalya supported Kauravas and led the army of Kauravas at the end of Mahābhārata war.

The political history of Gāndhāra and Bāhlika from 3100 BCE to 1900 BCE is not available in the Purāṇas. Seemingly, Gāndhāra and Bactria might have been politically and militarily stable after the Mahābhārata era. Interestingly, Arrian relates that Semiramis, the Assyrian queen (2635-2593 BCE) wanted to invade India (Gāndhāra and Bactria) but she died before she could complete her plans. Arrian also states, “Neither do the Indians wage war with any other men, nor any other men with them; and that Sesostris (1980-1925 BCE) the Egyptian, having subdued most parts of Asia, and having marched with his army as far as Europe, returned home without attacking India.” According to Taranatha, one Virasena established his sway over Gāndhāra. His successor Subhagasena tendered his submission to Yavana King (Antiochus?) around 1765 BCE.

### **The Chronology of Indo-Greek or Yavana Kings of Gāndhāra and Bactria (1900-1250 BCE)**

Arrian clearly states in his work “The Anabasis of Alexander” that Dionysus and Heracles had subjugated the Indians but could not go beyond the rock of Aornus. It was Alexander who subdued Indians beyond the rock of Aornus but did not advance beyond the river Hyphasis. Evidently, Dionysus and Heracles invaded Gāndhāra and Bactria much before Alexander. It is difficult to fix the date of Dionysus, who invaded Gāndhāra and Bactria in unknown past (probably around 7400 BCE).

### **The Date of Dionysus (~7400 BCE)**

Arrian says “The report is, that the foundation of the city of Nysa was the work of Dionysus, who built it after he subjugated the Indians. But it is impossible to determine who this Dionysus was, and at what time, or from what quarter he led an army against the Indians. .... When Alexander came to Nysa, the citizens sent out to him their president, whose name was Acuphis. Acuphis began thus to speak: “The Nysaeans beseech thee, O King, out of respect for Dionysus, to allow them to remain free and independent; for when Dionysus had subjugated the nation of the Indians, and was returning to the Grecian sea, he founded this city from the soldiers who had become unfit for military service and were

under his inspiration as Bacchanals, so that it might be a monument both of his wandering and of his victory. .... The god indeed called the city Nysa, and the land Nysaea after his nurse Nysa. The mountain also which is near the city he named Merus, because according to the legend he grew in the thigh of Zeus. From that time we inhabit Nysa..... Alexander, therefore, granted the inhabitants of Nysa the privilege of remaining free and independent..... He was now seized with a strong desire of seeing the place where the Nysaeans boasted to have certain memorials of Dionysus. So he went to Mount Merus .... The Macedonians were delighted.... as they were singing hymns in honour of Dionysus, and invoking the deity by his various names. (The other names of Dionysus were: Bacchus, Bromius, Evius, Iacchus, Lenaeus, Lyaens. The Romans called him Liber.) Alexander there offered sacrifice to Dionysus, and feasted in company with his companions.”<sup>5</sup> It may also be noted that Arrian records based on Indica of Megasthenes that Indian counted 153 kings and 6042 years from Dionysus to Alexander and that Dionysus preceded Heracles by 15 generations.

The city of Nysa was undoubtedly located close to modern Jalalabad of Afghanistan. Mount Meru was in the north of Jalalabad. Arrian clearly says that Dionysus was born and brought up near the city of Nysa. He defeated Indians and founded the city of Nysa. Megasthenes and Arrian say that Dionysus lived 6042 years before Alexander whereas Pliny, the elder says that Dionysus lived 6451 years before him. As I have already explained that Alexander reigned around 990-982 BCE. Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Dionysus around 7400 BCE or 7000 BCE.

According to Indian sources, Dānava was the son of Danu. King Dānava and his descendants were ruling up to Assyria during the Rigvedic era. Dānavas were also referred to as Asuras. Śukrāchārya was the guru of Danavas and Asuras. Ancient Greece was inhabited by four major tribes, namely, Aeolians, Ionians, Achaeans and Dorians. Greeks were known as Hellenes because they were the descendants of Hellen, the son of Zeus. Hellen had three sons, Aeolus, Xuthus and Dorus. Aeolus was the progenitor of Aeolians and Dorus was the progenitor of Dorians. Xuthus’ son Achaeus was the progenitor of Achaeans. It appears that Aeolians,

Dorians and Achaeans were the original inhabitants of Greece. Yavanas or Ionians were the late entrants of Greece. According to Greek sources, Ion, the progenitor of Ionians, was the illegitimate son of Xuthus (Tvaṣṭā?) and the brother of Achaeus. It appears that Achaeans have supported the settlement of Yavanas in Greece.

The Dānavas, descendants of Danu, were the earliest to immigrate to Anatolia and Greece during the early Vedic era. Homer refers to these Dānavas as Danaans (Danaoi), Achceans or Argives. Dr. David Frawley also opined: “The term Danu or Dānava appears to form the substratum of Indo-European identity at the base of the Hellenic, Illyro-Venetic, Italo-Celtic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic elements. The northern Greeks were also called Danuni. Therefore, the European Aryans could probably all be called Dānavas.”<sup>6</sup> Gradually, many ancient Greek tribes came into existence. The legend of the city of Atlantis clearly indicates that the Greece civilization came into existence before 10200 BCE. The city of Atlantis was submerged by sea around 10200-9500 BCE in the beginning of Meltwater Pulse 1B.

Seemingly, Dionysus I, son of Zeus lived during the Rigvedic period whereas Dionysus II, who subjugated Indians and founded the city of Nysa, flourished around 7400 BCE or 7000 BCE.

### **The Date of Heracles (1925-1868 BCE)**

Heracles was a popular name in ancient Greece and many kings had the same name. Therefore, Arrian could not identify the King Heracles who conquered India up to the rock of Aornus in Afghanistan. He says: “The tale is current that even before Alexander, Dionysus led an expedition into India, and subdued the Indians. There is also a vague story about Herades to the same effect. Of the expedition of Dionysus, indeed, the city of Nysa is no mean monument, as also are the mountain Meros, the ivy which grows on this mountain, the Indians themselves also marching into battle to the sound of drums and cymbals, wearing speckled garments like the bacchanals of Dionysus. But of Heracles there are not many memorials. For the statement that Alexander forcibly subdued the rock of Aornus, because Heracles was not able to capture it, seems to me a piece of Macedonian boasting; just as they called the Parapamisus Caucasus,

though it has no connection with it. And having observed a certain cave in the land of the Parapamisadians, they said that it was the famous cave of Prometheus, the son of the Titan, in which he was hung for the theft of the fire. And besides, in the land of the Sibians, an Indian race, because they saw the inhabitants clothed in skins, they said that the Sibians were those who had been left behind from the expedition of Heracles. The Sibians also carry cudgels, and the figure of a club was branded upon their oxen; this too they explained to be a commemoration of the club of Heracles. If anyone gives credit to these tales, this must have been another Heracles, neither the Theban, nor the Tyrian, nor the Egyptian; but some great king of a land situated in the interior not far from India.”

In my opinion, King Heracles, who came up to the rock of Aornus, was a king of Argos. Arrian got this information from the Macedonian legends. Therefore, we must identify the king Heracles who lived before the Trojan war (1184 BCE). Herodotus (484-425 BCE) says that Heracles was born ~900 years before his times. Eusebius, a Christian chronicler, says; “Heracles was a king in Argos and from the reign of Heracles in Argos to the deification of Heracles himself and of Asclepius there are comprised thirty-eight years, according to Apollodorus the chronicler: and from that point to the deification of Castor and Pollux fifty-three years: and somewhere about this time was the capture of Troy.” The city of Troy was captured in 1184 BCE. Therefore, we can roughly fix the lifetime of King Heracles around 1084-1031 BCE.

In all probability, King Heracles of Argos conquered Asia up to Afghanistan around 1184 BCE and came up to the rock of Aornus near the city of Nysa but could not capture it. Arrian says that Heracles conquered the kingdom of Sibians, the Indian community. He also says that **“the Sibians were those who had been left behind from the expedition of Heracles. The Sibians also carry cudgels, and the figure of a club was branded upon their oxen; this too they explained to be a commemoration of the club of Heracles.”** The Śivis or Śibis was an Indian kingdom of the Rigvedic era. Mahābhārata mentions about the Śivi janapada and its kingdom and Jayadratha, the king of Sindhu, conquered the kingdoms of Sauvira and Śivi. The Pahlavas and the Śakas were living in the Śibi



kingdom after the Mahābhārata war. It appears that Pahlavas and Śakas accepted the authority of King Heracles and his generals.

Historians simply assumed Heracles to be a mythical king but ancient Greek sources clearly describe him as the founding father of Macedonia. He conquered up to Gāndhāra and Bactria roughly around 1890 BCE and appointed his governors there and returned to Macedonia. Thus, the chronological history of Indo-Greek kings of Gāndhāra and Bactria begins around 1890 BCE. The meteoric rise of Heracles the Great has mesmerized many generations of Greece. Even today, the idiom “Herculean task” indicates the unbelievable military saga of Heracles. After the fall of Troy (1842 BCE), Greece was facing internal political conflicts. At the same time, the Ionian governors appointed by Heracles were ruling in Gāndhāra and Bactria. Thus, certain areas of Gāndhāra and Bactria have gradually undergone Hellenization starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

We have no information about the names of Ionian governors appointed by Heracles in ancient Greek literature except his conquest of Gāndhāra and Bactria up to the rock of Aornus. The Rock Edicts of King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE) mention the names of five contemporary Yona or Yavana kings. Undoubtedly, the descendants of the Ionian governors had already established their kingdoms in Gāndhāra, Bactria and central Asia in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

### **The Origin of Yavanas as Narrated in Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata**

According to ancient Indian Puranic literature, Yavanas were the cursed sons of Turvaśa. Seemingly, Yavanas were the cousin brothers of Dānavas of the Rigvedic era and settled in North-western India. It is mentioned in Bālakānda of Rāmāyaṇa that Vasiṣṭha of the Rigvedic era raised an army of Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, Yavanas and Śakas. Rāmāyaṇa unambiguously mentions the common origin of Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas. It gives the mythical origin of these tribes from Rishi Vasiṣṭha’s Kāmadhenu. According to Rāmāyaṇa, Kāmbojas were born from the “Humbha” sound of Kāmadhenu, Yavanas were born from the “Yoni-deśa” (vagina) of Kāmadhenu, Pahlavas were born from the “Udhas” (udder) of Kāmadhenu

and Śakas were born from the “Śakṛt-deśa” (annus) of Kāmadhenu. It is just a poetic presentation of the rise of Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas. Thereafter, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas emerged as powerful warrior tribes of north-western India.

वसिष्ठश्चोदयामास कामधुक् सृज योगतः  
तस्या हुम्भारवाज्जाताः काम्बोजा रविसंनिभाः ॥  
ऊधसस्त्वथ संजाताः पहलवाः शस्त्रपाणयः  
योनिदेशाच्च यवनः शकृद्देशात् शकास्तथा ॥<sup>7</sup>

Kiṣkindhā Kānda informs us that the kingdoms of Śakas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas and Paradas were located in the north-western region beyond Himalaya.

तत्र म्लेच्छान् पुलिन्दान् च शूरसेनान् तथैव च ।  
प्रस्थालान् भरतान् चैव कुरुन् च सह मद्रकैः ॥  
कांबोज यवनान् चैव शकान् आरट्टकान् अपि ।  
बाह्लीकान् ऋषिकांश्चैव अथ टड्कणान् ॥  
चीनान् परमचीनांश्च नीहारांश्च पुनः पुनः ।  
अन्वीक्ष्य दरदान् चैव हिमवन्तम् विचिन्वथ ॥<sup>8</sup>

In Ādi Parva of Mahābhārata, it is mentioned that a Yavana king was also present in Svayamvara of Pāñchālī. Sabhā Parva records that Nakula subjugated Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, and Kirātas etc., and made all of them pay tributes.

अन्तार्षीं चैव रोमांश्च यवनानां पुरं तथा ।  
दूतैरेव वशे चक्रे करं चैनान् अदापयत् ॥<sup>9</sup>

It was predicted in the Vana Parva that Bāhlika, Kāmboja, Śaka and Yavana kings will rule over India in Kaliyuga. The Stri Parva tells us that King Jayadratha of Sindhudeśa had a Yavana princess as his wife.

तम् एताः पर्युपासन्ते रक्षमाणा महाभुजम् ।  
सिन्धुसौवीरगान्धारकाम्बोजयवनस्त्रियः ॥

Evidently, Mahābhārata generally groups the Yavanas with the Kāmbojas, Śakas and Pahlavas and indicates them to be Mlecchas. Śānti Parva and Anuśāsana Parva of Mahābhārata also mention the Yavana kings. Udyoga Parva records that the Yavanas, Kāmbojas and Śakas supported Kauravas in the Mahābhārata war under the leadership of the Kāmboja King Saddakṣina.

### The Yavanas in Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature

*Manusmriti*, Pāṇinī's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Kātyāyana's *Vārtikas*, Buddhist texts like *Assalāyana Sutta* of *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Mahāniddeśa*, *Milinda Panho*, *Mahāvamśa*, *Dīpavamśa*, *Śāsana Vamśa* and *Mudrārāksasa* of Viśākhadatta, etc., refer to the Yavanas, Kāambojas and Śakas. Evidently, the entire ancient Indian literature unambiguously records that the Yavanas were the original inhabitants of the Yavana Janapada of North-western India. According to Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅginī*, there were five Yavana regions located in the west of Kashmir, namely, Abhisāra, Uruga, Simhapura, Divya Kaṭaka and Uttara Jyotiṣa. In all probability, these Yavanas had migrated to Western Anatolia and Greece after the invasion of Dionysus II (~7400 BCE or ~7000 BCE) and came to be known as "Ionians."

### The Yona or Yavana Kings of the Time of King Aśoka the Great (1765-1737 BCE)

The Major Rock Edict XIII of the Aśokan inscriptions found at Shahbazgarhi, Kalsi and Girnar mentions the names of five contemporary Yona or Yavana kings, namely, Antiyoka, Turamaya, Antikini, Maka and Alikasundara, who were ruling in Bactria, Gāndhāra and central Asia. Rock Edict II and V also refer to Yavana kings.

**Rock Edict XIII:** "... vijaye Devānāmpriyasa yo dhramavijayo so ca puna ladho Devānāmpriyasa iha ca savesu ca antesu ashasu pi yojanaśatesu yatra Antiyoko nāma Yonarāja param ca tena Antiyokena chaturo rājani Turamaye nāma Amtikini nāma Maka nāma Alikasandaro nāma...."

**Rock Edict II:** "Antiyoko nāma yonarājo yechāsye tasyāntiyokasya samanta rājānaḥ"

**Rock Edict V:** "Yavana-kāamboja-gāndhārāṅnām evamapyanye aparanta ityadi..."

Colonial historians identified these Yavana kings with the Greek kings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE as details given below:

Yavana Kings	Identified Greek Kings
1. Antiyoka	Antiochus Theos of Syria (265-246 BCE)
2. Turamaya	Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247 BCE)

3. Antikini           Antigonus of Macedonia (278-239 BCE)
4. Maka             Magas of Cyrene (276-250 BC)
5. Alikasandara   Alexander of Epirus (272-253 BC) or  
Alexander of Corinth (252-247 BCE)

Based on the false identification of Indian King “Sandrokottus” with Chandragupta Maurya, colonial historians fixed the date of Aśoka in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. These historians were so much mesmerized with the false identification of Sandrokottus that they declared it to be the sheet anchor of Indian chronology. But, Northern and Southern Buddhist sources tell us that Aśoka or Kālāśoka ascended the throne 100 years after *mahāparinirvāṇa* of Buddha (1864 BCE) and reigned around 1765-1737 BCE. The Puranic chronology and the Southern Buddhist tradition clearly indicate that the Maurya King Aśoka flourished around 1547-1511 BCE. We have already discussed in Chapter 9 that Kālāśoka was the real promulgator of the Rock Edicts written in Brāhmi and Kharoshthi scripts.

Moreover, I have also pointed out the chronological error of ~660 years in the history of Greece in my book titled “*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*”. Accordingly, Alexander can only be dated around 990-982 BCE. Thus, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, Antiochus Theos of Syria, Antigonus of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus or Corinth reigned in the second half the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Therefore, they cannot be contemporaries of King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE). It appears that historians have arbitrarily picked up the similar sounding names of the Greek Kings of tiny kingdoms to establish the identity of the Yavana Kings mentioned in the Rock Edicts of King Aśoka.

In reality, the Rock edicts of Aśoka clearly tell us that the Ionian King Antiyoka, a contemporary of King Aśoka, was ruling in his Ionian capital (Probably, Peloponnese region of Greece) that was located roughly 600 *yojanas* away from Pataliputra. One *yojana* was roughly equal to 13 km as indicated in *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* (Twelve Angulas make one Vitasti, two Vitastis make one Aratni, four Aratnis make one Dhanush, two thousand Dhanushes make one Goruta and four Gorutas make one Yojana). According to the history of ancient Greece, the kings of Heracleidae who

went on the expedition, returned to the Peloponnese in 1762 BCE 80 years after the fall of Troy (1842 BCE). Seemingly, Heracleidae King Antiyoka appointed four Yavana governors, namely, Turamaya, Antikini, Maka and Alikasundara. Most Probably, Alikasundara was ruling in Gāndhāra and Maka or Maga was ruling in western Bactria and Turkmenistan. Turamaya and Antikini might have governed over Turkmenistan and Parthia respectively. Probably, Antiyokus was a King of Heracleidae in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE and reigned over the region from Anatolia to Gāndhāra and Bactria during the time of Aśoka.

**Maka or Maga:** We can accurately identify the area of the Indo-Greek King Maga or Maka because the area of western Bactria, western Tajikistan, eastern Turkmenistan and eastern Uzbekistan was well-known as the country of Maka. Most probably, the first Indo-Greek king of this area had a title of Soter Megas (ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ), which is evident from the numismatic evidence. The descendants of Indo-Greek King Soter Megas also had the same title. Therefore, they were generally referred to as Maga or Maka kings. Gradually, the country of Maga kings also came to be known as Maga. Since Zoroaster was born in this Maka kingdom, Zoroastrianism also came to be known as Maghism. The Behistun inscription of Darius I records that Darius I became the king of 23 kingdoms including the Maka kingdom: Parsa (Persian) Uvja (Elam?), Bābirus (Babylon?), Athura (Assyria), Arabāya (Arabia), Mudraya, Sparda, Yauna (Yavana), Māda (Madra), Armina, Katpatuka, Parthava, Zraka, Haraiva, Uvārazmiy, Bactria, Suguda, Gāndhāra, Śaka, Thatagus, Harauvatis and Maka. Taranatha, Tibetan Buddhist scholar, reports that a Mlecchā faith “Ardho” (Zoroastrianism) appeared for the first time in India and secured many followers. The Mlecchā religion was confined to the country of “Maka” and did not spread to Kashmir.

A stone inscription was found in a spring tank three miles from Abbottabad in 1911. D.C. Sircar, has published his reading, referring to the fragmentary decipherment as found in Sahnī's note. He dates the inscription on paleographical grounds in the Kushana period.

The text of Inscription: *sa(m)} mārḡasīra di pratha kārito yakumārasthanam gasurana Makaputrena sāpharena mahāriija-kadambe*

*Svaradāsa-ra(?)[e?] data(h) bhak{s}a(h)*. (Year 25, first day of Mārgaśīrṣa, this place for Kumāra was caused to be made by Saphara (Zafara?), son of Maka, [during the reign?] of the Mahārāja [called] the ‘Servant of the Lord of the Kadamba [-tree]’. Food has been provided.)



Mahābhārata text does not refer to any country or tribe as Maka. Evidently, the name of Maka country evolved only during the period of Indo-Greek kings. Historians have illogically identified Magas of Cyrene as the contemporary of Aśoka on the resemblance of the name “Maga”.

Evidently, the four subordinate Yavana kings mentioned in the Rock Edicts of Aśoka were ruling in the region of Armenia, Northern Iran, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and Bactria whereas the Yavana king Antiyoka was ruling Greece or Western Anatolia. These Indo-Ionian kings established close cultural links between Afghanistan and Greece. The Buddhist monks introduced Buddhism in the Yavana janapada. Many Indo-Greek kings accepted Buddhism as state religion. A Bodhisatva Vajrapāṇi was believed to be the incarnation of Heracles. The famous Buddhist text “*Milinda-Panho*” records a dialogue between Buddhist monk Nāgasena and Yavana King Milinda. *Mahāniddeśa* of *Sutta Piṭaka* refers to Yona and Parama Yona kingdoms. Evidently, it refers to Yavana Janapada of Afghanistan as Yona and Ionia of Greece as Parama Yona.

### **Numismatic Evidence of Indo-Greek Kings (1800-1250 BCE)**

Fortunately, we have enough numismatic evidence of Indo-Greek kings of Gāndhāra and Bactria but very little epigraphic evidence is available. Therefore, we have no other option to depend on the numismatic studies

to arrive the chronology of Indo-Greek kings. According to numismatic studies, total 45 names of Indo-Greek kings have been found inscribed on the coins. But Greek historians like Justin, Arrian and Polybius indicated only seven names out of which only three names (Diodotus, Euthydemus and Demetrius) have been found inscribed in the coins. In fact, the coins of 45 Indo-Greek kings of Gāndhāra and Bactria belonged to post-Heracles period (1800-1250 BCE). We can accurately fix a date of few Indo-Greek kings like Agathocles, Antimachus, Amyntas, Antialkidas and Minander.

### **Agathocles “Dikaiou” (1530-1510 BCE)**

It appears that a branch of Indo-Greeks of Gāndhāra was aware of their origin. Therefore, they claimed themselves to be Vaiṣṇavas and Parama-bhāgavatas. They also considered Vasudeva to be their ancestor. The coins of Indo-Greek King Agathocles have images of Vasudeva, Conch, Sudarśana chakra and also Lakshmi.



The Brāhmi legends on the coins clearly indicate that Agathocles used the letters of Mauryan Brāhmi. His coins also have the images of Buddhist Stupa and lion which indicates that Agathocles lived in the period when Indo-Greeks started following Buddhism. Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi or Padmasambhava (~1650-1550 BCE) was the first who influenced Yavanas or Indo-Greeks to follow Buddhism. Therefore, Agathocles cannot be dated earlier than 1550 BCE, the date of nirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi. Seemingly, Agathocles reigned around 1530-1510 BCE. Interestingly, Agathocles issued a series of his pedigree coins mentioning his predecessors with their royal titles, namely, Alexandrou, Antiochus, Diodotus, Euthydemus, Demetrius and Pantaleon. Agathocles had a royal title of “Dikaiou” meaning “the Just”.



**Alexandrou**  
Royal Title: Toupphilippou (?)



**Antiokou**  
Royal Title: .....ltoros ? (?)



**Euthydemus**  
Royal Title: Theou (God)



**Demetriou**  
Royal Title: Aniketos (Invincible)



**Pantaleon**  
Royal Title: Soteros (The Saviour)



**Diodotou**  
Royal Title: Soteros (The Saviour)

Evidently, these six Indo-Greek kings (Alexander, Antiokou, Diodotou, Euthydemus, Demetriou and Pantaleon) reigned before Agathocles and therefore, they must be dated before him. Most probably, Antiokou may be the contemporary kings of Aśoka as referred to in his rock edicts. Thus, Antiokou must be dated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE whereas Alexander, Diodotou, Euthydemus, Demetriou and Pantaleon must be dated around 1660-1530 BCE.

	<b>In CE</b>
1. Alexander Toupphilippou	1660-1630 BCE
2. Diodotus	1630-1610 BCE
3. Euthydemus	1610-1580 BCE
4. Demetrius	1580-1550 BCE
5. Pantaleon	1550-1530 BCE



Historians wrongly translated the title of Alexander “Touphilippou” as the son of Philips. All Indo-Greeks had royal titles like Saviour, Just, Invincible, etc. Moreover, the word “Tou” was never a synonymous to “son” in the Greek language. Therefore, it is totally absurd to translate “Touphilippou” as “the son of Philips”. In fact, Philips means “a skilled horse rider” and “Tou” means “The” in Greek. Therefore, Touphilippou must be translated as “The Knight” or “The Cavalier” or “The Chevalier”.

Euthydemus was the father of Demetrius. Most probably, Demetrius was the first who expanded the Yavana or Indo-Greek kingdom up to the cities of Takśaśilā and Śākala.

#### **Antimachus “Nikaphorou” (1510-1485 BCE)**

Probably, Antimachus succeeded Agathocles. He had the title of “Theos”. He also issued a Pedegree coin of Diodotus. There was another Indo-Greek king named Antimachus “Theos” who might have reigned later.



#### **Amyntas “Nikator” (1485-1450 BCE)**

Most probably, Amyntas was the Yavana King who conquered north-Indian territories like Mādhyamikā city in Chittorgarh, Śāketa and Puṣpapura during the time of Maurya King Śāliśūka (1494-1481 BCE) as recorded in the Yugapurāṇa of Vṛddha Gargya Jyotiṣa. Yugapurāṇa clearly states that a Mlecchā named “Āmrāṭa” (Amyntas?) governed over Śāketa and Puṣpapura for some time. Evidently, Amyntas was the only Indo-Greek King who had a title of “Nikator” (the conqueror).



### Yugapurāṇa of Vṛddha Garga Jyotiṣa

Indo-Greeks or Yavanas invaded up to Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Mādhyamikā (Chittorgarh) as recorded in Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya (*Aruṇad Yavano Sāketam, Aruṇad Yavano Mādhyamikām....*). The Yugapurāṇa section of Vṛddha Garga Jyotiṣa (Mīnarāja, Varāhamihira and Bhaṭṭotpala quoted from this treatise of Vṛddha Garga) records the decline of the Maurya power in North-central India (Madhyadeśa) during the reign of the Maurya King Śāliśūka.

*Tataḥ Sāketam ākrāmya Pāñchālam Mathurām tathā,  
Yavanaḥ duṣṭavikrāntaḥ Prāpsyati Kusumadhvajam  
Tataḥ Puṣpapure Prāpte Kardame prathite hite,  
Ākulāḥ Viṣaye sarve Bhaviṣyanti na Sañśayaḥ*<sup>10</sup>

Interestingly, *Yugapurāṇa* indicates that the invasion of Yavana kings did occur during the reign of Maurya King Śāliśūka and before the rise of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. *Yugapurāṇa* states that Udāyī, the descendant of Śīsunāga (*Śīsunāgātmajaḥ*), founded the city of Puṣpapura on the banks of Ganga River. After the lapse of 505 years from the year of the foundation of Puṣpapura, Śāliśūka ascended the throne (*Varṣāṇām ca śatāḥ pañca, Pañca samvatsarāḥ tathā, Māsāḥ Pañca ahorātra-muhūrtāḥ pañca eva ca*). Evidently, it indicates that there was a difference of 505 years between Śīsunāga King Udāyī and Maurya King Śāliśūka. Maurya King Aśoka reigned up to 1511 BCE. The Maurya King Śāliśūka might have ascended the throne around 1494 BCE and Puṣpapura or Pātaliputra might have been founded around 1999 BCE.

*Yugapurāṇa* tells us that King Śāliśūka appointed his elder brother Vijaya as the ruler of Sāketa. Yavanas or Indo-Greek kings conquered Pāñchāla, Mathurā, Sāketa and invaded on Puṣpapura during the reign of Vijaya and Śāliśūka in Sāketa and Puṣpapura respectively. *Yugapurāṇa* states that a Mlecchā named “Āmrāta” (Amyntas?) governed over Puṣpapura for some time. Thereafter, seven kings of Sāketa region formed a military alliance and drove Yavanas away from Sāketa. *Yugapurāṇa* did not give the names of seven kings of Sāketa.

*Yugapurāṇa* indicates the rise of Āgniveśya kings in Puṣpapura after the alliance of seven kings of Sāketa. Undoubtedly, Āgniveśya kings

were the Śuṅga kings. The Śuṅga kings belonged to the Rishi gotra of Agniveśa. Therefore, they were referred to as Āgniveśya kings. Thus, Puṣyamitra Śuṅga established the rule of Śuṅga dynasty after the invasion of Yavanas around 1459 BCE. *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa informs us that Puṣyamitra sent his grandson Vasumitra to guard his Aśvamedha horse. Yavana cavalrymen seized the horse on the banks of Sindhu River. Vasumitra defeated Yavanas and brought back the horse. Moreover, the story of Agnimitra's infatuation with a beautiful girl named "Mālavikā" (a girl from Mālava) indirectly indicates that Agnimitra was a viceroy of Puṣyamitra in Vidiśā.

#### Minander "Soteros" or Minander I (1450-1400 BCE)

Minander I has also promoted Buddhism but he may not be the famous Milinda of Buddhist text "Milinda-Panho". Most probably, Minander II must be identified as Milinda.



#### Antialkidas "Nikaphorou" (1400-1365 BCE)

In all probability, Antialkidas belonged to the family of Agathocles because he was also the follower of Vaishnavism like Agathocles. The famous Vidiśā pillar inscription written in the Brāhmi script informs us that Heliodorus, the son of Diya or Dios, a resident of Takśaśilā and an ambassador of Yavana King Antialkita, visited Vidiśā and erected a Garuda Dhvaja in a Vasudeva Temple. Heliodorus claimed himself to be Bhāgavata, i.e., a devotee of Vasudeva. He referred to the contemporary of Indian King Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra (Bhāgavata?) of the Śuṅga dynasty.



### **Minander “Dikaios” or “Dhārmika” / Minander II (1365-1340 BCE)**

Minander or Milinda was the most celebrated Yavana King in Buddhism. It appears that Indo-Greek King Minander became not only the follower of Buddhism but also, he declared Buddhism as state religion later. Milinda-Panho, a Buddhist text, records the philosophical discussion between Minander and Buddhist monk Nāgasena. Buddhist sources indicate that the Yavanas accepted Buddhism during the time of Bodhisatva Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi (~1650-1550 BCE). Since they adored Heracles as their hero, the Buddhist Yavanas started considering Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi as the incarnation of Heracles.

Milinda-Panho mentions that Milinda or Minander, a Yavana King, reigned in Bactria and northern Pakistan 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Thus, we can accurately fix the date of Minander around 1365-1325 BCE. Historians have proposed that there were two Minanders because some coins of Minander used a title of “Dikaios” or “Dhārmika” for Minander whereas other coins used a title of “Soteris”. Due to this theory, historians could not resolve the issue whether Minander I was the real Milinda or Minander II. According to my research, Minander II used the title “Soteris” in his initial reign but he started referring himself as “Dhārmika” after accepting Buddhism like Aśoka became Dharmāśoka later.

### **Agathokleas, A Queen of Indo-Geeks Kingdom and the Mother of Stratonos I (1340-1330 BCE)**

Agathokleas was probably the wife of Minander II and the mother of Stratonos I. It appears that Strato I, the son of Minander, was very young when his father died. Queen Agathokleas became the regent of Stratonos I and reigned for some time.



### Stratonos I (1330-1310 BCE)

Stratonos I has also patronized Buddhism which is evident from his title “Dhārmika”.



Wikipedia gives the list of 37 names of Indo-Greek kings but the latest numismatic findings reveal that there were at least 45 Indo-Greek kings. Ancient Greek historians named only seven kings. It is extremely difficult to present a chronological order of all 45 Indo-Greek kings but we can arrive the chronological order of some of them as attempted above. The following assumptions can be considered for roughly dating the Indo Greek kings.

- The coins having Buddhist symbols and the royal title of “Dhārmika” must be dated after ~1550 BCE because Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi was the first Buddhist guru of Yavanas who attained nirvāṇa in ~1550 BCE.
- The coins having Hindu god images may also be dated after ~1600 BCE.
- The Indo-Greek kings used the title of “BASILEOS” meaning “Mahārāja”. They never used the title of “BASILEOSBASILEON” meaning “King of kings”. Kushana King Vima Kadphises and Kanishka were the first who had the title of “Shāhānushāhi” (King of kings) which was translated into Greek language as

“BASILEOS BASILEON”. Therefore, All Indo-Scythian or Indo-Parthian kings who had the title of ““BASILEOS BASILEON” must be dated after Kushanas.

### **Indo-Greek King Zoilos alias Bhadrayaśa (1300-1275 BCE)**

Indo-Greeks might have started using Indian names for themselves along with the names in Greek. Indo-Greek King Zoilos must be the first who also had Indian name of Bhadrayaśa. Historians wrongly concluded that Bhadrayaśa was one of the Northern Satraps but the Kharoshthi legend on the coin is nothing but the exact translation of Greek legend into Prakrit.



In Greek: BASILEWS SWTEROS ZLIIOY  
In Kharoshthi: Mahārājasa Tratarasa Bhadrayaśasa

### **Two Great Alexanders in the History of the Kings of Heracleadae and Macedonians**

Though many Macedonian kings had the name of Alexander but seemingly, there were two Great Alexanders who conquered and reigned over a vast kingdom. Historians have mistakenly considered both to be the same. Let us understand the historical background of how the Macedonian kingdom came into existence.

It is well known that King Heracles (1925-1868 BCE) was the founder of the Macedonian kingdom and all kings of Heracleadae and Macedonians were the descendants of him. In all probability, King Heracles was an Ionian. Arrian clearly records that Heracles conquered up to Bactria and Gāndhāra and established a vast kingdom. Heracles appointed his governors in Bactria and Gāndhāra who laid the foundations of Indo-Greek kingdom. Latinus, son of Heracles occupied Italy and founded the kingdom of Latins.

Indo-Greek kingdoms of Bactria and Gāndhāra started flourishing after the death of Heracles and they adored him as their hero. Greece politically remained disturbed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century BCE after the death of Heracles. The 10-year long Trojan War did occur in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century BCE and the city of Troy had fallen in 1842 BCE. It appears that few generations of Indo-Greeks of Bactria and Gāndhāra lived under the influence of Indian culture during the period 1800-1600 BCE though they maintained their Hellenistic culture.

Seemingly, King Antiochus of Heracleidae went on an expedition and reconquered the lands from Anatolia to Gāndhāra. He returned from his expedition to Peloponnese in 1762 BCE 80 years after the fall of Troy (1842 BCE). He was the contemporary of King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE). Temenus, the descendant of Heracles succeeded in establishing his kingdom in Argos. Caranus I was the son of Temenus. There was another Caranus II, the father of Coenus who reigned around 1478-1448 BCE. According to Justin, Caranus I came to Emathia with a large band of Greeks, being instructed by an oracle to seek a home in Macedonia. Thus, Caranus I, the son of Temenus was the real founder of Macedonian kingdom. Ancient Greek historians Herodotus and Thucydides clearly record that the Macedonian kings were the descendants of Temenus.

Interestingly, Herodotus (1144-1085 BCE) and Thucydides (1120-1060 BCE) describe the Macedonians as foreigners, a distinct people living outside of the borders of the Greece. Herodotus clearly indicates that ancient Greeks did not regard the Macedonians as their brethren. In all probability, the founders of the Macedonian kingdom were the Ionians because the migrated Yavanas of Gāndhāra and Bactria came to be known as Ionians. Therefore, ancient Greeks might have not considered Macedonians as the Greeks.

Plutarch mentions that Alexander the Great was the descendant of Heracles and the son of Caranus I. Thus, the genealogy and chronology of early Macedonian kings as follows:

		<b>In CE</b>
1.	Temenus	1700-1680 BCE
2.	Caranus I	1680-1660 BCE
3.	Alexander I the Great	1660-1630 BCE

Thus, there were two Great Alexanders. Alexander I the Great was the son of Caranus I and flourished around 1660-1630 BCE whereas Alexander II the Great was the son of Philips and reigned around 990-982 BCE.

Indo-Greek King Agathocles (1530-1510 BCE) issued a pedigree coin of Alexander. All the coins having the similar bust of Alexander as given in the pedigree coin of Agathocles belonged to Alexander I the Great (1660-1630 BCE). It appears that Alexander I the Great also conquered a vast kingdom from Macedonia to Bactria because his coins have been found from Macedonia to Bactria.



### **The Summary of the Timelines of Indo-Greek Kings of Gāndhāra and Bactria (1890-1250 BCE)**

The Yavanas of Bactria and Gāndhāra migrated to Greece ~6000-5000 BCE and western Anatolia. These Yavanas settled in Ionia and came to be known as Ionians.

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Heracles (a descendant of Ionians) conquered Gāndhāra ~1890 BCE and Bactria up to the rock of Alorus.



The Yavanas (Ionians) migrated from Ionia and settled in Gāndhāra and Bactria. (It may not be correct to say that the Ionians colonized Bactria and Gāndhāra because Yavanas or Ionians originally belonged to Gāndhāra and Bactria.) 1890-1700 BCE

Antiyoka, the Indo-Greek King and his governors Turamaya, Antikini, Maga and Alikasundara were the contemporaries of King Kālāśoka or Aśoka. 1765-1737 BCE

Indo-Greek Governors of Gāndhāra, Bactria and Parthia gradually became independent rulers. 1700-1660 BCE

Alexander, Diodotus, Demetrius, Euthydemes, Pantaleon, etc. 1660-1530 BCE

Agathocles 1530-1510 BCE

Antimachus 1510-1500 BCE

Amyntas 1500-1485 BCE

Antialkidas 1485-1465 BCE

Minander I 1450-1430 BCE

Minander II 1365-1340 BCE

Queen Agathoklea 1340-1330 BCE

Stratonos I 1330-1310 BCE

The Indo-Greek kings started using Indian names for themselves along with the names in Greek. (King Zoilos also had the name of Bhadrayaśa). 1300 BCE

The Indo-Greeks lost their kingdom due to the rise of Kushanas under the leadership of Kujula Kadphishes. 1250-1225 BCE

### **The Chronology of Parthia**

According to Mahābhārata, Daśa tribe was living in North-western region of Bactria. In all probability, Daśa (“Dahae” in Persian language) was a confederacy of 10 tribes like Tārksya, Pārada, Pahlava, Pārśva, etc., and dominated in the east of Caspian Sea (modern Turkmenistan). In my opinion, the word “Pārada” (a tribe of western Turkmenistan) might have evolved into Parni and Parthia. It appears that Tārksyas dominated the confederacy of 10 tribes. Thus, the area of the east of Caspian Sea came to be known as Turan.

The Turanian kings were ruling in Turan and the Āraṭṭa kings in Armenia and Northern Iran before the invasion of Heracles. Most probably, Āraṭṭas, Turanians and the confederacy of 10 tribes accepted the supremacy of Ionians. Probably, Turamaya, a contemporary of Aśoka, was a Yavana king of Turan. During the period 1890-1700 BCE, Paradas or Parthians of Parthia and western Turkmenistan culturally mixed up with Ionians and became their loyalists. It appears that when Turanian Kings attempted to re-establish their independence, Parthians supported Ionians of Gāndhāra and successfully defeated Turanians. Thus, Parthians became the de-facto rulers of western Turkmenistan, Northern Iran and Armenia. Tirdad I (Tiridates I) was the founder of Tirdad dynasty and reigned over Armenia and Parthia around 1700-1670 BCE.

It is well known that Armenian Arsacid dynasty and Parthians both claim their ancestry from Tirdad. Interestingly, King Arsaces claimed his descent from the Achaemenid King Artaxerxes II (1063-1017 BCE). Evidently, Tirdad or Tiridates I dynasty reigned around 1700-1500 BCE whereas Arsacid dynasty reigned around 1020-600 BCE. Historians mistakenly considered both as one Arsacid dynasty. In my opinion, we need to segregate the coins of Arsacid dynasty into two categories. The coins having the title “Basileos” (King) belong to the Tirdad dynasty whereas the coins having the titles “Basileos Basileon” and “Philhellen” (friend of Greeks) belong to the Arsacid dynasty. It may be noted that the title “Basileos Basileon” has been borrowed from the title “Shāhi Shāhānushāhi” of the Kushanas. Therefore, the Arsacid dynasty must be dated after Kushanas.

Thus, we can summarize the chronology of Parthia as given below:

	<b>In CE</b>
Daśa, a confederacy of 10 tribes led by Tārksýyas or Turanians reigned in the east of Caspian Sea and Parthia from Mahābhārata era to 1700 BCE	3200-1700 BCE
Tirdad Dynasty	1700-1500 BCE
Turanian Dynasty founded by Fereydun	1500-1250 BCE
Kayanian kings starting from Gurshasp	1250-1198 BCE

Achaemenid kings	1198-1020 BCE
Arsacid dynasty	910-550 BCE

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

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

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

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

As already discussed in Chapter 3, Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE. Thus, Buddhist sources, Purāṇas and epigraphic evidence suggest the following chronology.

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

Let us discuss the origin and the chronology of Kushanas with reference to the timelines given above.

### **The Origin of Kushanas**

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

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

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

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

Indian Territory was divided into various janapadas since Vedic period. Every Mahājanapada consisted of many janapadas. It appears that Afghanistan and North-western Pakistan had two Mahājanapadas, i.e., Kāamboja and Gāndhāra. Yavana and Bāhlika janapadas were the part of Kāamboja Mahājanapada. *Majjhima Nikāya* of *Sutta Piṭaka* informs us

that Buddha referred to Yavana deśa and Kāmboja deśa in conversation with Assalāyana.

Aśoka or Kālāśoka (1765-1737 BCE), who ruled after 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE), mentions the names of his contemporary Yavana kings of Gāndhāra and Bactria. The Yavana kings used Greek language and Greek script whereas the Kāmbojas and the Gāndhāras used the Kharoshthi script and Prakrit language. Buddhism was introduced in Gāndhāra and Bactria during the time of Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi (~1650-1550 BCE). Maurya King Aśoka (1547-1511 BCE) sent Mahārakṣita Thera to Yavana janapada to preach Buddhism. Thus, Buddhism started dominating in Bactria and Gāndhāra during the 16<sup>th</sup> century BCE and spread up to Persia and Syria. The rise of Zoroastrianism during the lifetime of Zoroaster II ended the domination of Buddhism in the beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE as recorded by Al Beruni.

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

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

The Kushanas were the successors of Indo-Greek or Yavana kings in the region of Gāndhāra and Bactria. Kujula Kadphises founded the

rule of Kushanas in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The Kushana kings used the Bactrian script in their inscriptions and coins. Buddhist sources indicate that King Kanishka reigned 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Evidently, King Kanishka was the contemporary of King Nandarāja of Rājagriha who flourished 60 years after the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE). King Kanishka conquered Ujjain, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Pātaliputra and up to Chhattisgarh and Orissa at the end of the reign of King Nandarāja. Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Kanishka around 1150-1118 BCE. The Rabatak inscription informs us that Kujula Kadphises (great grandfather), Saddakśiṇa (grandfather) and Vima Kadphises (father) reigned before King Kanishka.

### Kujula Kadphises or Kujula Kara Kadphises (1240-1190 BCE)

Kujula Kadphises was the first sovereign king of Kushanas. Historians have mistakenly considered Kujula Kadphises and Kujula Kasasa as identical persons. In reality, they were two different Kushana kings. The critical study of the coins reveals that Kujula Kadphises used old Bactrian script in his coins whereas Kujula Kasasa used Ionian script in his coins. For instance:

Kujula Kaphasa



**Bactrian Legend:** KOZOΛA KAΔAΦEC XOΦANOY ZAOOY  
 (“Kozola Kadaphes Koshanou Zaoou”): “Kujula Kadphises, the ruler of the Kushanas”, Kharoshthi legend: “Khushanasa Yauasa Kuyula Kaphasa Sacha Dhramatidasa”

Kujula Kasasa



**Greek Legend:** ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥΝ, ΗΕΡΚΟΥΛΕΥΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥΝ  
 Hercules standing facing, holding club and lion skin, Kharoshti legend around: Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa Dhramathidasa

Evidently, the coins having Bactrian legend “KOZOΛA KAΔAΦEC XOPANOV ZAOOV” and Kharoshthi legend “*Khushanasa Yauasa*

*Kuyula Kaphasa Sacha Dhramatidasa*” belonged to Kujula Kadphises, the great grandfather of Kanishka who reigned around 1240-1190 BCE whereas the coins having Greek legend “ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ” [“Basileos Stirossu Ermaiou”: “King Hermaeus, the Saviour”] and Kharoshthi legend “*Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa Dhramathidasa*” [“Kujula Kasasa, ruler of the Kushans, steadfast in the Law”] belonged to an earlier Kushana King Kujula Kasasa, who was a feudatory of Indo-Greek King Ermaiou.



Evidently, Kujula Kasasa was a feudatory of Indo-Greek King Hermaios. Since Kujula Kadphises and Hermaios cannot be contemporaries, the historians have ridiculously speculated that Kujula Kadphises copied the drachmas of Hermaios. A Greek historian Tarn has further concocted that the Hermaios coins of Kujula Kadphises were propaganda issues to claim his descent from the Greeks.

In reality, Kujula Kasasa issued the Hermaios coins and not Kujula Kadphises. Indo-Greek King Hermaios and Kujula Kasasa might have lived in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Most probably, Hermaios was the last Indo-Greek King. It appears that Kujula Kasasa was either the father or the grandfather of Kujula Kadphises.

We have only few coins of Kujula Kadphises having a bust of a young man. The Kharoshthi legend indicates that Kujula Kadphises probably became king at young age (Yauasa = Yuvasa). Western historians speculated without any evidence that the bust of Kujula Kadphises might have been borrowed or inspired from the coins of Augustus. Kushana King Kujula Kadphises flourished around 1240-1190 BCE whereas Roman King Augustus reigned around 687-646 BCE. Thus, Kujula Kadphises lived ~500 years before Augustus.



**Kujula Kadphises**



**Augustus**



Evidently, the speculation of resemblance of the busts of Kujula Kadphises and Augustus is nothing but a figment of Eurocentric fantasy of Western historians.

**The Kushana? or Śaka? King Miou or Miaou or Heraios or Heraus**

Interestingly, historians have identified Heraios or Heraus as the first King of Kushanas. Only three coins of Miou or Miaou (Heraios) have been found till date.

**Heraios or Heraus**



Greek legend: ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΤΟΣ ΗΛΟΥ - ΣΑΝΑΒ - ΚΟΨΑΝΟΥ “The Tyrant Heraios, Sanav (meaning unknown), of the Kushans”.

These coins have a Greek legend on the reverse side as ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΤΟΣ ΗΛΟΥ - ΣΑΝΛ(B?) - ΚΟΨΑΝΟΥ “The Tyrant Miou or Miaou (read as Heraios), Sanlv (meaning unknown) of the Kushanas”. Historians generally consider him to be the first king of Kushanas whereas some believe that he was none other than Kujula Kadaphises. First of all, the name of the issuer of the coin was Miou or Miaou and not Heraios. Secondly, historians transliterated “ΣΑΝΛ(B?) - ΚΟ(Ψ?)ΑΝΟΥ” as Sanav of Kushanas but failed to explain what Sanav or Sanlv means. There is also a controversy about the reading of the Greek legends on the coins

of Heraios. Some scholars read ΣΑΝΑΒ as ΣΑΚΑΒ and opined Heraios to be a Śaka King. Most probably, Sanav or Sanlv means satrap in Bactrian dialect. Interestingly, historians have transliterated as “ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ”. The letter Ϟ has been used twice to indicate Sh (Ṣ) because there was no letter for Sh (Ṣ) in the Greek script.

Now the question is whether Heraios was a Śaka or Kushana? The legend “ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ” can only be read as Kushana. Most probably, Kushana is a geographical term. The original inhabitants of Kush mountain range (central Afghanistan to Northern Pakistan) might have referred to themselves as Kushanas. Ancient Greek sources also refer to the Kush range as Caucasus. In all probability, Heraios was a Śaka Kśatrap of the Kushana people. It may also be noted that Heraios is an alien name to the Kushanas. Most probably, Miou or Miaou or Heraios was a Scythian and a feudatory kśatrap of Indo-Greek kings. Therefore, King Heraios can be dated before Kujula Kasasa and Kujula Kadpheses.

### **Saddakśiṇa (Vima Taktu?) (1190-1175 BCE)**

According to the Rabatak inscription, Saddakśiṇa was the grandfather of Kanishka. Unfortunately, no numismatic evidence of King Saddakśiṇa has been found till date but the epigraphic evidence clearly mentions King Saddakśiṇa as the grandfather of Kanishka. There is a controversy about the reading of the 13<sup>th</sup> line of the Rabatak inscription. BN Mukharjee reads Saddakśiṇa as the grandfather of Kanishka whereas Nicolas Sims Williams reads Vima Taktu as the grandfather of Kanishka. Seemingly, Sims Williams is biased to read the name of Vima Taktu because historians have already assumed Vima Taktu as the grandfather of Kanishka.

If the Rabatak inscription indeed refers to Vima Taktu, then the grandfather of Kanishka was Vima Taktu (not Saddakśiṇa). But Vima Taktu cannot be identified with Vima Takshoma (Shao Ooema Takshoma) whose inscription is dated in the year 279 of the Yavana era. We will discuss the epoch of the Yavana era later in this Chapter. The coins of the so-called King Soter Megas contain legend “ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΝ ΚΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ” in later Bactrian script. Therefore, Soter Megas must be dated after 900 BCE. Thus, it is totally absurd to identify Soter Megas as Vima Taktu, the grandfather of Kanishka.

Bailey has mentioned a Kharoshthi inscription from Odi (Odigram, Swat) recording the name of Saddakṣiṇa as Kujula's son. He appeared with the title of Devaputra. The inscription is dated in the 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Senavarman of Odi, son of Adityavarman. Evidently, Saddakṣiṇa was the son of Kujula Kadaphises.

### Vima Kadphises (1175-1150 BCE)

Vima Kadphises was the father of Kanishka. Recently, 4000 gold coins of Vim Kadphises and Kanishka have been found in Pakistan. The legends on the coins of Vima Kadphises were written in old Bactrian and Kharoshthi scripts. He had the Greek title “Basileos Basileon Soter Megas” and the title in Prakrit “*maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kathphishasa tratara*”.

#### Vim Kadphises



Old Bactrian Legend: BACIAEYC CWTHP MEΓAC OOHMO KAAΦICHC.  
Kharoshthi Legend: maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga isvarasa mahisvarasa  
Vima Kathphishasa tratara.

Historians mistakenly identified Mahārāja Uvima Kavthisa (mentioned in the Khalatse Kharoshthi inscription found in Leh, Ladakh) with Kushana King Vima Kadphises. The Kharoshthi legends on the coins clearly name the king as “Vima Kathphisha”. Therefore, Uvima Kavthisa was a local king and he should not be identified as Vima Kadphises. This khalatse inscription is dated in the year 184 or 187 of unknown era.

### Kanishka I the Great (1150-1118 BCE)

Kanishka, the son of Vima Kadphises, was the greatest king of Kushanas. He reigned over a vast kingdom from Bactria and Gāndhāra in the west to Magadha and Orissa in the east. Buddhist sources tell us that Kanishka flourished 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. He became the patron of

Buddhism. He used Bactrian, Kharoshthi and Brāhmi scripts in his inscriptions and coins. The famous Rabatak inscription of Kanishka was written in Bactrian script and Bactrian dialect. He used Prakrit and Bactrian languages instead of Greek in his inscriptions and coins. Kanishka clearly records in his Rabatak inscription that he has discontinued the use of Yavana or Ionian language starting from his first regnal year.

### **Kanishka Stūpa**

Buddhist sources eulogize King Kanishka for constructing a Stūpa near Puruṣapura (Peshawar). Sung Yun records that Kanishka's Stūpa was 700 feet high whereas Fa-hien says that this Stūpa was the highest tower in entire world and it was around 560 feet tall. The mound of Stūpa was discovered and excavated in 1908-1909 CE. The excavations at Peshawar suggest that the Stūpa was 286 feet (later, reduced to 272 feet) in diameter. The Buddhist Relic or Kanishka Casket found in this stupa was shifted to Burma.

Undoubtedly, it was the tallest building from 1125 BCE to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Modern Christian historians have deliberately estimated the height of Kanishka Stūpa around 400 feet. Actually, these biased Christian scholars did not want to accept the height of Kanishka Stūpa more than that of Old St. Paul Cathedral (489 feet) and Lincoln Cathedral (524 feet) of England. These two Cathedrals were built only around 1300-1549 CE.

Sung Yun, who visited this Stūpa after 1000 years of its construction, mentions that the Stūpa had been struck by lightning at least three times. Fa-hien visited this Stūpa 150 years before Sung Yun. It appears that when Fa-hien visited Peshawar, the Stūpa was 560 feet tall but most probably, it was struck by lightning before the arrival of Sung Yun. The Stūpa's Chātra had been rebuilt and raised up to 700 feet by the time of Sung Yun. Thus, the magnificent Kanishka Stūpa was standing tall (213.36 meters or 700 feet) during the time of Sung Yun. The Metropolitan Life Tower built in New York could match the height of Kanishka Stūpa only in 1913 CE.

### **The Myth of Kanishka Era**

Historians have assumed that Kushana King Kanishka founded the Śaka era in 78 CE but they have repeatedly failed to establish the date

of Kanishka around 78 CE. Recently, Harry Falk has claimed that the epoch of Kanishka era commenced in 127 CE. Harry Falk presented one single literary evidence in 2001 to prove that 127 CE was indeed the year of Kanishka's ascension. Thus, it is now established that Kanishka reigned around 127 CE to 150 CE. Harry Falk has committed a blunder by accepting the distorted śloka of Bhaṭṭotpala given by David Pingree. Harry Falk cited the following śloka from Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira.<sup>11</sup>

“Gatena sādhyardha-śatena Yuktā'pyekena Koshāna-gatābdasankhyā ,  
Kālam Śakānām Pariśodhya tasmād atītam anyadyugavarṣayātam ”

गतनेमाप्युक्तं गतनसंख्या केषा न गताब्दसंख्या ।

कालः शकानां सविशेष्य तस्माद् अतीतवर्षाद् युगवर्षजातम् ॥<sup>12</sup>

But I have found the different version of the same śloka from other manuscripts as given below.

गतेन षडग्रेऽर्धशतेन युक्ताप्युक्तेन केषा न गताब्दसंख्या ।  
कालं शकानां सविशेष्य तस्माद् अतीतवर्षाद् युगवर्षजातम् ॥<sup>12</sup>

Evidently, Bhaṭṭotpala makes this statement with reference to *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja. He indicates that a solar Yuga of 165 years has commenced from the 56<sup>th</sup> year of the Śaka era. The same statement occurs in *Yavanajātaka* as “*Ṣadagre*” (6) and “*Ardhaśate*” (50). Thus, Bhaṭṭotpala clearly mentions the 56<sup>th</sup> year of the Śaka era. David Pingree and Harry Falk quoted this śloka out of the context and distorted the words of śloka. They distorted “*Ṣadagre'rdhaśatena*” as “*sādhyardha-śatena*” and “*Keṣā na*” as “*Koṣāna*” and interpreted that Bhaṭṭotpala refers to an epoch of the Kushana era from the 149<sup>th</sup> year.

Harry Falk proposes to drop 100 and takes only 49. Thus, he calculates the 49<sup>th</sup> year from 78 CE and states that Kanishka ascended the throne in 127 CE and founded an era. First of all, the real phrases used by Bhaṭṭotpala are “*Ṣadagre'rdhaśatena*” and “*Keṣā na*” and not “*sādhyardha-śatena*” and “*Koṣāna*”. Secondly, there is no mention of the epoch of the so-called Koshana era in 49<sup>th</sup> or 149<sup>th</sup> year in *Yavanajātaka*. Thirdly, there is not even an iota of epigraphic evidence to prove that Kanishka and his descendants referred to an epoch of the Kushana era. Fourthly, for

the sake of argument, even we agree that Bhaṭṭotpala refers to the 49<sup>th</sup> year of the Kushana era but how can we establish the wild speculation of dropping hundreds in the Kushana era because none of the ancient Indian eras ever followed the method of dropping hundreds except the Saptarṣi era or Laukika era. Therefore, the distorted and wild interpretation of the śloka of Bhaṭṭotpala given by David Pingree and Harry Falk is not only false but also indicates their intellectual dishonesty.

Actually, the chronological study of the dated Kushana inscriptions by modern historians is based on a flawed methodology. They simply collected the dated inscriptions written in Kharoshthi or Kushana Brāhmi found in Mathura and north-western India and prepared the following table to prove that Kushanas indeed followed an era.

<i>Kanishka</i>	<i>Huvishka</i>	<i>Vasudeva</i>	<i>Vashishka</i>	<i>Kanishka II</i>
1-5, 7-14,	28-29, 31,	33-35, 64,	70, 74, 76,	20, 22, 24, 41
16-18, 20,	38-40, 45,	47-48, 80-84,	87, 89,	28
23	50-51, 53, 58, 60	91, 98		

The following dated inscriptions could not be explained by historians till date.

1. The Khalatse inscription written in Kharoshthi has been found near Khalatse Bridge on river Indus in Ladakh is dated in the year 184 or 187 and it refers to Mahārāja Uvima Kavthisa. Historians wrongly identified him to be Vima Kadphises.
2. An inscription of Vim Takshoma is dated in the year 279 (Dasht-i-Nāwur inscription).
3. An inscription found in Surkh Kotal refers to King Kanishka and his 31<sup>st</sup> regnal year.
4. A pedestal inscription of King Yasaga with the title “rejhanō” is dated in the year 36.
5. A Brāhmi inscription of Vasu Kushana is dated in the year 170.
6. An inscription found in Salimpur near Panjtar is dated in the year 122 and refers to Mahārāja Gushana.
7. Takśaśilā Silver Scroll inscription is dated in the year 136 and refers to Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Devaputra.
8. Two inscriptions of Mathura are dated in the year 145 and 270.

Evidently, the above mentioned inconsistencies indicate that Kanishka did not establish the epoch of the so-called Kanishka or Kushana era. In fact, Kanishka and his descendants referred to their regnal years in the inscriptions. It is evident that the Surkh Kotal inscription of Kanishka is dated in the 31<sup>st</sup> regnal year whereas the Mathurā Brāhmi inscription dated in the year 28 refers to “*Devaputra Shāhiya Huvishka*”.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the inscriptions of Kanishka and Huvishka mention the date as “*Kanishkasya Saṁvatsare*” and “*Huvishkasya Saṁvatsare*”. Apparently, Kanishka and Huvishka referred to their regnal years and not an epoch of era. Probably, Buddhist and Jain inscriptions of North-western India and Mathura referred to the year in the Saptarṣi era without hundreds. Historians mistakenly arranged these inscriptions dated in the Saptarṣi era in a chronological order and presumed that these inscriptions are dated in the so-called Kanishka era.

### **Pūrṇimānta Calendar Followed by Kanishka**

The Zeda inscription of Kanishka found in Zeda, near Ohind is dated in the 10<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Kanishka.<sup>14</sup> This inscription indicates that moon was in Uttara Phālgunī Nakśatra on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of Āṣāḍha month (*Sam 10 Āṣāḍhasa māśasa di 20 uttara phālguna...*). Professor Jacobi has rightly pointed out the fact that “we can infer, from this statement that the months were Pūrṇimānta just as I have shown it to be the case in the calendar used in the Gudafara record. The nakśatra Uttara Phālgunī belongs to the Śukla pakśa of Āṣāḍha month where it may occur between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> day. The Pūrṇimānta reckoning was no doubt an ancient Indian one.”

### **The Date of Kanishka**

King Kanishka flourished 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) as indicated in *Samyuktaratnapitakasutra*. Thus, Kanishka must be dated after 1164 BCE. The Gilgit Manuscript of *Vinayavastu* confirms that Kanishka became king 400 years after the nirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi (~1550 BCE). Hiuen Tsang also tells us that King Kanishka’s Guru Saṅgharakśa lived 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Historians still confused about the dating of Upagupta because Hieun Tsang mentions that there was a difference of 300 years between Upagupta and Kanishka. Actually, there were three Upaguptas. Upagupta I, the contemporary of Kālāśoka or

Aśoka, lived 100 years after Buddha Nirvāṇa. Upagupta II and Ananda II flourished 100 years after Vajrapāṇi as recorded in Gilgit Manuscript of *Vinayavastu*. Upagupta III was the contemporary of Kanishka. Thus, Hiuen Tsang says that there was a difference of 300 years between Upagupta II and Kanishka.

Interestingly, Taranatha indicates that King Nandarāja of Magadha was the contemporary of King Kanishka. *Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa* informs us that Kuṇika, Udāyī and Nanda (the son of a Barber) reigned in Rājagriha after Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE) and the reign of Nandarāja began in the 60<sup>th</sup> year after Mahāvira nirvāṇa, i.e., 1129 BCE.

The Rabatak inscription clearly tells us that Kanishka was also ruling over the cities of Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Pātaliputra and Champā in his first regnal year. Evidently, Kushanas conquered entire North India during the reign of Vima Kadphises (1175-1150 BCE). An inscription of Kanishka found in Saranath is dated in his 3<sup>rd</sup> regnal year. Kanishka appointed two Śaka Kśatrapas named Kharapallana and Vanaspara in Saranath to control over Sāketa and Kauśāmbī. Seemingly, Magadha King Udāyī, son of Kuṇika paid tribute to Kushanas. King Udāyī died without any successors around 1129 BCE. The ministers elected Nandarāja, the son of Barber, as the king of Rājagriha in 1129 BCE. It appears that King Nandarāja constructed a canal in Kaliṅga, which was renovated by Kaliṅga King Khāravela.

In view of the above, we can roughly fix the first regnal year of Kanishka around 1150 BCE. The Surkh Kotal inscription is dated in the 31<sup>st</sup> regnal year of Kanishka. Evidently, Kanishka reigned more than 31 years. Most probably, the Buddhist council of Kashmir or Jalandhar was held around 1125 BCE. Kanishka constructed the famous Stūpa of Peshawar around 1125 BCE. Thus, Kanishka might have reigned for 32 years around 1150-1118 BCE.

### **King Huvishka (1118-1058 BCE)**

Huvishka succeeded his father Kanishka. An inscription found in Wardak monastery at Kabul refers to the 51<sup>st</sup> regnal year of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Huvishka. Taranatha mentions that Kanishka's son lived for 100 years. Evidently, Huvishka might have reigned for 60 years. An inscription



of King Aśvaghōṣa found in Kauśāmbī refers to King Huvishka. Thus, Huvishka also reigned over a vast empire from Bactria to Magadha.

### **King Bazodeo or Vāsudeva (1090-1025 BCE)**

Vāsudeva was the son of Huvishka. He might have reigned for 65 or 67 years. The Mathura image inscription is dated in the 64<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Vasudeva [*Devaputrasya Vāsudevasya Saṁ 60 (4 or 7) Varṣa....*].<sup>15</sup> The Mathura Brāhmi inscription<sup>16</sup> is dated in the 28<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Huvishka [*Devaputra Shāhiya Huvishka*] and an inscription of the time of Huvishka found at Vasana village of Mathura is dated in the 33<sup>rd</sup> regnal year [*Mahārājasya Devaputrasya Huvishkasya Saṁvatsare 30 3 Hemantamāse 1 devase 2 etasya purvyāyām, Upāsakānām Buddharakṣitadharmarakṣitānām bhrātrīṇām somaputrāṇām brāhmaṇānām (Aupamanyava) opamana-sagotrāṇām Takśaśilakānām ... svake vihāre.. Āchāryāṇām Sarvāstivādinām parigrahe....*].

It appears that Huvishka appointed Vāsudeva as the King of Mathurā around 1090 BCE with an objective to have greater control over the region from Mathurā to Magadha. Earlier, King Kanishka and Huvishka made Jalandhar as their second capital to have better control over the eastern regions. After the death of Huvishka, Vāsudeva became the king of entire Kushana Empire. Thus, the period from the reign of Vima Kadphises (1175-1150 BCE) to the reign of Vāsudeva (1090-1025 BCE) was the golden era of Kushanas.

### **King Vima Takha (1025-1010 BCE)**

Most probably, Vima Takha succeeded his father Vāsudeva but he reigned for a short period. A monumental structure at Mathurā bears an incomplete inscription that refers to “Vima Takha”. Evidently, a Kushana King named Vima Takha reigned at Mathurā. Vima Takha mentioned in the Mathurā inscription cannot be identified with the grandfather of Kanishka because there is no evidence of the reign of Kushanas in Mathurā before Vima Kadphises. Moreover, there is one bronze coin that refers to a Kushana King Vima Takha “*Mahārājasa Rājādhirājasa Devaputrasya Vima Takha*”. It may be noted that Kanishka was the first who had the Kushana royal titles of “Devaputra” and “Shāhānushāhi”. Therefore, Devaputra Vima

Takha can only be a descendant of Kanishka.

Kaliṅga King Khāravēla records in his Hathigumpha inscription that he invaded Gorathagiri in his 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year that caused pressure on Rājagriha. Consequently, a Yavana King Vimaka (Vima Takha) retreated to Mathurā. We can accurately fix the date of Khāravēla because he himself says that he has renovated a canal in his 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year and 103 years after the coronation of King Nandarāja. King Nandarāja of Rājagriha was the patron of Jainism and a contemporary of Kanishka. He also reigned over Kaliṅga for some time. Most probably, the great-grandfather of Khāravēla was an ally of King Nandarāja. Since the family of Khāravēla followed Jainism and adored King Nandarāja, Khāravēla counted the number of years elapsed from the date of the ascension of Nandarāja. According to the Jain text “*Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa*”, King Nandarāja ascended the throne in the 60<sup>th</sup> year from the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE), i.e., 1129 BCE. Thus, the chronology of the events as given in the Hathigumpha inscription can be reconstructed as under:

1. Khāravēla ascended the throne (in the 98<sup>th</sup> year elapsed from 1031 BCE 1129 BCE)
2. Khāravēla renovated the canal in his 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year and in 1026 BCE the 103<sup>rd</sup> year of the epoch of Nandarāja.
3. Khāravēla sacked Goradhagiri in his 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year that 1023 BCE caused pressure on Rājagriha. Yavana King Vimaka retreated to Mathurā.
4. Khāravēla attacked Uttarāpatha and Magadha in his 12<sup>th</sup> 1019 BCE regnal year. He brought back the idol of Jina of Kaliṅga which had been taken to Magadha by Nandarāja. He also appointed Bahasatimita (Bṛhaspatimitra) as the king of Magadha. Probably, Bṛhaspatimitra was a later descendant of the Śuṅga dynasty.

(The Prabhas inscription (near Allahabad) refers to Āṣāḍhasena, son of Vaihidari and the uncle (Mātula) of King Bṛhaspatimitra, the son of Gopāli. Many coins of Bṛhaspatimitra have been found in Kauśāmbī.)

Evidently, the Yavana King Vimaka mentioned by Khāravēla was the Kushana King Vima Takha. Khāravēla refers to the Kushana king as

Yavana because the Kushanas adopted the culture of Yavanas. Moreover, they used a Bactrian script that derived from the archaic Greek script. Bactria was under the rule of Yavanas or Indo-Greeks from 1890 BCE to 1250 BCE. Therefore, the Kushanas and the Śakas of Bactria were culturally mixed up with the Yavanas. This may be the reason why Khāravela refers to the Kushana King Vima Takha as Yavana. Undoubtedly, the rise of Kaliṅga King Khāravela ended the rule of Kushanas in Rājagriha, Sāketa and Kauśāmbī and the Kushana Empire was reduced up to Mathurā by 1023 BCE.

Western epigraphists attempted to distort Vimaka as Dimita and concocted that the Greek King Demetrius might have invaded up to Pātaliputra. In fact, there is no mention of Dimita in the Hathigumpha inscription.

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

Kaliṅga King Khāravela defeated the Kushana King Vima Takha and pushed him out of Magadha and Kauśāmbī in 1023 BCE. The rise of the Chandra kings of Aparāntaka kingdom posed a major challenge for the Kushanas of Mathurā. King Sri Chandra conquered Mathurā, Punjab and Jammu around 1015 BCE. He also crossed Sindhu and conquered Gāndhāra around 1000 BCE. King Chandra erected the Iron Pillar (located near Kutub Minar) in commemoration of his victory over Bāhlikas and Gāndhāra.

Interestingly, Firishta mentions that the Kaid Raja (Raja Chandra) built the fort of Jammu and appointed King Durg of Khokhar tribe as governor. This fort of Jammu remained in the possession of Khokhars from the time of King Durg to the Mughal period. The Kaid Raja (Raja Chandra) appointed Jaya Chandra as governor of the region of Dilli. Firishta says that Jaya Chandra's younger brother Raja Dilhu ruled over the region of Dilli for 40 years. Most probably, Raja Dilhu reigned around 1010-970 BCE as a feudatory of the Chandra kings. Evidently, the city of Dilli has been named after Raja Dilhu.

King Chandragupta succeeded his father King Chandra around 984 BCE. Pratiṣṭhānapura of Prayāga was the capital of Chandra kings. He was the contemporary of Alexander and Seleucus. The Greek historians referred to him as "Sandrokottus" and his father King Chandra as

“Xandremes”. It appears that the Greek historians referred to the city of Prayāgabhadra or Pratiṣṭhānapura as “Polibothra”.

Taking advantage of the decline of Kushana Empire, the kings of Puru dynasty of Madra janapada established their kingdom around 1000 BCE. According to Jammu Vamśāvalī, Puru Sen or Purva Sen was the King of Madra country and a contemporary of Jammu King Ajay Singh, the 7<sup>th</sup> descendant of Damodar Datt. King Ajay Singh married Rani Mangalan Dai, the daughter of Madra King Purva Sen. Undoubtedly, King Purva Sen or Puru Sen of Madra country was the “Poros” referred to by Greek historians. He was the contemporary of Alexander (990-982 BCE). His capital was Gotipani which was situated on the east of Behat (Probably, Islamabad or Rawalpindi). Raja Puru Sen conquered all the territories on the Sindhu River. His kingdom was extended from Indus River in the west to Jalandhar and Chamba kingdoms in the east. Seemingly, Raja Puru Sen defeated Alexander and one of his soldiers shot an arrow and injured Alexander around 984 BCE. Thus, we can fix the date of the Madra King Puru Sen around 1000-950 BCE. King Puru Sen killed Raja Dilhu around 970 BCE and annexed the city of Dilli. Thus, the kingdom of Puru Sen (Poros) was extended from Rawalpindi to Dilli and the kingdom of Chandra Gupta (Sandrokottus) was extended from Sindh, Rajasthan and Mathura to Bengal when Megasthenese visited the court of Poros and Sandrokottus.

Evidently, the rise of Chandra kings in North India, the rise of the Puru kings in Madra region and the invasion of Alexander on Gāndhāra and Bactria led to the complete decline of the glorious Kushana Empire by 1000 BCE.

### **The Invasion of Alexander II (984 BCE)**

According to Buddhist sources, King Chandragupta (Sandrokottus) Vikramāditya succeeded Sri Chandra (Xandremes) and he was ruling over a vast kingdom in North India. His capital was Pratiṣṭhānapura or Prayāgabhadra (Polibothra) near the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna. At the same time, King Puru Sen (Poros) was the King of Madra janapada and the Kushanas were the rulers of Bactria.

As already discussed, there were two great Alexanders of Macedonia. Alexander I was the son of Caranus I and reigned around 1660-1630 BCE whereas Alexander II was the son of Persian-origin King Darab and the daughter of Macedonian King Philips. Macedonian King Alexander II conquered Gāndhāra and Bactria and invaded on the capital of King Porus, i.e., King Puru Sen of Madra janapada. Most probably, Alexander II suffered a defeat and had no other option to go back to Babylon. After the death of Alexander II in 982 BCE, Seleucus Nikator (972-940 BCE) became the king of the eastern part of Alexander's empire in 972 BCE. He established himself in Babylon, Persia, Parthia and the western parts of Gāndhāra.

### **The Epoch of Yavana Era (972 BCE)**

During the reign of Seleucus, the epoch of the era of Alexandria or Seleucid era (972 BCE) was introduced in the regions of Persia and Parthia, which came to be known as the Yavana era in Gāndhāra and Bactria under the influence of Parthians and Persians. This Yavana era was referred to in some of the inscriptions of Gāndhāra and Bactria. Eminent historians mistakenly fixed the epoch of Yavana era around 186 BCE considering the epoch of Azes era around 58 BCE. Since there was a difference of 128 years between the Yavana era and the Azes era, the eminent historians have concocted that the Indo-Greek King Demetrius founded the epoch of Yavana era in 186 BCE. There is not an iota of evidence to prove that Demetrius has ever founded an era. Since the distorted chronology miserably fails to prove the existence of King Vikramāditya around 57 BCE, the eminent historians conveniently concocted that the Indo-Scythian King Azes started an epoch in 57 BCE which came to be known as the Vikrama era later.

### **Seleucus made Peace with Sandrokottus and Porus**

Seleucus attempted to expand his empire into India but got defeated by King Chandragupta. He was forced to make peace with Chandragupta. Strabo says that the Indians possess partly some of the countries lying along Indus, but these belonged formerly to the Persians (Achaemenids). Alexander took them away from the Arianoi and established in them colonies of his own. Seleucus Nikator gave them to Sandrokottus and married off his daughter to him and received

500 elephants in exchange. In all probability, Arianoi is the region of Khurasan close to Baluchistan.

It appears that Seleucus was also desperate to conclude a peace treaty with King Porus. He has sent Megasthenes to negotiate a treaty with King Sandrokottus as well as King Porus. Megasthenes mentions that King Porus was still greater than Sandrokottus. Evidently, Bactria was under the control of King Porus whereas Baluchistan was under the control of Sandrokottus. Moreover, Seleucus had to surrender Arianoi region to Sandrokottus. Thus, the Seleucid Empire was limited to Parthia.

In reality, the military success of Alexander II and Seleucus in Gāndhāra and Bactria was short-lived but Parthia remained under the control of Seleucid kings for 60 to 70 years. The rise of Arsacid dynasty in Parthia around 910-900 BCE had ended the rule of the Seleucids. There is no evidence of the rule of the Greek kings in Bactria and Gāndhāra after Alexander II and Seleucus. Chronologically, the Indo-Greek kingdom existed before the rise of Kushanas.

### **The Later Kushanas**

After the reign of Seleucus, the kings of Aracid dynasty reigned over Parthia. The Indianised Greek kings of Gāndhāra and the later Kushana kings of Bactria were the contemporaries of the Aracid dynasty.

### **King Vashishka or Vajeshka (870-840 BCE)**

Most probably, Vashishka or Vajeshka was the first king of later Kushanas. The Kamra Kharoshthi inscription found in Attock district near Takśaśilā refers to the 20<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Devaputra Vajeshka. The Kamra inscription also refers to Kanishka II, the son of Vajeshka. Interestingly, an undated Kharoshthi inscription found in the city of Chillas, Nanga Parvat, Islamabad mentions “Kaiser” a new royal title of Vashishka. Most probably, the title of “Kaiser” (King of kings) was popular in the region of Tajikistan and Kirgizstan in a dialect of Tokharins or Tuṣāras. The immigrant Tokharins might have introduced the word “Kaiser” in the Eastern Europe. Thus, German word “Kaiser”, Roman word “Caesar” and Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian word “Czar” derived from the word “Kaiser” of Tokharins which itself derived from the Sanskrit word “Kesari”

meaning “Lion”. Seemingly, when King Chandra uprooted the rule of Kushanas from Mathurā and Punjab, Vashishka expanded his kingdom towards central Asia. Thus, King Vashishka used the royal title of “Kaiser” to establish his authority in central Asia.

#### **King Kanishka II (840-790 BCE)**

Kanishka II was the son of Vashishka. The Ara inscription found in northern Punjab of Pakistan refers to the 41<sup>st</sup> regnal year of Kanishka II. Kanishka II also had the title of “Kaiser”. Only Vashishka and Kanishka II had the title of “Kaiser” which indicates that they dominated some parts of central Asia and the Silk Route.

#### **Maharaja Gushana or Unknown Kushana King (722-700 BCE)**

A Kharoshthi inscription found in Salimpur near Panjtar, Pakistan is dated in the year 122 [722 BCE) of Azes era (844 BCE). It refers to an unknown Kushana King “*Mahārāja Gushana*”. Takśaśilā silver scroll Kharoshthi inscription dated in the year 136 [808 BCE] of Azes era (844 BCE) refers to an unknown Kushana King “*Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Gushana*”. The epoch of Azes era commenced in 844 BCE, 128 years after the epoch of the Yavana era (972 BCE).

#### **Shah Vima Takshoma (700-670 BCE)**

An inscription found in Dasht-i-Nāwur, Afghanistan dated in the year 279 of the Yavana era (693 BCE) refers to a Kushana King Shah Vima Takshoma. The second inscription of Vima Takshoma was found in Surkh Kotal and dated in the year 299 (673 BCE) of the Yavana era.

#### **The Aracid Kings of Parthia (~907-522 BCE)**

The Aracid kings of Parthia declared themselves to be the friends of the Greeks (Macedonian kings) to avoid conflicts on the western borders of Parthia. They claimed themselves to be “Philhellen” (friends of Greeks). The coins of the Aracid kings contain the Greek legend on reverse side: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ “of the Great king Arsaces the Philhellen.” During the period of early Aracid kings, the Indianised Indo-Greeks reigned over Gāndhāra kingdom and the later Kushana kings reigned over Bactria.

**The Śaka Muruṅdas or the Śaka Kushanas (884-790 BCE)**

During the golden era of the Kushana Empire (1175-1020 BCE), the Kushana kings appointed many Śaka kśatrapas as governors to establish a greater control over their vast empire. After the decline of Kushana kings around 1020 BCE and the decline of the Chandra kings around 885 BCE, the Śaka kśatrapas founded their own kingdom in North India. According to Purāṇas, there were thirteen Muruṅda kings. Jain historians mention that the Śaka Muruṅdas reigned for 40 years around 884-844 BCE. Many gold coins of the Śaka Kushana kings have been found with Brāhmi legend “Śaka” and Bactrian legend “APΔOXḡO” with the image of Goddess of plenty Ardochsho enthroned facing, holding diadem and cornucopia.



The following coins have probably the names of the Śaka Muruṅda kings:

- 1. King Magra or Mishra
- 2. King Mahi



- 3. King Kipanadha or Shkinatha
- 4. King Shāhi Hanaka Kushana







was an Indianized Indo-Greek King. There is no evidence of the use of Aramaic in Gāndhāra and Bactria before the reign of Achaemenid kings (1198-990 BCE). Since King Aśoka or Kālāśoka reigned around 1765-1737 BCE. Therefore, it is totally absurd to identify King Piyodasses or Priyadarśana with Aśoka.

***Six Aramaic Inscriptions of King Priyadarśana:***

1. **Takśaśilā Aramaic Inscription:** In 1914-15, an octagonal pillar of white marble was found built into a wall between two chambers of a building of blocks at Sirkap (Takśaśilā). E Herzfeld was the first one who noticed words ‘*marana Priyadar...*’ in the inscription. Therefore he took this as a reference to Aśoka. Historians concluded that the text of this Aramaic inscription is slightly an abridged version of the rock edict (RE) IV. Meena Talim has translated it into Sanskrit from the original Aramaic text. Meena Talim and BN Mukherjee have also translated it into English as given under:

***English Translation by Meena Talim:***

1. Non-injury to all living beings.
2. To living being and relatives
3. Respect (good behavior) to Brahmanas and
4. Sramanas, respect (good behavior) to mother,
5. Father and elders
6. To serve them, such
7. And many kinds of religious
8. Practices should be increased; (it will be increased) and those are
9. King, beloved of the God, Piyadassi’s
10. Religious practices. Why? Even
11. Son and grandson also (great-grandson) of the King, Beloved of the God will increase. This is like a religious practice.

**English translation by B N Mukherjee**

(Line 1-6) “.....for the creations of Law [D(a)t(a)], unto the non-injury to [the creatures] worthy of that which [is] the non-injury and to his (i.e., one’s own) father [and] the aged good obedience [.] (Line 6-7) This [and [that (i.e., various kinds of practice of D(a)t(a) or Law) [have] good (or many [fold] or much) increase [.] (Line 8-12) This document (or [this] good document) exists [until] our lord Priyadarsi dies..... and also [until after] his son..... belonging to our lord Priyadarsi[.]”

(I could not get the original image of the inscription and the transcript but I noticed that these *two translations differ from each other. Meena Talim mentions “Beloved of Gods” which is completely missing from the translation of BN Mukherjee. Evidently, BN Mukherjee attempted to give word to word exact translation whereas Meena Talim has distorted the translation considering it to be rock edict of Aśoka. Therefore, we can assume that this Aramaic inscription does not mention “Devānāmpriya”*)

2. **Lampaka Aramaic Inscription:** A stone inscription was found in the region of Pul-i-Darunta (Lampaka), Laghman and placed in Kabul Museum. Some historians stated that it contains quotations from Aśokan edicts in Prakrit language, written in Aramaic script with Aramaic paraphrases. Historians admit that there are many unknown words of an Old Persian dialect.



<i>Text</i> <sup>1</sup>		
[תא סנא]	1	]l' p[
[ר'דה לאנש]	2	](h)uch l'nš[
[ת'וי סדתי לא ט]	3	](t)ney shyty l' f[
[מסארתהס סדתי ה'ת]	4	]ms'rths shyty hw(t)[
[י'זוה דידתי סדתי]	5	].hzh dyhshytsy shyty[
[אנפריס אנהוסס סדתי]	6	](w)nprys 'bhysyts shyty [
[רישו סדתי שימו למכתב בעמורא]	7	]ryšw shyty šymw lmkṭb b'm[uod'
blank	8	]'hryn hwed'n blank
blank		blank

3. **Laghman Sultan Baba Aramaic Inscription:** It is found in the valley of Laghman and on the left bank of the Laghman river.

*English translation by B N Mukherjee*

(Line 1-3) “In the year 16, King Priyadarśana scattered abundantly (i.e., dispersed) and pushed out of (or expelled from) the prosperous [population] the lovers of what is hunting of creatures and fishes and what (i.e., that which) is worthless (or empty) work”. (Line 3-5) “300 bows [measure] this mountain named Tdmr. This road is Krpty (Karapathi), [so] it is said. [From here] the garden is more than 120 [bows distant]. Trt’ is [from] here 100 [bows distant]. The height [of the mountain is] 80 [bows]” [or “Trt’ is [from] here [distant by] 100 in addition to 80 [bows]”].(Line 6) “With the judge [named] W’su.”

4. **Laghman Sam Baba Inscription:** It is found in the valley of Laghman and on the left bank of the Laghman River.

*English translation by B N Mukherjee*

(Line 1-5) “In the month [of] Elul (Ululu) [of] the year 16, King Priyadarśana scattered abundantly (i.e., dispersed) [and] pushed out of (or expelled from) the prosperous [population] [those who] rush [after] what is hunting of fishes and creatures [and] the lovers of what (i.e., that which) is worthless (or empty) work.”(Line 5-8)”500 (?) bows [measure] this mountain named ‘hwty. This road [is] Krpty (Karapathi), [so] it is said. Towards the garden [the distance is] 300 [bows]. Trt’ is [from] here 13 [bows]. The height [of the mountain] is 200 [bows]” [or “Trt’ is [from] here 13 [bows] in addition to 200 [bows]”].(Line 8-9) “The scribe ..... with (i.e., together with) W’su the judge [and]

the pure [one].”(Line 10) “Whsu, the dispenser of meritorious work, the governor the pure [one] [and] (settler of guilt and punishment?).”

5. **Kandhar Aramaic Inscription:** This inscription is engraved on a block of limestone procured from the bazar of Kandhar. Historians speculated that this inscription is the abridged version of Aśokan Pillar Edict VII.

*English translation by Meena Talim*

1. This is admonishing of Dhamma and way to follow Dhamma.
2. The one who has accomplished (followed) compassion, charity, truth, purity and gentleness will grow in this world
3. Thus said King Piyadassi, the beloved of God.
4. To those whom I have made my followers (my disciples) they have been following right way, there by Dhamma will grow and will be grown.
5. Tender service to mother and father, service to teacher (Guru), reverence to elderly ones and proper behavior (courtesy) to Brahmanas, monks, poor, servants and those take meals in this world.

*English translation by B N Mukherjee*

“(Practice) [of Dhamma] – (so) it is said – to (?)....and (or and which is) goodness [.] Whatever.....- (so) it is said – the world [has] to [follow] totally [and] the world has imitated – (so) it is said-....and (they) have been caused to increase and [will continue to] be caused to increase for [i.e., in respect of] obedience totally .....- (so) it is said – , for [i.e., in respect of] obedience to precious [i.e., venerable] persons.....by proper regard (or respectful behavior) to the aged.....to weak (persons) [and] to slaves”.

6. **Kandhar Bi-lingual (Greek & Aramaic) Inscription:** This inscription is found in Kandhar.

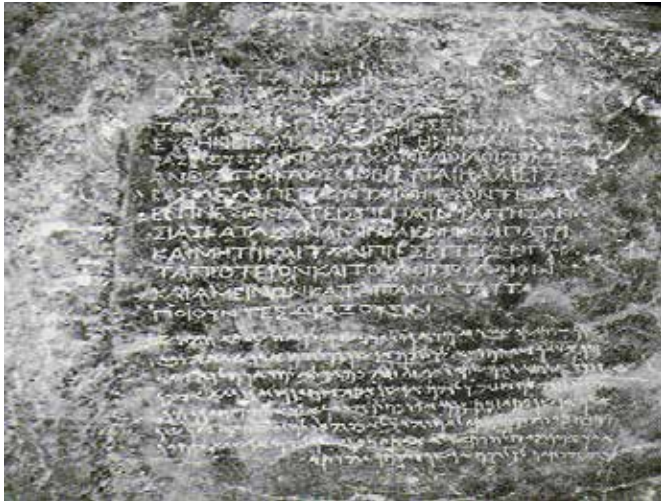
***Two Greek Inscriptions:***

1. **Kandhar Bilingual (Greek & Aramaic) Inscription:** This bilingual (Greek-Aramaic) inscription is found in Kandhar

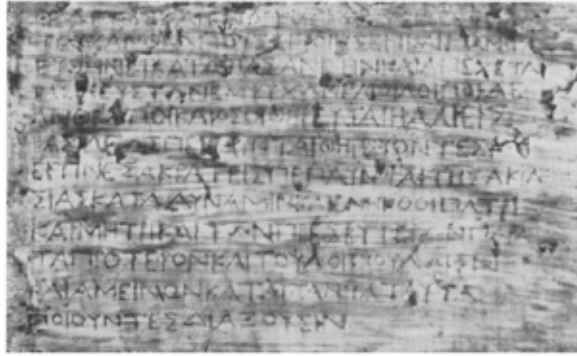
(Shar-i-kuna). Historians speculated it to be the abridged version of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka.

***English (translation)***

1. Ten years (of reign) having been completed, King
2. Piodasses (Aśoka) made known (the doctrine of)
3. Piety (*εὐσέβεια*, *Eusebeia*) to men; and from this moment he has made men more pious, and everything thrives throughout the whole world. And the king abstains from (killing) living beings, and other men and those who (are) huntsmen and fishermen of the king have desisted from hunting. And if some (were) intemperate, they have ceased from their intemperance as was in their power; and obedient to their father and mother and to the elders, in opposition to the past also in the future, by so acting on every occasion, they will live better and more happily.”



2. **Kandhar Greek Inscription:** It is a stone inscription written in Greek language and Greek script. Historians have speculated that it contains the abridged portions of Rock Edict XII and Rock Edict XIII.



### A Critical Study of the Greek and Aramaic Inscriptions of Priyadarśana

Interestingly, historians present these Greek and Aramaic inscriptions as irrefutable evidence to prove that “Sandrokottus” can only be identified with King Chandragupta Maurya. But in reality, these inscriptions belonged to a King named Priyadarśana of the time of Indo-Greeks. Let us ponder over the following points.

1. It is well known that the inscriptions of Aśoka found in the eastern part of India were written in Māgadhī Prakrit and Brāhmi script and the inscriptions found in the western part of India were written in Sanskritised Prakrit and Kharoshthī script (Shahbazgadhī and Manshera Major Rock Edicts and Ranighat Pillar Edict). All inscriptions found in the eastern and western parts of India refer to the king as “*Devānāmpīya Piyadassi*”. In my opinion, the reference of “*Devānāmpīya*” or “*Devānāmpriya*” is the essential feature of the Aśokan inscriptions, which is evidently missing from the above mentioned inscriptions written in the Greek and Aramaic languages and scripts.
2. Out of six Aramaic inscriptions, four inscriptions have been found in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Out of two Kandhar Aramaic inscriptions, one has been procured from the bazaar of Kandhar and nobody has any information about the original location of the inscription. One Bilingual inscription and another Greek inscription have been found in Kandhar. It clearly indicates that Aramaic language and Aramaic script was in vogue in

the regions of Takśaśilā, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Bactria and Kandhar during the time of these inscriptions. Most probably, Kandhar had few colonies of Greek inhabitants.

3. Aśokāvadāna mentions that Aśoka was appointed as the governor of Takśaśilā by his father Bindusāra. According to Kalhaṇa, Aśoka reigned over Kashmir and established Buddhism as the religion of state. The Major Edicts found at Manshera and Shahbazgadhi and a Pillar Edict found at Ranighat were written in Kharoshthi script and Prakrit language. These edicts refer to Aśoka as “*Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi*” and the text is absolutely in line with the text of the edicts found all over India.
4. Evidently, North and North-western Pakistan used the Kharoshthi script during the time of King Aśoka. Kharoshthi was also in vogue in Gāndhāra (Kandhar and Gazhani) and Kabul regions. Since King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE) has been erroneously dated around 268-232 BCE, modern linguists believe that the Kharoshthi script born in 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE and possibly derived from the Aramaic script. It is totally absurd to imagine that a phonetic Kharoshthi script of more than 37 symbols can be derived from a non-phonetic Aramaic script of 22 symbols. It is nothing but a chronological anomaly that leads to such impossible imagination.
5. Now the question arises that if Kharoshthi and Aramaic scripts were concurrently in vogue from the time of King Aśoka, why none out of 1009 Kushana inscriptions found so far was written in Aramaic? Even, the so-called Indo-Greeks also used Kharoshthi in their coins and not Aramaic. Aramaic script was introduced only during the period of Indo-Parthians. It is evident that Kharoshthi was more ancient script than the Aramaic. In fact, the Aramaic script did not even exist in Bactria and Gāndhāra during the time of Aśoka. Therefore, these Aramaic inscriptions do not belong to the time of King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE).



6. Most probably, a Yavana King (Indo-Greek) named Priyadarśana or Priyadarśi reigned in Takśaśilā around 910-890 BCE and he was the contemporary of early Parthian kings of Parthia. He was the real author of these Aramaic and Greek inscriptions and not king Aśoka.
7. The name of the Yavana king was probably Priyadarśana. Sh. Kiran Kumar Thapaliyal mentions that two Aramaic inscriptions found at Laghman mention the name as “Priyadarśana”.<sup>17</sup> The Takśaśilā Aramaic inscription has only “Priyadar...”. It can also be Priyadarśana. The Lampaka Aramaic inscription simply mentions “nprys ‘bhysyts”. It is extremely difficult to conclude anything based on the Lampaka inscription. I could not get the original transcript of the Kandhar Aramaic inscription. Two Greek inscriptions mention the name of king as “Piodasses”.
8. Moreover, some of the Aramaic inscriptions used a corrupted Prakrit language having old-Persian or Old-Iranian words. Such corruption in Prakrit language is not visible in the Kharoshthi inscriptions of Aśoka. The Aśokan Kharoshthi inscriptions used only pure Prakrit language.
9. Historians have speculated that these Aramaic and Greek inscriptions are abridged versions of the Aśokan edicts as given below.

### **Inscriptions**

### **Baseless speculations by Historians**

#### **I. Aramaic Inscriptions**

##### **1. Takśaśilā Inscription**

J H Marshall believes that the column was erected in honour of a high official, called Romedote, when Aśoka, the heir-apparent of Bindusāra, was ruling as Viceroy of Takśaśilā. H Humbach, on the other hand, believes that this inscription is a translation of a section of the Shahbazgarhi version of Rock Edict IV.

- |       |                               |  |
|-------|-------------------------------|--|
| 2.    | Kandhar Inscription           | Some historians speculated that the text is borrowed from Pillar Edict II and Minor Rock Edict I but BN Mukherjee believes that it is an abridged version of Pillar Edict VII. |
| 3.&4. | Two Laghman Inscriptions      | Somehow linked it to Rock Edict IX.  |
| 5.    | Lampaka Inscription           | Historians have no clue to explain the contents of this inscription with reference to Aśokan Edicts.   |
| 6.    | Kandhar Bilingual Inscription | Abridged version of Minor Edict I.   |

## II. *Greek Inscriptions*

- |    |                               |  |
|----|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. | Kandhar Bilingual Inscription | Abridged version of Minor Edict I.             |
| 2. | Kandhar Inscription           | It contains portions of Rock Edict XII & XIII. |
10. Actually, the content of these Aramaic and Greek inscriptions indicate a rough resemblance with the policies of Buddhism. In all probability, Yavana King Priyadarśana was also a Buddhist king and adopted similar policies. The basic question is why Aśoka had to issue the abridged versions of his edicts in Aramaic and Greek whereas he did not do so in the Kharoshthi inscriptions issued in the same region? Evidently, these claims of the historians are just concoctions and not based on facts.
11. Historians can argue that such variations are also existing in the texts of Dhauli, Jaugada, Sannati and Yerragudi edicts. But these edicts show only some regional minor dialectic variations of Prakrit language and not the so-called abridged versions. Most importantly, these edicts refer to Aśoka as “*Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi*” whereas Aramaic and Greek inscriptions mention only “Priyadarśana” or “Piyodasses”.

12. Two Laghman Aramaic inscriptions used a unit of measurement of distance as Qst or Qasta but Aśokan Edicts used only Yojana and Kośa.
13. Therefore, the Aramaic and Greek inscriptions found in Takśaśilā, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Kandhar were not written during the time of King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE). Most probably, the King Priyadarśana or Piodasses (910-890 BCE) mentioned in the inscriptions was a later Indianised Indo-Greek (Yavana) king of Takśaśilā and Kandhar who was probably the contemporary of early Parthian kings of Parthia.

### **The Chronology of Kharoshthi, Brāhmi and Aramaic Scripts**

It is pertinent to understand here that the Kharoshthi script was as old as the Brāhmi script. Kharoshthi was popular in Northern Pakistan and Afghanistan (Kabul, Ghazni and Kandhar) whereas Brāhmi was in vogue in entire India before from the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Therefore, the Kharoshthi script was in vogue in Gāndhāra and Bactria much before the 19<sup>th</sup> century BCE whereas the Aramaic script was introduced in Gāndhāra and Bactria only in the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

The Kharoshthi was a phonetic script but it was written from right to left whereas Brāhmi was written from left to right. Interestingly, a few lines of the Yerragudi Brāhmi inscription of Aśoka were written from right to left. Most probably, Brāhmi was a bi-directional script in ancient times. Gradually, the rule of writing from left to right became more popular before the time of King Aśoka. The scribe of the Yerragudi inscription having the habit of writing from right to left might have committed this mistake. The Kharoshthi continued to be popular from the period of King Aśoka (1765 BCE) to the period of Yavanas, Kushanas, later Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) and Indo-Parthians. In fact, Sanskrit, Pāli, Prakrit were written in the Kharoshthi script whereas the local Aramaic language was written in the Aramaic script. Since Aramaic came into use only during the reign of Achaemenids and the early Parthians (1198-900 BCE), it is totally absurd to imagine the evolution of Kharoshthi from the Aramaic. In my opinion, neither Kharoshthi derived from Aramaic nor Aramaic derived from Kharoshthi. Both are quite different. Kharoshthi

is a phonetic script of more than 37 letters whereas old Aramaic is a non-phonetic script of 22 letters.

It is generally believed that Kharoshthi had no descendants but most probably, Kharoshthi influenced the evolution of Avestan script because Avestan script is based on phonetics. It is wrongly believed that Avestan script derived from old Pahlavi alphabets. Pahlavi script is a non-phonetic and evidently derived from Aramaic. During the reign of Parthians, it appears that Zoroastrians started using Pahlavi script. Later, Avestan script was revived during the reign of Sasanians. Georgian scripts might have also derived from the Kharoshthi script.

### **King Sphujidhvaja (9<sup>th</sup> century BCE)**

It is well-known that an Indianized Indo-Greek King Sphujidhvaja wrote a treatise of the Yavana School of astronomy titled “*Yavanajātaka*” in 78 chapters containing around 4000 verses. An unnamed Yavana scholar added the 79<sup>th</sup> chapter after Śaka 56 (527 BCE) and stated that Yavana King Sphujidhvaja wrote *Yavanajātaka* in the past. Bhaṭṭotpala also mentions that Yavana King Sphujidhvaja wrote *Yavanajātaka* before the era of the Śakas (*Yavaneśvareṇa Sphujidhvajenānyat Śāstram kṛtam Śakakālasya prāk jnāyate...*). Evidently, Indo-Greek King Sphujidhvaja cannot be dated later than the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Most probably, King Sphujidhvaja flourished in Gāndhāra in the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE before the reign of King Priyadarśana.

### **Buddhist Yavana Scholars, Monks and Businessmen**

Epigraphic evidence suggests that Indianized Yavana scholars, monks and businessmen not only travelled to various Buddhist holy places in India but also some of them settled there. Recently found two inscriptions at Mathurā refer to the epoch of Yavandarājya (Era of Alexandria). Evidently, the authors of these inscription were Yavanas. An inscription at Nasik (Cave no. 17) mentions a Yavana named Indrāgnidatta, the son of Dharmadeva. It also records that Indrāgnidatta and his son Dharmarakṣita excavated the cave and built a Chaityagr̥ha for Buddhist monks. An inscription on the top of the third pillar at Karla cave, Lonavala, Mumbai mentions that this pillar is a gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhenukaṭaka. Seemingly,

Buddhist Yavana scholars, monks and businessmen travelled to Mathurā, Nasik, Karla, Kanheri etc., and constructed Buddhist Chaityas and caves in the Śātavāhana period.

### **Indo-Scythian Empire**

The invasion of Alexander (984 BCE), the reign of Seleucus Nikator in Syria, Persia and Parthia and some parts of Gāndhāra and Bactria (972-940 BCE) and the rise of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty (907 BCE) had undoubtedly weakened the political power of Gāndhāra and Bactria. In fact, the trusted and loyal Indo-Scythians or Śaka kśatras were militarily supporting Kushanas in Bactria and north Pakistan. In a changed political scenario after the decline of Kushana Empire, Indo-Scythians aspired to establish their own kingdom. Thus, the Great Indo-Scythian warrior Azes established a powerful empire not only in Gāndhāra and Bactria but also extended his kingdom in north-western India. Indo-Scythian King Azes also founded an epoch known as the Azes era in 844 BCE.

### **The Epoch of the Azes Era (844 BCE)**

Numerous inscriptions found from Gāndhāra, Bactria to Mathurā refer to two distinct epochs, namely, the Yavana era (972 BCE) and the Azes era (844 BCE). We have already discussed that the Yavana era and the era of Alexandria were identical. Thus, the epoch of Yavana era commenced in 972 BCE. Two inscriptions found in Maghera, Mathurā are dated in the year 116 (856 BCE) and the year 160 (812 BCE) of the Yavana-rājya. The famous Bajaur reliquary is dated in the year 201 (771 BCE) of the Yavana era. Two inscriptions of a later Kushana King Vima Takshoma found in Afghanistan are dated in the year 279 (693 BCE) and 299 (673 BCE) of Yavana era.

The recently discovered Bajaur reliquary Kharoshthi inscription clearly records the date in the year 201 of the Yavana era and the year 73 of the Azes era. Evidently, there was a difference of 128 years between the Yavana era and the Azes era. Therefore, we can conclusively establish that the Azes era commenced in 844 BCE 128 years after the epoch of the Yavana era (972 BCE).

### **Ancient Indo-Greek Calendar and the Epoch of the Azes Era**

The Trasaka reliquary inscription refers to an intercalary month “Gorpiaios embolimos” in the year 73 of the Azes era. Western historians speculated that Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Pathians and Kushanas used the Arsacid Macedonian calendar that exactly aligned with the Babylonian calendar. Therefore, the intercalary month “Gorpiaios embolimos” occurs only once in every 19-year cycle. Harry Falk and Chris Bennett have attempted to explain this intercalary month considering the epoch of Azes era in 48/47 BCE instead of 58/57 BCE.

First of all, historians have wrongly read the two dates recorded in the Trasaka reliquary as the year 156 and the year 172. In fact, this inscription refers to the years 56 and 73 in the epoch of the Azes era. Interestingly, it mentions Macedonian month “Ira” as the tenth and the month “Gorpiaios” as the sixth. Evidently, Indo-Greek calendar began in the spring and the month “Xandikos” (Chaitra) was the first month. Undoubtedly, Indo-Greek calendar of Gāndhāra and Bactria followed the Indian cycle of 19 years and adopted intercalation in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> year of the cycle. Considering the epoch of Azes era in 844 BCE, the 73<sup>rd</sup> year elapsed was 771-770 BCE. The 19-year cycle started in 781 BCE and the year 771-770 BCE was the 11<sup>th</sup> year which had an intercalary month. The month “Gorpiaios embolimos” clearly indicates the Indian month “*Dvitiya Śravaṇa*”. Thus, the date of Trasaka Reliquary was 15<sup>th</sup> Aug 771 BCE (the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the 6<sup>th</sup> month [an intercalary], i.e., Gorpiaios embolimos).

### **The Myth of the Maues Era and the Gondophares Era**

Some historians have speculated based on the Takśāsilā copper scroll inscription that Indo-Scythian King Maues also started an era. In fact, the inscription refers to the year 78 of the Azes era and the reigning King Moga. Historians have wrongly identified Moga with Maues. In fact, Maues and Moga were two different kings. King Maues lived before King Azes whereas King Moga lived in the 78<sup>th</sup> year of Azes era. Moreover, King Maues was the brother of Arta, the father of Kharahostes.

Similarly, it is also speculated that Sodasa counted the years starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> regnal year of Gondophares and recorded the year 72 in his

inscription. There is not an iota of evidence to prove the existence of the epochs of the Maues era and the Gondophares era. In fact, there were only two epochs, i.e., the Yavana era (972 BCE) and the Azes era (844 BCE) existed in Gāndhāra and Bactria in the post-Kushana period.

### **Early Indo-Scythian Kings (900-844 BCE)**

Most probably, King Vonones founded the Indo-Scythian or Śaka kingdom in Bactria around 900-865 BCE. He was supported by his brothers, Spalahores and Spalagadames. Thereafter, Maues became the King of Indo-Scythians and his capital was Sirkap. Kharoshthi legends on the coins of Maues clearly record the name of the king as “Moa” (Moasa). Therefore, King Maues cannot be identified with the King Moga of the Takśaśilā Patika copper plate inscription.

Historians wrongly concluded that Maues was the earliest Indo-Scythian King. Numismatic evidence reveals that Arta, the father of Kharahostes, was the brother of King Maues. Kharahostes was the contemporary of King Azes. Therefore, King Maues must be the immediate predecessor of King Azes.

The Chronology of early Indo-Scythian kings:

1. Vonones, with his brothers Spalahores and Spalirises. Also, Spalagadames, the son of Spalirises. 900-865 BCE
2. King Maues 865-844 BCE

### **Azes, the Great Indo-Scythian King (844-790 BCE)**

King Azes was the real founder of the Indo Scythian Empire from Gāndhāra, Bactria to Punjab and Mathurā. Many historians have proposed that there were two kings named as Azes (Azes I and Azes II) but RC Senior has now conclusively proved based on the numismatic evidence that there was only one king named as Azes. He founded an era that commenced from 844 BCE 128 years after the epoch of Yavana era (972 BCE). King Azes had reigned over a vast kingdom. Most probably, he appointed his satraps in three main regions, Chuksa (Modern Chach), Apracas and Mathurā.

**Azilises (800-775 BCE)**

Most probably, Azilises succeeded King Azes in Gāndhāra. He started his reign as the satrap of King Azes but later he became independent. This is evident from the evidence of coins. Initially, he issued the coins having the name of Azes “BASILEOS BASILEON MEGALOI AZOY” on the obverse but later he issued his own coins.



BASILEWS BASILEWN MEGALOU AZILISOU,  
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa

**Moga (775-766 BCE)**

The Takśāśilā copper plate or Moga inscription informs us that Mahārāja Mahata Moga was ruling in Gāndhāra and Takśāśilā in the year 78 of the Azes era (766 BCE).

**The Satraps of Chuksa (Abhisāra, Northern Pakistan and Punjab)**

Most probably, King Maues was the first ruler of this region. He had two brothers named Manigula and Arta. Zeionises was the son of Manigula and Kharahostes was the son of Arta.

**Zeionises (840-830 BCE)**

Zeionises reigned as the satrap of King Azes in Chuksa around 840-830 BCE.



MANNOLOU UIOU SATRAPY ZEIONISOU, MANIGULASA  
CHATRAPASA PUTRASA CHATRAPASA JIHUNIASA



### Kharahostes (830-800 BCE)

Kharahostes probably succeeded Zeionises in Chuksa and Abhisāra. A seal inscription of Śivasena indicates that Kharahostes was the satrap of Abhisāra. He was also a satrap of King Azes. He was the son of Arta, the brother of Maues. His daughter Ayasia Kamna married Mathura satrap Rajuvula.

Apracha King Indravarmān's silver reliquary inscription informs us that Kharahostes was the one of the owners of the reliquary.



WEIΛON WEOΛΛWN IOCAAC)  
for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΖΟΥ,  
Maharajasa mahatasa Dhramakisa  
Rajatirajasa Ayasa

ΧΑΡΑΗΩΤΕΙ ΚΑΤΡΑΠΕΙ ΑΡΤΑΥΟΥ,  
Chatrapasa pra Kharaustasa Artasa  
putrasa

### Mujatria (800-790 BCE)

Mujatria was the son of Kharahostes. Probably, his area was limited to Abhisāra only.



ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΣ ΑΖΟΥ, Kṣatrapasa Kharaosta putrasa  
Kṣatrapasa Kharaosta putrasa Mujatriasa  
Mujatriasa,

### Liaka Kusulaka (795-780 BCE)

Liaka Kusulaka was the earliest known satrap of Kśaharāta Scythians. He became the satrap of Chuksa after Kharahostes. Liaka Kusulaka was the

father of Patika Kusulaka as stated in the Takśaśilā copper plate inscription dated in the year 78 of Azes era (766 BCE).



ΛΙΑΚΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ = Liaka Kusuluka

### Patika Kusulaka (780-765 BCE)

Patika Kusulaka was the son of Liaka Kusulaka as mentioned in the Takśaśilā copper plate inscription dated in the year 78 of Azes era (766 BCE). He was a Kśaharāta Kśatrap in Takśaśilā under the Gāndhāra King Moga. The Mathurā Lion Capital inscription records that Mathurā Kśatrap Sodasa presented a religious gift in honour of Mahākśatrapa Patika Kusuluka and Mevaki Miyika.

### The Satraps of Mathurā

Hagamasha and Hagāna were the earliest satraps of Mathurā who lived before Rajuvula. Seemingly, they were the satraps of Kushanas or the Śaka Kushana kings of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE.



Khatapasa Hagāmashasa

Khatapāna Hagānasa Hagāmashasa

### Rajuvula (800-775 BCE)

Rajuvula was the son-in-law of Kharahostes and the father of Sodasa. He was a satrap of the Indo-Scythian Empire.



chatrapasa apratihatachakrasa rajuvulasa

### **Sodasa (775-765 BCE)**

Sodasa succeeded his father Rajuvula in Mathurā. One inscription of Mahākśatrapa Sodasa is dated in the year 72 of Azes era (772 BCE). He was the contemporary of Chuksa Mahākśatrapa Kśaharāta Patika Kusuluka. The Mathurā Lion Capital inscription records that Sodasa presented a religious gift in honour of Mahākśatrapa Patika Kusuluka and Mevaki Miyika.



Mahakhatapasa putasa Khatapasa Sodasasa

### **The Kings of Apracha and Avacha Kingdoms (Bajaur, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa)**

The Kings of Apracha and Avacha kingdoms were the satraps of King Azes in Bajaur. Historians have wrongly concluded that they were the Indo-Scythians. Most probably, they may belong to a different tribe of Western Yaudheyas. Moreover, they had a title of “Rājā” and not “Kśatrapa”. Mahābhārata refers to Parāchya or Aparāchya kingdoms. Sanskrit word Parāchya or Aparāchya has been evolved into Aprācha in Prakrit. Historians speculated Apracas to be Aśvakas but Aśvaka can be Assaka not Aprācha in Prakrit.

**Vispavarman and Indravarman or Indravarmā I (830-810 BCE)**

Indravarman's silver reliquary inscription informs us that he was the king of Apracha and the son of Vispavarman. It also informs us that Kharahostes and Indravarman both were Yuvarajas and the contemporaries. There is also the reference of two other royal persons, Apracharaja Indravasu and Avacharaya Viyemitra in this inscription. Most probably, they were supporting Indravarman because the inscription mentions the name of Indravarman before Indravasu and Viyemitra.

**Aspavarmā (810-800 BCE)[King of Apracha]**

Aspavarmā was the son of Indravarman. He calls himself as the King of Apracha. Thus, he succeeded Indravasu in Apracha kingdom. He issued coins in the name of Azes. Evidently, Aspavarmā was the satrap of King Azes and flourished during the reign of him.



ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ / ΑΖΟΥ, *Imtravarma putrasa*  
*Aspavarmasa strategasa jayatasa*

**Viyemitra (830-798 BCE) and Vijayamitra (798-770 BCE) [Kings of Avacha not Apracha]**

King Vijayamitra succeeded Viyemitra in Avacha kingdom. Seemingly, Vijayamitra was the son of Avacharaya Viyemitra who is mentioned in the Indravarman's silver reliquary inscription. Recently found Bajaur reliquary inscription indicates that King Vijayamitra ascended the throne in 798 BCE. This inscription refers to 27<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Vijayamitra, which is equal to the 73<sup>rd</sup> year of Azes era (844 BCE) and the 201<sup>st</sup> year of Yavana era (972 BCE). Therefore, the 27<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Vijayamitra was 771-770 BCE and his 1<sup>st</sup> regnal year was 798 BCE. Vijayamitra issued silver coins in the name of Azes. Evidently, King Azes was still reigning in 798 BCE.

Historians have wrongly concluded that Rukana was the chief queen of Vijayamitra, who established a Buddhist Stupa and installed the reliquary in the stupa. Actually, it is extremely important to study both the inscriptions (the Bajaur casket inscription and the Bajaur reliquary inscription) together. The Bajaur casket inscription is dated in the year 63 of Azes era (781 BCE) whereas the Bajaur reliquary inscription is dated in the year 73 of Azes era (771 BCE). The Bajaur casket inscription clearly informs us that Prince Indravarmā II was the son of Vishnuvarmā, the king of Apracha. Rukhuna or Rukhunaka was the mother of Indravarmā II. Evidently, Vishnuvarmā succeeded Aspavarmā in Apracha kingdom whereas Vijayamitra succeeded Viyemitra in Avacha kingdom. Historians have committed a blunder in considering Apracha and Avacha as the same kingdom. It may be noted that the Bajaur reliquary inscription simply mentions Rukhuna as the wife of the king of Apracha. Therefore, Rukhuna or Rukhunaka was the wife of Vishnuvarmā and not Vijayamitra.

### **Vishnuvarmā (800-770 BCE) and Indravarmā II (770-766 BCE?)**

#### **[Kings of Apracha]**

Most probably, Vishnuvarmā was the brother of Aspavarmā and the son of Indravarmā I. Indravarmā II was the son of Vishnuvarmā, the king of Apracha kingdom.

### **The Pahlava Kings (the Indo-Parthians) [766-550 BCE]**

Western historians have referred to the Pahlavas of Gāndhāra and Bactria as “Indo-Parthians”. In my opinion, Pahlavas and Parthians were two different tribes. Mahābhārata also refers to two different tribes named Pārada and Pahlava. Pāradas were the Parthians of Northern Iran and Southern Turkmenistan whereas Pahlavas were the natives of Gāndhāra and Bactria. Pahlavas shared Zoroastrian heritage with Parthians since the Achaemenid era. But Pahlavas, Śakas, Yavanas and Kāmbojas shared a common heritage since pre-Rāmāyaṇa era to the arrival of Indo-Greeks in Gāndhāra and Bactria around 1890 BCE. Therefore, I would prefer to name Indo-Parthians as Pahlavas.

Undoubtedly, the Pahlavas of Gāndhāra and Bactria were the first who followed Zoroastrianism since the time of Zoroaster. Most probably, Maga country (western Bactria, Eastern Turkmenistan,

Uzbekistan and western Tajikistan) was the origin of Zoroastrianism and Zoroaster was born in eastern Turkmenistan close to Bactria. Evidently, old-Avestan language and script had the Bactrian roots. Though the evidence of the revived Avestan script is available from the early Sasanian era, most probably old Avestan script must be as old as the Kharoshthi script and it was used only to write sacred Avestan language. The Avestan script perfectly follows Indian phonology and it has 53 distinct characters. In all probability, Pahlavas and Parthians used old Avestan script of 53 characters before the arrival of Indo-Greeks around 1900 BCE. Thereafter, the Pahlavi script of 22 letters had evolved from old-Avestan script under the influence of archaic Ionian script. Early Parthian kings (Tirdad dynasty) used Pahlavi script. In fact, early Parthian kings were ruling in the west and east of Caspian Sea. Aramaic script was popular in the west whereas Pahlavi script was popular in the east. They also used archaic Ionian script under the influence of Indo-Greeks. Thus, the early Parthian kings used Pahlavi, Aramaic and Ionian scripts but the later Parthian kings used only Greek and Aramaic scripts. The Pahlava kings of India used Bactrian and Kharoshthi scripts on their coins.

### **King Gondophares I (766-730 BCE)**

King Gondophares I was the founder of the Pahlava Empire in India and his capital was Takśāśilā. Most probably, he conquered Takśāśilā in 766 BCE and made it as his capital. Evidently, he succeeded Apracha and Avacha satraps of Indo Scythians in Takśāśilā. The rise of Gondophares ended the power of Indo-Scythians around 766 BCE.

The Takht-i-Bahi inscription is dated in the 26<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Guduphara and in the year 103 of the unnamed era. Undoubtedly, King Guduphara was Gondophares and the year 103 was recorded in the epoch of Azes era (844 BCE). Thus, the 103<sup>rd</sup> elapsed year of the Azes era (741-740 BCE) was the 26<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Gondophares and he ascended the throne in 766 BCE.

## The Chronology of Gondopharid dynasty

	In CE
1. Gondophares I	766-730 BCE
2. Gondophares II Sarpedones	730-720 BCE
3. Abdagases, the son of the brother of Gondophares I Abdagases II?	720-690 BCE
4. Gondophares III Gadana or Orthagnes	690-670 BCE
5. Ubouzanes, the son of Orthagnes	670-650 BCE
6. Gondophares IV Sases	650-620 BCE
7. Pakores or Phraotes	620-600 BCE
8. Sanabares I	600-570 BCE
9. Sanabares II	570-530 BCE

### Thomas the Apostle's Visit to the Court of King Gondophares IV Sases

Thomas the Apostle or St. Thomas is well known as Doubting Thomas because he doubted the resurrection of Jesus after death. According to the ancient Roman text "The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas" also known as "The Acts of Judas Thomas", Habban took Thomas to King Gondophares (most probably, King Gondophares IV Sases), the ruler of Taxila, as a carpenter. After a long residence in the court at Taxila, Thomas left in a chariot for the kingdom of Mazdei, located in the southern India. King Misdeus was the ruler Mazdei kingdom. When Thomas converted the Queen Tetia, son Juzanes etc., the King Misdeus ordered four soldiers to take Thomas to the nearby hill where the soldiers killed him.

The Christian missionaries in India have fraudulently concocted that St. Thomas visited Malabar, Kerala and died at Chennai based on the reference of the kingdom Mazdei of Southern India. In fact, Thomas travelled from Taxila (Northern India) to Gāndhāra close to Khurasan region (Southern part of North-western India) in a chariot. The names of King Misdeus, Queen Tertia, son Juzanes, etc., clearly suggest the Indo-Greek or Hellenized Persian descent. Evidently, Thomas went to Gāndhāra-Khurasan region located in the south of Takśāśilā and

not Kerala. Moreover, the name of kingdom “Mazdei” unambiguously suggests the kingdom of Ahur Mazda or Zoroastrian kingdom. Thus, Thomas died in Gāndhāra-Khurasan region and not in Chennai.

In all probability, the disciples of Thomas settled in Syria or Northern Iraq after the death of Thomas. The merchants of Syria and Iraq used to visit Kerala for trade. Seemingly, some Syrian Christians along with Syrian merchants travelled to Kerala (from Persian Gulf to Malabar Coast) and settled there. These Syrian Christians might have built some churches and relics named after St. Thomas. Thus, St. Thomas churches and relics existed in Kerala before Marco Polo sojourned in India around 1292 CE.

Chronologically, Thomas the Apostle appears to be the contemporary of King Gondophares IV Sases (650-620 BCE). I have already established in my book titled *“The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction”*, the third volume of this book that Jesus lived around 660-629 BCE. Most Probably, Thomas visited Taxila around 625 BCE and left to the kingdom of Mazdei around 620 BCE.

(“Travels of Sir John Mandeville” states that Thomas’ body was taken to Edessa (Syria, now Turkey) from India after his death. According to the acts of Thomas, the body of St. Thomas was taken to the west after his death. Ephraim the Syrian mentioned that the body of Thomas was venerated in Edessa.)

### **Apollonius of Tyana and King Phraotes**

Philostratus wrote the biography of Apollonius titled “The Life of Apollonius of Tyana”. He clearly records that Apollonius of Tyana visited Taxila during the reign of King Phraotes around 618-617 BCE. Most probably, King Pakores was referred to as Phraotes. King Pakores succeeded Gondophares IV Sases and reigned around 620-600 BCE. Historians have wrongly identified Gondophares IV as Phraotes. If this identification is correct, then Gondophares IV Sases might have reigned around 650-620 BCE.

Interestingly, Professor TMP Mahadevan states in his book ‘Gauḍapāda’, “Gauḍapāda effectively countered the erroneous views of Bauddhas headed by Ayārcya who was being attended by such Yogins



of the western border of India as Apalūnya and Damisa as well as by Pravrti, the Śaka chief of Takśaśilā.” Mahadevan has paraphrased this information based on the *Gururājaratnamālikā* (अभियुञ्जदयार्च्यपूज्यपदान् अपलून्यादिनिषाकसिद्धनेतृन्)<sup>18</sup> and its commentary named “*Suṣamā*”. Evidently, *Gururājaratnamālikā* claims that Gauḍapāda was the contemporary of Apalūnya and Damisa who were none other than Apollonius of Tyana and his disciple Damis. Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya lived around 568-536 BCE and his parama Guru Gauḍapāda lived around 650-550 BCE. Apollonius of Tyana was born around 646 BCE. Thus, Gauḍapāda and Apollonius of Tyana were contemporaries. Most probably, Gauḍapāda visited Taxila when Apollonius of Tyana was in the court of King Phraotes around 618-617 BCE. We will discuss the date of Ādi Śaṅkara and Gauḍapāda in detail in Chapter 14.

### **Some Inscriptions Dated in the Azes Era**

A pedestal inscription of King Yasaga with the title “rejhano” is dated in the year 36. VS Agrawala has identified Yasaga as the Indo-Scythian having the title of Erjhuna which occurs in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription dated in the 26<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Gondophares I and the year 103 of the Azes era. Most probably, Yasaga was either a satrap of King Azes lived around the year 36 of the Azes era (808 BCE) or an Indo-Scythian satrap of Indo-Pahlavas lived around the 36<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Gondophares I (721 BCE).

An inscription found in Salimpur near Panjtar is dated in the year 122 of the Azes era (722 BCE) and refers to Mahārāja Gushana. Takśaśilā Silver Scroll inscription is dated in the year 136 of the Azes era (708 BCE) and refers to Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Devaputra Gushana. Evidently, a later Kushana king was ruling around 722-708 BCE in the west of Peshawar. Two inscriptions of a later Kushana King Shah Vima Takshoma are dated in the year 279 and 299 of the Yavana era (693-673 BCE). Seemingly, later Kushanas established a small kingdom between Kabul and Peshawar after the reign of King Gondophares I. Most probably, later Kushanas became the allies of the Gondopharid kings.

### **A Copper Plate Inscription of the Later Indo-Greek King Helaute (723-722 BCE)**

A copper plate inscription of Indo-Greek King Helaute, the son of Demetrios has been recently found (in 2002) in Peshawar, Pakistan. It consists of five copper plates and dated in the year 121 (723-722 BCE) of the Azes era (844 BCE). This plate is the hard evidence that later Indo-Greeks started reigning again in Southern Gāndhāra as vassals of King Gondophares I.

Interestingly, this inscription gives the verifiable details of the date. It reads: “*Mahārājasya Mahato Ayasya Vrittakalasya varṣe ekaviṃśatitame 121 gurpiyayasya māsasya divase tridaśame 13 Uttaraiḥ Proṣṭhapadair Nakśatre... asmin kṣaṇe helagupto demetriya-putro arivargi pratishthapayati*” [In the year 121 of the Mahārāja Azes the Great, whose time has (long ago) expired, on the thirteenth day of month Gorpiaios, when (the moon stood) in the moon-house of the Uttaraproṣṭhapadas... at this said point in time of Helagupta, son of Demetrios, the caravan guide, has founded.].<sup>19</sup>

The year 121 of Azes era elapsed was 723-722 BCE. The Macedonian month Gorpiaios is Bhādrapada month in Indian calendar. These copper plates of King Helaute or Helagupta were issued on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the bright half of the Bhādrapada month when moon was in Uttara Proṣṭhapada, i.e., Uttara Bhādrapadā Nakśatra. The date of this copper plate inscription regularly corresponds to 13<sup>th</sup> Sep 723 BCE.

This copper plate inscription clearly establishes the following facts:

- The Indo-Greeks kings again established their kingdom in Southern Gāndhāra as vassals of the Gondopharid dynasty of the Pahlavas around 750 BCE. Evidently, Indo-Greek King Misdeus was reigning in Southern Gāndhāra when Thomas the Apostle visited Gāndhāra around 620 BCE. Thus, Thomas died in Gāndhāra and not in Malabar or Chennai.
- The verifiable details of the date clearly indicate that Indo-Greeks followed the Indian calendar and intercalation method in the cycle of 19 years. They simply used Macedonian names of months instead of Indian names of months.

Most probably, the rise of Sasanians and Kushano-Sasanians ended the rule of later Indo-Greeks around 500 BCE in Southern Gāndhāra region.

### **The Origin of the Western Śaka Kśatrapas**

The Śaka Kśatrapas became the military officials of the Pahlavas (Gondopharid dynasty) after the fall of Indo-Scythian Empire around 766 BCE. Jain sources tell us that Kālakāchārya wanted to take revenge on Gardabhilla, the King of Ujjain. He crossed Indus River around 724 BCE and met many Śaka satrapas. He motivated them to get rid of their inferior status under Indo-Pahlava kings and invade on Ujjain to become independent kings. Kālakāchārya succeeded in his mission and brought 95 Śaka satrapas to Ujjain. These Śaka satrapas defeated Gardabhilla and became the kings of Ujjain in 723 BCE. They reigned for 4 years but Vikramāditya I drove them away and founded a powerful Mālava kingdom in 719 BCE. It appears that these Śaka satrapas did not go back to their native place after the defeat. One group of these satrapas (led by the forefathers of Caṣṭana) settled in the region close to Girnar, Gujarat whereas another group (led by the forefathers of Kśaharāta Bhumaka) settled in the region close to Nasik, Maharashtra.

The meteoric rise of King Śālivāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna around 650 BCE gave a political opportunity to the Kśaharāta kśatrapas of Maharashtra. They supported Śālivāhana in a war against Ujjain. King Śālivāhana defeated Vikramāditya I or his first successor and became the powerful king of Dakṣiṇāpatha. He probably founded his era in 636 BCE, 2526 years after the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era and Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). Kśaharāta Bhumaka became the satrap of North-western Maharashtra and flourished around 636-620 BCE. Nahapāna, the son of Bhumaka, reigned around 620-585 BCE. Two inscriptions of Nahapāna are probably dated in the year 41 (595 BCE) and 46 (590 BCE) of the Śālivāhana era (636 BCE). Ushavadāta or Rishabhadatta, the son of Dinika, married Dakṣamitra, the daughter of Nahapāna. Śaka Mahākśatrap Caṣṭana, a junior contemporary of Nahapāna also founded his independent kingdom in Gujarat and invaded on Ujjain and Maharashtra. Thus, Caṣṭana founded a powerful Śaka kingdom in western India and reset the epoch of the Śaka or Śālivāhana era in 583 BCE. Caṣṭana and his descendants reigned in western India for 336 years from 583 BCE to 247 BCE. The Gupta King

Chandragupta II comprehensively defeated western satraps and expanded the Gupta Empire up to Girnar, Gujarat.

**The Fall of Indo-Pahlava Empire (500 BCE)**

It appears that Indo-Pahlavas and Parthians of Iran had close political relationship and supported each other. The rise of Sasanians in Persia around 500 BCE ended the rule of Parthians in Northern Iran and also the Indo-Pahlavas in Gāndhāra and Bactria.

**The Kushano-Sasanians (500-275 BCE)**

Most probably, Kushana royal families of Bactria and Gāndhāra had marriage relations with the Khurasani Persians since 900 BCE. When the Sasanians founded their empire in Persia after 500 BCE, the later Kushanas became their natural allies in Gāndhāra and Bactria. Thus, Kushano-Sasanian kings reigned in Bactria and Gāndhāra during the period 500-275 BCE. We have only numismatic evidence of the Kushano-Sasanian kings. The coins of Kushano-Sasanian kings have the legends in Bactrian, Pahlavi and Brāhmi scripts. Most probably, Samudragupta referred to these Kushano-Sasanian kings as “Devaputra Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi” in his Prayāga Prāsasti.

<b>The Kushano-Sasanian Kings</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1. Ardashir I Kushanshah	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100%; margin-right: 5px;"></div> <div style="margin-right: 5px;">}</div> <div style="text-align: center;">500-275 BCE</div> </div>
2. Ardashir II Kushanshah	
3. Peroz I Kushanshah	
4. Hormizd I Kushanshah	
5. Hormizd II Kushanshah	
6. Peroz II Kushanshah	
7. Behram I Kushanshah	
8. Behram II Kushanshah	
9. Shahpur	

**Hūṇa Shāhi Kings (275 BCE to 340 CE)**

Seemingly, the Hūṇa Shāhi kings of Bactria were the vassals of the Kushano-Sasanian kings and had only the title of “Shāhi” (King) and not “Shāhānushāhi” (King of kings). The Hūṇas took over the kingdom of north-western India after the fall of Kushano-Sasanian Empire. They also

invaded north India for the first time during the reign of Kumāragupta (241-199 BCE). Hūṇa King Toramāṇa Shāhi reigned around 190-160 BCE and his son Mihirakula reigned around 160-130 BCE.

### The Origin of Hūṇas

Modern historians have identified the Hūṇas to be the tribe of Hephthalites and/or the tribe of Xionites of central Asia close to the western parts of China. According to them, these Hūṇas crossed Khyber Pass and entered India during the reign of Gupta dynasty. Evidently, historians have concocted that the Hūṇas belonged to a foreign tribe that invaded India during the time of Gupta dynasty. But there are numerous references of the Hūṇas in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas which unambiguously indicate the existence of Hūṇas in north-western region of India since the Mahābhārata era.

### Hūṇas and Hārahūṇas, the Indian Tribes of North-Western Region

Hūṇas are mentioned as “Mlecchās” in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Mahābhārata also refers to another tribe named “Hārahūṇa”. Sabhā Parva records that Nakula subdued Hūṇas, Hārahūṇas, Chinas, Śakas, Ramaṭhas, etc., in the west. Hūṇas and Hārahūṇas alongwith other western tribes were forced to pay tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira when he performed Rājasūya Yajña in Indraprastha.

रमठान् हारहूणांश्च प्रतीच्यांश्चैव ये नृपाः ।  
तान् सर्वान् स वशे चक्रे शासनाद् एव पाण्डवः ॥<sup>20</sup>  
चीनान् हूणान् शकान् ओडून् पर्वतान्तरवासिनः ।  
वार्षीयान् हारहूणांश्च कृष्णान् हैमवतांस्तथा ॥<sup>21</sup>  
पश्चिमानि च राज्यानि शतशः सागरान्तिकान् ।  
पह्लवान् दरदान् सर्वान् किरातान् यवनान् शकान् ॥  
हारहूणांश्च चीनांश्च तुषारान् सैन्धवांस्तथा ।  
जागुडान् रमठान् मुण्डान् स्त्रीराज्यान् अथ टङ्गणान् ॥<sup>22</sup>  
यवनाश्च सकाम्बोजा दारुणा म्लेच्छजातयः ।  
सक्षद्गुरुहः कुन्तलाश्च हूणाः पारतकैः सह ॥<sup>23</sup>

There is no reference to Hūṇas or Hārahūṇas in Rāmāyaṇa. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* mentions that King Raghu defeated Hūṇas who probably reside on the banks of Sindhu River. Historians ridiculously distorted the

meaning of “सिन्धुतीर” and concocted that Hūṇas lived in the Valley of Oxus River. Mallinatha, the commentator of *Raghuvamśa*, clearly identifies the place in the north-western Kashmir. Mahābhārata also indirectly indicates the place of the kingdom of Hūṇas to be close to Uttara Jyotiṣa.

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।  
 दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धां लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान्  
 तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।  
 कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम्  
 काम्बोजाः समरे सोढुं तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वराः ।  
 गजालानपरिक्लिष्टै रक्षोत्तैः सार्धमानताः ॥<sup>24</sup>

Hūṇas were dominating in the west during the lifetime of Kālidāsa. It is possible that Kālidāsa speculated them to be Hūṇas whom King Raghu subdued. In all probability, Hūṇas were a clan of Kāmbojas because the Hūṇa King Toramāṇa calls himself “Shāhi” in his coins. Kālidāsa also indicates Hūṇas to be a clan of Kāmbojas. Since the Rāmāyaṇa has no mention of Hūṇas or Hārahūṇas, possibly, the Hūṇa and Hārahūṇa clans of Kāmbojas came into existence in the post-Rāmāyaṇa era.

### **Hūṇa Invasion During the Reign of the Gupta Dynasty**

The Gupta dynasty reigned around 334-89 BCE. Western kśatrapas were ruling in Ujjain and Gujarat during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE) killed a Śaka kśatrapa of Ujjain to free his elder brother Rāmagupta around 279 BCE. Chandragupta II was regularly in conflict with the Śaka kśatrapas and finally drove them away from Ujjain and Gujarat around 246 BCE. The Śaka kśatrapas of Ujjain and the Hūṇas of north-western India had good political relations because both tribes originally belonged to north-western India.

In all probability, the Hūṇas invaded the Gupta kingdom for the first time during the reign of Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE) and Kumāragupta (241-199 BCE) because Samudragupta extended the Gupta Empire up to Punjab in the west. Yuvarāja Skandagupta (199-177 BCE) successfully encountered the Hūṇa invasion and forced them to retreat. The Bhitari inscription eulogizes Skandagupta and records his victory over the Hūṇas. After the reign of Skandagupta, the Hūṇas extended their kingdom up to central India.

### Hūṇa Kings Toramāṇa (190-160 BCE) and Mihirakula (160-130 BCE)

After the death of Skandagupta around 177 BCE, the Hūṇa King Toramāṇa took the advantage of the falling Gupta Empire and invaded up to central India. The Aulikara dynasty of central India became the ally of Hūṇas and uprooted the rule of Vākātakas, the allies of Guptas. The Rishthal stone inscription of Aulikara King Prakāśadharmā dated in Mālava Saṃvat 572 (147 BCE) eulogizes the Hūṇa King Toramāṇa and calls him “*Hūṇādhipa*”.

“*Ā-Toramāṇa - nrpa - mauli - ratna - jyotsnā - pratāna - sabalikṛta - pāda - pīṭham, Hūṇādhipasya bhuvi yena gataḥ pratiṣṭhām nīto yuddha vitathatarn - Adhirāja - śabdaḥ*”

The Sanjeli copper plate of Mahārāja Bhuta tells us that King Bhuta was the feudatory of Mahārājādhirāja Toramāṇa in the viṣaya of Śivabhāgapura. A coin of Hūṇa King Toramāṇa has the legends “Mahārājādhirāja” and “Shāhi”.

The Aulikara King Yaśodharmā, the son of Prakāśadharmā, mentions Hūṇa King Mihirakula in his Mandasor Pillar inscription dated in the year 589 of the Mālava Saṃvat (719 BCE), i.e., 130 BCE. There is an inscription of Mihirakula in Gwalior dated in the 15<sup>th</sup> regnal year which informs us that Mihirakula constructed a Surya temple. This inscription also refers to Hūṇa King Toramāṇa.



### Hiuen Tsang and King Mihirakula of Kashmir

Hiuen Tsang records that several centuries ago, King Mihirakula established his authority in the city of Śākala and persecuted Buddhists. He ordered the destruction of Buddhism and expulsion of monks after a royal servant was appointed as his Buddhist preceptor. He also mentions that King Bālāditya defeated Mihirakula and captured him. King Bālāditya’s mother advised his son to release Mihirakula. When Mihirakula returned to his kingdom, he found that his brother had already ascended the throne.

There is a chronological error of ~660 years in the history of China as explained in my book titled “*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*”. Accordingly, the lifetime of Hiuen Tsang must be fixed around 58 BCE - 4 CE and he sojourned in India around 30 - 15 BCE. Historians have speculated that Hiuen Tsang refers to the Hūṇa King Mihirakula. But Hiuen Tsang clearly refers to King Mihirakula who lived many centuries ago from his lifetime. The Hūṇa King Mihirakula flourished hardly 100 years before Hiuen Tsang. Evidently, Hiuen Tsang mentions Kashmir King Mihirakula and not a Hūṇa king. Moreover, Hiuen Tsang mentions that Śākala was the capital of Mihirakula. The Greek sources clearly record that Alexander destroyed the city of Śākala. Therefore, Mihirakula mentioned by Hiuen Tsang must have lived before Alexander. A passage from the works of Hiuen Tsang:

“Several centuries ago, there was a king named Mo-hi-lo Kulo (Mihirakula) who made Śākal his capital and ruled over India. He expressed his desire to learn the tenets of Fu-fa (Buddhism) and summoned a learned monk. No Buddhist monk dares to go near him. Some were self-content while others wanted to avoid the royal charity. There was an old attendant of the king who had gained merit and power of discourses. On being called, the Buddhist mission deputed him to the king. But when Mihirakula discovered this, he said, “I had respect for the religion of Fu-fa and wanted to know about the sacred principles of the Dhamma. Therefore, I invited a religious teacher, but the Sangha has deputed only an attendant for dialogue with me. I had an impression that the Buddhist monks would be men of learning, but what I am seeing, has reduced my faith in the religion professed by these monks.” He, therefore, ordered the killing of the monks in all five parts of India and no one spared from the dreaded sword of Mihirakula.<sup>25</sup>

Evidently, the Mihirakula mentioned by Hiuen Tsang was the King of Kashmir. According to Kalhaṇa, Kashmir King Mihirakula subdued many kingdoms of India including Chola, Karnata, Lāta and also Simhala. Historians have wrongly identified Kashmir King Mihirakula to be a Hūṇa King of the Gupta era. First of all, Kashmir King Mihirakula reigned around ~1320-1270 BCE and secondly, he was the son of Vasula of Gonanda III dynasty. Therefore, it is totally absurd to identify Kashmir



King Mihirakula to be a Hūṇa King. Moreover, Kalhaṇa never referred to Mihirakula as a Hūṇa King. In all probability, Kashmir King Mihirakula defeated Indo-Greek (Yavana) kings of the city of Śākala and annexed it around 1320-1270 BCE. Yavana King Minander reigned in Śākala around 1365-1340 BCE. The invasion of Mihirakula led to the decline of the Yavana kingdom of Śākala after 1320 BCE and the rise of the Kushanas after 1250 BCE.

Historians have also mistakenly identified King Bālāditya, a contemporary of King Mihirakula, with the Gupta King Narasimhagupta Bālāditya. In fact, Bālāditya was a Nāga King of 1320-1270 BCE who defeated Kashmir King Mihirakula. According to Taranatha, the Kings of Chandra dynasty (a branch of Naga dynasty) were ruling in Aparāntaka kingdom during the time of the Śuṅga dynasty. Seemingly, the Chandra kings conquered Aṅga and Magadha taking the advantage of the decline of the Kaṇva dynasty of Magadha. The Chandra kings had the royal titles ending with Āditya. King Chandragupta and his son Chandraprakāśa of the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE had titles of “Vikramāditya” and “Bālāditya” respectively. Paramartha’s “Life of Vasubandhu” tells us that Buddhist Philosopher Vasubandhu of the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE was the contemporary of Vikramāditya and Bālāditya. Therefore, it is evident that the historical account given by Hiuen Tsang belonged to Kashmir King Mihirakula and the Chandra King Bālāditya of Aṅga or Magadha.

### **White Hūṇas and Non-White Hūṇas**

Ancient western historians referred to Hūṇas and white Hūṇas. Byzantine historians called white Hūṇas as Ephthalites whereas Persian historians referred to them as Hephthalites. Chinese historians called Hūṇas as Hiung nu and white Hūṇas as “Ye-tai” or Hua. Evidently, there were two groups of Hūṇas, whites and non-whites. According to Western historical sources, a Hūṇa King Attila (non-white) invaded the Roman Empire. He crossed Danube river and invaded Balkans around 80-90 CE but he could not capture Constantinople. It appears that western historians mistakenly called Attila as non-white Hūṇa because he was not Hephthalite. Most probably, Attila belonged to a tribe of central Asia and he did not belong to Indian tribe Hūṇas.

Interestingly, there is no reference of White Hūṇas in entire Indian literature. Historians have concocted that Varāhamihira refers to White Hūṇas as “Śveta-Hūṇa” and “Sita-Hūṇa”. In fact, Varāhamihira refers to a different tribe named “Śveta or Sita” meaning whites.

उल्काभिताडितशिखः शिखी शिवः शिवतरो अभिवृष्टो यः ।  
 अशुभः स एव चोलावगाणसितहूणचीनानाम् ॥<sup>26</sup>  
 उत्तरतः कैलासो हिमवान्वसुमान्गिरिः धनुष्मांश्च ।  
 क्रौंचो मेरुः कुरवः तथोत्तराः क्षुद्रमीनाश्च ॥  
 कैकयवसातियामुनभोगप्रस्थार्जुनायनाग्नीध्राः ।  
 आदर्शान्तः द्वीपिन्निर्गततुरगआननाः श्वमुखाः ॥  
 केशधरचिपिटनासिकदासेरकवाटधानशरधानाः ।  
 तक्षशिलपुष्कलावतकैलावतकण्ठधानाश्च ॥  
 अंबरमद्रकमालवपौरवकच्छारदण्डपिगलकाः ।  
 माणहलहूणकोहलशीतकमाण्डव्यभूतपुराः ॥  
 गान्धारयशोवतिहेमतालराजन्यखचरगव्याश्च ।  
 यौधेयदासमेयाः श्यामाकाः क्षेमधूर्ताश्च ॥  
 ऐशान्यांमेरुकनष्टराज्यपशुपालकीरकाश्मीराः ।  
 अभिसारदरदतंगणकुलूतसैरिन्ध्रवनराष्ट्राः ॥<sup>27</sup>  
 गिरिदुर्गपहलवश्वेतहूणचोलावगाणमरुचीनाः ।  
 प्रत्यन्तधनिमहेच्छव्यवसायपराक्रमोपेताः ॥  
 परदारविवादरताः पररन्ध्रकुतूहलामदोत्सिक्ताः ।  
 मूर्खाधार्मिकविजिगीषवश्च केतोः समाख्याताः ॥<sup>28</sup>

Bhaṭṭotpala, a commentator of *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, unambiguously explains that Śveta and Hūṇa were two different tribes. Evidently, there was a white tribe named “Śveta” which existed in central Asia and they were not the Hūṇas. In all probability, the word “Śveta” became “Hephtha” in Persian dialect. Thus, the words “Hephthalites” or “Ephthalites” evolved from Sanskrit word “Śveta”. There is no reference to Śveta or Sita tribe in Mahābhārata. Probably, the Kalash people of Chitral area of Pakistan may belong to this ancient Śveta tribe. There is a need of further research to find out whether Śvetas were an indigenous tribe or a migrated tribe of central Asia.

As discussed above, Hūṇas were a clan of Kāmbojas like Kushanas. They also had a title of “Shāhi” like Kushanas. Therefore, Hūṇas were Indians not foreigners as speculated by historians. *Harṣacharitam* of

Bānabhaṭṭa mentions that the Hūṇas belonged to Uttarāpatha. Rājaśekhara of Kavyamīmāṃsā mentions Hūṇas alongwith Śakas, Kekayas, Vokkāṇa and Kāmbojas etc., (यत्र शककेकयवोक्काणहूणाः).<sup>29</sup>

According to the Kalachuri inscriptions, King Karṇa (389-419 CE) married a Hūṇa princess named Avalla Devi. Evidently, Hūṇas were part of Indian society since post-Rāmāyaṇa era. They had only Sanskrit names like Mahārājādhirāja Toramāṇa, Mihirakula, Rājā Lakhana, Avalla Devi, etc. After the fall of Kushano-Sasanian Kings, Hūṇas became the rulers of north-western India and they were the contemporaries of the Sasanians of Persia.

#### **The Later Śaka Kings or the Kidarite Kings (350 BCE – 57 BCE)**

Most probably, the Kidaraites were the later Śaka kings. They were the contemporaries of Kushano-Sasanians and Hūṇa kings. Only numismatic evidence of the Kidaraites is available. After the reign of Hūṇa King Mihirakula, the later Śakas or the Kidarites established a powerful kingdom from Bactria and Gāndhāra up to Multan. It appears that these Śaka kings attempted to extend their kingdom into North India around 70-60 BCE. During the reign of King Vikramāditya II of Ujjain (82-20 BCE), one Śaka or Kidarite King was taken captive in a battle. According to Kālidāsa's *Jyotirvidābharaṇam*, King Vikramāditya paraded him on the streets of Ujjain and released him. It appears that the Kidarite king again attempted to invade the kingdom of Vikramāditya. Al Beruni mentions that King Vikramāditya marched against the Śaka king, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni.

#### **The Kabul Shāhi Kings (50 BCE – 325 CE)**

The inscriptions, the Gilgit manuscripts and Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅginī* indicate that many Shāhi kings reigned in North-western India (Kabul and Northern Pakistan). Historians separated these Shāhi kings into two categories, Patola Shāhis and Kabul Shāhis. But most of them had the same title of "Shāhi". Therefore, Kalhaṇa refers to them only as Shāhi kings. Therefore, it is probable that these Shāhi kings belonged to the lineage of the Kushanas.

**Early Shāhi Kings [50 BCE to 150 CE]**

Khingala of Kapisa

Patoladeva

Srideva

Patoladeva II

Barha Tegin

Tegin Shah

**Kings of Gilgit (Probably, the Darada Kings) [100 BCE -100 CE]**

Yinayāditya or Vinayāditya (100 BCE)

Navasurendrāditya Nandin

Surendra Vikramāditya Nandin

Vajrāditya Nandin

**Lalliya Shahi Kings of Udabhāṇḍapura [130-340 CE] as recorded in Rājatarāṅginī**

Lalliya Shāhi [130-160 CE]

Toramāṇa [160-200 CE]

Bhima Shāhi [200-250 CE]

Thakkana Shāhi [250-290 CE]

Trilochanapāla Shāhi [290-325 CE]

Kalhaṇa clearly records that the Shāhi kingdom had collapsed after the reign of Trilochanapāla due to the invasion of Turuṣkas. Many princes of the Shāhi kingdom went to Kashmir and became the officials of Kashmir kings. Sebuktegin, a Turk and his son Yamin-ud-Dawla Abul-Qasim Mahmud, captured Zabulistan and the city of Ghazni. They were recognized by the Caliph of Baghdad. Thus, the Islamization of Gāndhāra and Bactria began in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.



# 12

## The Chronological History of Buddhism

Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was born in 1944 BCE and he attained Mahāparinirvāṇa in 1864 BCE. Modern historians have erroneously fixed the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE that led to numerous chronological inconsistencies. We have already discussed in detail about the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa in Chapter 3. It is absolutely important to establish the chronological history of Buddhism considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE. The history of Buddhism can be divided into four phases:

1. Pre-Buddhist School of philosophy (Before 1864 BCE)
2. Early Buddhism (1864-1300 BCE)
3. Classical era of Buddhism (1300-500 BCE)
4. Post-classical era of Buddhism (500 BCE – 550 CE)

### **Pre-Buddhist School of Philosophy (Before 1864 BCE)**

Seemingly, a pre-Buddhist School of philosophy existed in India before the birth of Gautama Buddha. Bārhaspatya or Lokāyata philosophy was the origin of many schools of philosophies in ancient India. It appears that Vipassi or Vipāsīyīn was the earliest known philosopher who followed the pre-Buddhist school of philosophy known as “Śākya”. The *Dirgha Nikāya* mentions six philosophers, namely, Vipassi, Śikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha (Kakucchanda), Konagamana (Kanakamuni) and Kassapa, who lived before Gautama Buddha. The *Mahapadhana-sutta* contains the history of Vipassi. The *Arunavatisutta* has a reference to Śikhi and his two pupils (agga-sāvakas), Abhibhu and Sambhava. The *Maratajjaniya-sutta* of *Majjhima-nikāya* refers to Kakusandha and his pupil Sanjiva.

The *Buddhavaṃśa* gives the history of the 24 Buddhas who preceded Gautama Buddha. They are as follows: Dīpaṅkara, Kondanna, Maṅgala, Sumana, Revata, Śobhita, Anomadassi, Paduma, Nārada, Padumuttara, Sumedha, Sujāta, Piyadassi, Atthadassi, Dhammadassi, Siddhāttha, Tissa, Phussa, Vipassi, Śikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konagamana and Kassapa. Gautama was the 25<sup>th</sup> Buddha and Maitreya Buddha will be born in future. Mahāyāna tradition added three more Buddhas, namely, Tanhaṅkara, Medhaṅkara and Saranaṅkara before Dīpaṅkara and established the concept of 28 Buddhas. *Mahāvastu* gives the account of Dīpaṅkara and Maṅgala. There are some differences in the names of 28 Buddhas in the Northern and Southern lists but the following belong to both lists: Dīpaṅkara, Kondanna, Maṅgala, Padumuttara, Piyadassi, Atthadassi, Tissa, Phussa, Vipassi, Śikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konagamana and Kassapa.

Seemingly, Vipassi was the first who formally established the Śākya School of philosophy because the earliest Buddhist sources like *Dīrgha Nikāya*, etc., mention only six Śākya philosophers starting from Vipassi. It appears that Gautama Buddha might have inherited the legacy of the tradition of Vipassi's philosophy from his teacher. Thus, Gautama Buddha became the 7<sup>th</sup> Śākyamuni after Vipassi. The Nigāli Sāgar inscription of Aśoka refers to the enlargement of the stupa of Konagamana (Kanakamuni) by King Aśoka in his 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year. This inscription dated in the 20<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Aśoka, i.e., 1745 BCE records: “*Devānām piyena piyadasin lajina- chodasavasa bhisitena Budhasa Konakamanasa thubedutyam vadhite Visativa sabhisitena cha atana-agacha-mahiyite silathabecha usa papite*” [His Majesty King Priyadarśin in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of his reign enlarged for the second time the stupa of the Buddha Kanakamuni and in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, having come in person, paid reverence and set up a stone pillar.]

Gautama Buddha was also referred to as Śākyamuni or Śākyasimha. The Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka mentions Śākyamuni. Kalhaṇa refers to Gautama Buddha as Śākyasimha. It is generally speculated that Buddha belonged to the Śākya clan of Ikśvākus. *Vishnu Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* indicate that Sanjaya's son Śākya was the father of Śuddhodana but there is no reference to the Śākya branch of Ikśvākus in Purāṇas.<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvamśa* refers to the Ikśvāku lineage of Buddha. In all

probability, Śākya was synonymous to Muni in ancient times. Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* mentions that Sanskrit language should be used for Parivrāt, Muni and Śākya in a play [परिव्राण्मुनिशाक्येषु चोक्षेषु श्रोत्रियेषु च । शिष्टा ये चैव लिङ्गस्थाः संस्कृतं तेषु योजयेत्].<sup>2</sup> Evidently, Śākyas were also Munis who followed a particular school of philosophy. Mahāyāna texts refer to seven Mānuṣa Buddhas, i.e., Vipāśyi, Śikhi, Viśvabhu, Krakuchanda, Kanakamuni, Kassapa and Śākyamuni. Theravādins accept only three, namely, Krakuchanda, Kanakamuni and Kassapa.

Evidently, six Śākyamunis, i.e., Vipasyi, Śikhi, Viśvabhu, Krakuchanda, Kanakamuni and Kassapa lived before the lifetime of Buddha. Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* was compiled in the Tretā Yuga around 6000 BCE before Rāmāyaṇa era (5677-5577 BCE). The reference of "Tathāgata" in Rāmāyaṇa also indicates the existence of Śākyas or Śākyamunis in India before the Rāmāyaṇa era (यथा हि चोरः स तथा हि बुद्धस्तथागतं नास्तिकमत्र विद्धि । तस्माद्धियः शङ्क्यतमः प्रजानाम् न नास्तिकेनाभिमुखो बुधः स्यात्).<sup>3</sup> Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* also refers to Śramaṇas (व्याजलिङ्गप्रविष्टानां श्रमणानां तपस्विनाम् । भिक्षुचक्रचराणां च प्राकृतं सम्प्रयोजयेत्).<sup>4</sup> It is evident that the Śākyas and the Śramaṇas existed during the time of Bharata Muni. In all probability, Vipāśyi, Śikhi, Viśvabhu, Krakuchanda, and Kanakamuni and Kassapa might have flourished much before 2000 BCE. Seemingly, Gautama Buddha had transformed the tradition of Kanagamuni and Kassapa into Buddhism.

It is difficult to establish the chronology of 21 Buddhas from Tanhankara to Phussa because these names found mentioned only in the later Buddhist sources. Seemingly, the later Buddhists evolved the list of 24 or 28 Buddhas with an objective to counter the Puranic list of 28 Vyāsas and 24 Tirthaṅkaras of Jainism. Though the ancient Buddhas from Tanhankara to Phussa may be historic persons, their chronological order cannot be verified from the external evidence.

### Early Buddhism (1864-1300 BCE)

Gautama Buddha was the son of Māyādevī and King Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu. He was born in Lumbini on Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā, i.e., 19<sup>th</sup> Apr 1944 BCE or in Puṣya Nakṣatra, i.e., Vaiśākha Śukla Saptamī, i.e., 11<sup>th</sup>

April 1944 BCE. *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta* mentions that Kapilavastu was one of the eight claimants of Buddha's relics. Evidently, a Stūpa was built in Kapilavastu. Archaeologists have found a Stūpa in Piprahwa village of Siddharthnagar district of Uttar Pradesh. Some terracotta sealings found in Piprahwa mention “*Kapilavastu Bhikṣusaṅgha*”. Evidently, ancient Kapilavastu city was located in Piprahwa village. Fahien says that Lumbini was nine miles east of Kapilavastu, which was also helpful in identifying Piprahwa as Kapilavastu. Presently, Lumbini is in Nepal.

Buddha was also referred to as “Gautama” because his guru's gotra was Gautama. The Gilgit manuscript of *Vinayavastu (Pravrajyāvastu)* tells us that when Buddha was born, King Rājādhirāja was ruling in the Aṅga kingdom, King Mahāpadma in Rājagriha of the Magadha kingdom, King Brahmadata in Śrāvastī of the Kosala kingdom, King Anantanemi in Ujjayini and King Śātānīka in Kauśāmbī. Bimbisāra was the son of Mahāpadma, Prasenajit was the son of Brahmadata, Pradyota was the son of Anantanemi and Udayana was the son of Śātānīka.<sup>5</sup> Seemingly, the Śīsunāga kings were ruling in Vaiśālī. Śīsunāga, the progenitor of the Śīsunāga dynasty, was the son of a Licchavi king.

Bimbisāra succeeded his father Mahāpadma in Rājagriha and Prasenjit succeeded his father Brahmadata in Kosala. The sister of Prasenajit was the chief queen of King Bimbisāra. Some of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts like *Buddhacharita* of Aśvaghoṣa, the Gilgit manuscript of *Saṅghabhedavastu*, etc., refer to Bimbisāra as “Śreṇya Bimbisāra”.<sup>6</sup> According to the Gilgit manuscript of *Vinayavastu (Pravrajyāvastu)*, Bimbisāra was called “Śreṇya” because his father forced him to excel in 18 subjects of education (*Sa Pitrā aṣṭādaśasu Śreṇīṣu avatāritaḥ....*).<sup>7</sup> *Buddhacharita* mentions that Bimbisāra was a scion of Haryāṅka dynasty (*Haryāṅka-Kula*).<sup>8</sup>

Mahāpadma, the King of Rājagriha, was paying tribute to King Rājādhirāja of Aṅgadeśa. Bimbisāra did not like the Sāmanta (feudatory) status of his father. He invaded Champā, the capital of Aṅga kingdom and killed the king. Thus, Bimbisāra became the King of Champā. When his father Mahāpadma died, he became the King of Aṅga and Magadha kingdoms.



During the reign of Bimbisāra, a Māṭhara Brahmana of Nālada village (Nālanda) visited his court. This Brahmana was the author of Māṭharaśāstra. Undoubtedly, Māṭharaśāstra is the famous “Māṭharavṛtti”, a commentary on Sāṅkhya Kārikas of Ísvarakrishna. Therefore, Sāṅkhya philosopher Ísvarakrishna must be dated before 2000 BCE.

Māṭhara Brahmana had a daughter, Śārikā and a son, Kauṣṭhila. Śārikā was a very bright student and at times defeated her brother in debate. Kauṣṭhila went to Dakṣiṇāpatha to study “Lokāyata” philosophy from the teacher Tiṣya. Māṭhara married off his daughter Śārikā to Tiṣya. Kauṣṭhila disapproved this marriage and went again to South and studied “Lokāyata” philosophy from Maskari Gośāla. Later, Kauṣṭhila became well known as “Dīrgha-nakha Parivrājaka”.

Śārikā and Tiṣya had a son named Upatiṣya who mastered “Aindra-Vyākaraṇa”. It appears that Aindra-Vyākaraṇa was traditionally popular before the lifetime of Pāṇiṇi. According to *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Pāṇiṇi was a contemporary of the Nanda kings of Magadha and a classmate of Vararuchi Kātyāyana. Thus, Pāṇiṇi flourished around 1670-1590 BCE. Kātyāyana Vararuchi wrote Vārtikas on Pāṇiṇi Sūtras around 1670-1580 BCE. Patanjali wrote *Mahābhāṣya* during the reign of Śuṅga King Puṣyamitra (1459-1423 BCE).

Upatiṣya was also known as Śāriputra. Maudgalyāyana (also known as Kolita) was a contemporary of Śāriputra. A Buddhist drama “Śāriputra-Prakarāṇa” deals with the conversation between Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, a chief disciple of Buddha. Buddha visited Rājagriha and Kosala. King Bimbisāra of Rājagriha and King Prasenajit of Kosala became the first patrons of Buddhism. Buddha went to Kapilavastu and many Śākyas accepted Buddhism. Upāli, the barber of Śākyas, also became the disciple of Buddha.

Buddhist texts like *Avadāna Śataka*, *Manorathapūrāni* and a commentary on *Dhammapāda* tell us that Kapphiṇa or Mahākapphiṇa, the son of Kalpa, was the King of Kukkutavati-nagara (or the town of Lilavati as mentioned in *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*) in Dakṣiṇāpatha and his wife was Anojā. He was the contemporary of Buddha. He crossed Chandrabhāgā River in Orissa to reach Śrāvastī and accepted Buddhism. *Avadāna*

*Śataka* and Śivaswāmi's *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* mention that Kapphiṇa invaded Śrāvastī. According to *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, Prasenajit was the king of Kosala when Kapphiṇa invaded and 41 vassal kings were under Kapphiṇa including Pāndya, Andhra, Utkala and Surashtra. Evidently, King Mahākapphiṇa or Kapphiṇa was the first king of Dakṣiṇāpātha who patronized Buddhism.

According to *Samannaphala Sutta* of *Dirgha Nikāya*, King Ajātaśatru, the son of Bimbisāra mentions six contemporary gurus of different philosophies in his conversation with Buddha. The names of six gurus are: 1. Pūraṇa Kassapa 2. Maskari Gośāliputta 3. Ajita Keśakambalin 4. Pakudha Kaccāyana (Kātyāyana) 5. Sanjaya Belattiputta 6. Nigantha Nātaputta.

*Mahāvamśa* and *Dipavamśa* relate that Tathāgata Buddha visited Sri Lanka for three times. His first visit was in the ninth month after the date of his enlightenment, i.e., 23<sup>rd</sup> Apr 1909 BCE. Buddha went to Mahiyangana where the Yakṣa clan of the entire island was meeting in the Mahānāga Garden. The Nāga King Maniakkhika of Kelaniya came to Mahiyangana and met Buddha.<sup>9</sup>

The second visit was in the fifth year of Buddhahood, i.e., 1904 BCE. Buddha wanted to settle the dispute over a jewel throne between the Nāga kings Mahodara and Chulodara. Buddha visited Nāgadīpa (Jaffna) and handed over the custody of jewel throne to Nāga King Maniakkhika of Kelaniya. Buddha also visited Sri Lanka for the third time in the ninth year of his Buddhahood, i.e., 1901-1900 BCE at the invitation of King Maniakkhika of Kelaniya.

### **Buddha (1944-1864 BCE) and Mahāvira (1261-1189 BCE)**

Buddha was born in 1944 BCE and attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE whereas Mahāvira was born in 1261 BCE and attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE, 606 years before the epoch of Śaka era (583 BCE) and 470 years before the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE). Thus, they cannot be contemporaries. In fact, later Jain scholars have mistakenly identified King Chandragupta of Ujjain, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu I to be Chandragupta Maurya. This mistaken identity has brought forward the

date of Buddha nirvāṇa. Historians have established numerous concocted facts in the chronological history of Buddhism by erroneously identifying Śreṇika with Bimbisāra and Kuṇika with Ajātaśatru. This is the reason why frustrated historians believe that it is extremely difficult to reconcile the historical information of Buddhist texts, Jain texts and Purāṇas. The following historical information given in Buddhist and Jain literary sources clearly indicate that Buddha and Mahāvira were not contemporaries.

<b>Buddhist Sources</b>	<b>Jain Sources</b>
1. Śreṇya Bimbisāra was the son of Mahāpadma or Bhaṭṭiya. He married the sister of King Prasenañit of Kosala.	Śreṇika Bhambhasāra married Chellana, the daughter of King Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī.
2. Ajātaśatru was the son of Bimbisāra.	Kuṇika was the son of Śreṇika Bhambhasāra. None of the Jain sources refers to Kuṇika as Ajātaśatru.
3. Ajātaśatru was the patron of Buddhism. He shifted his capital to Pātaliputra from Rājagriha. The first Buddhist Council was held in Rājagriha during the reign of Ajātaśatru.	Kuṇika patronized Jainism in Aṅga janapada. His capital was Champā.
4. Udāyi was the son of Ajātaśatru and he killed his father.	Udayabhadda was the son of Kuṇika. He did not kill his father.
5. Anuruddha Munda was the son of Udāyi.	King Udayabhadda died without any successor. Nandarāja, a son of barber, was selected as a king by the ministers.
6. Total 9 kings of the Haryāṅka dynasty reigned in Magadha for more than 210 years before the rise of Nandas.	Only 3 kings (Śreṇika Bhambhasāra, Kuṇika and Udayabhadda) reigned in Rājagriha and Champā for ~100 years.

Mahāpadma	-	-
Bimbisāra	52 y	1924-1872 BCE
Ajātaśatru	32 y	1872-1840 BCE
Udāyin	16 y	1840-1824 BCE
Anuruddha Munda	8 y	1824-1816 BCE
Nāgadasaka	24 y	1816-1792 BCE
Susunaga	28 y	1792-1765 BCE
Kālāśoka	28 y	1765-1737 BCE
Kālāśoka's 10 sons	22 y	1737-1715 BCE

7. Buddha attained nirvāṇa in the 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Ajātaśatru. Kālāśoka ascended the throne 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa and Mahāpadma Nanda established his rule in Magadha at least 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Meruttuṅga and Vividha-Tirtha-Kalpa record that Nandarāja became the king of Pātaliputra 60 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa. Kuṇika was the reigning king when Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa.
8. Purāṇas tell us that Mahāpadma Nanda was the illegitimate son of King Mahānandin of the Śiśunāga dynasty. Nine Nanda kings reigned for 100 years. Nanda was the son of a barber and a prostitute. "*Nāpita-ganikā-suto nandaḥ Sri-Viramokṣāt Ṣaṣṭivatsaryām atītāyām kṣītipatirajani....*".<sup>10</sup> According to Jain sources, only one Nanda became the king of Rājagriha.
9. Maskari or Makkhali Gośāliputta, the contemporary of Buddha, was the teacher of the Lokāyata school of Chārvaka philosophy. Maskari was the son of Gośāli. Milindapanho also indicates that Maskari Gośāliputta was a materialist who rejected the philosophy of Karma-phala (action and consequence). Therefore, Makkahali Gośāliputta mentioned in Buddhist Gośāla Mankha was the son of Mankha and Bhaddā. He belonged to the Ājivika sect and propagated Niyativāda (absolute determinism). He also rejected Karma-phala siddhanta. In fact, Nirgranthas were the original followers of Jain Tirthankaras. It appears that Gośāli or Gośāla, the father of Maskari, was the founder of Ājivika sect of Nirgranthas.

sources and Gośāla Mankha mentioned in Jain sources cannot be the same person.

Aśokāvadāna clearly mentions that when a follower of the Nirgrantha sect depicted Buddha to be at the feet of Nirgrantha, eighteen thousand Aśokāvadāna clearly mentions that when a follower of the Nirgrantha sect depicted Buddha to be at the feet of Nirgrantha, eighteen thousand Ājivikas of Pundravardhana were killed in one day by the orders of Aśoka. Evidently, Ājivika sect was the offshoot of Nirgranthas. Bhagavati Sūtra tells us that Gośāla Mankhaliputta and Mahāvira stayed together for six years. Gośāla went to Śrāvastī and became the head of Ājivikas for 16 years. Mahāvira came to Śrāvastī and declared Gośāla to be an imposter, which led to a debate between Mahāvira and Gośāla. It appears that Mahāvira defeated Gośāla in a debate and achieved the title of “Jina”. Many Ājivikas of Pundravardhana were killed in one day by the orders of Aśoka. Evidently, Ājivika sect was the offshoot of Nirgranthas. Bhagavati Sūtra tells us that Gośāla Mankhaliputta and Mahāvira stayed together for six years. Gośāla went to Śrāvastī and became the head of Ājivikas for 16 years. Mahāvira came to Śrāvastī and declared Gośāla to be an imposter, which led to a debate between Mahāvira and Gośāla. It appears that Mahāvira defeated Gośāla in a debate and achieved the title of “Jina”.

Jain sources also indicate that Gośāla Mankhali was an incarnation of Gośāla, the founder of the Ājivika sect. Evidently, Gośāla Mankhali, the contemporary of Mahāvira, was Gośāla II whereas Gośāla I was the father of Maskari Gośālīputta and a senior contemporary of Buddha.

Interestingly, Bhagavati Sūtra indicates that Mahāvira rejected the claim of his contemporary Gośāla to be the soul of Gośāla, the founder of Ājivika sect. Mahāvira declared that his contemporary Gośāla has the soul of Udai Kundiyāyaniya, who has passed through seven bodies of Enejjaga (22 years), Mallarama (21 Years), Mandiya (20 years), Roha (19 years), Bharaddai (18 years), Ajjina Goyamaputta (17 years) and Gośāla Mankhalīputta (16 years).

10. According to Mahāvamśa, Nandas ruled over Magadha after the reign of the sons of Kālāśoka. Maurya kings Chandragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka succeeded Nandas.

According to Jain sources, Gupta king Chandragupta of Ujjain was the disciple of Bhadrabāhu. He became a Digambara Jain monk known as Viśākhāchārya. Simhasena was the son of Chandragupta and Bhāskara was the grandson of Chandragupta, who founded the epoch of Āguptāyika era in 950 BCE. Later Jain scholar Hemachandra mistakenly identified Ujjain King Chandragupta with the Maurya King Chandragupta.

11. Buddhist sources refer to the Śuṅga King Puṣyamitra and his atrocities on Buddhists. The Śuṅga dynasty succeeded the Maurya dynasty in Magadha.

Jain sources have no mention of the Maurya and Śuṅga dynasties. Tiloyapannati and Harivamśa refer to Muruṅdas, Puṣpamitra, Vasumitra and Bhṛgukacṇa Kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra.

### **King Ajātaśatru (1872 - 1840 BCE)**

King Śreṇya Bimbisāra of Magadha was killed by his own son Ajātaśatru in 1872 BCE. Thus, Ajātaśatru became the king of Magadha in 1872 BCE.

### **The First Buddhist Council [Rājagriha Council] (1864 BCE)**

The first Buddhist council was held in 1864 BCE at Saptaparṇi caves of Rājagriha immediately after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha (4<sup>th</sup> May 1864 BCE) during the 8<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Ajātaśatru. Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, Upāli, Mahākātyāyana, Śāriputra or Upatiṣya, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Subhūti, etc., were the direct disciples of Buddha. Mahākāśyapa presided over the first council. *Sutta Piṭaka* and *Vinaya Piṭaka* were compiled in this council. Ānanda recited *Sutta Piṭaka* and Upāli recited *Vinaya Piṭaka*.

### **The Haryāṅka Dynasty (1950-1715 BCE) vs. the Śīśunāga Dynasty (2024-1664 BCE)**

Modern historians have repeatedly failed to reconcile the historical account given in the Buddhist, Jain and Puranic sources because they have mistakenly considered Buddha and Mahāvira as contemporaries and illogically attempted to mix up the genealogies of two different dynasties. The Buddhist sources clearly tell us that the Haryāṅka kula of Bimbisāra was a branch of the Ikśvāku dynasty and the Śīśunāga dynasty was a branch of the Licchavi clan. Though Purāṇas generally refer to the Śīśunāga kings as Magadha kings, the same Purāṇas also record that there will reign 24 kings of Ikśvāku, 27 kings of Pāṅcāla, 24 kings of Kāśi, 28 kings of Haihaya, 32 kings of Kaliṅga, 25 kings of Aśmaka, 36 kings of Kaurava, 28 kings of Mithilā, 23 kings of Śaurasena and 20 kings of Vītihotras simultaneously with the kings of the Śīśunāga dynasty. Evidently, many kingdoms parallelly existed during the reign of the Śīśunāga dynasty. Seemingly, the Śīśunāga kings lost Rājagriha to Mahāpadma, the father Bimbisāra around 1950 BCE and reigned at Vaiśālī. Later, the Śīśunāga kings reoccupied Rājagriha after the reign of the sons of Kālāśoka around 1715 BCE.

### **The Śīśunāga Dynasty (2024-1664 BCE)**

Purāṇas give only the chronological account of the Śīśunāga dynasty because the authors of Purāṇas were compiling the continuous

chronological history of Magadha from Mahābhārata era to the reign of the Śātavāhana dynasty. Therefore, the Purāṇas do not give the account of the Haryaṅka kings who reigned at the same period of the Śiśunāga dynasty. Since the Śiśunāga kings Nandivardhana and Mahānandin reigned over Magadha before the rise of the Nanda dynasty, the Purāṇas refer to the Śiśunāga as the kings of Magadha. The Śiśunāga reigned for 360 or 362 years from 2024 BCE to 1664 BCE or 1662 BCE. Though King Śiśunāga founded his rule in Magadha around 2024 BCE and his son Udāyi founded the city of Puṣpapura, they lost Magadha to Mahāpadma, the father of Bimbisāra around 1950 BCE. Later, the Śiśunāga King Nandivardhana reoccupied Magadha around 1715 BCE.

### **The Haryaṅka Dynasty (1950-1715 BCE)**

Purāṇas tell us that Śiśunāga, the King of Kāśi conquered Magadha during the reign of King Nandivardhana of the Pradyota dynasty and founded the Śiśunāga dynasty in 2024 BCE. It appears that Bimbisāra's father Mahāpadma annexed the city of Rājagriha and Magadha around 1950 BCE. The Gilgit manuscript of *Vinayavastu* records that Mahāpadma, the father of Bimbisāra, was reigning in Rājagriha when Buddha was born in 1944 BCE. Buddhist sources also indicate that Ajātaśatru, the son of Bimbisāra, shifted his capital from Rājagriha to Pātaliputra.

There is a difference in the genealogy of King Bimbisāra and his descendants given in the Northern tradition of Buddhism and the Southern tradition of Buddhism.

#### **Northern Tradition**

*Divyāvadāna (Pāmsupradānāvadāna) and Tibetan sources*

Mahāpadma (as recorded in *Vinayavastu*)

Bimbisāra

Ajātaśatru

Udāyi

Munda

Kākavarṇin

#### **Southern Tradition**

*Mahāvamśa, Dīpavamśa and Burmese sources*

Bimbisāra (52 y)

Ajātaśatru (32 y)

Udāyi (16 y)

Anuruddha Munda (8 y)

Nāgadasaka (24 y)



Sahali	Śísunāga (28 y)
Tulakuchi	Kālāśoka (28 y)
Mahāmandala	10 sons of Kālāśoka (22 y)
Prasenajit	
Nanda	
Bindusāra	
Aśoka	
10 sons of Aśoka	

Southern sources like *Mahāvaṃśa* and *Dīpavaṃśa* are more ancient than Northern sources like *Divyāvadāna*. Therefore, the genealogy given in *Mahāvaṃśa* appears to be more authentic because seemingly, *Divyāvadāna* was written when the genealogies of Kālāśoka and Maurya Aśoka had been mixed up. Though *Divyāvadāna* relates the historical account of Kālāśoka, inadvertently refers to him as “*Mauryakuñjara*”. This may be reason why *Divyāvadāna* places Nanda and Bindusāra before Aśoka but excludes the name of Chandragupta.

The reconstructed chronology of the Haryāṅka dynasty as given in *Mahāvaṃśa*:

	Mahāvaṃśa		Aśoka's ascension in the 100 <sup>th</sup> year	
1. Bimbisāra	52 y	1924-1872 BCE	52 y	1924-1872 BCE
2. Ajātaśatru	32 y	1872-1840 BCE	32 y	1872-1840 BCE
3. Udayabhaddaka	16 y	1840-1824 BCE	16 y	1840-1824 BCE
4. Anuruddha	8 y	1824-1816 BCE	18 y	1824-1806 BCE
5. Munda				
6. Nāgadasaka	24 y	1816-1792 BCE	24 y	1806-1782 BCE
7. Śísunāga	18 y	1792-1775 BCE	18 y	1782-1765 BCE
8. Kālāśoka	28 y	1775-1747 BCE	28 y	1765-1737 BCE

9. Kālāśoka's 10 sons 22 y 1747-1725 BCE 22 y 1737-1715 BCE  
 (Bhadrasena, Korandavarna, Mangara, Sarvanjaha, Jaloka, Ubhaka, Sanjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana and Pañcamukha)

There is an error of 10 years in the chronology given in *Mahāvamśa*. Majority of Buddhist sources indicate the coronation of King Aśoka in the 100<sup>th</sup> year after Buddha nirvāṇa whereas *Mahāvamśa* mentions the same in the 90<sup>th</sup> year. Seemingly, *Mahāvamśa* considered the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE) and Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) as identical and reduced the reign of Nine Nandas for only 22 years. In fact, Mahāpadma Nanda might have reigned for 56 years and his eight sons reigned for 12 years as already explained in Chapter 9. It may be noted that the 100<sup>th</sup> year after Buddha nirvāṇa was indeed an epochal year in which not only King Aśoka was consecrated but also the Theravāda school separated from the Mahāsāṅghika School during the second Buddhist council.

### **Aśoka the Great (Kālāśoka) and Kashmir King Aśoka**

In all probability, Kālāśoka and Kashmir King Aśoka were the same person because Kalhaṇa dates the Turuṣka kings Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Evidently, Aśoka and his son Jaloka reigned over Kashmir exactly 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. According to Kalhaṇa, when King Śachīnara died without any successor, Aśoka, great grandson of Śakuni and son of King Śachīnara's first cousin, became the king of Kashmir who founded the rule of Buddhism (*prapanno Jinaśāsanam*). *Mahāvamśa* relates that the dynasty of Bimbisāra was the dynasty of patricides. Ajātaśatru killed his father Bimbisāra, Udayabhaddaka killed his father Ajātaśatru, Anuruddha killed his father Udayabhaddaka, Munda killed his father Anuruddha and Nāgadasaka killed his father Munda. Since the citizens of Magadha were fed up with this dynasty of patricides, the council of ministers met in the 24<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Nāgadasaka and banished him from Magadha. They selected

one minister Śiśunāga as the King of Magadha. Seemingly, Śiśunāga was the cousin of Kashmir King Śachīnara.

### **Mathurā: A Centre of Buddhism (1765 BCE)**

*Divyāvadāna* (*Pāmsupradānāvadāna*) informs us that Buddha visited Mathurā along with Ānanda before his mahāparinirvāṇa. Buddha foretold Ānanda that Upagupta, the third son of Gupta (Gāndhika, a merchant of perfumes), will establish Buddhism 100 years after nirvāṇa. Evidently, Mathurā emerged as a major center of Buddhism around 1765 BCE under the leadership of Upagupta I who was the contemporary of Bindusāra I and Kālāśoka. Two businessmen brothers named Naṭa and Bhaṭa established a Vihāra, namely, “Naṭabhaṭikā” on the hills of “Rurumuṇḍa” of Mathurā. Upagupta I learnt Buddhism at this Vihāra in Mathurā.

### **Śiśunāga, the Father of Kālāśoka (1782-1765 BCE)**

*Divyāvadāna* mistakenly mentions that Bindusāra, son of Nanda, was the father of Aśoka but according to *Mahāvamśa*, Śiśunāga was the father of Aśoka. Therefore, we have to replace the reference of Bindusāra in *Divyāvadāna* with Śiśunāga. King Śiśunāga had a son named Susim. A Brahmana of Champā city came to Pātaliputra and left his daughter Subhadrāṅgī in the royal palace of Pātaliputra. The queens asked her to do the job of hair-cutting. One day, Subhadrāṅgī tells Śiśunāga that she is the daughter of a Brahmana but the queens asked her to do the job of hair-cutting. Śiśunāga decided to marry Subhadrāṅgī and made her his chief queen. Subhadrāṅgī had two sons, Aśoka and Vigatāśoka. Śiśunāga did not like Aśoka because he was a dark-complexioned boy. This may be the reason why *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa* refer to Aśoka as Kālāśoka. According to Taranatha, King Nemita was the father of Aśoka.

Śiśunāga sent Aśoka to conquer Takśaśilā. The people of Takśaśilā supported Aśoka. Thus, Aśoka completes his mission and comes back to Pātaliputra. Śiśunāga ordered Susim to go to Takśaśilā to prove his military skills so that he could coronate him on the throne of Pātaliputra. Khallāṭaka and Rādhāgupta, the ministers of Bindusāra, used to hate Susim. They decided to support Aśoka and coronated him as the king of Pātaliputra when Susim had gone to Takśaśilā. Śiśunāga could not accept the open defiance of his wish and died in a shock.

After learning the coronation of Aśoka, Susim decides to attack Pātaliputra. Rādhāgupta plays a trick by placing a wooden mechanism shaped like elephant close to the eastern gate. He puts a wooden idol of Aśoka on this mechanical elephant and fills up the wide ditch surrounding the fort with burning coal and covers it up. Susim attacks on the eastern gate mistakenly thinking the wooden idol as the real Aśoka and fatally falls into the burning ditch.

### **Aśoka or Kālāśoka (1765-1737 BCE)**

Northern and Southern traditions of Buddhism agree that Aśoka or Kālāśoka ascended the throne of Pataliputra in 1765 BCE ~100 years after Buddha's nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). He conquered entire India from Takśaśilā in the west to Prāgjyotiṣa in the east and from Kashmir in the north to Karnataka in the south. He was a ruthless dictator. Therefore, Buddhist sources call him "Chandāśoka". He accepted Buddhism and declared Buddhism to be the state religion. Kalhaṇa, the author of *Rājatarāṅginī*, also confirms that Aśoka reigned over Kashmir and established the rule of Buddhism (*Jina-Śāsanam*). Buddhist sources eulogized Aśoka as "Dharmāśoka".

The Brāhmi and Kharoshthi rock and pillar edicts found from Takśaśilā to Karnataka were issued by Aśoka or Kālāśoka. He referred to himself as "*Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi*" in his inscriptions. Historians have mistakenly assumed that the Aramaic and Greek inscriptions found in Kandhar belonged to Aśoka but the scripts of Aramaic and Greek evolved after 1300 BCE. Therefore, the King Piyodassa or Priyadarśana mentioned in these Aramaic and Greek inscriptions was a Buddhist Indo-Greek king. Historians have concocted another myth that Aśoka adopted non-violence policy after accepting Buddhism. *Aśokāvadāna* clearly mentions that when a follower of the Nirgrantha sect depicted Buddha to be at the feet of Nirgrantha, eighteen thousand Ājivikas of Pundravardhana were killed in one day by the orders of Aśoka. Evidently, Aśoka promoted Buddhism by all ways and means including violence. Two great Buddhist Sthaviras, Yaśa and Upagupta, were the contemporaries of Aśoka. *Divyāvadāna* tells us that Aśoka erected 84000 pillars (Dharma-Rājikā) in entire India in one day.

Kalhaṇa mentions that Aśoka founded the city of Srinagar in Kashmir. *Kuṇālavadāna* of *Divyāvadāna* records that Aśoka had a son named Kuṇāla from his queen Padmāvati. Aśoka's chief queen Asandhimitrā raised Kuṇāla because Padmāvati died when Kuṇāla was in his infancy. Once Aśoka sent Kuṇāla to suppress the rebellion in Takśāsilā. He succeeded in his mission. Aśoka's another queen Tiṣyarakṣitā did not like the political rise of Kuṇāla and she treacherously blinded him. After knowing the conspiracy of Tiṣyarakṣitā, Aśoka put her to death. Aśoka had ten more sons, namely, Bhadrasena, Korandavarna, Mangara, Sarvanjaha, Jaloka, Ubhaka, Sanjaya, Koravya, Nandivardhana and Pañcamukha. Aśoka reigned for 28 years as recorded in *Mahāvamśa*. Since Kuṇāla was blind, the kingdom of Aśoka was divided into ten parts and the ten sons of Aśoka reigned simultaneously for 22 years. Jaloka, the son of Aśoka, became the king of Kashmir.

Undoubtedly, all Buddhist traditions indicate that Aśoka, the Great was indeed Kālāśoka who lived 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Tibetan sources also mention that Aśoka flourished 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Taranatha mentions that Viḡatāśoka and Virasena succeeded Aśoka. After Virasena, Nanda and Mahāpadma reigned over Magadha. *Mahāvamśa* indicates that nine Nanda kings reigned after the rule of Kālāśoka and his ten sons. Therefore, only Kālāśoka can be identified as Aśoka, the Great.

*Divyāvadāna* mistakenly assumes the dynasty of Aśoka and Kuṇāla as Maurya whereas *Mahāvamśa* and *Dipavamśa* clearly mention that Kālāśoka belonged to a branch of the Ikśvāku dynasty. *Divyāvadāna* is a later Buddhist text that belongs to the time of the revival of Buddhism in North India during the reign of Pāla dynasty.

### **The Second Buddhist Council, [Vaiśālī Council] (1765 BCE)**

The second Buddhist council was convened in Vaiśālī about 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa in 1765 BCE. This council was held to settle the dispute on Vinaya. The main dispute was whether monks can collect money or not. Sthavira Yaśa, a contemporary of King Kālāśoka, opposed the collection of money by monks.

### **The Epoch of Jinachakra (1765 BCE) and the Rise of Theravāda Buddhism**

The Vinaya formulated in the first Buddhist Council was the oldest. It was known as “Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya”. The dispute about certain rules of Vinaya in the second Buddhist council led to a split in the Saṅgha. Consequently, Buddhism split into two sects, Mahāsāṅghika and Theravāda (Sthaviravāda) 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). According to Theravāda tradition, Mahādeva was the founder of Theravāda Vinaya. Since the Theravāda sect was born in 1765 BCE, the followers of Theravāda referred to the epochal year of 1765 BCE as the year of Jinachakra or the beginning of Jina (Buddha) religion. Later, the Theravadins mistakenly started believing that the epoch of Jinachakra of Theravāda (1765 BCE) and the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) are identical.

Sri Lankan chronicles *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa* and ancient Burmese inscriptions and Pāli text *Sāsanavamśa* referred to the epoch of 1765 BCE. The authors of *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa* mistakenly referred to the epoch of 1765 BCE as the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa and stated that Maurya King Aśoka was consecrated 218 years after 1765 BCE. In fact, Maurya Aśoka ascended the throne 318 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and 218 years after the epoch of Jinachakra of Theravāda (1765 BCE). This chronological error of 100 years has forced the authors of *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa* to reduce the duration of the reign of Nanda dynasty to 22 years only. According to the entire Puranic literature, ancient Nepal and Tibet sources, the Nandas reigned for 100 or 108 years.

Most probably, Kālāśoka was the patron of Mahāsāṅghika School of Buddhism whereas Maurya Aśoka was the patron of Theravāda school of Buddhism. Mahāsāṅghika School and its branches dominated in Northern and western India whereas Theravāda and its branches flourished in Eastern and Southern India. This is the reason why Northern tradition of Buddhism refers to Aśoka (Kālāśoka) who ascended the throne 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and Southern tradition of Buddhism refers to Maurya Aśoka who was consecrated 218 years after the epoch of Jinachakra of Theravāda (1765 BCE). Confused historians are still struggling with the

unresolved theory of short chronology (100 years) and long chronology (218 years) of Buddhism.

### **The Successors of Kālāśoka (1737-1715 BCE)**

After the death of King Kālāśoka in 1737 BCE, the vast empire was divided into ten parts. Ten sons of Kālāśoka reigned simultaneously. Probably, there was a succession struggle among the sons of Kālāśoka that weakened the military power of the empire. Kalhaṇa mentions that Jaloka, the son of Aśoka, reigned in Kashmir and he conquered up to Kānyakubja. Jaloka was the only son of Kālāśoka who had an illustrious tenure. It appears that the Śīsunāga King Nandivardhana of Vaiśālī took advantage of infighting among the sons of Kālāśoka and conquered Magadha and restored the rule of the Śīsunāga dynasty in Pātaliputra around 1715 BCE.

### **The Nanda Dynasty (1664-1596 BCE)**

Mahāpadma Nanda was an illegitimate child of the last Śīsunāga King Mahānandin. He became a leader of a gang of robbers and occupied the throne of Pātaliputra. Thus, he founded the rule of the Nanda dynasty around 1664 BCE. He had eight sons. According to Purāṇas, nine Nanda kings reigned for 100 years but the chronological reconciliation based on Puranās and Mahāvamśa indicates that Mahāpadma Nanda reigned for 56 years and his eight sons reigned for 12 years. Mahāpadma Nanda gradually consolidated his position and conquered the kingdoms of Ikśvākus, Pāñcāla, Kāśī, Haihayas, Kaliṅga, Aśmaka, Kauravas, Mithilā, Śaurasenas and Vītihoṭras as indicated in Purāṇas. Mahāpadma Nanda was the third emperor of India after Yudhiṣṭhira (3162 BCE) and Kālāśoka (1765 BCE) who reigned over a vast empire. Purāṇas mention that Mahāpadma Nanda was coronated ~1500 years after the birth of Parīkṣit when Saptarṣis were in Purvabhadrā Nakśatra (Purvāṣāḍhā?). Parīkṣit was born immediately after the Mahābhārata war in 3162 BCE. Accordingly, Mahāpadma Nanda completed his conquest of entire India around 1662 BCE and coronated himself as the Chakravarti King. The Saptarṣis were in Purvabhadrā around 1676-1576 BCE considering the position of Saptarṣis in Maghā Nakśatra around 3176-3076 BCE. Daśarūpa, a commentator on *Mudrārakṣasam* quotes *Bṛhatkathā* and records that Chandragupta, the

founder of Maurya dynasty was the son of Pūrvananda. After the death of Yogananda, Chandragupta ascended the throne of Magadha in 1596 BCE (*Yoganande yaśaḥ-śeṣe Pūrvanandasutastataḥ, Chandraguptaḥ kṛto rājye Chāṇakyaena mahaujasā*). Evidently, Pūrvananda was the eighth king and Yogananda was the ninth king of Nanda dynasty.

### **Kātyāyana or Vararuchi I (1670-1580 BCE)**

Vararuchi or Kātyāyana was the minister of Mahāpadma Nanda. Kātyāyana wrote Vārtikas on Pāṇini sūtras. He also wrote “*Prākṛita-Prakāśa*”, the first grammar book of Prakrit language. Kātyāyana learnt the Paiśāchi dialect and translated “Bṛhatkathā” of Guṇāḍhya into Prakrit. Subandhu, the author of *Vāsavadattā*, was the nephew of Vararuchi Kātyāyana and a contemporary of the Maurya King Bindusāra.

It appears that Kātyāyana became Buddhist and founded the school of Mūlasarvāstivāda. Buddhist sources clearly record that Kātyāyana was the first Sarvāstivādin.

### **Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka: the Turuṣka Kings of Kashmir (1715-1645 BCE)**

Kalhaṇa mentions that the three Turuṣka kings named Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka reigned over Kashmir 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Most probably, Buddhism reached north-western India during the reign of Kālāśoka (1765-1737 BCE). According to Chinese sources, Shangnavasu, the third patriarch of Mahāyāna Buddhism went to Gāndhāra. Shangnavasu was a senior contemporary of Upagupta who was the contemporary of Kālāśoka. It appears that there was a political vacuum after the death of Jaloka. Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka of Gilgit region established their rule in Kashmir and promoted Buddhism. They built three cities in Kashmir, namely, Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura. Historians have wrongly speculated the Turuṣka Kanishka to be the Kushana Kanishka. In fact, Turuṣka Kanishka lived 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa whereas Kushana Kanishka lived 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Taranatha, a Tibetan Buddhist historian, mentions that Kushana Kanishka visited the city of Kanishkapura in Kashmir which was built by an Indo-Scythian king. Evidently, the city of Kanishkapura

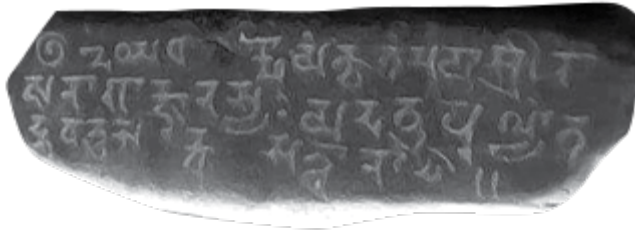


was already existing in Kashmir during the time of Kushana Kanishka. Kanishkapura is now called Kanispore situated to the south west of Lake Wular in Bandipore district close to Varāhamula (Baramulla).

### **Nāgārjuna Bodhisatva, the Second Buddha and Founder of Mahāyāna (1650-1550 BCE)**

According to Kalhaṇa, Aśoka, Jaloka, Dāmodara, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka reigned in Kashmir around 1765-1645 BCE. King Abhimanyu ascended the throne after the Turuṣka King Kanishka and reigned around 1645-1611 BCE. Thus, Abhimanyu reigned around 220-260 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.

Interestingly, Kalhaṇa records that Nāgārjuna, a king of the western parts of Kashmir, was the junior contemporary of Kashmir King Abhimanyu. Recently, an inscription found in North-western Pakistan refers to King Nāgārjuna of earlier times. [“देवधर्मोयं कृतं मया श्री राजा नागार्जुनस्य यदत्र पुण्यं भवतु सर्वसत्त्वानाम् ॥”].



Kalhaṇa states that King Nāgārjuna became monk and attained the status of Bodhisatva and Ṣaḍarhat. He did penance in the Ṣaḍarhat forest. In fact, Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna was the founder of Buddhist philosophy. Kalhaṇa says that Nāgārjuna taught Buddhist philosophy to his disciples who used to defeat all philosophers in the debates. Kalhaṇa also confirms that Buddhism dominated over all schools of philosophies during the time of Nāgārjuna.

Buddhist sources indicate that there were two Nāgārjunas in Buddhist tradition. One was a North-Indian and another was a South-Indian. Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna was a North Indian and lived around 1650-1550 BCE whereas Nāgārjuna of South India, the founder of Śūnyavāda, lived

around 1165-1080 BCE. Tibetan scholars rightly say that Nāgārjuna (Nāgārjuna of North India) came after seven hierarchs of Buddhism.

Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna authored “*Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*” including “Lotus Sūtra” and “Diamond Sūtra”. Mahāyāna tradition refers to him as Vajrapāṇi who was one of three earliest Bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi. Seemingly, the Tibetan tradition refers to Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi as “Padmasambhava”. We can conclude that Mañjuśrī, Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi were the real founders of Mahāyāna. Various traditions of Mahāyāna have different manifestations of Vajrapāṇi and the Mahayanists speculated more mythology than history. According to one tradition, Vajrapāṇi was the incarnation of Indra whereas the Yavana Buddhists speculated that Vajrapāṇi was the re-incarnation of Heracles. In all probability, the Yavanas of Bactria started following Buddhism during the time of Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi around 1600 BCE.

In all probability, Taranatha calls Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi as Samyaksambuddha. He mentions that Samyaksambuddha was the contemporary of King Kśemadarśin. Taranatha mistakenly identifies King Kśemadarśin with King Ajātaśatru.

### **The Date of Nirvāṇa of Nāgārjuna, the Second Buddha (~1550 BCE)**

Gilgit Manuscript of *Vinayavastu* records that when 400 years elapsed from the date of Parinirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi, Kanishka will become the king and he will erect a Stūpa named as “Kanishkastūpa” (*Eṣa chaturvarṣa-śata-parinirvṛtasya mama Vajrapāṇeḥ Kanishko Nāma Rājā Bhaviṣyati. So’smin pradeśe stūpam pratiṣṭhāpayiṣyati. Tasya “Kanishka-Stūpa” iti sañjñā bhaviṣyati*).<sup>11</sup> *Samyukta Ratna Piṭaka Sūtra* indicates that Kanishka lived around 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Evidently, Kanishka became the king around 1150 BCE, 700 years after the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and 400 years after the nirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi (~1550 BCE). Thus, Gilgit Manuscript of *Vinayavastu* clearly informs us that Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi attained nirvāṇa around 1550 BCE, 400 years before Kanishka. Some Tibetan and Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhist sources also mention that Kanishka became king 400 years after nirvāṇa. Evidently, these Mahāyāna sources refer to the epoch of the nirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi

(1550 BCE) and not the nirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha (1864 BCE). Interestingly, many Buddhist traditions refer to Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi as the second Buddha.

Gilgit Manuscript of *Vinayavastu* states “*Eṣa Vajrapāṇeḥ Kāshmira-Mandalam...*” [This Kashmir area belonged to Vajrapāṇi].<sup>12</sup> Kalhaṇa also indicates that Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna belonged to Kashmir.

### Three Important Epochs of Buddhism

Thus, the Buddhist traditions referred to three different epochs but historians have mistakenly considered these epochs as identical.

1. **The Epoch of Buddha Nirvana (1864 BCE):** Northern and Western tradition of Buddhism referred to this epoch for counting number of centuries elapsed after Buddha nirvāṇa.
2. **The Epoch of Jinachakra of Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE):** Southern and Eastern tradition of Buddhism referred to this epoch as an era and counted the number of years elapsed starting from 1765 BCE.
3. **The Epoch of Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi’s Nirvāṇa (~1550 BCE):** Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi was the founder of Mahāyāna. Therefore, Mahāyāna tradition referred to this epoch for counting number of centuries elapsed after Vajrapāṇi nirvāṇa.

### Maurya King Aśoka (1547-1511 BCE)

According to Purāṇas, *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa*, Maurya dynasty succeeded Nanda dynasty and reigned for 137 years. *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavamśa* records that Maurya King Aśoka ascended the throne of Magadha 218 years after the epoch of 1765 BCE. It may be noted that King Aśoka Maurya was consecrated 318 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and 218 years after the epoch of Jinachakra or Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE). *Mahāvamśa* mistakenly refers to the epoch of Jinachakra as the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa. Thus, the reconstructed chronology of Maurya dynasty as follows:

	Maurya Dynasty		In CE
1.	Chandragupta Maurya	24 y	1596-1572 BCE
2.	Bindusāra	25 y	1572-1547 BCE

3. <b>Aśoka</b>	36 y	1547-1511 BCE
The Successors of Aśoka	52 y	1511-1459 BCE
	137 y	

### **The Third Buddhist Council [Pātaliputra Council] (1529 BCE)**

The third Buddhist council was convened 236 years after the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE) and in the 18<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Aśoka Maurya. Thus, the third Buddhist council was held in 1529 BCE at Aśokārāma in Pātaliputra. It may be noted that a Buddha Vihāra named as “Aśokārāma” already existed during the reign of King Aśoka Maurya. Evidently, Aśokārāma was named after Kālāsoka and not Aśoka Maurya.

The Saṅgha was split into two Schools, namely, “Mahāsāṅghika” and “Theravāda” after the second Buddhist Council held in 1765 BCE. Gradually, Mahāsāṅghika Buddhism spread westwards and dominated in the regions of Mathurā and Kashmir. Theravāda dominated in Magadha and Sāketa. Therefore, the third Buddhist council was exclusively dedicated to Vibhajyavāda school of Theravāda. This is the reason why there is no reference of this council in the Northern tradition (Mahāsāṅghika and Sarvāstivāda Schools) of Buddhism.

Moggalipitta Tissa presided over the Pātaliputra council. Seven Books of Theravāda Abhidhamma Piṭaka have been compiled in this council. Moggaliputta Tissa himself compiled “*Kathāvatthu*”, the fifth book of Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Interestingly, *Kathāvatthu* rejects the views of Sarvāstivāda which clearly indicates that Sarvāstivāda was established before 1529 BCE. Most probably, Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi (1650-1550 BCE) was the founder of the Sarvāstivāda of Mahāyāna Buddhism. After the conclusion of the third council, King Aśoka Maurya sent nine Dhamma missions to various places.

	<b>Thera Buddhist Monks</b>	<b>Place name</b>
1.	Majjhantika Thera	Kāshmira & Gāndhāra
2.	Mahādeva Thera	Mahiṣamandala
3.	Rakkhita Thera	Vanavasi
4.	Dharmarakkhita Thera	Aparāntaka

- |    |                             |                                     |
|----|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 5. | Mahā-Dharmarakkhita Thera   | Maharattha                          |
| 6. | Mahārakkhita Thera          | Yona or Yavana                      |
| 7. | Majjhima Thera              | Himavanta                           |
| 8. | Sona Thera and Uttara Thera | Suvarṇabhūmi (Myanmar and Thailand) |
| 9. | Mahāmahinda Thera           | Lankādvīpa (Sri Lanka)              |

These missions were highly successful in establishing Theravāda Buddhism in Amarāvati, Kānchi, Sri Lanka, Burma and Thailand around 1525 BCE. Devānāmpriya Tissa, the seventh king of ancient Sri Lanka, ascended the throne of Anurādhapurā in 1529 BCE. Mahāmahinda Thera came to Sri Lanka during the reign of Devānāmpriya Tissa and introduced the Vibhajyavāda school of Theravāda Buddhism to Sri Lanka. Mahāmahinda himself was the son of Aśoka Maurya. He was accompanied by his sister Saṅghamitra.

#### **Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (1459-1423 BCE)**

Buddhism flourished in North India for ~400 years after Buddha nirvāṇa from 1864 BCE to 1459 BCE. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga was the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya King Bṛhadratha. Around 1459 BCE, Puṣyamitra took over the reins of Magadha and founded the rule of the Śuṅga dynasty. He was extremely hostile to Buddhism. Many Buddhists lost their Vihāras and assets during the reign of Puṣyamitra. Taranatha mentions that Puṣyamitra asked his ministers to burn Buddhist monasteries from Madhyadeśa to Jalandhara.

The Yavanas were ruling in North-western India and Śākala city was their capital. The Yavana kings became Buddhists during the time of Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi. These Yavanas not only protected Buddhists but also patronized Buddhism.

#### **Vasumitra I (1480-1400 BCE)**

Buddhist sources tell us that Vasumitra I lived 400 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. He was the philosopher of Mūlasarvāstivādin school of Buddhism. He wrote a treatise named “*Samaya-bhedopa-rachanā-chakra*”. According to the list of Sarvāstivādins given in Buddhist sources, Vasumitra I was

the second after Kātyāyana. There was another Vasumitra (Vasumitra II) during the time of Kushana King Kanishka (1150-1118 BCE).

#### **Mādhyandina and Ānanda II (1460-1380 BCE)**

Gilgit Manuscript of *Vinayavastu* mentions that Mahāyāna Buddhist monks Mādhyandina and Ānanda II lived 100 years after the nirvāṇa of Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi (*Mama Varṣa-śata-parinirvṛtasya Mādhyandino nāma Bhikṣur Bhaviṣyati Ānandasya Bhikṣoḥ Sardha-vihāri....*).<sup>13</sup> Taranatha mentions that King Subāhu (Probably, the king of Aparāntaka Kingdom) was the contemporary of Mādhyandina. After the death of Subāhu, Sudhanu succeeded him. Mādhyandina went to Kashmir and preached Buddhism for 20 years.

#### **Arya Sanavasika and Upagupta II (1440-1340 BCE)**

Arya Sanavasika and Upagupta II were the junior contemporaries of Mādhyandina. They were probably the contemporaries of Mahendra, the son of King Sudhanu and Chamasa, the son of King Mahendra.

#### **Arya Dhitika (1430-1330 BCE)**

Arya Dhitika was the disciple of Upagupta II and he belonged to Ujjayini. Arya Krishna was his disciple.

#### **Arya Krishna I (1420-1320 BCE)**

According to Chinese tradition, Krishna I was the third Sarvāstivādin after Kātyāyana and Vasumitra I. He lived before Pārśva, the senior contemporary of Aśvaghōṣa I.

#### **Arya Mahāsudarśana (1370-1270 BCE)**

Mahāsudarśana or Sudarśana was the disciple of Arya Krishna. He was the son of Darśana and Kśatriya by birth. He belonged to Bharukacṇa. Taranatha mentions that Arya Sudarśana visited Hingalaj temple in modern Baluchistan. He preached Buddha doctrine there and ensured that no flesh or blood was offered to Hingalaj Devi. Taranatha also mentions that Sudarśana spread Buddha doctrine in Mahā-Chīna. Thus, it appears that Buddhism entered China in a limited form for the first time in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

### Classical Era of Buddhism (1300-500 BCE)

Buddhism in Magadha and North India suffered a lot during the reign of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra Śuṅga. Buddhist Vihāras became active again in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE. This revival of Buddhism was mainly contributed by Buddhist philosophers like Kātyāyanīputra and Aśvaghoṣa. Though Kushana King Kanishka patronized Buddhism in the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the contributions of Buddhist philosophers starting from Nāgārjuna II led the Buddhism to scale new heights during the period 1100-500 BCE.

#### Pārśva Kātyāyanīputra (1380-1300 BCE)

According to Paramārtha's "Life of Vasubandhu", Kātyāyanīputra, a Brāhmaṇa Buddhist, lived 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Hiuen Tsang also records that Kātyāyanīputra flourished 500 years after nirvāṇa. Paramārtha tells us that Kātyāyanīputra went to Kashmir. He collected the information of the Abhidharma of Sarvāstivāda with the help of 500 Arhats and 500 Bodhisattvas. He arranged them into eight books amounted to 50,000 verses. After completion of the compilation of Abhidharma, Kātyāyanīputra wanted to compose a book on Vibhāṣā, i.e., Vaibhāṣika school of Sarvāstivāda. He sent an envoy to Sāketa city of Śrāvastī (Kāśī janapada) to invite Aśvaghoṣa, a great learned man in various sciences. Aśvaghoṣa went to Kashmir and worked with Kātyāyanīputra in composition of Vibhāṣā philosophy. They worked for 12 years and composed a book on Vibhāṣā (*Abhidharma-Vibhāṣā-Śāstra*) consisting of 10,00,000 verses. This is the reason why the Vaibhāṣika tradition believes Kātyāyanīputra as the founder of Vibhāṣā.

When the composition of Vibhāṣā completed, Kātyāyanīputra set up a rock inscription with the proclamation: "Those who hereafter learn this Law must not go out of the country of Kashmir. No sentence of the eight books, no sentence of the Vibhāṣā must pass out of the land, lest the other schools of Mahāyāna should corrupt the true Law."

Kumārajīva wrote the biography of Aśvaghoṣa and mentioned that Pārśva persuaded Aśvaghoṣa I to accept Buddhism. He did not mention the name of Kātyāyanīputra. In my opinion, Pārśva and Kātyāyanīputra were the same person. Pārśva's mother was Kātyāyanī. Therefore,

Pārśva was also called Kātyāyanīputra. Moreover, there is no mention of Kātyāyanīputra in the list of Sarvāstivādins. Aśvaghoṣa I also mentioned Pārśva and not Kātyāyanīputra. In all probability, Pārśva has been referred to as Kātyāyanīputra.

#### **Puṇyayaśas (1360-1280 BCE)**

Puṇyayaśas was the disciple of Pārśva. Aśvaghoṣa invokes his predecessors Pārśva and Puṇyayaśas. Evidently, Puṇyayaśas was elder to Aśvaghoṣa.

#### **Aśvaghoṣa I (1350-1270 BCE)**

There were two Aśvaghoṣas in the history of Buddhism. Aśvaghoṣa I was the junior contemporary of Kātyāyanīputra and lived 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa whereas Aśvaghoṣa II Mātṛcheta lived 800 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa I was born in Sāketa of Kāśī janapada whereas Aśvaghoṣa II probably belonged to Pāṭaliputra. Aśvaghoṣa I was the teacher of Mahāyāna and authored “*Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda*”, a philosophical treatise that was also studied in Japanese monasteries. Pārśva Kātyāyanīputra and Aśvaghoṣa I jointly composed a great treatise “*Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā-Śāstra*” in Kashmir. Aśvaghoṣa I was the disciple of Pārśva Kātyāyanīputra and Puṇyayaśas.

#### **Kumāralāta (1325-1250 BCE)**

Kumāralāta was probably a junior contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa I. He was the founder of Sautrāntika School of Sarvāstivāda and authored “*Kalpanamanditikā*”. This is the reason why Sautrāntikas were sometimes referred to as the disciples of Kumāralāta. He was also the founder of the school of “*Dārṣṭāntika*”.

#### **Vasubhadra (1300-1220 BCE)**

Vasubhadra was the Buddhist philosopher of Sāketa or Ayodhyā. He did not like the protectionist approach of Kātyāyanīputra. Aśvaghoṣa I originally belonged to Sāketa and he contributed a lot to the Vibhāṣā School of Kashmir. Vasubhadra wanted to learn Vaibhāṣika philosophy of Kashmir and bring back the knowledge of Vibhāṣā to Sāketa.

Vasubhadra entered Kashmir in the disguise of a mad man and quietly learnt Vibhāṣā. He memorized the entire book of Vibhāṣā. When he tried to exit Kashmir, the officials of Kashmir arrested him. He behaved like a



mad man to fool the officials of Kashmir. The Kashmir king personally interviewed him and finally declared him as a mentally challenged person. Thus, Vasubhadra cleverly fooled the king of Kashmir and returned to Śāketa. Later, Vasubhadra taught Vibhāṣā to many students and ensured the availability of Vibhāṣā treatise for everyone.

### **Kaśyapa II (1350-1270 BCE)**

Kaśyapa II (Mahākaśyapa, the disciple of Buddha was Kaśyapa I) lived 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. He was born in Gāndhāra. It appears that he was the founder of Kaśyapīya School of Buddhism. He went to Mathurā and lived there. Arya Mahāloma and Arya Nandin were his disciples.

### **Yavana King Milinda and Buddhist Monk Nāgasena (1365-1340 BCE)**

According to *Milindapaṇho*, Yavana king Milinda patronized Buddhism in north-western India. Nāgasena was the contemporary of Milinda. The Yavana King Milinda or Minander lived 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE).

### **Buddhism in North-Western India During 1300-1150 BCE**

Al Beruni mentions that Buddhism reached up to Syria in the west before the rise of Zoroastrianism. Zoroaster II flourished around 1307-1230 BCE and founded Maghism (also known as Zoroastrianism). Persian King Gushtasp of the later Kayanian dynasty promoted Maghism. Consequently, Buddhism could not survive beyond Afghanistan after 1250 BCE. Buddhist monks now started focusing on north-eastern regions and reached up to Mongolia in the north and China in the east.

### **King Mihirakula of Kashmir (1320-1270 BCE)**

Most probably, King Mihirakula of Kashmir reigned around 1320-1270 BCE. Hiuen Tsang records that several centuries ago, King Mihirakula established his authority in the city of Śākala and persecuted Buddhists. He ordered the destruction of Buddhism and expulsion of monks after a royal servant was appointed as his Buddhist preceptor. In all probability, Kashmir King Mihirakula defeated Indo-Greek (Yavana) kings and occupied the city of Śākala around 1320-1270 BCE. The invasion of Mihirakula led to the decline of the Yavana kingdom of Śākala after 1320 BCE.

### **King Kanishka, the Great (1150-1118 BCE)**

Kushana King Kanishka flourished 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) as indicated in *Samyuktaratnapīṭakasūtra*. Thus, Kanishka must be dated after 1164 BCE. According to Gilgit Manuscript of *Vinayavastu*, Kanishka became king 400 years after the nirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi (~1550 BCE). Hiuen Tsang also tells us that King Kanishka's Guru Saṅgharakṣa lived 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Historians are still confused about the dating of Upagupta because Hieun Tsang also mentions that there was a difference of 300 years between Upagupta and Kanishka. Actually, there were three Upaguptas. Upagupta I, the contemporary of Kālāśoka or Aśoka, lived 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Upagupta II and Ānanda II flourished 100 years after Vajrapāṇi as recorded in Gilgit Manuscript of *Vinayavastu*. Upagupta III was the contemporary of Kanishka. Thus, Hiuen Tsang says that there was a difference of 300 years between Upagupta II and Kanishka.

Interestingly, Taranatha indicates that King Nanda was a contemporary of King Kanishka. Jain sources inform us that Kuṇika, Udāyi and Nanda (the son of a Barbar) reigned in Magadha after Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE) and the reign of Nanda began in the 60<sup>th</sup> year after Mahāvira nirvāṇa, i.e., 1129 BCE.

### **Pārśva, Aśvagoṣa and Nāgārjuna were not the Contemporaries of Kushana Kanishka**

Modern historians have concocted that Pārśva, Aśvagoṣa and Nāgārjuna were the contemporaries of King Kanishka. They mistakenly believe that there were only one Aśvagoṣa and one Nāgārjuna. Pārśva or Kātyāyanīputra, a senior contemporary of Aśvagoṣa I lived 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa whereas Kushana King Kanishka reigned 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Therefore, Pārśva Kātyāyanīputra and Aśvagoṣa I lived 200 years before Kanishka. Aśvagoṣa II lived more than 800 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Nāgārjuna II and his disciple Aryadeva were the senior contemporaries of Aśvagoṣa II. There were two Nāgārjunas. Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi attained nirvāṇa 300 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Tibetan sources indicate that Nāgārjuna II was born in the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE. We will discuss the date of Nāgārjuna II in upcoming paragraphs.

### **The Buddhist Council of Sarvāstivādins (~1125 BCE)**

Vasumitra II (Taranatha clearly mentions that Vasumitra I, the great Vaibhāṣika Āchārya lived before Vasumitra II), Saṅgharakśa, Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra, Dharmatrāta I, Ghoṣaka, Mahāvīrya (from Sāketa) and Buddhadeva (from Varanasi) were the contemporaries of Kushana King Kanishka. Devadharma was the minister and Saṅgharakśa was the religious Guru of Kanishka. Kashmir Buddhist scholar Simha or Śākyasimha was a senior contemporary of Kanishka. In fact, Śākyasimha was a king of Kashmir who renounced the throne to become a Buddhist monk. Kanishka went to Kashmir to meet him.

Hiuen Tsang tells us that King Kanishka called a convention of Arhats in Kuvana Vihāra of Jalandhar or Karṇikavana Vihāra of Kashmir with the elder monk Pūrṇa as the head and included four more Arhats namely Dharmatrāta I (there was another Dharmatrāta II who authored *Samyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*), Ghoṣa, Vasumitra II and Buddhadeva. They jointly worked for a period of 12 years and composed a treatise or a commentary on Mahāvibhāṣā. Taranatha tells us that the representatives of the eighteen sects of Buddhism attended the council and jointly purified and codified Vinaya.

Taranatha mentions that the council held during the reign of Kanishka was the third. In fact, the third Pāṭaliputra council held during the reign of Maurya Aśoka was exclusively dedicated for Theravāda. Most probably, Jalandhara was the capital of Kanishka when the third Buddhist council took place. It appears that Kanishka made the city of Jalandhara as his second capital (his first capital was Puṣkalāvati, an ancient capital of Gāndhāra located close to Peshawar). This Buddhist Council was probably held in the last part of Kanishka's reign. Therefore, we can fix the date of the third Buddhist council of North Indian tradition around 1125 BCE. Mahāyāna school of Buddhism dominated in entire North India after 1125 BCE.

### **Krishna II (1165-1080 BCE)**

Taranatha mentions that Krishna II was the teacher of Rāhula Bhadra. Nāgārjuna II studied at Nālanda during the time of Rāhula Bhadra.

### **Ghoṣa and Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra (1165-1080 BCE)**

Ghoṣa and Pūrṇa were the illustrious philosophers of Sarvāstivāda. According to Indian and Tibetan traditions, Pūrṇa was the author of *Dhātukāyapāda*, one of the seven treatises of the Abhidharma of Sarvāstivāda.

### **Bhadanta Śrīlābha of Kashmir (1165-1080 BCE)**

Taranatha records that Bhadanta Śrīlābha was a Hinayānist and lived during the time of Mahāvīrya, Buddhadeva, Vasumitra II, etc.

### **Rahula Bhadra (1130-1060 BCE)**

Rahula Bhadra was the head of Nālandā University. Nāgārjuna II studied at Nālandā during the time of Rahula Bhadra. Taranatha mentions that Rahula Bhadra came to Nālandā when King Chandrapāla was reigning in Aparāntaka. Indradhrava was the friend of King Chandrapāla who wrote a treatise on Aindra Vyākaraṇa.

### **Nāgārjuna II (1100-1034 BCE)**

Nāgārjuna II was the founder of Śūnyavāda and Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Sarat Chandra Das has published an article titled “Life and Legend of Nāgārjuna”.<sup>14</sup> M Walleser also published an article titled “The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources”. According to these two articles written on the basis of Tibetan and Chinese sources, Nāgārjuna was born a century before Chandragupta’s accession. Puzzled historians have rejected this historical account of Nāgārjuna because Chandragupta Maurya cannot be dated after Nāgārjuna. In fact, Tibetan sources refer to King Chandragupta of the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE and not Chandragupta Maurya.

Tibetan sources record that Nāgārjuna was born in a Brahmana family and received the “siddhi” from Tara during his stay at Kahora, a part of Kānchi. Nāgārjuna proceeded over the Sitavana to Nālendra (Nālanda) where he became a monk and attained the zenith of his knowledge in the five sciences. He also stayed at Rājagriha for twelve years. Thereafter, he went Ghantaśaila and here from to the Śrīparvata in the south where he spent the rest of his long life. There is also a reference of his relations with Śālabhadra transformed by him into a king. Tibetan monk Taranatha

records that Nāgārjuna was supposed to have appeared in the country of Bhangala (Bengal) only after the presence of King Harichandra, the first of Chandra family. Rāhula was the contemporary of him. Sarat Chandra Das mentions regarding Tibetan texts that Nāgārjuna was born in Vidarbha.

The Nāgas used to attend Nāgārjuna's sermons at Nālendra (Nālanda). They begged him to take up his permanent domicile in the domain of the Nāgas which he declined saying that he had to propagate Dhamma in entire Jambūdvīpa. He went back to Nālendra with costly presents, with jewels of immense value, and with the religious text called "Nāgasāhasrikā". Because of his connections with the Nāgas, he received the name of "Nāgārjuna". After the death of Rāhula Bhadra or Saraha Bhadra, Nāgārjuna became the head of Nālendra (Nalanda).

Evidently, Nāgārjuna was a junior contemporary of King Harichandra and a senior contemporary of Sadvāhana. In all probability, Harichandra was the founder of the Bhāraśiva Nāga dynasty of Vindhyaçal and central India.

#### **Nanda, Paramasena and Samyaksatya (1090-1010 BCE)**

Taranatha tells us that Nanda, Paramasena and Samyaksatya were the contemporaries of Nāgārjuna and they preached Ālaya-Vijñāna, i.e., Yogāchāra school of Buddhism. Interestingly, Taranatha indicates that Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were later Yogāchārins.

#### **Buddhapālita (1070-990 BCE) and Bhavya (1050-980 BCE)**

Tibetan sources inform us that Buddhapālita became the disciple of Nāgārjuna II during the first half of his life and Bhavya became the disciple of Nāgārjuna II during the second half of his life. Buddhapālita and Bhavya also studied with Saṅgharakśita (1100-1020 BCE), the disciple of Nāgamitra (1125-1050 BCE).

#### **Triratnadāsa and Bhadrapālita (1050-980 BCE)**

Taranatha records that Triratnadāsa and Bhadrapālita were the contemporaries of Bhavya.

#### **Aryadeva or Bodhisattva Deva or Kaṇadeva (1080-990 BCE)**

Aryadeva was the son of a Sinhalese (Sri Lankan) King Pañcaśringa.

He learnt Tripiṭaka from Hemadeva in Simhala. He went to Śriparvata (Nāgārjunakonda) in Andhra and met Nāgārjuna II. Aryadeva authored many Mādhyamika texts. He wrote *Chatuśśataka-Śāstranāma-Kārikā*. He went to Nālanda and impressed upon Mātṛcheṭa to accept Buddhism. Buddhist monk Tathāgatabhadra or Nāgāhvaya was his contemporary.

### **The Identification of Aśvagoṣa II and Mātṛcheṭa**

There is a controversy that whether Aśvagoṣa II and Mātṛcheṭa were the same or two different persons. I-tsing records that Aśvagoṣa and Mātṛcheṭa were two different persons. According to Taranatha, Mātṛcheṭa is only another name of Aśvagoṣa. Interestingly, Taranatha mentions that Mātṛcheṭa was also known as Durdharṣa, Kāla, Sura, Aśvagoṣa, Piṭṛcheṭa and Dhārmika-Subhūti. It appears that when Mātṛcheṭa accepted Buddhism under the influence of Aryadeva, he might have adopted the name of Aśvagoṣa. Therefore, Mātṛcheṭa was also known as Aśvagoṣa.

In my opinion, we should not view the statements of I-tsing and Taranatha as contradictory. I-tsing says that Aśvagoṣa I and Mātṛcheṭa were two different persons whereas Taranatha says that Mātṛcheṭa was also known as Aśvagoṣa II. Thus, Aśvagoṣa I lived 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa whereas Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvagoṣa II lived 800 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.

### **Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvagoṣa II (1080-990 BCE)**

According to some Buddhist sources, Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvagoṣa II lived 800 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. I-tsing relates that “Mātṛcheṭa by his great literary talent and virtues excelled all the learned men of his age. Even the scholars like Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly”. I-tsing unambiguously indicates that Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvagoṣa II lived before Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu. Paramārtha records that Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu lived 900 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Therefore, I-tsing also indirectly confirms that Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvagoṣa II lived 800 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.

Most probably, Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvagoṣa II belonged to the royal family of Kauśāmbī. Taranatha indicates that Durdharṣa Kāla (childhood name of Mātṛcheṭa) was the King of Kauśāmbī. Two fragmentary

inscriptions found at Sāranath refers to “Aśvaghōṣa Rājā”, a contemporary of Kushana King Huvishka. Cunningham found a coin of Aśvaghōṣa in Kauśāmbī. Evidently, Durdharṣa or Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvaghōṣa II was a King of Kauśāmbī and a contemporary of Kushana King Huvishka.

Interestingly, historians could not answer the question till date that why Aśvaghōṣa II refers to Kanishka as the past king in his *Sūtrālaṅkāra*. They have questioned the authorship of *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and speculated that Kumāralāta or Asaṅga was the author of *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and not Aśvaghōṣa. In reality, Aśvaghōṣa II was the author of *Sūtrālaṅkāra* as mentioned in Tibetan and Chinese traditions. Epigraphic evidence clearly indicates that he lived after Kanishka. Tibetan sources tell us that Aśvaghōṣa was the composer of the “*Śata-Pañcāśatika-nāma-stotra*” in 150 verses but I-tsing mentions that Mātṛcheṭa was the author. Evidently, Aśvaghōṣa II was the author of “*Śata-Pañcāśatika-nāma-stotra*”.

Taranatha tells us that Mātṛcheṭa was the author of many stotras. Interestingly, the stotras written by Mātṛcheṭa were very popular in both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna schools. *Buddhacharita* and *Saundarananda* were also written by Aśvaghōṣa II. He also authored “*Śāriputra-Prakaraṇa*” that followed all the rules laid down in the Bharata’s *Nātyaśāstra* for the composition of a Prakaraṇa.

### **Mātṛcheṭa’s Mahārāja-Kanika-Lekha**

Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvaghōṣa II was the son of Saṅghaguhyā and Suvarṇākṣī. Saṅghaguhyā belonged to a very wealthy Brahmana family. Mātṛcheṭa was the author of *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha* (Letter to King Kanika). Taranatha records that King Kanika ascended the throne of Mālava in the west at a young age. He became extremely rich by discovering 28 mines of diamonds (probably, Panna mines of Madhya Pradesh). King Kanika invites Mātṛcheṭa to visit his kingdom but being unable on account of his great age to come, Mātṛcheṭa writes a letter known as “*Mahārāja-Kanika-Lekha*”. King Kanika accepts Buddhism after receiving this letter from Mātṛcheṭa. Taranatha clearly tells us that King Kanika should not be identified with King Kanishka. Evidently, King Kanika was the king of Mālava and a young contemporary of Mātṛcheṭa. Therefore, King Kanika cannot be identified with Kushana King Kanishka. Moreover, Mātṛcheṭa

can only be dated after Kanishka because he himself refers to Kanishka as the king of past in his treatise *Sūtrāṅkāra*.

### **Āchārya Rāhulabhadra II and Jñānapriya (1040-970 BCE)**

Rāhulabhadra II was a Śudra by birth and became the disciple of Aryadeva. Jñānapriya was the disciple of Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvaghōṣa II. Jñānapriya carried the letter of Mātṛcheṭa to King Kanika of Mālava.

### **The Kingdom of Aparita in Buddhist Literature**

Eminent historians have mistakenly propounded that Aparita and Aparāntaka were identical and the area of western coast from Konkan to Saurashtra was the kingdom of Aparāntaka. In reality, Aparita and Aparantaka were two different areas. Buddhist sources unambiguously indicate the location of Aparita (Aparānta?) in the east and not in the west. Magadha and Aparita kingdoms were undoubtedly neighboring kingdoms. In all probability, the region of modern Bangladesh and some southern parts of West Bengal was referred to as “Aparita or Aparānta” in Buddhist sources. Later, Aparānta kingdom extended to Magadha in Bihar and to Sonabhadra district in Uttar Pradesh including Sāketa, Prayāga and Kauśāmbī and up to Vidiśā in Madhya Pradesh during the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

The Nāga dynasty dominated in Aparānta or Aparita region after the reign of Kushanas. The Kushanas lost control over Magadha around 1023 BCE. Kalinga King Khāravela drove the Kushanas away from Magadha and Kauśāmbī. Buddhist sources referred to the kings of Nāga dynasty as the Chandra kings. It appears that they reigned over entire Uttarāpatha up to the borders of Myanmar during the period 1010-920 BCE. This is the reason why *Śāsanavarnśa*, the Buddhist Pāli text of Myanmar, mentions that Aparānta kingdom situated in the west of Irawaddy river of Myanmar.

### **The Chandra Dynasty of Aparita Kingdom**

According to Taranatha, the Chandra dynasty (a Branch of the Naga dynasty) was ruling in Aparāntaka kingdom. He indicates that the Chandra dynasty was founded before the reign of Puṣyamitra. It is difficult to verify the historical account of the Chandra dynasty given by Taranatha



but we can roughly arrive the chronology of the Chandra kings based on the contemporary kings or Buddhist monks mentioned by Taranatha. The Chronology of the Chandra dynasty:

	<b>Chandra Kings</b>	<b>In CE</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
1.	Nemachandra Phanichandra Bhimachandra	1490-1460 BCE	His reign ended just before the rise of the Śuṅga King Puṣyamitra (1459-1423 BCE). Sthavira Saṁbhūti was the contemporary of Phanichandra. Interestingly, Taranatha records that a Persian Tartar King Halalu was ruling close to Mūlasthāna (Multan) and he was the follower of a Mlecchā religion. He had a strong cavalry of 1,00,000 and invaded into India.
2.	Harichandra	1150-1120 BCE	A contemporary of Rahula Bhadra I of Nālanda. He might have re-established the rule of Chandra dynasty in Aparāntaka.
3.	Akśachandra	1120-1100 BCE	
4.	Jayachandra	1100-1080 BCE	
5.	Śālachandra Sadvāhana	or 1050-1020 BCE	He was a junior contemporary of Nāgārjuna II, Aryadeva and Nāgāhvaya or Tathāgatabhadra.
6.	King Chandra	1020-985 BCE	He reigned for 35 years. Taranatha tells us that he conquered all the lands between eastern and western oceans. He extended his kingdom up to Abhisāra in the west. Mātrcheṭa or Aśvaghōṣa II was the contemporary of him who resided in the monastery of Kusumālankāra in Kusumapura. (Taranatha mistakenly links these Chandra

- kings with the Maurya kings Chandragupta and Bindusāra.)
7. Sri Chandra 984-930 BCE  
(Chandragupta?)  
(Sandrokottus) Mātṛcheṭa or Aśvaghōṣa II was still alive during his reign. Taranatha mentions that Sri Chandra was ruling in Dilli (Delhi).
  8. Dharmachandra 930-910 BCE  
(Chandraprakāśa?) He was the son of Sri Chandra. Vasubandhu, a Buddhist scholar, was his minister. (According to Taranatha, Dharmachandra and Khuni-ma-mpta (?), the king of Multan and Lahore entered into a peace treaty after a war but the treaty was broken due to misunderstanding. Khuni-ma-mpta invaded Magadha and heavily damaged many Buddhist Vihāras including Nālanda.)
  9. Karmachandra 900-890 BCE He was the nephew of Dharmachandra.
  10. Vriśāchandra 900-890 BCE He was the son of Karmachandra and a weak ruler. According to Taranatha, Orissa King named Jaleruha conquered most of the eastern region.
  11. Vigamachandra 900-870 BCE

**King Buddhapakśa and King Gambhirapakśa**

1. Buddhapakśa 984-930 BCE  
(Vikramāditya) Taranatha calls him as Buddhapakśa, the King of Varanasi. Chinese sources clearly inform us that King Buddhapakśa was the same as Vikramāditya, the liberator of India from Indo-Scythians. Evidently, he might have finally driven away Kushana kśatrapas from Mathurā. Paramārtha's 'Life of Vasubandhu' refers to him

as Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā. Taranatha records that Buddhapakśa, the son of Dharmachandra's maternal uncle, was the king of Varanasi. He sent a number of Saurāntika Buddhist scholars to China. The Chinese king sent numerous valuable presents to king Buddhapakśa. King Buddhapakśa conquered all kingdoms of central and western regions. Taranatha says that he also defeated Bāhlikas and killed a Persian king named Khuni-mampta. Buddhapakśa reconstructed all damaged Buddhist Vihāras and re-established Nālanda Vihāra.

2. Gambhirapakśa (Bālāditya) 930-890 BCE Taranatha mentions him as Gambhirapakśa, the son of Buddhapakśa. He reigned for 40 years.

Seemingly, Taranatha committed many errors due to ignorance of the true chronology of the Chandra kings but he provides valuable inputs for arriving the chronology of Buddhist scholars. According to Taranatha, Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu were the contemporaries of Dharmachandra, Buddhapakśa and Gambhirapakśa.

### **Malikabuddhi, Muditābha-bhadra and Samantabhadra**

According to Taranatha, Mallikabuddhi, Muditābha-bhadra and Samantabhadra were the contemporaries of King Buddhapakśa (984-930 BCE). Brahmana Śaṅku, Bṛhaspati, and Rāhulamitra and Buddhamitra were also lived during the time of Buddhapakśa.

### **Buddhamitra (984-930 BCE)**

Buddhamitra was the teacher of Vasubandhu. He was in the court of King Vikramāditya or Buddhapakśa. Vindhyāvāsin, the pupil of Vṛṣagaṇa, defeated Buddhamitra in a debate in Ayodhyā.

**Asaṅga (962-890 BCE) and Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE)**

According to Tibetan sources, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were half-brothers from Puruṣapura of Gāndhāra janapada and born 900 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Asaṅga's father was a Kṣatriya whereas Vasubandhu's father was a Brahmana. Prasannaśīlā was the mother of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Professor J. Takakusu published "The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha" in 1904 CE. It is a translation from a Chinese manuscript. It states that a Kauśika Brahmana family of Puruṣapura (Peshawar) had three sons, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Viriñchivatsa. Asaṅga studied Hīnayāna texts from Arhat Pindola and also studied Mahāyāna texts. Hiuen Tsang mentions that Asaṅga initially followed Mahīśāsaka sect of Buddhism but later he became Mahāyānist. He went to a cave of Kukkuṭapāda hill (also known as Gurupāda hill because Mahākaśyapa did penance for 12 years and attained nirvāṇa on this hill). He started preaching the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna. Later, Asaṅga lived in Nālanda for 12 years and passed away in Rājagriha.

King Vikramāditya (also known as Buddhapakṣa) of Ayodhyā was the patron of Budhamitra, a Buddhist scholar. Budhamitra was the teacher of Vasubandhu. Hīnayānist Saṅghabhadra of Kashmir was the contemporary of Vasubandhu. It appears that Vasubandhu defeated Saṅghabhadra in a debate on his commentary on "Abhidharmakośa". Manoratha, a Buddhist scholar of law, was a junior contemporary of Vasubandhu. Probably Āchārya Vṛṣagaṇa, the philosopher of Sāṅkhya school, was also in Ayodhyā. Vindhyāvāsin was the pupil of Vṛṣagaṇa and lived in the caves of Vindhyā mountains in the kingdom of the Nāga kings (Probably, the Kings of Bhāraśiva Nāga dynasty). Once Vindhyāvāsin went to Ayodhyā and challenged Budhamitra for debate. He defeated Budhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu in a debate at Ayodhyā in the absence of Vasubandhu. Later, Vasubandhu came to know about the defeat of his guru and wished to avenge his teacher's defeat but he could not trace out the location of Āchārya Vindhyāvāsin. Therefore, Vasubandhu composed "*Paramārthasaptatikā*" in refutation of Vindhyāvāsin. Thus, Āchārya Vindhyāvāsin was the senior contemporary of Vasubandhu.

Vasubandhu authored the famous text ‘*Abhidhamma Kośa*’. King Bālāditya (also known as Gambhirapakśa) became the King of Ayodhyā after the death of his father Vikramāditya. King Bālāditya invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhyā. Vasubandhu debated with Vasurāta, a grammarian who was the brother-in-law of King Bālāditya. He also debated with Saṅghabhadra, a Hīnayāna scholar. Bhartṛhari, the author of “*Vākyapadīyam*”, was the son and pupil of Vasurāta. It may be noted that Bhartṛhari of *Vākyapadīya* and Bhartṛhari of *Nīti-Śrīṅgāra-Vairāgya Śatakas* were two different persons.

Asaṅga asked Vasubandhu to come back to Puruṣapura and persuaded him to promote Mahāyāna. Thus, Vasubandhu became the Āchārya of Mahāyāna and went back to Ayodhyā where he died at the age of 80 years. Paramārtha mentions in his commentary on the Madhyānta-Vibhāga of Maitreya that Vasubandhu lived 900 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. The Chinese manuscript of “Life of Vasubandhu” written by Paramārtha states that Vindhyāvāsīn and Vasubandhu lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century after Buddha nirvāṇa. Thus, the date of Vasubandhu can be conclusively fixed around 960-880 BCE. Tibetan sources tell us that Diṅgnāga was a disciple of Vasubandhu. Therefore, Diṅgnāga can be dated around 920-840 BCE.

Interestingly, Vāmana’s *Kavyālaṅkāra-Sūtravṛtti* clearly mentions that Chandraprakāśa (Dharmachandra?) was the son of Chandragupta and his minister was Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE), the great Buddhist philosopher. Vasubandhu became the head of Nālanda after the death of his elder brother Asaṅga. Taranatha mentions that Tibetan King *Lha-tho-tho-ri-gnan-btsan* was the contemporary of Vasubandhu. King *Lha-tho-tho-ri* was the fifth of the earlier successive kings before *Sron-btsan-sgam-po*. Thus, King *Lha-tho-tho-ri* can only be dated 933 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Evidently, Tibetan King *Lha-tho-tho-ri* and Vasubandhu were contemporaries.

### **Buddhadāsa (930-850 BCE) and Bhāvaviveka (910-830 BCE)**

Buddhadāsa was the disciple of Asaṅga. Bhāvaviveka wrote *Mādhyamika Hṛdaya Kārikā* and a commentary called *Tarka-jwālā*. Undoubtedly, he lived before Chandrakīrti who criticized him. We need to study whether

Bhāvaviveka and Bhāvya were the same or different persons.

### **Sthiramati (920-840 BCE)**

Sthiramati was the son of a merchant in Dandakāraṇya in the South. He became the disciple of Vasubandhu at the age of seven. He learnt the Abhidharma of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. He wrote commentaries on the works of Vasubandhu.

### **Diṅnāga (920-840 BCE)**

Diṅnāga was born in a Brahmana family in the city of Simha-Vaktra near Kānchipuram. He was the famous disciple of Vasubandhu. He defeated a Brahmana Sudurjaya in a debate at Nālanda. He wrote a treatise on logic called “*Pramāṇa-samucchaya*”.

### **Vimuktasena (890-800 BCE)**

Vimuktasena was the nephew of Buddhadāsa. According to Indian sources, Vimuktasena was the disciple of Diṅnāga.

### **Aryadeva II (920-830 BCE)**

It appears that the second Aryadeva existed during the time of Sthiramati and Diṅnāga. Most probably, he was the contemporary of Sthiramati and Diṅnāga.

### **Chandrakirti (880-800 BCE)**

Chandrakirti, a South Indian, was a Buddhist scholar of Nālanda. He was the disciple of Aryadeva II and not Aryadeva I. He founded a new school of Mādhyamika philosophy known as Prāsāngika Mādhyamika. He debated with Chandragomin at Nalanda for years. Chandrakirti defended Buddhapālita against Bhāvaviveka. Chandrakirti also wrote a treatise on grammar known as “*Samantabhadra-Vyākaraṇa*”.

### **Chandragomin (880-800 BCE)**

Chandragomin was born in a Kśatriya family in Vārendra region of Bangladesh. He debated with Chandrakirti for years in Nālanda. It may be noted that historians have mistakenly identified Chandragomin to be the author of Chāndra-vyākaraṇa. Bhartṛhari I, the author of Vākyapadīya, refers to the treatise of Chandrāchārya (*Chandrācharyādibhiḥ punaḥ...*).<sup>16</sup> He mentions many grammarians like Vaiji, Saubhava, Haryakṣa and

Chandrāchārya, who started their own schools of grammar disregarding the grammar of Patanjali.

Bhartṛhari I clearly indicates the existence of a grammar of Patanjali. Most probably, Patanjali I was the author of Yogasūtras, Ayurveda and Vyākaraṇa. Patanjali II was the author of Mahabhāṣya on Pāṇini Sūtras and Kātyāyana Vārtikas. Therefore, Patanjali I, the author of Vyākaraṇa sūtras, might have lived in the post-Vedic era whereas Patanjali II was the contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (1459-1423 BCE). Kalhaṇa mentions that Chandrāchārya was the contemporary of Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi and Kashmir King Abhimanyu. Therefore, Buddhist Chandrāchārya (1650-1565 BCE) was the real author of Chāndra Vyākaraṇa and not Chandragomin (880-800 BCE). Diṅnāga refers to Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīyam. Thus, Bhartṛhari I was the contemporary of Vasubandhu whereas Chandragomin was the contemporary of the disciples of Sthiramati and Diṅnāga. Taranatha clearly indicates that Chandragomin was a junior contemporary of Sthiramati.

#### **Guṇamati (880-800 BCE) and Ratnakirti (850-770 BCE)**

Guṇamati was a junior contemporary of Sthiramati (920-840 BCE). Ratnakirti was a royal prince and he became the disciple of Chandragomin. Interestingly, Ratnakirti renounced the vow of ordination and made love to a princess as recorded by Prajñākaramati. Vairochanamitra mentions that Ratnakirti renounced the vow to ascend the throne with the help of a minister. To bring back Ratnakirti, Chandragomin wrote a letter known as "*Śiṣya-Lekha*".

#### **Vararuchi II (800-700 BCE)**

Vararuchi II and Saptavarman were the grammar teachers of King Udayana. He belonged to the country of Rāḍha, located in the east of Magadha. He became Buddhist and authored many Buddhist texts.

#### **Vararuchi II and Kālidāsa (800-700 BCE)**

Vararuchi II lived in Varanasi during the reign of King Bhūmiśukla. The king wanted to marry off his daughter Vasanti to Vararuchi but arrogant Vasanti refused to marry Vararuchi because she considered herself a greater scholar than him. Vararuchi II vowed to teach a lesson to Vasanti. He found a handsome cowherd in Magadha who was cutting the branch

while sitting on it. He somehow managed to befool Vasanti and convinced her to marry the cowherd. After knowing the real identity of her husband, Vasanti tried to educate him. The cowherd used to worship the goddess of Kāli every day with flowers. Gradually, he became a learned man and came to be known as Kālidāsa. Taranatha mentions that Kālidāsa wrote “*Meghadūtam*” and “*Maṅgalāṣṭakam*”. Evidently, Kālidāsa I, the author of “*Meghadūtam*” was the contemporary of King Kumārādāsa of Sri Lanka and lived in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

According to Taranatha, Saṅghavardhana of Li-yul (Khotan), Acharya Vāmana of Thogar (Traigarta?), Kuṇāla of Kashmir, Śubhaṅkara of central Aparāntaka and Kumāralābha were the contemporaries of Vararuchi II and Saptavarman. Historians mistakenly considered Kumāralāta and Kumāralābha as the same person. In reality, Kumāralāta lived around 1325-1250 BCE whereas Kumāralābha lived around 800-700 BCE.

#### **Dharmadāsa (700-620 BCE) and Íśvarasena (660-580 BCE)**

Dharmadāsa was the teacher of Dharmapāla. Íśvarasena was a Buddhist scholar of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. He taught Nyāya to Dharmakīrti.

#### **Dharmapāla (670-580 BCE) and Jayadeva (640-570 BCE)**

Dharmapāla was born in a family of bards in the South. He was the disciple of Dharmadāsa. He became the head of Nālanda. He was the teacher of Dharmakīrti. Jayadeva succeeded Dharmapāla in Nālanda. Śāntideva and Virūpa were his disciples. Śāntideva was the son of a king of Saurashtra.

#### **Devaśarmā (660-580 BCE)**

Devaśarmā was the disciple of Dharmapāla. He composed a commentary on Mādhyamika Buddhism. He influenced King Śālivāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna to accept Buddhism.

#### **Dharmakīrti (610-520 BCE)**

Dharmakīrti was born in the kingdom of Chūḍāmaṇi in the South. He was the disciple of Dharmapāla, according to Tibetan sources. The same Tibetan sources also tell us that Dharmakīrti was the contemporary of Tibetan King *Srong-btan-gampo* who married a Chinese princess



*Kong-Cho*. The date of the Chinese princess is discernible from Chinese sources. The King *Srong-btan-gampo*'s period is given in the works of *Bai'Du'rya dkar-po*, which have been cited in 'Tibetan Grammar' by L Soma de Koros.

In all probability, Tibetan King *Srong-btan-gampo* lived for 80 years around 571-491 BCE. Dharmakīrti attacked Udyotakara and Kumārila I. Śīlabhadra and Devendrabhūti were the pupils of Dharmakīrti and Śākyabuddhi was the pupil of Devendrabhūti. Prabhābuddhi was the pupil of Śākyabuddhi.

Dharmakīrti was the nephew of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I (618-540 BCE). During the time of Dharmakīrti, Ādi Śaṅkara (568-536 BCE) defeated Buddhists in a debate. Taranatha writes: "Inflated with vanity, they entered into debate with Śaṅkarāchārya. In this the Buddhists were defeated and, as a result everything belonging to the twenty-five centers of the Doctrine was lost to Tirthikas (Brahmana philosophers) and the centers were deserted. About five hundred Upāsakas (Buddhists) had to enter the path of Tirthikas."

Taranatha also tells us that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I also defeated Buddhists in Orissa. A Brahmana named Kuliśaśreṣṭha who lived in Buddha Vihāra in disguise also defeated Buddhists.

It appears that after the death of Ādi Śaṅkara in 536 BCE, his disciples might have challenged Dharmakīrti for debate. Taranatha simply says that a debate between Śaṅkarāchārya and Dharmakīrti was organized in Varanasi. Śaṅkarāchārya declared in the presence of the king that in case of my defeat, I shall kill myself by jumping into Ganga. Dharmakīrti defeated Śaṅkarāchārya repeatedly and Śaṅkarāchārya jumped into Ganga and died. Seemingly, the Śaṅkarāchārya who debated with Dharmakīrti was most probably a disciple of Ādi Śaṅkara. It appears that Dharmakīrti debated with many disciples of Ādi Śaṅkara and defeated them.

Interestingly, Taranatha indicates that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa II and Śaṅkarāchārya II were born again. He says, "Śaṅkarāchārya was born again as the son of Bhaṭṭa Acharya, the second and in intelligence became stronger than before."

### **Kings Vimalachandra, Govichandra and Lalitachandra**

During this period, the kings of Chandra dynasty like Vimalachandra and Gobichandra patronized Buddhism in Bangladesh. King Vimalachandra, son of Balachandra, was the contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Poet Amarasimha was in the court of Vimalachandra.

### **Post-Classical Era of Buddhism (500 BCE to 600 CE)**

#### **Guṇaprabha (475-400 BCE)**

Guṇaprabha was the native of Mathurā. He resided in a monastery named “Agrapuri” (modern Agra) of Mathurā. Taranatha erroneously mentions him to be the disciple of Vasubandhu. Most probably, Guṇaprabha followed the abhidharma of Vasubandhu. Taranatha also mentions that Guṇaprabha was the contemporary of King Sri Harsha of Sthāṇvīśvara. In fact, Sri Harsha accepted Guṇaprabha as his preceptor. The commentary on the Bodhisattva Bhūmi attributed to Guṇaprabha mentions him as the preceptor of King Harshavardhana of Sthāṇvīśvara. Taranatha also informs us that a Turuṣka king Mahasammata was ruling in Kashmir. Sri Harsha built a big Buddhist monastery in Multan.

#### **Saṅghadāsa (475-400 BCE)**

Saṅghadāsa was the contemporary of Guṇaprabha. According to Taranatha, Turuṣka king Mahasammata was reigning close to Kashmir, who built the Vihāras called Ratnagupta and Kumbhakundali. Taranatha erroneously mentions him to be the disciple of Vasubandhu. Most probably, Saṅghadāsa followed the abhidharma of Vasubandhu.

#### **Dharmamitra (440-360 BCE) and Chandramaṇi (430-350 BCE)**

Dharmamitra and Chandramaṇi were the disciples of Guṇaprabha. Chandramaṇi was the preceptor of King Prakāśaśīla II, the son of King Sri Harsha.

### **The Reign of Gupta Dynasty and Buddhism**

Chandragupta I established the rule of Gupta dynasty in Magadha around 334 BCE. The Guptas were Parama-bhāgavatas or the followers of Vaishnavism. They neither promoted nor suppressed Buddhism. Actually, the debates between Buddhist scholars and Vedic philosophers became rare due to lack of royal patronage.

Taranatha rightly says that after Dharmakīrti and before King Śaśānka (35 BCE), there were 84 siddha āchāryas but there was practically none equal to the older āchāryas. He also says that Buddhism became weaker and eventually became extinct in the South during this period. However, Taranatha gives many names of Buddhist scholars like Krishnāchārya, Sahajalalita, Vinītadeva, Śubhamitra, Kalyāṇamitra, Śāntisoma, Āchārya Kambala, Indrabhūti, Kururarāja, Kutarāja, Padmavajra, Lalitavajra, Śrigupta, Jñānagarbha, Aśvabhava, Puṇyakīrti Śāntiprabha and Kamalagomin, who probably lived from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

### **Kumārajīva (327-248 BCE)**

Kumārajīva was a great scholar of Buddhism. He belonged to Kashmir and Kucha kingdom. His fame reached China. Chinese emperor Fu Jian sent his general Lu Guang to bring Kumārajīva to his capital Changan. Lu Guang captured Kumārajīva around 287 BCE and kept him in prison. Yao Xing overthrew Fu Jian and became the king of Changan. He persuaded Lu Guang to send Kumārajīva to Changan. Thus, Kumārajīva went to the city of Changan around 260 BCE. He became the head of Buddhist studies in Changan and translated many Buddhist texts into Chinese language. He also translated *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu as recorded in Chinese sources. Undoubtedly, Vasubandhu lived many centuries before Kumārajīva.

### **Fahien (280-200 BCE)**

It appears that Indian Buddhist scholars regularly visited China and Tibet till the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Thereafter, the visits of Buddhist scholars of India have drastically come down or completely stopped. This led the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to visit India for not only the holy places but also to study Buddhist philosophy. Fahien visited India around 250-230 BCE to procure the Buddhist texts of Vinaya. He also stayed in Sri Lanka for two years on the way back to China.

Fahien says that Buddha attained nirvāṇa more than 300 years before the King Ping of Zhou dynasty (1480-1428 BCE). When the monks asked Fahien if it could be known when the Law of Buddha first went to the east, he replied, “When I asked the people of those countries about it, they all

said that it had been handed down by their fathers from of old that, after the setting up of the image of Maitreya Bodhisattva, there were sramans of India who crossed this river, carrying with them sutras and Books of Discipline. Now the image was set up rather more than 300 years after the nirvāṇa of Buddha, which may be referred to the reign of King Ping of the Chow (Zhou) dynasty.” Evidently, Fahien indicates the date of Buddha nirvāṇa to be roughly before 1800 BCE.

### **Sung Yun (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE)**

Chinese Buddhist monk Sung Yun visited Chitral, Swat Valley and Gāndhāra region around 142-138 BCE. He visited Kanishka Stūpa in Peshawar. The height of Kanishka Stūpa was 700 feet during the lifetime of Sung Yun.

### **Hiuen Tsang or Xuanzang (58 BCE-4 CE)**

Hiuen Tsang, a Buddhist monk of central China, sojourned in India around 30-15 BCE. He collected 657 Buddhist texts and carried to China. He carried back to China 15 works of Mahāsāṅghika sect, 15 works of Sammatīya sect, 22 works of Mahīśāsakīya sect, 17 works of Kaśyapīya sect, 42 works of Dharmaguptaka sect, 67 works of Sarvāstivādin sect, etc. He became the pupil of Śīlabhadra and studied at Nālanda Vihāra. Hiuen Tsang mentions Buddhist scholars Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra, Guṇamati, Sthiramati and Prabhāmitra. Prabhāmitra died in China as recorded by Hiuen Tsang.

### **I-tsing or Yijing (25 BCE - 53 CE)**

I-tsing was born during the reign of the Tang dynasty. He travelled to India and Srivijaya around 10-35 CE. I-tsing tells us that Nāgārjuna, Deva, Aśvaghōṣa belong to an early age of Buddhism whereas Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Saṅghabhadra, Bhāvaviveka belong to the middle ages. According to him, Jina, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, Simhakandra, Sthiramati, Guṇamati, Prāgñagupta, Guṇaprabha, Jinaprabha or Pramaprabha belong to later years.

### **Śākyaprabha (70-0 BCE)**

Āchārya Śākyaprabha was born in Kashmir during the time of Gopāla. He was the disciple of Śāntiprabha and Puṇyakīrti. Dānaśīla, Viśeṣamitra,

Prajñavarman and Sura were the contemporaries of Śāntiprabha in Kashmir. Āchārya Jñānagarbha lived in the east (Nālanda).

#### **Dānaśīla (80-10 BCE)**

Dānaśīla of Kashmir visited Tibet and translated more than 100 Buddhist texts into Tibetan language under the patronage of Tibetan King *Khri-lde-sron-btsan* (31-11 BCE). Dānaśīla also authored *Mahāvvyutpatti*.

#### **Śīlabhadra (70-0 BCE)**

Śīlabhadra, the famous āchārya of Nālanda, was the preceptor of Hiuen Tsang. During his time, Harshdeva or Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain (81-20 BCE) was ruling in Uttarāpatha including Kashmir. Śākyamuni (a disciple of Śākyaprabha), Prince Yaśomitra and Pandita Prithvibandhu were the contemporaries of Śīlabhadra.

#### **Prajñākara Gupta (40-120 CE)**

Prajñākara Gupta was the author of *Pramāṇavārtikālaṅkāra*. He clarified the view of Dharmakīrti and criticized Devendrabhūti.

#### **Karṇakagomin (40-120 CE)**

Karṇakagomin wrote a commentary on *Pramānavārtika* of Dharmakīrti. He mentioned the name of Uṇveka, the teacher of Bhavabhūti.

#### **Dharmottara (30-130 CE)**

Dharmottara wrote *Nyāyabindutīkā*. He was the disciple of Archata and Śubhagupta. He was the contemporary of Kashmir King Chippata Jayāpīda (102-114 CE). Taranatha indicates that Dharmottara was a contemporary of Pāla King Dharmapāla (110-160 CE).

#### **Śāntarakṣita (50-130 CE)**

Śāntarakṣita quoted Gauḍapāda. He has repeatedly attacked Kumārila's *Ślokavārtika*. He wrote a commentary on a work of Dharmakīrti. According to Tibetan sources, Śāntarakṣita visited Tibet at the invitation of King *Khri-sron-deu-tsari* (95-144 CE) who was born around 67 CE. Śāntarakṣita worked in Tibet for 13 years. Śāntarakṣita was born during the reign of Pāla King Gopāla and died during the reign of King Dharmapāla.

### **Kamalaśīla (60-140 CE)**

Kamalaśīla was the disciple of Śāntarakṣita. He quoted Gauḍapāda. He refers to Vindhyāvāsin in his *Tattvasaṅgraha*. Kamalaśīla has not only mentioned Uṛveka but also quoted him. He was a senior contemporary of King Dharmapāla as indicated by Taranatha.

### **Haribhadra (70-140 CE)**

Haribhadra was preceptor of Pāla King Dharmapāla. He was the pupil of Śāntarakṣita and Vairochanabhadra. Buddhajñāna was the disciple of Haribhadra.

### **King Gopāla (70-110 CE) and the Odantapuri Vihāra**

*Gaudavaho* of Vākpatirāja records that Kānyakubja King Yaśovarman killed the king of Bengal. Taranatha says that there was no king in Bengal for many years. Later, people elected Gopāla as the king of Bengal at the end of 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Thus, Gopāla founded the rule of Pāla dynasty. King Gopāla built the Odantapuri Vihāra.

King Gopāla also conquered Magadha and ruled for 45 years. According to Indradutta, Gopāla became king immediately after the death of Āchārya Chārin (Krishnāchārya?) whereas Kśemendrabhadra says that Gopāla became king seven years later.

### **King Dharmapāla (110-160 CE) and King Devapāla (161-212 CE)**

Dharmapāla conquered Kāmarūpa in the east to Jalandhara in the west. He became the ruler of entire Uttarāpatha for a short period. Haribhadra was his preceptor of Buddhism. Dharmapāla built Sri Vikramaśīlā Vihāra. Buddhist scholars like Kalyāṇagupta, Sundaravyūha, Sāgaramegha, Prabhākara, Pūrṇavardhana, Buddhajñāna, Buddhaguhya and Buddhaśānti were the contemporaries of Dharmapāla. Padmākaraguhya, Dharmakaradatta and Simhamukha flourished in Kashmir at the same time. Taranatha informs us that King Devapāla built the Somapuri Vihāra.

### **Buddhajñāpāda (100-180 CE)**

Buddhajñāna was the disciple of Haribhadra. He became the Vajrāchārya of Vikramaśīlā Vihāra after the death of Haribhadra. Thus, Haribhadra was the first Vajrāchārya (head) of Vikramaśīlā Vihāra. Praśāntamitra, Rāhulabhadra, Buddhaguhya and Buddhaśānti were the disciples of Buddhajñāna.

**Kalyaṇarakṣita (225-310 CE)**

Kalyaṇarakṣita refers to Vāchaspati. His disciple Ratnākaraśānti became the teacher at Vikramaśilā University during the reign of King Chaṇaka who died in 322 CE.

**Ānandagarbha (260-340 CE)**

Ānandagarbha studied at Vikramaśilā. He was the senior contemporary of Mahīpāla who reigned around 310-360 CE. Amṛtaguhyā was his disciple.

**Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (321-393 CE)**

According to Taranatha, Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna was the contemporary of Kings Bheyapāla and Nayapāla (360-400 CE). He became the head of Odantapuri Vihāra and Vikramaśilā Vihāra. He preached Buddhism in Suvarṇabhūmi (Thailand, Malaysia, Cambodia and Indonesia). He stayed 12 years in Sumatra. He was the key figure in the establishment of Tibetan Buddhism. He revived Vajrayāna in Tibet.

**Ratnākara Gupta (360-440 CE) and Abhayaṅkara Gupta (400-480 CE)**

Ratnākara Gupta was the contemporary of King Amrapāla, the son of Nayapāla. Abhayaṅkara Gupta was the contemporary of King Rāmapāla (436-480 CE). He was appointed as the head of Nālanda and Vikramaśilā.

**Śubhaṅkara Gupta (430-510 CE)**

After the death of King Rāmapāla around 480 CE, his son Yakśapāla became the king but the minister Lavasena usurped the throne. During this period, Śubhaṅkara Gupta became the head of Vikramaśilā.

**Buddhism After the Decline of Pāla Dynasty (480-550 CE)**

According to Taranatha, post Yakśapāla, Lavasena, Kāśasena or Yakśasena, Manitasena and Rathikasena reigned for 24 years (eighty years?). Śubhaṅkara Gupta, Ravi Śrījñāna, Nayakapaśri, Daśabalaśri, Dharmakaraśānti, Vikhyāta Deva, Niṣkalaṅkadeva and Dharmakara Gupta lived during this period. Śākyaśribhadra of Kashmir, Buddhaśri of Nepal, Ratnarakṣita, Jñānaka Gupta, Buddhaśrimitra, Saṅgamajñāna, Raviśribhadra and Chandrakara Gupta also flourished during this period.

**The Guruparamparā of Sri Vikramaśilā Vihāra (130-550 BCE) as given by Taranatha**

	Achāryas	In CE
	Haribhadra	-
1.	Buddhajñāna	125-160 CE
2.	Dīpaṅkarabhadra	160-170 CE
3.	Lankā-Jayabhadra (from Sri Lanka)	170-180 CE
4.	Tantrāchārya	180-190 CE
5.	Śrīdhara	190-200 CE
6.	Bhavabhadra	200-210 CE
7.	Bhavyakīrti	210-220 CE
8.	Līlavajra (Turuṣka invasion??)	220-230 CE
9.	Durjayachandra	230-240 CE
10.	Krishna-samaya-vajra	240-250 CE
11.	Tathāgata-Rakṣita	250-260 CE
12.	Bodhibhadra	260-270 CE
13.	Kalyāṇarakṣita (Turuṣka invasion??)	270-300 CE
14.	Six Door-keeper Scholars	300-350 CE
	No head for some years	350-360 CE
15.	Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna	360-381 CE
	No head for seven years	381-393 CE
16.	Mahāvajrāsana	393-400 CE
17.	Kamalakuliśa	400-420 CE
18.	Narendra Śrījñāna	420-435 CE
19.	Dānarakṣita	435-450 CE
20.	Abhayaṅkaragupta	450-480 CE
21.	Śubhaṅkaragupta	480-510 CE
22.	Nayakapaśri	510-520 CE
23.	Dharmakaraśānti	520-530 CE
24.	Śākyaśri (from Kashmir)	530-540 CE



### **Buddhism: A Retrospection**

It is truly fascinating how an Indian prince renounced his family and kingdom to enlighten himself and preached more inclusive philosophy of life that turned into a philosophical religion called Buddhism. This philosophical religion not only challenged the established social and philosophical rigidities and ushered an all-round revolution in India but also spread by preaching in entire Asia without predating. No religion of the past or present can match even a fraction of the amazing journey of Buddhism in the last 3900 years.

Traditionally, Indian schools of philosophies always promoted argumentative environment for establishing the logical and scientific facts. This argumentative culture of ancient India led to the evolution of multi-philosophical and polytheistic society since early Vedic times that laid a strong foundation for tolerance towards the divergence of opinion. Though various Indian sects and ideologies heavily criticized each other regularly, it rarely led to a bloody violence. There were only three such major instances of religious violence in the history of ancient India: the killing of many Ājīvikas during the reign of Kālāśoka or Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE) and the state-supported violence against Buddhist Vihāras during the reign of Śuṅga King Puṣyamitra (1459-1423 BCE) and Kashmir King Mihirakula (1320-1260 BCE). Western historians mischievously propagated the myth that Buddhists were regularly persecuted in ancient India. Except the violence during the time of Puṣyamitra and Mihirakula, there is no such record of persecution in the entire history of Buddhism in India. In reality, Buddha had already been accepted by common people as an incarnation of Vishnu starting from the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE. More than 75 per cent of ancient Buddhist scholars belonged to the Brahmana families.

Buddhism could never become a pan-India religion due to the strong resistance of Sanātana Dharma. It was only established in some regions of Southern, Eastern and North-western India. It became extinct in Southern India after the end of the rule of Śātavāhanas in the absence of royal patronage. Buddhism continuously flourished in many regions of Uttarāpatha starting from Afghanistan and Kashmir in

the west to Aparāntaka (Bangladesh) in the east till the terrorist Islamic invasion. Truly speaking, barbaric and terrorist Islamic invasions on North India caused the real decline of Buddhism in India. Muslim invaders completely destroyed the Buddhist Vihāras including Nālanda and Vikramaśilā, etc.

Interestingly, King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE) laid strong foundations of Buddhism in Kāmarūpa, Aparāntaka in the East, Kashmir, Takśaśilā in the west and Kaliṅga, Tāmraparṇi, Karnataka in the South 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Buddhism reached Kashmir and Takśaśilā during the lifetime of Mahākaśyapa, the disciple of Buddha. Buddhism was introduced in Tibet, Bactria, Gāndhāra, Persia and Syria during the lifetime of Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi, also known as Padmasambhava, within 300 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Maurya Aśoka sent Buddhist missions to Sri Lanka, Suvarṇabhūmi (Myanmar, Thailand, etc.) in 1529 BCE. Probably, Arya Mahāsudarśana introduced Buddhism in China for the first time around 1318-1300 BCE.

Zoroaster started preaching Zoroastrianism 600 years after Buddha nirvāṇa and consequently, Buddhism became extinct in Persia and Syria. The rise of Zoroastrianism did not allow Buddhism to grow beyond Gāndhāra and Bactria in the west. Kashmir King Mihirakula (1320-1260 BCE) occupied the city of Śākala and he was also hostile to Buddhism. Therefore, Buddhism started looking towards the east and reached up to Mongolia and China.

Taranatha records that Buddhism was established in Simhaladvīpa, Yavadvīpa, Tāmradvīpa, Suvarṇadvīpa, Dhanasridvīpa and Pa-yi-gu in the early period (probably, after the third council at Pataliputra). According to him, Āchārya Padmākara and Dīpaṅkara Bhadra introduced Buddhism in Dramila (Kanchi, Northern Tamil Nadu) country.

Many kings of Kānchi like Śuklarāja, Chandraśobha, Mahendra, Kśemaṅkara, Manohara, Bhogasubala, Chandrasena, Śaṅkarasimha, etc., promoted Buddhism in Kānchi before the time of Nāgārjuna II (1100-1020 BCE). King Balamitra built a Chaitya in Ratnagiri, Kaliṅga. Buddhist monks Nāgaketu, Vardhamāla, Gaggari, Kumārananda, Matikumāra, Bhadrananda, Dānabhadra, Laṅkadeva, Bāhubhujā, Madhyamati, etc., also appeared in the South shortly before Nāgārjuna II.

Interestingly, Buddhism split into two sects, i.e., “Mahāsāṅghika” and “Theravāda” within 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa due to difference of opinion about Vinaya in the second council held at Vaiśālī. Theravādins referred to the epoch of the second council as the era of Jinachakka. Most probably, Kātyāyana Vararuchi (1670-1580 BCE), the minister of Mahāpadma Nanda, was the founder of Mūlasarvāstivāda. The list of Sarvāstivādins (Kātyāyana, Vasumitra, Krishna, Pārśva, Aśvaghōṣa I, Kumāralāta, Vira, Ghoṣa, Pūrṇa and Aśvaghōṣa II) clearly indicates Kātyāyana to be the first Sarvāstivādin. Thus, Sarvāstivāda was born in the eastern India. At the same time, Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi (1650-1550 BCE), a contemporary of Kātyāyana, wrote Prajñā-Pāramitā-sūtra and founded Mahāyāna Buddhism. Evidently, North Indian Buddhist scholars of Mahāsāṅghika sect started writing treatises in Sanskrit 250 years after Buddha nirvāṇa whereas Theravādins continued to use Pāli language only.

According to Theravāda tradition, Buddhism first split into Mahāsāṅghikas and Theravādins. Mahāsāṅghikas further split into eight sects, namely, Mūlamahāsāṅghikas, Ekavyavahārikas, Lokottaravādins, Bahuśrutīyas, Prajñaptivādins, Chaityakas, Pūrvasāilas and Aparasāilas. Theravāda also divided into ten sects, namely, Mūla-sthaviras, Sarvāstivādins, Vātsīputrīyas, Dharmottariyas, Bhadrāyānis, Sammatīyas, Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptikas, Suvarśakas and Uttariyas.

According to *Mahāvamśa*: “One and united was the school of the Theras in the first hundred years. But afterwards arose other schools of doctrine. The heretical bhikkhus, subdued by the Theras who had held the Second Council, in all ten thousand, founded the school which bears the name “Mahāsāṅghika”. From this arose the Gokulika and Ekavyoharika schools. From the Gokulika arose the Pannatti sect and the Bahulika, from these the Chetiya sect. Thus, there are six, with the Mahāsāṅghika, and yet two more groups parted from the followers of the Thera-doctrine: the Mahīśāsaka and the Vajjiputtaka bhikkhus. And there parted from them likewise the Dhammuttariya and Bhadrāyānika bhikkhus, the Chandāgārika, the Sammati and the Vajjiputtiya bhikkhus. From the Mahīśāsaka bhikkhus two groups parted, the bhikkhus who held by the Sabbattha school and the Dhammaguttika bhikkhus. From the Sabbattha

sect arose the Kassapiya, from these arose the Samkantika bhikkhus, from these last the Sutta sect. These are twelve together with those of the Theravādoctrine; thereto are added the six schools named and these together are eighteen. Thus, in the second century (after Buddha nirvāṇa) arose seventeen schools, and other schools arose afterwards. The Hemavata and the Rājagiriya and likewise the Siddhantika, the first Seliya bhikkhus, the other Seliya, and the Vājiriya: these six separated from the rest in Jambudipa, the Dhammaruchi and the Sāgaliya separated from the rest in the island of Lanka.”<sup>17</sup>

According to Mahāsāṅghika tradition, Buddhism first split into three sects, Mahāsāṅghikas, Vibhajyavādins and Theravādins. Then, Theravādins split into two, Sarvāstivādins and Vātsīputrīyas. Sarvāstivādins were divided into two, namely Mūla-sarvāstivādins and Sūtravādins. Vātsīputrīyas were divided into four, namely Sammatīyas, Dharmottarīyas, Bhadrāyānis and Sannagarīyas. Mahāsāṅghikas were divided into eight sects, namely Mūlamahāsāṅghikas, Pūrvaśailas, Aparāśailas, Rājagirikas, Haimavatas, Chaityakas, Siddhārthakas and Gokulikas. Vibhajyavādins were divided into four, namely Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptikas, Kaśyapīyas and Tāmrasatīyas.

According to Vinitadeva’s *Samayabhedopa-rachanā-chakra* (Sarvāstivāda tradition), Mahāsāṅghikas had five main branches, namely, Pūrvaśailas, Aparāśailas, Haimavatas, Lokottaravādins and Prajñaptivādins. Sarvāstivādins were divided into seven sects, namely, Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, Kaśyapīyas, Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptikas, Bahuśrutīyas, Tāmrasatīyas and Vibhajyavādins. Theravādins were divided into three, namely, Jetavanīyas, Abhayagirivāsins and Mahāvihāravāsins. Sammatīya Theravādins had three branches, namely Kaurukullakas, Āvantakas, Vātsīputrīyas.

Though the account of Buddhist sects slightly differs in various traditions, total eighteen sects of Buddhism were existing during time of Kushana King Kanishka. Kumāralāta founded the Sautrāntika School in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Nāgārjuna founded the school of Mādhyamika and Nanda, Paramasena and Samyaksatyā founded the Yogāchāra School in

the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Asaṅga and Vasubandhu contributed a lot for the schools of Yogācāra and Sautrāntika.

Taranatha mentions that after the time of Vasubandhu, the schools of Pūrvaśāila, Aparāśāila and Himavat of Mahāsāṅghikas, Kaśyapīya and Vibhajyavādin of Sarvāstivāda, Mahāvihāravāsin, Ānantaka and Sammatīya became extinct. But Hiuen Tsang could collect 15 texts of Sammatīya and 17 texts of Kaśyapīya. It appears that the texts of Sammatīya and Kaśyapīya sects were still available during the time of Hiuen Tsang. An inscription of Hūṇa King Toramāṇa Shāh (2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE) found in Salt Range, Punjab Province in Pakistan informs us that King Toramāṇa Shāh made a grant to a Buddhist monoastery of Mahīśāsakīya School.

According to Taranatha, the difference between the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna almost disappeared during the time of Pāla kings of Bengal. There are Vajrāyana, Mantrayāna and Sūtrayāna schools but they are not different from Mahāyāna. Taranatha indicates that Mantrayāna originated in Dhanyakataka, a city close to Amarāvati, Andhra Pradesh. Interestingly, Taranatha says that only seven Buddhist sects survived during the reign of Pāla dynasty.





## The Chronological History of Jainism

Ancient Jain literature and Jain *Paṭṭāvalis* provide the great deal of information about the early history of Jainism. The *Paṭṭāvalis* referred to the Mahāvira nirvāṇa era and the Kārttikādi Vikrama era for recording the historical dates. It may be noted that the Śaka era commenced on 20/21 Mar 583 BCE. Therefore, the Śaka era started exactly after an interval of 135 years and five months from the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE), i.e., 16<sup>th</sup> Oct 719 BCE. Thus, the entire Jain chronology has been presented considering the Mahāvira nirvāṇa 470 years before the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and 605 years and five months before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Therefore, the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) must be the sheet anchors of the Jain chronology.

### The Date of Vardhamāna Mahāvira (1261-1189 BCE)

As explained above, Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa on Kārittika Amāvāsyā, Svāti Nakśatra, i.e., 21<sup>st</sup>/22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 1189 BCE, 470 years before the epoch the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and 605 years and five months before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Mahāvira lived for 72 years. Thus, he was born on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the bright half of Chaitra month (Chaitra Śukla Trayodaśī) and Uttara Phālgunī Nakśatra, i.e., 28<sup>th</sup> / 29<sup>th</sup> Mar 1261 BCE. *Kalpasūtra* mentions that five auspicious events of Mahāvira's life took place when moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttara Phālgunī but Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa when moon was in conjunction with the asterism with Svāti.

### The Kālachakra of Jainism

According to Jain cosmology, Kālachakra, i.e., the wheel of time is divided into two half rotations, *Utsarpiṇī* and *Avasarpiṇī*. *Utsarpiṇī* is divided into six equal parts, i.e., 1. Duṣamā-Duṣamā, 2. Duṣamā, 3. Duṣamā-Suṣamā, 4. Suṣamā-Duṣamā, 5. Suṣamā and 6. Suṣamā-Suṣamā. *Avasarpiṇī* is also divided into six equal parts, i.e., 1. Suṣamā-Suṣamā, 2. Suṣamā, 3. Suṣamā-Duṣamā, 4. Duṣamā-Suṣamā, 5. Duṣamā and 6. Duṣamā-Duṣamā. Later Jain texts allocate innumerable trillions of years for *Utsarpiṇī* and *Avasarpiṇī*. *Kalpasūtra*, the early Jain text written around 209 BCE, mentions that total 999,999,999,980,000 *Sāgaropama* years [(3 years and 8½ months) + (1 crore × 1 crore *Sāgaropama* years) - (2003 years and 8½ years)] have elapsed from Rīṣabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara to Mahāvira, the 24<sup>th</sup> Tirthaṅkara. Though *Kalpasūtra* referred to the units of time like *Sāgaropama*, *Pūrva*, etc., but did not define them. In Sanskrit, *Sāgaropama* means “like ocean” which indicates that the word “*Sāgaropama*” was referred to countless years. Later Jain texts defined that one *Sāgaropama* equals to 10 quadrillion *Palyopamas*. *Palyopama* is, in fact, an infinitesimal of countless years, which can be equal to the highest measurable time unit named *Śīrṣaprahelikā*, i.e.,  $10^{194}$ . Thus, one *Sāgaropama* year equals to  $10^{210}$ .

The concept of *Utsarpiṇī* and *Avasarpiṇī* and Suṣamā and Duṣamā existed in India since ancient times. Āryabhaṭa (3173-3100 BCE) used this concept in his astronomical work “*Āryabhaṭīyam*”.

### Jainism Before Mahāvira

*Kalpasūtra* is the earliest Jain text which gives the account of 24 Tirthaṅkaras. Though many historians doubted the historicity of early Tirthaṅkaras, it appears that all 24 Tirthaṅkaras were historic personalities. All of them were Kṣatriyas and belonged to Ikṣvāku dynasty except Munisuvrata (20<sup>th</sup>) and Nami (21<sup>st</sup>) who belonged to Harivaṃśa.

### Rīṣabhadeva, the First Tirthaṅkara (~14300 BCE)

*Śrutyaavatāra* of Indranandī mentions about 14 Kulakaras lived before the date of Rīṣabhadeva. The 14<sup>th</sup> Kulakara, King Nābha was the father of Rīṣabhadeva. *Kalpasūtra* does not mention about Kulakaras. *Kalpasūtra* tells us that Rīṣabha was born to King Nābha and Marudevi. According to



*Vishnu Purāṇa*, Ikṣvāku Nabha belonged to the Manu (Ikṣvāku) dynasty and ruled over the Kosala kingdom. Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa and *Vishnu Purāṇa* give the genealogy of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. *Vishnu Purāṇa* places Nābhāga 15 generations before Daśaratha whereas Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa mentions that Nābhāga was the father of Aja and the grandfather of Daśaratha. Another Ikṣvāku King Nābha was the 5<sup>th</sup> descendant (Kuśa, Atithi, Niṣadha, Nala and Nābha) of King Rāma.

Most probably, Rīṣabhadeva, the first Tirthaṅkara, was the grandson of Agnīdhra who was the grandson of Svāyambhuva Manu. Thus, Rīṣabhadeva lived in the early Vedic period around 14300 BCE. According to *Kalpasūtra*, Rīṣabhadeva was born when moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttarāṣāḍhā and he attained nirvāṇa when moon was in conjunction with the asterism Abhijit. The reference to Abhijit Nakṣatra also indicates the greater antiquity of the historical account of Rīṣabhadeva because the asterism Abhijit (28<sup>th</sup> Nakṣatra) was excluded from the list of 27 Nakṣatras in the post Vedic period around 9000-8000 BCE

### **From the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tirthaṅkara to the 21<sup>st</sup> Tirthaṅkara**

*Kalpasūtra* gives only the names of Tirthaṅkaras from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tirthaṅkara to the 21<sup>st</sup> Tirthaṅkara as 2. Ajita 3. Sambhava 4. Abhinandana 5. Sumati 6. Padmaprabha 7. Supārśva 8. Chandraprabha 9. Suvidhi Puṣpadanta 10. Śītala 11. Śreyāṅsa 12. Vasupūjya 13. Vimala 14. Ananta 15. Dharma 16. Śānti 17. Kunthu 18. Ara 19. Malli 20. Munisuvrata 21. Nami. Evidently, the history of these Tirthaṅkaras has been lost by the time of the author of *Kalpasūtra*.

### **Ariṣṭanemi, the 22<sup>nd</sup> Tirthaṅkara**

Ariṣṭanemi was the son of Samudravijaya, the King of Śauripura and Śivadevi. He was born when moon was in conjunction with the asterism Chitrā and also attained nirvāṇa in the same asterism Chitrā. *Kalpasūtra* tells us that Ariṣṭanemi moved through the city of Dvāravatī (Dwārakā), which clearly indicates that Ariṣṭanemi lived before the city of Dvāravatī submerged into sea. Seemingly, Ariṣṭanemi flourished during the Mahābhārata era. Later Jain texts mention that Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha was the cousin of Sri Krishna.

### **Pārśvanātha, the 23<sup>rd</sup> Tirthaṅkara**

According to *Śrutyaavatāra* of Indranandī, Pārśvanātha flourished 250 years before Mahāvira (1261-1189 BCE) and lived for 100 years. Therefore, the date of Pārśvanātha can be fixed around 1539-1439 BCE. He was the son of King Aśvasena and Vāmadevi. Aśvasena was a king of Varanasi.

We can roughly conclude that the twenty-two Tirthaṅkaras flourished during the period from 14300 BCE to 3100 BCE. It appears that Tirthaṅkaras practiced extremely hard ascetic life and transmitted Jain philosophy and knowledge orally to their disciples. Since the early Jainism practiced the toughest ascetic life, only limited people might have followed the Tirthaṅkaras. It appears that Jains were known as “Nirgranthas” during the time of Buddha (1944-1864 BCE) because they have not yet presented their philosophy and knowledge in the form of written treatises. Evidently, Tirthaṅkaras preferred for strict practice of the tenets of Jainism instead of writing theories in books.

Seemingly, Pārśvanātha, the 23<sup>rd</sup> Tirthaṅkara emerged as an important religious leader of Jainism in the 15<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Mahāvira, the 24<sup>th</sup> Tirthaṅkara laid strong foundations of Jainism around 1225-1189 BCE.

### **Mahāvira, the 24<sup>th</sup> Tirthaṅkara and His Contemporaries**

Mahāvira was the son of Kuṇḍagrāma King Siddhārtha of the Ikśvāku dynasty and Triśālā, the sister of King Cheṭaka of Vajji Gaṇarājya. During the period of 1250-1215 BCE, King Śreṇika was on the throne of Rājagriha (Magadha) and King Cheṭaka was ruling at Vaiśālī. Brahmadaṭṭa was the King of Aṅga; Chanḍa Pradyota was the King of Avanti and Udayana was the King of Vatsa janapada.

### **King Śreṇika of Girivraja or Rājagriha (Magadha)**

King Śreṇika or Bhambhasāra married Chellanā, the daughter of King Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī. He defeated Brahmadaṭṭa of Aṅga janapada. He had three sons from Chellanā, Kuṇika, Halla and Vihalla. Śreṇika placed his son Kuṇika as governor of Champā city of the Aṅga janapada.

### Śreṇika and Kuṇika of Jainism vs. Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Buddhism

Historians mistakenly identified Śreṇika and Kuṇika to be Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. In entire Jain literature, Kuṇika was never referred to as Ajātaśatru. Śreṇika was referred to as “Bhambhasāra” on very few occasions in Jain literature. Historians considered Bhambhasāra and Bimbisāra as the same person. According to *Dīrgha Nikāya*, Ajātaśatru was the son of King Bimbisāra and Kosaladevi, the daughter of the king of Kosala janapada and the sister of Prasenajit. Videha janapada was also part of the Kosala janapada. Therefore, Buddhist sources refer to Ajātaśatru as Vaidehīputra, which means the son of Vaidehī, the daughter of Videha kingdom. According to *Nirayāvalika Sutta* of Jainism, Kuṇika was the son of Śreṇika and Chellanā. Chellanā was the daughter of Licchavi kingdom and not Kosala. Therefore, Kuṇika cannot be referred to as Vaidehīputra. Historians distorted the Jain references of “Videhaputta” and interpreted as Kuṇika but I have not found any direct reference of Videhaputta for Kuṇika. In fact, it is totally absurd to refer to Kuṇika as Videhaputta because Vaiśālī was never part of the Videha kingdom.

All Buddhist sources tell us that Ajātaśatru killed his father Bimbisāra and became the king of Magadha eight years before Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha whereas Jain sources inform us that Śreṇika appointed Kuṇika as the governor of Aṅga janapada. According to Jain sources, Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in the 22<sup>nd</sup> or the 19<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Kuṇika. Thus, we can fix the date of Kuṇika’s coronation around 1211-1208 BCE.

Since Śreṇika had soft corner to his younger sons Halla and Vihalla, Kuṇika imprisoned Śreṇika. Finally, Śreṇika committed suicide in prison. Kuṇika had a son named Udayabhadda. Jain text *Avaśyaka Chūrṇi* mentions that Kuṇika died in a war with Deva Krutamal, the guardian of Timisra caves whereas Buddhist sources tell us that Ajātaśatru was assassinated by his own son, Udāyi. Śreṇika’s dynasty had only three kings whereas Bimbisāra’s dynasty had seven kings up to Kālāśoka. Thereafter, ten sons of Kālāśoka reigned.

Jain text *Aupapatika Sutta* mentions that Kuṇika was the devotee of Mahāvira. There is record of a detailed discussion between Mahāvira and Kuṇika in the capital city of Champā. Kuṇika reigned only at Champā but

after his death, his son Udayabhadda transferred the capital to Pātaliputra as mentioned in Hemachandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparva*. *Samannaphala Sutta* of *Dirgha Nikāya* tells us that Ajātaśatru accepted Buddhism and erected a Stūpa on the ashes of Buddha after his Mahāparinirvāṇa. The first Buddhist council of Rājagriha was held immediately after Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha during the reign of Ajātaśatru.

Evidently, it is absurd to identify Śreṇika, Kuṇika and Udayabhadda of Jainism with Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Udāyi. Moreover, Buddha and Mahāvira were not contemporaries. Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE whereas Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE.

### **King Chanḍa Pradyota of Avanti**

Chanḍa Pradyota was ruling in Ujjain during the time of Mahāvira. Jain sources inform us that Chanḍa Pradyota died on the same night of Mahāvira nirvāṇa, i.e., 21<sup>st</sup> / 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 1189 BCE.

### **Makkhali (Maskari) Gośāliputra vs. Gośāla Mankhaliputra and Ājīvika Sect vs. Jainism**

According to *Samannaphala Sutta* of *Dirgha Nikāya*, King Ajātaśatru mentions six contemporary gurus of different philosophies in his conversation with Buddha. The names of six gurus are: 1. Purāṇa Kassapa 2. Maskari Gośāliputta 3. Ajita Keśakambalin 4. Pakudha Kacchāyana (Kātyāyana) 5. Sanjaya Belattiputta 6. Nigantha Nataputta. Jain text *Bhagavati Sutta* mentions that Gośāla Mankhaliputta was the contemporary of Mahāvira. Historians mistakenly identified both as the same person. In reality, Maskari or Makkhali was the son of Gośāli and a contemporary of Buddha (1944-1864 BCE) whereas Gośāla was the son of Mankha or Mankhali and a contemporary of Mahāvira (1261-1189 BCE). Therefore, it is totally absurd to identify both as the same.

Moreover, Makkhali (Maskari) Gośāliputta, a contemporary of Buddha, did not belong to Ājīvika sect. *Aśokāvadāna* clearly mentions that when a follower of the Nirgrantha depicted Buddha to be at the feet of Nirgrantha, eighteen thousand Ājīvikas of Pundravardhana were killed in one day by the orders of Aśoka. Evidently, Nirgranthas and Ājīvikas had a common origin. Therefore, Nigantha Nataputta, a contemporary

of Buddha, was the guru of Ājīvikas and not Makkhali Gośāliputta. Interestingly, Pāṇiṇi mentions that Maskara means Bamboo stick and Maskari means Parivrājaka (Saint) [*“Maskara-Maskariṇau Veṇu-Parivrājakayoḥ”*].<sup>1</sup> Thus, a Sanyāsī who holds Maskara (Bamboo stick or Danda) was called as Maskari. “Danda-Dhāraṇa” is not only a ritual but also an essential part of Sanyāsa Dharma of Hinduism. Therefore, Sanyāsīs were also called as Dandi. Bhāskara I informs us that Maskari, an astronomer-mathematician, lived before Āryabhaṭa who wrote a treatise in one lakh ślokas. Evidently, Maskari was used in the meaning of Dandi or Sanyāsī in ancient times. Besides, Makkari becomes Makkhali in Prakrit according to Prakrit grammar and not Mankhali. Therefore, Makkhali can never be Mankhali.

It is evident that Jains were referred to as Nirgranthas and Ājīvikas during the time of Buddha. *Bhagavati Sūtra* tells us that Gośāla Mankhaliputta and Mahāvira stayed together for six years. Gośāla went to Śrāvastī and became the head of Ājīvikas for 16 years. Mahāvira came to Śrāvastī and declared Gośāla to be an imposter, which led to a debate between Mahāvira and Gośāla. It appears that Mahāvira defeated Gośāla in the debate and became “Jina”. It may be noted that “Jina” means the guru who won the debate. Thus, Mahāvira became the guru of Ājīvikas. Gośāla died in 1205 BCE, 16 years before Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE).

In view of the above, we can conclude that Makkhali (Maskari) Gośāliputta was a contemporary of Buddha (1944-1864 BCE) and did not belong to the Ājīvika sect whereas Gośāla Mankhaliputta was the contemporary of Mahāvira (1261-1189 BCE) and became the head of Ājīvikas in Śrāvastī. Mahāvira dethroned him and became the head of Ājīvikas. Jains were referred to as Nirgranthas and Ājīvikas before 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE. It may be noted that “Jina” and “Arhat” were the highest titles of a guru in ancient times. Buddha was also referred to as Jina and Arhat in Buddhist sources. Later, Jina became synonymous to Mahāvira.

### **Magadha Kings After Mahāvira Nirvāṇa**

Śreṇika’s son Kuṇika was the king of Magadha when Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE. His son Udayabhadda succeeded him in 1172 BCE and patronized Jainism in Aṅga and Magadha janapadas. King

Udayabhadda died without any successor. Nandarāja became the king of Magadha in 1129 BCE, 60 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa. Nandarāja, a son of barber, was selected as a king by ministers as mentioned by Hemachandra. It appears that Ujjain emerged as the center of Jainism in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. The early Gupta kings of Ujjain patronized Jainism. Mathurā, Valabhi and Bharukacṇa (Baroch) also became the centers of Jainism during the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE.

According to *Himavant Therāvalī*, Puṇyaratha became the king of Magadha in the 246<sup>th</sup> year (943 BCE) and his son in the 280<sup>th</sup> year (909 BCE). Puṣpamitra ascended the throne of Magadha in the 304<sup>th</sup> year (885 BCE).

#### **Pālaka Kings of Ujjain (1189-1034 BCE)**

It is also recorded in Jain tradition that Chanḍa Pradyota, the King of Avanti, died on the same night Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa and was succeeded by his son Pālaka. Thus, Pālaka succeeded his father in 1189 BCE. According to Jain sources, Pālaka and his descendants reigned for only 60 years. Hemachandra mentions that King Chandragupta became the king in the 155<sup>th</sup> year of Mahāvira nirvāṇa, i.e., 1034 BCE. Seemingly, Pālaka kings might have reigned for 155 years from 1189 BCE to 1034 BCE.

#### **Viṣaya Kings: King Chandragupta of Ujjain and His Descendants (1034-884 BCE)**

According to *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* and *Tiloyapannati*, starting from the epoch of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE), the Pālakas ruled for 60 years, the Viṣaya kings for 150 years, the Muruṇdas for 40 years, Puṣpamitra for 30 years, Vasumitra and Agnimitra for 60 years, Gardabha or Rāsabha kings for 100 years, Naravāhana for 40 years, Bhaṭṭubāṇas for 242 years and Guptas for 231 years. *Tiloyapannati* clearly mentions that one Śaka king ruled 461 or 466 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa and another Śaka king started ruling 605 years and 5 months after nirvāṇa who also founded an era. It appears that there is an error of ~135 years in the chronology given in *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* and *Tiloyapannati*. The timelines of Śaka kings given in *Tiloyapannati* contradict with the duration of the kings mentioned.

Seemingly, *Tiloyapannati* and *Harivamśa* mistakenly fixed the date of Mahāvira nirvāṇa 470 years before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Therefore, Meruttuṅga corrected this error and gave the chronology of 470 years starting from Mahāvira nirvāṇa to the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE). Meruttuṅga says that Pālaka or Avanti Pālaka reigned for 60 years, Nandas? (Viṣayas) for 155 years, Muriyas for 108 years, Puṣpamitra for 30 years, Balamitra and Bhānumitra for 60 years, Nabhavāhana for 40 years, Gardabhilla for 13 years and Śakas for 4 years. Meruttuṅga mistakenly changed the name of Muruṇdas to Muriyas and the name of Viṣayas to Nandas under the influence of Hemachandra who has erroneously identified King Chandragupta of Ujjain, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu I to be Chandragupta Maurya. In fact, King Chandragupta belonged to an early Gupta dynasty of Ujjain.

Therefore, it is clear that *Tiloyapannati* and *Harivamśa* carry no mention of Maurya kings after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa. Hemachandra mistakenly considered Chandragupta Maurya to be the contemporary of Bhadrabāhu I. Chandragupta Maurya reigned around 1596-1572 BCE whereas Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE considering 605 years and five months before the commencement of the Śaka era (583 BCE). It is, therefore, logical not to find any mention of the Mauryas after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa in either *Tiloyapannati* of Yativṛṣabha or *Harivamśa* of Jinasenāsūri.

According to *Himavant Therāvalī* and Hemachandra, Chandragupta became the king of Ujjain in the 154<sup>th</sup> or 155<sup>th</sup> year of Mahāvira nirvāṇa. He died in the 184<sup>th</sup> year, i.e., 1004 BCE. Since Bhadrabāhu attained nirvāṇa in 170<sup>th</sup> year, Chandragupta might have placed his son Simhasena on the throne of Ujjain and became “Viśākhāchārya” in the 168<sup>th</sup> year. *Himavant Therāvalī* indicates that the son of Chandragupta died in the 209<sup>th</sup> year. Chandragupta’s grandson Bhāskara reigned from the 209<sup>th</sup> year to the 244<sup>th</sup> year. Interestingly, *Himavant Therāvalī* mentions that Chandragupta’s grandson defeated Kaliṅga King Kśemarāja in the 239<sup>th</sup> year and founded the Gupta era, i.e., the epoch of Āguptāyika era (950 BCE).

King Samprati, son of Chandragupta's grandson Bhāskara was one of the most celebrated Jain king. *Pariśiṣṭaparva* of Hemachandra mentions that he ruled both from Pātaliputra and Ujjain. He was the contemporary of Jain Āchārya Suhāstin who gave “dikṣā” of Jainism to him. According to *Himavant Therāvalī* and *Kharataragaccha Pattāvalī*, King Samprati ascended the throne in the 245<sup>th</sup> year after Mahāvira nirvāṇa, i.e., 944 BCE. Āchārya Suhāstin died in the 265<sup>th</sup> year after nirvāṇa (924 BCE). King Samprati died in the 293<sup>rd</sup> year after nirvāṇa (896 BCE).

Historians mistakenly identified King Samprati as the grandson of Maurya Aśoka and the son of Kuṇāla. There is no reference of Aśoka or Kuṇāla in Jain literature and no reference of Samprati in Purāṇas.

According to Jain sources, Balamitra and Bhānumitra became the kings of Bhṛgukaccha in the year 294<sup>th</sup> year of nirvāṇa (895 BCE) and reigned for 60 years up to 835 BCE. Balamitra and Bhānumitra were the cousins of Kālakāchārya I. *Kharataragaccha Pattāvalī* mentions that Kālakāchārya I died in the 376<sup>th</sup> year of nirvāṇa (813 BCE). *Kalpasūtra* relates that after having defeated Gardabhilla, Kālakāchārya went to Bhṛgukaccha. There he gained great influence over Prince Balabhānu, the sister's son of Balamitra and Bhānumitra. Afterwards, Kālakāchārya I had to leave Bhṛgukaccha and went to the court of the King Śātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna.

We can reconstruct the chronology given in *Tiloyapannati* and *Harivarṃśa* with certain corrections as given under.

	Duration	In CE
1. Mahāvira Nirvāṇa		1189 BCE
2. The death of Chanḍa Pradyota, the king of Ujjain		1189 BCE
3. Pālaka or Avanti-Pālaka, the son of Chanḍa Pradyota	60 years? 150 years	1189-1034 BCE
4. • Kings of the Viṣaya dynasty • Chandragupta – 1034-1021 BCE • Simhasena – 1021-980 BCE • Bhāskara – 980-945 BCE • Samprati – 945-896 BCE • Unknown king – 896-884 BCE	155 years	1034-884 BCE



5.	The Muṛuṇḍa kings	40 years	884-844 BCE
6.	Puṣpamitra of Magadha	30 years	884-854 BCE
7.	Agnimitra (Śudraka?)	60 years	854-796 BCE
8.	Vasumitra		
9.	Balamitra and Bhānumitra reigned in Bhr̥gukac̣ṣa (60 years)	60 years	796-736 BCE
10.	Gardabhillā (Gardabha or Rāsabha kings)	13 years	736-723 BCE
11.	The first Śaka king of Ujjain	4 years	723-719 BCE
12.	Vikramāditya, the son of Gardabhillā	60 years	719-659 BCE
13.	The first successor of Vikramāditya (as given in Gurvāvalī of Vṛddhac̣ṣa)	40 years	659-619 BCE
14.	The second successor	25 years	619-594 BCE
15.	The third successor	8 years	594-587 BCE
16.	The fourth successor	3 years	587-583 BCE
17.	Naravāhana (Śālivāhana or Nahapāna)	40 years	623-583 BCE
18.	The second Śaka king of Ujjain (Caṣṭana) and his successors (probably referred to as Bhaṭṭhaṭṭhaṇa in <i>Tiloyapannati</i> and Bhaṭṭubāṇas in <i>Harivaṃśa</i> )	242 years	583-341 BCE
19.	The Gupta dynasty ( <i>Tiloyapannati</i> gives 255 years for Guptas in <i>Gāthā 1504</i> and 231 years in <i>Gāthā 1508</i> . <i>Harivaṃśa</i> gives 231 years)	245 years	334-89 BCE

According to *Tiloyapannati* and *Harivaṃśa*, Chaturmukh or Kalkirāja, the son of Indra, ruled for 42 years in Gujarat after the Gupta dynasty. Thereafter, Ajitamjaya, the son of Kalkirāja, began his rule at Indrapura. Probably, Indrapura was located in Gujarat.

### **Kaliṅga Kings After Mahāvira Nirvana**

According to *Himavant Therāvalī*, King Cheṭaka's son Śobhanarāja married a daughter of Kaliṅga King Sulochana. When Champā King Kuṇika defeated Cheṭaka and annexed the kingdom of Vaiśālī, Śobhanarāja had

no other option to go to Kalinga. His father-in-law Sulochana had no son. Therefore, Sulochana coronated Śobhanarāja on the throne of Kalinga in the 18<sup>th</sup> year after Mahāvira nirvāṇa, i.e., 1171 BCE. Śobhanarāja's fifth successor Chanḍarāja became the king of Kalinga in 149<sup>th</sup> year (1040 BCE). Kśemarāja, the eighth successor of Śobhanarāja ascended the throne in the 227<sup>th</sup> year (962 BCE). Ujjain King Chandragupta's grandson Bhāskara defeated Kśemarāja in the 239<sup>th</sup> year (950 BCE). Kśemarāja's son Vuddharāja became the king in the 275<sup>th</sup> year (914 BCE) and he constructed 11 Jain caves in Kumāragiri hills. Bhikśūrāja succeeded his father Vuddharāja in the year 300 (889 BCE). He defeated Magadha King Puṣpamitra. Jain Sthaviras like Balissaha, Bodhalinga, Devāchārya, Dharmasenāchārya, Nakśātrāchārya, Arya Susthita, Arya Supratibuddha, Svāti and Śyāmāchārya were the contemporaries of Kalinga King Bhikśūrāja. Vakrarāja, son of Bhikśūrāja, succeeded him in the 330<sup>th</sup> year (859 BCE). Viduharāja became the king of Kalinga in the 362<sup>nd</sup> year (827 BCE). He died in the 395<sup>th</sup> year (794 BCE).

Muni Kalyana Vijaya has mistakenly identified Bhikśūrāja with Khāravela but Khāravela reigned around 1031-1000 BCE whereas Bhikśūrāja flourished around 889-859 BCE. Moreover, Bhikśūrāja, a descendant of Śobhanarāja, son of Vaiśālī King Cheṭaka, belonged to the Licchavi clan of the Sūryavaṃśa whereas Khāravela belonged to the Aira or Aila clan of the Chandravaṃśa. We will discuss the date of Khāravela in the context of the chronological history of Kalinga in Chapter 23.

### **The Jain History of Valabhi**

Valabhi was an ancient city of Saurashtra and a centre of education. Jain āchāryas established a centre in Valabhi by 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE. According to historical accounts, Rājā Kanakasen of Sūryavaṃśa (Ikśvāku dynasty) migrated from Kosala in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 201 (518 BCE) and the city of Valabhi became his capital. When his descendant Śīlāditya was ruling in Valabhi, the Yavanas (Kushano-Sasanian kings?) invaded and destroyed Valabhi (*Valabhibhaṅgaḥ Yavana-vihitaḥ*). Many Jain texts and Pattāvalis recorded it as "*Valabhibhaṅga*". The date given is 845 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa and 375 years after Vikramāditya of 719 BCE. According to *Tapagaccha Pattāvalī*, Valabhibhaṅga occurred around

285 BCE 904 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa and Gandharvavadi Vetala Sri Śāntisūri protected the Sri Saṅgha (*Sri Virāt 845 Sri Vikramāt 375 Valabhi Nagara Bhangah kvachidevam Sri Virāt 904 Gandharvavadi-vetala-sri-Śāntisūriṇā Valabhi-bhaṅge Srisaṅgharakśā kṛtā...*).

Historians mistakenly identified Śilāditya to be the Maitraka King and made the date of Valabhi Bhaṅga controversial but Maitrakas did not exist in 845<sup>th</sup> or 904<sup>th</sup> year of Mahāvira nirvāṇa era. Thus, the Sūryavaṁśi King Kanakasena and his descendants reigned in Valabhi much before the rise of Maitrakas around 518-345 BCE. Since the dynasty of Kanakasena lost the kingdom of Valabhi in 345 BCE or 285 BCE. Therefore, it was referred to as Valabhi Bhaṅga. Rājā Kanakasena was one of the great patrons of Jainism. Jains settled in the Arbuda Valley of Rajasthan during the reign of Kanakasena. All Rajasthan Jain clans originated around 500-345 BCE.

Maitrakas established themselves in Valabhi during the reign of the Gupta dynasty and reigned over Valabhi from 200 BCE to 150 CE. Jainism flourished during the reign of Maitrakas.

It is well-known that the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE, 241 years after the Śakānta era (78 CE). The earliest date used in the Valabhi era in inscriptions was 500 (819 CE). We have already discussed the epoch of Valabhi era in Chapter 3.

### **The Sthavirāvalī of Kalpasūtra**

*Kalpasūtra's Sthavirāvalī* gives the Guruparamparā of Devardhi Kśamāśramaṇa who lived around 980-993 Mahāvira nirvāṇa era (209-196 BCE). The Jain council of Valabhi was held in 209 BCE under the leadership of Devardhi Kśamāśramaṇa and Jain philosophy and Siddhānta was written down in numerous treatises. In all probability, Bhadrabāhu III (150-70 BCE), a cousin brother of Varāhamihira, was the author of *Sthavirāvalī*. Jain sources mention that Bhadrabāhu III was like an elder brother of Varāhamihira (146-74 BCE). The commentaries on *Kalpasūtra* inform us that the *Kalpasūtra* was recited before the Maitraka King Dhruvasena to console him for the loss of his son. King Dhruvasena I reigned around 149-108 BCE based on the dates given in the Gupta era in his copper plate inscriptions.

According to *Sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra*, Mahāvira had eleven *gaṇadhāras* or disciples. Indrabhūti of Gautama gotra was the senior most disciple of Mahāvira.

	Eleven Gaṇadhāras	Gotra
	<i>Mahāvira</i>	<i>Kaśyapa</i>
1.	<b>Indrabhūti</b>	Gautama
2.	Agnibhūti	Gautama
3.	Vayubhūti	Gautama
4.	Arya Vyakta	Bhāradwāja
5.	<b>Arya Sudharmā</b>	Agnivaiśyāyana
6.	Mandika Putra	Vasiṣṭha
7.	<b>Maurya Putra</b> ( <i>A descendant of Maurya dynasty?</i> )	Kaśyapa
8.	Akampita	Gautama
9.	Achala Bhrātā	Haritāyana
10.	Maitarya	Kaunḍinya
11.	Prabhāsa	Kaunḍinya

### **The Guruparamparā of Devardhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇa and Kālakāchārya III**

According to Jain tradition, there were three recitations or “*Vācanās*” of Āgamas. The first *Vācanā* named as “*Māthurī Vācanā*” was held at Mathurā around Mahāvira Nirvana 827-840 (362-349 BCE) headed by Arya Skandila. The second *Vācanā* named as “*Nāgārjunī Vācanā*” was held at Valabhi little later around 330 BCE headed by Nāgārjuna Sūri. The third *Vācanā* named as “*Valabhi Vācanā*” was held at Valabhi around Mahāvira nirvāṇa 980-993 (209-196 BCE) headed by Devardhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇa. Kālakāchārya III represented Valabhi whereas Devardhigaṇi represented Mathurā. Apart from writing down the Jain treatises, *Sthavirāvalī* or the *Guruparamparā* has also been finalized during *Valabhi Vācanā*.

	<b>Māthuri Vācanā (Nandisūtra Sthavirāvalī)</b>	<b>Valabhi Vācanā</b>
	Mahāvira	Mahāvira
1.	Sudharmā	Sudharmā
2.	Jambu	Jambu
3.	Prabhava	Prabhava
4.	Sayyambhava or Svayambhuva	Sayyambhava or Svayambhuva
5.	Yaśobhadra	Yaśobhadra
6.	Sambhūta Vijaya	Sambhūta Vijaya
7.	Bhadrabāhu	Bhadrabāhu
8.	Sthūlabhadra	Sthūlabhadra
9.	Mahāgiri	Mahāgiri
10.	Suhāstin	Suhāstin
11.	Balissaha	Kālakāchārya
12.	Svāti	Revatīmitra
13.	Śyāmārya	Arya Samudra?
14.	Śāṇḍilya	Arya Mangu? (Samudra and Mangu names were inserted by Kalyana Vijaya) <sup>2</sup>
15.	Samudra	Arya Dharma
16.	Mangu?	Bhadra Gupta
17.	Nandilla?	Sri Gupta
18.	Nāgahasti	Arya Vajra
19.	Revatī Nakśatra	Arya Rakṣita
20.	Brahmadvipika Simha	Puṣpamitra
21.	Skandilāchārya	Vajrasena
22.	Himavanta	Nāgahasti
23.	Nāgārjuna Vācaka	Revatīmitra
24.	Bhūta Dinna	Brahmadipika Simha Sūri
25.	Lohitya	Nāgārjuna
26.	Duṣyagaṇi	Bhūtadinna
27.	Devardhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇa	Kālakāchārya

## **Sthavirāvalī of Kalpasūtra or Guruparamparā of Devardhi Kśamāśramaṇa**

### **Mahāvira**

1. Sudharmā
2. Jambu
3. Prabhava
4. Sayyambhava or Svayambhuva
5. Yaśobhadra (He had two disciples, Sambhūta Vijaya and Bhadrabāhu II)
6. **Sambhūta Vijaya** (He had twelve disciples, Nandanabhadra, Upananda, Tiṣyabhadra, Yaśobhadra, Sumanabhadra, Manibhadra, Puṇyabhadra, Sthūlabhadra, Rijumati, Jambu, Dīrghabhadra, Pāndubhadra. He also had female disciples, Yakśa, Yakśadatta, Bhūta, Bhūtadatta and the three sisters of Sthūlabhadra, Sena, Vena and Rena.)  
**Bhadrabāhu II** (He had four disciples, Godāsa, Agnidatta, Janadatta, Somadatta.)
7. **Sthūlabhadra** (He had two disciples, Mahāgiri and Suhāstin)  
**Godāsa** (He established Godāsa gaṇa which had four branches, Tāmraliptika, Kotivarṣa, Puṇḍravardhana and Dasi-Kharvatika.)
8. **Suhāstin**  
[His disciples, Rohana, Bhadrayaśaḥ, Megha Kamardhi, Susthita, Supratibuddha, Rakśita, Rohagupta, Rishigupta, Śrigupta, Brahmagaṇi and Somagaṇi.)  
**Mahāgiri** (His disciples were Uttara, Balissaha, Kauśāmbika, Sautaptika, Kutumbini, Chandra-nagari,
9. **Susthita (Kotika)& Supratibuddha (Kakandaka)**
10. Indradutta
11. Aryadutta
12. Simhagiri Jatismara
13. Arya Vajra (He had three disciples, Arya Vajrasena, Arya Padma, Arya Ratha.)
14. **Arya Ratha**  
**Arya Padma**  
**Arya Vajrasena** (He had four disciples, Arya Nagila, Arya Bomila, Arya Jayanta & Arya Tapasa. These four āchāryas started their own branches. Thus, four branches came into existence.)

15. Arya Puṣyagiri
16. Arya Phalgumitra
17. Arya Dhanagiri
18. **Arya Śivabhūti**
19. Arya Bhadra
20. Arya Nakśatra
21. Arya Rakśa
22. Arya Nāga
23. Arya Jyeṣṭhila
24. Arya Vishnu
25. Arya Kālaka
26. Arya Saṃpālita and Aryabhadra
27. Arya Vṛddha
28. Arya Saṅghapālita
29. Arya Hasti
30. Arya Dharma
31. Arya Simha
32. Arya Dharma
33. Arya Śaṅḍilya
34. Devardhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇa

### **Śvetāmbara Jain Pattāvalis: The Guruparamparā of Jainism**

All Śvetāmbara Jain Pattāvalis follow the same *guruparamparā* of Jainism from Sudharmā to Devardhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇa with minor differences. Therefore, the *guruparamparā* up to Devardhigaṇi (209-196 BCE) is almost the same in all Pattāvalis. Thereafter, many branches and sub-branches of Jainism have been evolved.

Mahāvira had 11 Ganadharas but only the *guruparamparā* of Sudharmā is existing today. Except Upakeśa-gacṇa, all Pattāvalis start their chronology from Mahāvira. Only Upakeśa-gacṇa starts their chronology from Pārśvanātha. According to Jain tradition, Āchārya Ratnaprabha gave “Dikśā” of Jainism to the Kśatriyas of Upakeśinagara in the 70<sup>th</sup> year (1119 BCE).

The following chronological information of Jain *guruparamparā* is available in Jain Pattāvalis like Himavant Therāvali, Kharataragacṇa, Tapagacṇa, Lokagacṇa, etc.

1. Indrabhūti of Gautama gotra was the first disciple of Mahāvira and died 12 years after Mahāvira's nirvāṇa. Thus, Indrabhūti died in 1177 BCE.
2. The first Nihnava caused by Jamāli took place 14 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 1175 BCE and second Nihnava caused by Tiṣyagupta took place 16 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 1173 BCE.
3. Sudharman, who became Kevalin for 8 years, died at the age of hundred, 20 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 1169 BCE.
4. Jambu, who became Kevalin for 44 years, died 64 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 1125 BCE.
5. Jain āchārya Prabhava died 75 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 1114 BCE.
6. Jain āchārya Sayyambhava died 98 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 1091 BCE.
7. Jain āchārya Yaśobhadra died 148 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 1041 BCE.
8. Sambhūtivijaya, who became Yugapradhāna for 8 years, died 156 years after nirvāṇa (1033 BCE).
9. Bhadrabāhu I, the last Śrutakevalin attained nirvāṇa 170 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1019 BCE) at the age of 76. Thus, Bhadrabāhu I was born in 1095 BCE. Jain sources agree that three Kevalins and five Śrutakevalins attained nirvāṇa within 170 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa.
10. Sthūlabhadra died 215 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 974 BCE at the age of 99.
11. The third Nihnava named Aryakta caused by Āśadhāchārya took place 214 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 975 BCE, the fourth Nihnava named Samucchedikā took place 220 years after nirvāṇa (969 BCE) and the fifth Nihnava named Ganga took place 228 years after nirvāṇa (961 BCE).
12. Arya Mahāgiri died 245 years after nirvāṇa (944 BCE).



13. Suhāstin gave *dīkṣā* of Jainism to King Sampati (Samprati) who began to reign in 954 BCE, the 235<sup>th</sup> year after nirvāṇa and Arya Mahāgiri was alive at that time. Suhāstin died 265 years after nirvāṇa (924 BCE).
14. Jain Sthaviras like Balissaha, Bodhaliṅga, Devāchārya, Dharmasenāchārya, Nakṣātrāchārya, Arya Susthita, Arya Supratibuddha, Svāti, Śyāmāchārya and Jain Sādhvī Aryā Poini were the contemporaries of Kaliṅga King Bhikṣurāja (889-859 BCE). Śyāmāchārya wrote *Pannavanā Sūtra*, Svāti wrote *Tattvārtha Sūtra* or *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* and Balissaha wrote *Aṅgavidyā*.
15. Arya Susthita died 313 years after nirvāṇa (876 BCE). He was the founder of Kotikagacṇa.
16. Kālakāchārya I died around 376 years after nirvāṇa (813 BCE).
17. Gardabhilla became the King of Ujjain in the 453<sup>rd</sup> year after nirvāṇa (736 BCE). He ruled for 13 years. Kālakāchārya II uprooted him with the help of Śāka kṣatras in 723 BCE. The Śakas took control of Ujjain and ruled for four years.
18. King Vikramāditya defeated the Śakas in 719 BCE and founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era which was initially known as Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa. This era was popular in North India till the 8<sup>th</sup> century but was later replaced by the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Siddhasena Divākara gave *dīkṣā* of Jainism to Vikramāditya 470 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 719-718 BCE.
19. Vajra lived around 496 years or 584 years after nirvāṇa (693-605 BCE). He was the last who knew the complete ten Pūrvas and he extended Jainism southward in the kingdom of Baudhdhas. He was the founder of Vajragacṇa.
20. The sixth Nihnava named Trairāśikā caused by Rohagupta 544 years after nirvāṇa (645 BCE).
21. Śatruñjayatīrtha was demolished 570 years after nirvāṇa (619 BCE).
22. The seventh Nihnava took place 584 years after nirvāṇa (605 BCE).

23. Bhadruguṇḍa died 553 years after nirvāṇa (636 BCE), Aryarakṣita Sūri died 557 years after nirvāṇa (632 BCE) and Sriguṇḍa Sūri died 584 years after nirvāṇa (605 BCE).
24. Digambaras arose 609 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 580-579 BCE.
25. Valabhi (a branch of Jains in Valabhi) was discontinued 845 years after nirvāṇa (344 BCE). According to *Prabhāvakaḥarita*, Valabhibhaṅga occurred in the 845<sup>th</sup> year elapsed from nirvāṇa due to the invasion of Turuṣkas (*bhangas-Turuṣka-vihitaḥ*).
26. Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa lived around 980 years after nirvāṇa (209 BCE). During his time, only one Pūrva was available.
27. Kālakāchārya III lived around 993 years after nirvāṇa (196 BCE) and he was the contemporary of Devarddhi Kṣamāśramaṇa.
28. Satyamitra died 1000 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 189-188 BCE and at the same time, the last Pūrva was also lost.
29. Haribhadra Sūri died 1055 years after nirvāṇa or in Kārttikādi Vikrama (KV) 585 (134 BCE).
30. Jinabhadraṅgi Kṣamāśramaṇa lived 1115 or 1150 years after nirvāṇa (74 BCE). According to Kharataragacḥa, Śilāṅka was the disciple of Jinabhadraṅgi who composed Vṛttis on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Aṅgas.
31. Raviprabha erected a temple to Neminātha at Naddulapura 1170 years after nirvāṇa or in KV 700, i.e., 19-18 BCE.
32. Umāsvāti, the author of bhāṣya on the *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra*, lived 1190 years after nirvāṇa, i.e., 1-2 CE.
33. Vanarāja founded the city of Anahillapura (Anhilwad) 1272 years after nirvāṇa or in KV 802, i.e., 83-82 CE. According to Merutuṅga (644 CE), Vanarāja built the city of Anahillapura on the 2<sup>nd</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha month in KV 821, i.e., 7<sup>th</sup> Apr 102 CE.
34. Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri was born 1270 years after nirvāṇa or on the 3<sup>rd</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in KV 800 (15<sup>th</sup> Aug 82 CE) and died 1365 years after nirvāṇa or on 6<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in KV 895 (17<sup>th</sup> Aug 177 CE).

35. Udyotana Sūri lived 1464 years after nirvāṇa or in KV 994 (275-76 CE). According to Kharataragacṇa, Vardhamāna Sūri, the pupil of Udyotana, died in KV 1088 (369-68 CE).

Hereafter, we have to carefully segregate the records of āchāryas dated in the epoch of 719-718 BCE and the epoch of 57 BCE because later updaters of Pattāvalis have mixed up the historical accounts of Jain āchāryas due to ignorance of the difference between the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) and Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).

### Epigraphic References of Jain āchāryas

Many inscriptions written in Kushana Brāhmi have been found in Kankali Tila Stūpa located near Mathurā. These inscriptions are the oldest records of Jainism. More than 83 inscriptions of Kankali Tila provide the details of Jainism. Around 48 inscriptions refer to Jain Gaṇas, Kulas and Śākhās. Out of eight Gaṇas mentioned in *Sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra*, three Gaṇas were mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions. Kotika-Gaṇa was referred to in 20 inscriptions, Vāraṇa-Gaṇa was referred to in 12 inscriptions whereas Uddeha-Gaṇa was referred to in two inscriptions. Out of forty-four branches of Sthaviras and twenty-seven Kulas mentioned in *Sthavirāvalī* of *Kalpasūtra*, eight branches have been mentioned in 25 inscriptions whereas thirteen Kulas found mentioned in 32 inscriptions. Five names of Jain āchāryas also found mentioned in these inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

1. Three Gaṇas : Kotika, Vāraṇa, Uddeha
2. Eight Śākhās : Vajranagari, Aryavajri, Vairi, Ucchanagari, Purnapatrika, Madhyama, Sāṅkāśyika, Haritamalakari.
3. Thirteen Kulas : Brahmadasika (Bambhaliijaya), Aryahattiya (Aryahastiya), Sthaniya, Pritidharmaka, Meghika, Puṣyamitriya, Aryachetaka, Aryamitra, Vatsalika, Prashnavahana, Pārihāsika, Krishnasakhā, Nadika.
4. Five Acharyas : Arya Mangu, Arya Nandila, Arya Hasti or Hastihasti, Arya Krishna and Arya Vriddha

Seemingly, these inscriptions belonged to the period 1100-700 BCE. It is difficult to trace the epigraphic names of five Jain āchāryas in the Pattāvalis because only the *Śiṣyaparamparā* of Sudharmā is surviving

today. Possibly, all 11 *gaṇadhara*s might have had their own disciples and *paramparā*. Jain historian Muni Kalyana Vijaya has attempted to place Arya Mangu and Samudra in the Therāvālī of *Māthurī Vācanā* and *Valabhi Vācanā* but we have no chronological inputs to decide the time of these āchāryas. In my opinion, the āchāryas mentioned in the Mathurā inscriptions may belonged to the tradition other than that of Sudharmāchārya. We should not insert these names into Sthavirāvalīs and Pattāvalīs without any concrete evidence.

Out of three Gaṇas, we have no information about Vāraṇa Gaṇa and Uddeha Gaṇa. Evidently, these are the earliest Gaṇas of other Gaṇadhara. Jain historian Muni Kalyan Vijaya has distorted Vāraṇa Gaṇa as Chāraṇa Gaṇa. Kotika was the name of Susthita, the disciple of Āchārya Suhāstin. Thus, Susthita was the founder of Kotika Gaṇa. Āchārya Suhāstin died in the 265<sup>th</sup> year of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (924 BCE). Therefore, Susthita or Kotika can be dated around 924-876 BCE. The inscriptions that refer to Kotika Gaṇa must be dated around 800-700 BCE. We have to adopt similar methodology for identifying the Śākhās and Kulas. Seemingly, the dates of inscriptions were recorded in the Saptarṣi calendar. Some historians speculated it to be Kanishka era or Huvishka era without reconciling the chronology. A Jain Śramaṇa statue found in Mathurā contains a name “Kanha”. Probably, he was Arya Krishna.

### **Bhadrabāhu of Digambaras and Bhadrabāhu of Śvetāmbaras**

According to Digambara tradition, Bhadrabāhu I, the disciple of Govardhana, was the last Śruta Kevalin whereas Sthūlabhadra, the disciple of Sambhūtavijaya, was the last Śruta Kevalin in the Śvetāmbara tradition. There was another Bhadrabāhu II in Śvetāmbaras. Sambhūtavijaya and Bhadrabāhu II was the pupils of Yaśobhadra. *Himavant Therāvālī* mentions that Bhadrabāhu II attained nirvāṇa in Kumāragiri of Kaliṅga but all Digambara literary sources and epigraphic evidence indicate that Bhadrabāhu I attained nirvāṇa in Chandragiri of Shravanabelagola of Karnataka. Therefore, Bhadrabāhu of Digambara tradition and Bhadrabāhu of Śvetāmbara tradition were two different persons though they might have been contemporaries. There was another Bhadrabāhu III, a cousin brother of Varāhamihira. Bhadrabāhu III attained nirvāṇa in Avanti.

### **Digambara Pattāvalis and the Guruparamparā**

The Śvetāmbara Jains always claimed their antiquity from Mahāvira and rejected the claim of the Digambaras and similarly, the Digambara Jains also rejected the claim of the Śvetāmbaras which led to a chronic deficit of mutual respect since ancient times. In fact, both traditions have the origins from Mahāvira. Therefore, the debate on the issue of antiquity is more political than academic.

The Śvetāmbara commentators of *Āvaśyaka Mūla* narrate a story of Āchārya Arya Krishna and his disciple Śivabhūti to establish that Digambaras did not exist 609 years before Mahāvira nirvāṇa (580 BCE). According to them, Jain Āchārya Arya Krishna was in the city of Rathavira near Mathurā. Sahasramalla Śivabhūti was his disciple. The King of Rathavirapura gifted an expensive blanket to Śivabhūti. Arya Krishna was annoyed with Śivabhūti for accepting such expensive gift. Therefore, Arya Krishna made few pieces of the blanket and was given to his disciples for using it as mattress. Śivabhūti developed a grudge against his guru. One day, Śivabhūti asked Arya Krishna that why not we sacrifice wearing clothes like Mahāvira. Arya Krishna argued that it is not possible in modern times. Śivabhūti challenged his guru and became “Digambara”. He left Mathurā and went to South India where he had two disciples, Kaundinya and Kottavira. According to these commentators, this incident occurred 609 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa and in the year 139 of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (580 BCE).

This story has the historical importance because it indicates a date of Āchārya Arya Krishna as Mahāvira nirvana 609 (580 BCE). But no Digambara tradition mentions the name of Śivabhūti but Mūla Saṅgha, a branch of the Digambaras, records the name of Bhadrabāhu II as the progenitor of Saṅgha. Possibly, Śivabhūti came to be known as Arhadbali and Bhadrabāhu II after settling in South India.

The ancient texts of the Digambaras like *Śrutyaavatāra* of Indranandī, *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* of Jinasena, the Siddharabasti inscription of Shravanabelgola dated Śaka 1320 and the Sarasvatigacṇha Pattāvali give the following chronology of Digambara Āchāryas starting from Mahāvira to Bhūtabali. The dates of Āchāryas given below are based on

the chronology given in the Sarasvatīgacṇa Pattāvalī. The Digambara Jain tradition was established in the south by Bhadrabāhu I in the 11<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Interestingly, the Digambaras have referred to the Śaka era (583 BCE) but erroneously named it as “Śaka-Vikrama-nrpa”. This led to a confusion that the Digambaras had probably referred to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, some inscriptions of Karnakata mistakenly referred to the Mahāvira nirvāna era considering 605 years before Chaitādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Therefore, some Digambara scholars still believe that Mahāvira attained nirvāna in 662 BCE. It is well known that South India traditionally followed the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Thus, I have referred to the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) for calculating certain dates given in the Pattāvalī of Sarasvatīgacṇa.

			Mahāvira Nirvana (1189 BCE)	Dur- ation	In CE
	Mahāvira				1261-1189 BCE
1.	Indrabhūti Gautama	Three Kev- alins (62 Years)	1-12	12 y	1189-1177 BCE
2.	Sudharmā		12-24	12 y	1177-1165 BCE
3.	Jambu		24-62	38 y	1165-1127 BCE
4.	Vishnu	Five Śruta Kev- alins (100 Years)	62-76	14 y	1127-1113 BCE
5.	Nandimitra		76-92	16 y	1113-1097 BCE
6.	Aparājita		92-114	22 y	1097-1075 BCE
7.	Govardhana		114-133	19 y	1075-1056 BCE
8.	<b>Bhadrabāhu I</b>		133-162	29 y	1056-1027 BCE
9.	<b>Viśākhāchārya (Chandragupta)</b>		162-172	10 y	1027-1017 BCE
10.	Prauṣṭhila	Eleven Daśapūrvi (183 Years)	172-191	19 y	1017-998 BCE
11.	Kśatriyāchārya		191-208	17 y	998-981 BCE
12.	Jayasena		208-229	21 y	981-960 BCE
13.	Nāgasena		229-247	18 y	960-942 BCE
14.	Siddhārtha		247-264	17 y	942-925 BCE

15. Dhṛtiṣeṇa	}	264-282	18 y	925-907 BCE	
16. Vijaya		282-295	13 y	907-894 BCE	
17. Buddhiliṅga		295-315	20 y	894-874 BCE	
18. Gaṅgadeva		315-329	14 y	874-860 BCE	
19. Dharmasena		329-345	16 y	860-844 BCE	
20. Nakśatra	}	345-363	18 y	844-826 BCE	
21. Yaśaḥpāla or Jayapāla		Five Ekādaśāṅga	363-383	20 y	826-806 BCE
22. Pāṇḍavāchārya		Dharas	383-422	39 y	806-767 BCE
23. Dhruvasena		(123 Years)	422-436	14 y	767-753 BCE
24. Kaṁsāchārya			436-468	32 y	753-721 BCE
25. Subhadra	}	468-474	6 y	721-715 BCE	
26. Abhayabhadra or Yaśobhadra		Four Daśāṅgadharas or	474-492	18 y	715-697 BCE
27. Jayabāhu or Yaśobāhu		Āchārāṅgadharas	492-515	23 y	697-674 BCE
28. Lohāchārya		(97 Years)	515-565	50 y	674-624 BCE
29. Arhadbali Āchārya	}	565-593	28 y	624-596 BCE	
30. Maghanandī I		Five Ekāṅgadharas	593-614	21 y	596-575 BCE
31. Dharasena			614-633	19 y	575-556 BCE
32. Puṣpadanta		(118 Years)	633-663	30 y	556-526 BCE
33. Bhūtabali			663-683	20 y	526-506 BCE

**683 Years**

Actually, Jain historians misinterpreted the dates given in *Śrutyaavatāra* of Indranandī and concluded that five Ekāṅgadharas lived 683 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa. They have erroneously propounded that five Ekādaśāṅgadharas (Sl no. 20 to 24) lived for 220 years and four Āchārāṅgadharas (Sl no. 25 to 28) lived for 118 years. Thus, the Jain historians mistakenly considered the period of 683 years from Mahāvira nirvāṇa for 28 āchāryas (from Indrabhūti to Lohāchārya) and dated five āchāryas from Arhadbali (29<sup>th</sup>) to Bhūtabali (33<sup>rd</sup>) after the 683<sup>rd</sup> year of Mahāvira nirvāṇa era.

*Śrutyavatāra* is the most important historical text of the Digambaras. Indranandī wrote the history of the Digambara āchāryas starting from Mahāvira to Virasena. Virasena wrote his commentary “*Dhavalā*” in Śaka 738 (155 CE). Therefore, we can roughly date Indranandī in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. Let us study comparatively the text of *Śrutyavatāra* and the *Sarasvatīgaccha Pattāvalī*.

	Śrutyavatāra	Two Sarasvatīgaccha Pattāvalīs
Fourteen Kulakaras	--	--
Twenty three Tirthānkaras	--	--
The 23 <sup>rd</sup> Tirthānkara (Pārśvanātha)	250 years before Mahāvira	--
The 24 <sup>th</sup> Tirthānkara (Mahāvira)	1261-1189 BCE	1261-1189 BCE
Three Kevalins	62 years	62 years
Five Śruta-Kevalins	100 years	100 years
Eleven Daśapūrvi	183 years	183 years
Five Ekādaśāṅgadharas	220 years	123 years
Four Āchārāṅgadharas	18 years	97 years
	<b>(583 years)</b>	<b>(565 years)</b>
Four Aratiya Yati – Aṅga-pūrva-deśa-dharas (Vinayadhara, Sridatta, Śivadatta and Arhaddatta)	No of years not mentioned.	No account of four Aratiya Yatis is available in these Pattāvalīs.
Five Sarvāṅga-pūrva-deśaika-vids (Arhadbali, Māghanandī I, Dharasena, Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali)	No of years not mentioned.	118 years

Evidently, *Śrutyavatāra* simply says that Arhadbali, Māghanandī I, Dharasena, Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali flourished 583 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa whereas *Sarasvatīgaccha Pattāvalī* records that these āchāryas lived between the 565<sup>th</sup> year and the 683<sup>rd</sup> year after Mahāvira nirvāṇa.



Therefore, there is no evidence to place these five āchāryas beyond 683 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa. Thus, Arhadbali, Māghanandī I, Dharasena, Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali must be dated within 683 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa, i.e., before 506 BCE. Dharasena taught “*Karma-Prābhṛta*” to Puṣpadanta.

The date of Puṣpadanta (556-526 BCE) and Bhūtabali (526-506 BCE) is extremely important for the Digambaras because Bhūtabali was the author of the earliest text “*Ṣaṭkhandāgama*”. Āchārya Guṇadhara wrote “*Kāṣāya Prābhṛta* or *Prāyodoṣa Prābhṛta*” during the lifetime of Bhūtabali. Āchārya Guṇadhara had two disciples, namely, Nāgahasti and Arya Maṅkṣu. Yativṛṣabha I was the disciple of Nāgahasti and Arya Maṅkṣu. Uccharanāchārya was the disciple of Yativṛṣabha I. Guṇadhara wrote Gāthās, Yativṛṣabha I wrote Chūrṇis and Uccharanāchārya wrote Uccharana sūtras. It appears that Guṇadhara was the contemporary of Bhūtabali. The chronology of these āchāryas as follows:

	In CE
1. Guṇadhara	525-500 BCE
2. Nāgahasti & Arya Maṅkṣu	500-475 BCE
3. Yativṛṣabha I	475-450 BCE
4. Uccharanāchārya	450-425 BCE

### The Date of Āchārya Kundakunda and His Guruparamparā

Āchārya Kundakunda was one of the most revered āchāryas of the Digambaras. Āchārya Kundakunda was born in the Kundakundapura village of Anantapur district, Andhra Pradesh. He was also known as Padmanandī. He belonged to Mūla Saṅgha of Digambaras. According to an inscription of Shravanabelagola, Māghanandī II was the guru of Jinachandra Sūri and Jinachandra Sūri was the guru of Padmanandī (Kundakunda). In Pattāvalī, it is mentioned that Guṇachandra was the disciple of Māghanandī II and Kundakunda was the disciple of Guṇachandra. Jayasena, a commentator on *Pañcāstikāya Prābhṛta* of Kundakunda, mentions that Padmanandī or Kundakunda was the disciple of Kumāranandī.

The Sarasvatīgacṇa Pattāvalī mentions that Bhadrabāhu II was the progenitor of Mūla Saṅgha. His disciple was Guptigupta also known as Arhadbali. Guptigupta had four disciples, Māghanandī II (the founder of Nandi Saṅgha), Jinasena (the founder of Vṛṣabha Saṅgha), the founder of Simha Saṅgha and the founder of Deva Saṅgha. Jinachandra was the disciple of Māghanandī and Kundakunda was the disciple of Jinachandra. It appears that Jinachandra was also known as Kumāranandī and Guṇachandra. Historians complain that Dharasena was mentioned after Māghanandī in Śrutyatāra but it did not mention about Kundakunda or Guṇachandra as the disciples of Māghanandī. It may be noted that Māghanandī, the guru of Dharasena and Māghanandī, the guru of Jinachandra were two different persons. Therefore, I have indicated them as Māghanandī I and Māghanandī II.

The Sarasvatīgacṇa Pattāvalī gives the date of Bhadrabāhu II as “*Samvat 4*”. Historians mistakenly considered the Samvat as Chaitrādī Vikrama era (57 BCE) and rejected the dates given in the Digambara Pattāvalīs as fiction. It may be noted that Mūla Saṅgha was born in South India when the epoch of Śaka era was already in vogue. Moreover, the Śvetāmbara commentators mention that Śivabhūti became Digambara monk and migrated to South India 609 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa (580 BCE). I propose that the era should be considered as the Śaka era (583 BCE) for calculation of the dates of Mūla Saṅgha āchāryas given in Pattāvalīs. The 609<sup>th</sup> year elapsed in the Mahāvira nirvāṇa era (1189 BCE) was the 3<sup>rd</sup> year elapsed in the Śaka era (583 BCE). Thus, Śivabhūti or Bhadrabāhu II established Mūla Saṅgha in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the Śaka era, i.e., 579 BCE. Bhadrabāhu II’s disciple Guptigupta belonged to Saurashtra and used to stay in Chandra cave of Jayanta hill of Girnar as mentioned in Śrutyatāra. The Sarasvatīgacṇa Pattāvalī gives the Guruparamparā of Āchārya Kundakunda as given below:

	Duration	Śaka era (583 BCE)	In CE
1. Bhadrabāhu II (Śivabhūti)	22 years	4-26	579-557 BCE
2. Arhadbali or Guptigupta	9 years	27-36	556-548 BCE
3. Māghanandī II	4 years	36-40	547-543 BCE

4.	Guṇachandra	8 years	41-48	543-535 BCE
5.	<b>Kundakunda or Padmanandī</b>	51 years	49-100	534-483 BCE

The earliest epigraphic reference of Āchārya Kundakunda is found in the Merkera grant of the Gaṅga King Avinīta, which is dated Śaka 388 (195 BCE). This grant refers to Deśika Gaṇa of Kunkundānvaya and gives the *guruparamparā* of Chandranandī Bhaṭṭāraka. According to this grant, Guṇachandra's disciple was Abhayanandī, Abhayanandī's disciple was Śīlabhadra, Śīlabhadra's disciple was Jayanandī, Jayanandī's disciple was Guṇanandī and Gunanadi's disciple was Chandranandī. If we consider even 20 years' gap between six generations of Āchāryas, the first Āchārya, Guṇachandra of Deśika gaṇa might have undoubtedly lived before 300 BCE. It appears that Guṇachandra was the founder of Deśika gaṇa of Kunkundānvaya. Evidently, Āchārya Kundakunda must be dated at least prior to 300 BCE. Therefore, the dates given in the Pattāvalī are absolutely correct.

According to the Digambara tradition, Āchārya Kundakunda became the pontiff of Nandi Saṅgha of Mūla Saṅgha at the age of 33 years. Thus, Kundakunda was born in 567 BCE and became pontiff in 534 BCE. He was pontiff for 51 years and attained nirvāṇa in 483 BCE. Therefore, we can accurately fix the lifetime of Āchārya Kundakunda around 567-483 BCE. Jayasena tells us that Kundakunda wrote "*Pañcāstikāya Prābhṛta*" for Maharaja Śivakumāra. In all probability, King Śivakumāra was the early Pallava King Śivaskandavarman. Dr. Pathak and Muni Kalyana Vijaya have identified the King Śivakumāra to be the Kadamba King Mṛgeśavarman but he lived much later than Āchārya Kundakunda.

Interestingly, Kundakunda criticized Advaitavāda giving the example of Śvetamṛttikā in his work "*Samayasāra*". He argues that if we put white color on the wall made of soil, it becomes completely white but it does not mean that the soil of the wall does not become white. Similarly, Jiva cannot become ultimate divinity. Apparently, it is the criticism of Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śaṅkara. Historians have ridiculously distorted this statement of Kundakunda and interpreted that Kundakunda criticized the Vijñānavāda of Buddhism, and not Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi

Śaṅkara. All commentators of *Samayasāra* unambiguously referred to Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śaṅkara. In fact, Ādi Śaṅkara lived around 568-536 BCE from the year 2593 to the year 2625 of the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE). We will discuss the date of Ādi Śaṅkara in detail in Chapter 14. Some historians have speculated that Elāchārya was another name of Āchārya Kundakunda. But it is totally absurd because Elāchārya was the guru of Virasena, who wrote *Dhavaḷa* commentary in Śaka 738 (155 CE).

### **The Date of Umāsvāmī (482-442 BCE or Śaka 101-141)**

Umāsvāmī was the famous disciple of Āchārya Kundakunda. He was also known as Ṛddhricchā. Some historians speculated that Umāsvāmī and Umāsvāti were the same person but in reality, they were different persons. According to Tapagacchā Pattāvalī of Śvetāmbaras, a Jain Āchārya Umāsvāti lived 1190 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa (2 CE). Evidently, the Śvetāmbara Āchārya Umāsvāti cannot be the Digambara Āchārya Umāsvāmī. Thus, Umāsvāmī flourished around 442-482 BCE whereas Umāsvāti lived in the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.

Umāsvāmī became the pontiff after the death of Āchārya Kundakunda. It appears that Umāsvāmī founded Kaṣṭha Saṅgha, which was the oldest saṅgha of North India.

### **Simhanandī (575-475 BCE), Sarvanandī (600-500 BCE), and Simhasūri (203 BCE)**

According to later inscriptions of the Gaṅga dynasty, King Padmanābha sent his sons, Didiga and Mādhava, towards the south during the time of aggression from a neighbouring ruler of Ujjain (Probably, the Śaka kings of Ujjain). Didiga and Madhava arrived at Perur and met a Jain Āchārya Simhanandī who supported them in establishing the kingdom of Gaṅga Dynasty in Kuvalālapura (Kolar). Later inscriptions like the Kulagana plates of Śivamāra I and the Kudlur plates of Mārasimha also refer to the Jain āchārya Simhanandī.

Koṅgani Varman was the founder of Gaṅga dynasty. The Kudlapura stone inscription gives a date as Śaka 25 elapsed (*Śakavarṣam gateṣu pañcavimśati 25 neya*), referring to Prathama Gaṅga (the first Gaṅga king) Koṅgani Mādhava Varman. The date of the inscription corresponds

to 7<sup>th</sup> Feb 557 BCE. The manuscript of *Koṅgudeśarājakkal* gives the date of Koṅgani Varman as Śaka 111 (472 BCE). Therefore, Āchārya Simhanandī was the contemporary of Āchārya Kundakunda and lived around 575-475 BCE.

Āchārya Sarvanandī was the author of the famous Jain text “*Lokavibhāga*” which was translated into Sanskrit by Simhasūri in Śaka 380 (204 BCE). Simhasūri mentions that Sarvanandī wrote *Lokavibhāga* in Prakrit long ago in the kingdom of Pāṇdyas. In my opinion, there was at least 400-300 years’ gap between Sarvanandī and Simhasūri. Therefore, Sarvanandī must be dated in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

### The Date of Samantabhadra I and Akalaṅka

According to inscriptional references, Samantabhadra, the founder of Syādvāda philosophy, was the disciple of Bālakapicṇa who was the pupil of Umāsvāmī. After Samantabhadra, Devanandī and Akalaṅka were the Digambara Āchāryas. It appears that Akalaṅka was the follower or the founder of the Deśīya Gaṇa as mentioned in an inscription dated Śaka 1085 (502 CE) [*Yena So’kalaṅko mahāmatih, ityadyuddha-Munindra-santati-vidahu Śri-mūlasaṅghe tato, Jāte Nandi-gaṇa-prabheda-vilasad Deśi-gaṇe Viśrute...*].<sup>4</sup> Thus, the chronology as follows:

Inscriptions	Nandi Saṅgha, Dramila Saṅgha and Arhangalānvaya Pattāvalis	Duration	In CE
1. Kundakunda or Padmanandī	Kundakunda or Padmanandī	51 years	534-483 BCE
2. Umāsvāmī (Gr̥ddhricṇa)	Umāsvamī (Gr̥ddhricṇa)	40 years	482-442 BCE
3. Bālakapicṇa	Bālakapicṇa	--	442-410 BCE
4. Samantabhadra I	Samantabhadra	--	410-380 BCE
5. Devanandī	Ekasandhi Sumati Bhaṭṭāraka	--	380-350 BCE
6. Akalaṅka Vādibhasimha	Akalaṅka Vādibhasimha	--	350-320 BCE

Akalaṅka had a title of Vādibhasimha. This title was given to the winners of a debate by the Gaṅga kings. The Tanjore grant of Gaṅga King Harivarman dated Śaka 169 (414 BCE) relates an interesting story: A Buddhist philosopher named “*Vādimadaḡajendra*” came to Tālavanapura and affixed a letter of challenge on the main door of the palace for a debate on the subject of the existence of the soul. A Brahmana named Mādhava Bhaṭṭa took the challenge and, in the debate which took place in the court of Harivarman, he put forth his arguments in favour of the existence of the soul (*Ātmā*) while the Buddhist scholar denied the existence of the soul. Mādhava Bhaṭṭa defeated the Buddhist scholar and established the theory of the existence of the soul. A very pleased Harivarman gave the Brahmana the title “*Vādibhasimha*” and gifted him “Varakodu” or Orekodu village in the east of Mysore. It appears that Akalaṅka also earned the title of Vādibhasimha from a Gaṅga king.

Nandī Saṅgha, Dramila Saṅgha and Arhangalānvaya Pattāvalī give the list of āchāryas after Akalaṅka as Vakragrīvāchārya, Śrinandyāchārya, Simhanandyāchārya, Śrīpāla Bhaṭṭaraka, Kanakasena Vādirājadeva, Sri Vijayaśāntideva, Puṣpasena Siddhāntadeva, Vādirāja, Śāntiṣeṇadeva, Kumārasena Saiddhāntika, Malliṣeṇa Maladhari and Śrīpāla Trividyadeva. Śrīpāla Trividyadeva was the contemporary of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana, who donated a village named Śalya in Śaka 1047 (464 CE).

*Śrutyavatāra* of Indranandī mentions the names of some illustrious āchāryas who wrote treatises after Kundakunda. Indranandī says that Śamakunda wrote a treatise “*Mahābandha*” in 12000 ślokas when considerable time elapsed after Kundakunda. Śamakunda wrote in Prakrit, Sanskrit and Kannada languages. Thereafter, Tumbulura Āchārya wrote a commentary “*Cūḍāmaṇī*” in 84000 verses in Kannada. He also wrote a commentary “*Pañjikā*” in 7000 verses when considerable time elapsed after Śamakunda. Afterwards, logician Samantabhadra Swāmī (Samantabhadra II) wrote a commentary in 48000 verses in simple Sanskrit. Later, Śubhanandī and Ravinandī, the disciples of Bappadeva, wrote a commentary on *Ṣaṭkhandāgama* and *Kāṣāya Pāhuda*. Thereafter, Elāchārya was born who was the resident of Chitrakūtapura. Virasena was the disciple of Elāchārya. He

wrote a commentary “*Ṣaṭkarma*” on “*Vyākhyāprajñapti*” commentary of Bappadeva on the five khandas of *Ṣaṭkhandāgama*. He also wrote “*Dhavalā*” commentary on the sixth khanda of *Ṣaṭkhandāgama* in Śaka 738 (155 CE). He also started writing a commentary “*Jayadhavalā*” on *Kāṣāya Prābhṛta* but completed by his disciple Jayasena also known as Jinasena.

### **Digambara Jain Āchāryas after Umāsvāmī**

After Umāsvāmī, Lohāchārya, Yaśaḥkīrti, Yaśonandī, Devanandī and Guṇanandī were the pontiffs of Nandi Saṅgha of Mūla Saṅgha. According to Deśīya Gaṇa Pattāvalī, the Āchāryas were Trikalya Yogisha, Devendramuni and Chandrāyana Bhaṭṭāraka. We can add six more names to this list from the Merkera grant of the Ganga King Avinita. These āchāryas were Guṇachandra, Abhayanandī, Śīlabhadra, Jayanandī, Guṇanandī and Chandranandī. The Mekera grant informs that Chandranandī was the pontiff of Nandi Saṅgha’s Deśika gaṇa in Śaka 388 (195 BCE). Thus, we can say that Chandranandī was the Digambarāchārya 1000 years after Mahāvira nirvāṇa. Vajranandī founded Dramila Saṅgha in Śaka 526 (57 BCE).

### **The Guruparamparā of Pustakagacṇa**

Śri-Mūla Saṅgha was founded by Bhadrabāhu II (579-557 BCE) and Nandi Saṅgha was established by Māghanandī (547-543 BCE). Kundakundānvaya Nandi Saṅgha came into existence after Padmanandī-Kundakunda (534-483 BCE). Deśīya Gaṇa was a branch of Kundakundānvaya. Pustakagacṇa derived from Deśīya Gaṇa. An inscription of Shravanabelagola dated Śaka 1099 (516 CE) gives the genealogy of Āchārya Nayakīrti who died in 516 CE.

#### **In CE**

1.	Padmanandī-Kundakunda	567-483 BCE
2.	Umāsvāmī (Gṛddhrpicṇa)	482-442 BCE
3.	Bālakapicṇa	442-410 BCE
4.	Guṇanandī	410-370 BCE
5.	Devendra Saiddhāntika	370-340 BCE
6.	Kaladhautanandī	340-300 BCE

The details of Guruparamparā (300 BCE to 150 CE) are not given in the inscription.

- |     |  |                   |
|-----|--|-------------------|
| 1.  | Ravichandra  | 150-230 CE        |
| 2.  | Damanandamuni  | 200-275 CE        |
| 3.  | Śridharadeva I   | 230-310 CE        |
| 4.  | Maladharideva  | 260-340 CE        |
| 5.  | Śridharadeva II  | 300-375 CE        |
| 6.  | Māghanandī Muni  | 350-450 CE        |
| 7.  | <b>Guṇachandra Muni</b>  | <b>400-490 CE</b> |
| 8.  | Meghachandra, Chandrakīrti Bhaṭṭaraka, Udayachandra Panditadeva and Nayakīrti were the disciples of Guṇachandra Muni.  | 440-520 CE        |
| 9.  | <b>Nayakīrti</b> (He was the disciple of Guṇachandra Muni and died in Śaka 1099, Vaiśākha Śukla Chaturdaśi i.e. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Apr 516 CE.)   | <b>440-516 CE</b> |
| 10. | Mānikyanandī (He was the son of Guṇachandra and companion of Nayakīrti)  | 440-520 CE        |
| 11. | Meghachandra, <b>Maladharisvāmī</b> , Śridharadeva, Damanandī, Bhānukīrti, Bālachandra, Māghanandī, Prabhachandra, Padmanandī, Nemichandra were the disciples of Nayakīrti.              | 470-550 CE        |
| 12. | Śubhachandra died in Śaka 1235 (652 CE). His guruparamarā was Meghachandra, Viranandī, Anantakīrti and Maladhari Ramachandra. Śubhachandra was the disciple of Rāmachandra. <sup>6</sup> | <b>570-652 CE</b> |
| 13. | Padmanandī and Mādhavachandra were the disciples of Śubhachandra.  | 600-680 CE        |

Unfortunately, Digambaras did not properly maintain the Pattāvalīs of later āchāryas. Therefore, we have to reconstruct the chronology of Digambara āchāryas based on epigraphic and literary sources available.

### North-Indian Tradition of Digambaras

Kāṣṭhasaṅgha of Umāsvāmī, a branch of Nandi Saṅgha, was established in North India. Only Sarasvatīgacṇa Pattāvalī of Nagaur and Chittor



line is available today. Evidently, this Pattāvalī was written in Rajaputani dialect. Rudolf Hoernle published this Pattāvalī which gives 108 names of āchāryas starting from Kundakunda to Bhuvanakīrti.<sup>7</sup> According to this Pattāvalī, Bhuvanakīrti, the 108<sup>th</sup> Āchārya, was in Chaitrādi Vikrama Samvat 1840 (1783 CE). Evidently, this Pattāvalī was written around 1783-1784 CE.

Considering the date of Kundakunda around 534-483 BCE, total 2300 years elapsed up to the time of Bhuvanakīrti. If we divide 2300 (years) by 108 (Āchāryas), it gives an average 21 years for every Āchārya which appears to be quite realistic. Modern historians place Kundakunda in the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE which reduces the average time of every Āchārya to only 12 years. Evidently, later authors of the Sarasvatīgacṇa Pattāvalī might have mixed up the dates of Digambara āchāryas due to ignorance of the difference between the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) and Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).

#### Digambara Jain Literature (from 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE onwards)

1. Jinasena wrote *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* in Śaka 705 (122 CE) during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govinda II.
2. Virasena authored *Dhavalā* commentary in Śaka 738 (155 CE) during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Jagattuṅga Govinda III (140-157 CE). He was the disciple of Elāchārya, Chandrasena and Aryanandī. His disciple Jinasena completed *Jayadhavalā* commentary during the reign of King Amoghavarṣa (157-213 CE) in Śaka 759 (176 CE).
3. *Ādi Purāṇa* was written by Jinasena during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Mahāvira wrote *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha* during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.
4. *Pārśvābhydaya Kāvya* was written by Jinasena, the disciple of Vinayasena during the reign of Amoghavarṣa (157-213 CE). Vinayasena was the disciple of Virasena.
5. A praśasti in *Uttarapurāṇa* was written by Lokasena, a disciple of Guṇabhadra in Śaka 820 (237 CE) during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Akālavarṣa.

6. Śāntiṣeṇa was the contemporary of Paramāra King Bhoja (338-394 CE). Mānatuṅga, the author of *Bhaktāmara Stotra*, was also the contemporary of Rājā Bhoja. According to legends, Bhoja put Mānatuṅga in prison.
7. *Purāṇasāra* and *Uttarapurāṇa Tippaṇa* were written by Chandramuni, the disciple of Śrinandī of Balātkāra Gaṇa in KV 1070 (351 CE) and KV 1080 (361 CE) during the reign of King Bhoja (338-394 CE). Chandramuni wrote *Padmacharita* in KV 1087 (368 CE).

We have discussed the chronology of Jainism from the time of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvira to the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. It is evident that the chronological history of Jainism is entirely based on the epochs of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE), Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE), Śaka era (583 BCE), Chaitradi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and Śakānta era (78 CE). It is extremely important to segregate the available chronological data with reference to these epochs so that the chronology of Jainism could be accurately established.



# 14

## The Date of Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya

Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya was the greatest philosopher of India who single-handedly demolished the mightiest edifice of the Buddhist philosophy and re-established the authority of ancient philosophy of Upaniṣads and Vedānta. He was the founder of the theory of Brahmādvaitavāda, i.e., Non-dualism. He was perhaps the greatest spiritual leader the world has ever known who re-energized entire country in his short life of 32 years. Ancient records suggest that he lived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE but historians say that the scrutiny of various evidences leads us to a date in the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE regarding the date of Buddha nirvāṇa in 483 BCE. In the last 130 years, many scholars have attempted to fix the date of Ādi Śaṅkara but unfortunately, nobody has ever succeeded till date in presenting a date without any inconsistencies. Therefore, eminent historians have conveniently indulged in the selective acceptance and selective rejection of the data to fix the date of Ādi Śaṅkara around 788-820 CE.

Evidently, the failure in finding the true date of Ādi Śaṅkara till date indicates that the assumption of the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE may be chronologically incongruous. In reality, Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE as we have already discussed in Chapter 3.

### The Date of 788-820 CE

Eminent historians have erroneously fixed the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE and started examining the internal evidence of the works of Ādi Śaṅkara. They found that Ādi Śaṅkara referred to the Buddhist philosophers like Vasubandhu, Diṅgnāga and Dharmakīrti. Vasubandhu lived 900 years after Buddha nirvāṇa, who was the teacher of Diṅgnāga.

Dharmakīrti was the disciple of Dharmapāla and lived ~1250 years after nirvāṇa. Therefore, they concluded that Ādi Śaṅkara must be dated at least ~1250 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. KB Pathak found a manuscript of three pages in Belgaum which records that a Śaṅkarāchārya was born in Kali 3889 (788 CE), *Vibhava Saṁvatsara* and entered into cave in Kali 3921 (810 CE) and died on *Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā*.<sup>1</sup> Some other works of Nilakantha Bhaṭṭa, etc., also give the similar dates of a Śaṅkarāchārya. Thus, historians have fixed the date of Ādi Śaṅkara around 788-820 CE. Unfortunately, the Śringeri Math has innocently accepted this date of Ādi Śaṅkara under the influence of eminent historians ignoring its own historical records that explicitly refer to a date in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

There will be numerous inconsistencies if we agree to a date of Ādi Śaṅkara in the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. Historians are aware of these inconsistencies but prefer to brush aside them because these inconsistencies unambiguously suggest an earlier date which would ultimately lead to a complete review of the chronology of ancient India. Since eminent historians are either intellectually dishonest or academically incompetent, they have preferred to brush aside the inconvenient data rather accepting the challenge for a critical and comprehensive review of the chronology starting from the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa. It would be pertinent to highlight the following serious inconsistency that clearly leads to a date of Ādi Śaṅkara many centuries before 788 CE.

According to the chronology given in the textbooks of history, Kālidāsa flourished during the reign of the Gupta King Chandragupta II. Historians fixed the date of Chandragupta II around 380-415 CE. Kālidāsa authored a Sanskrit play “*Mālavikāgnimitram*”. In the beginning of this play, the *Pāripārsvika* asks *Sūtradhāra* that why we are going to stage a play of the contemporary poet like Kālidāsa ignoring the works of ancient poets like Bhāsa, Saumilla and Kaviputra (Rāmilla) [प्रथितयशसां भास-सौमिल्लिक-कविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य क्रियायां कथं बहुमानः]. Kāṭayavema, the commentator on the play, also clarifies that Bhāsa, Saumilla and Rāmilla were ancient poets (भासकविपुत्रसौमिल्लिका कवयः प्राक्तनाः....). Thus, *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa and the commentary

“*Kumāragirirājīyam*” of Kāṭayavema unambiguously mention that Bhāsa, Saumilla and Rāmilla (Kaviputra) lived before the lifetime of Kālidāsa. Rāmilla and Saumilla were the contemporaries of Maṭṛgupta and Bhartṛmenṭha and in the court of King Śri Harsha. *Rājataranṅiṇī* of Kalhaṇa informs us that Harsha Vikramāditya appointed Maṭṛgupta as the king of Kashmir. Maṭṛgupta ruled in Kashmir for four years, nine months and one day. Kalhaṇa also mentions that Kashmiri poet Bhartṛmenṭha enjoyed the patronage of Maṭṛgupta and authored “*Hayagrīvavadha*”.<sup>2</sup> Soḍhala gives the chronological order of the great Sanskrit poets in his *Udayasundarikathā* and places Bhartṛmenṭha before Kālidāsa.<sup>3</sup> Harsha Vikramāditya was the famous King Śri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty who reigned around 457-405 BCE considering the epoch of Śri Harsha era in 457 BCE as mentioned by Al Beruni. Rāmilla authored a play named “*Maṇiprabhā*”. A verse quoted by *Gururājaratnamālikā* clearly indicates that Rāmilla was the contemporary of Śri Harsha. It is also said that Rāmilla and Bhartṛmenṭha were the keepers of elephants and horses of King Śri Harsha. Rāmilla also mentions Maṭṛgupta. Therefore, we can accurately date the great Sanskrit poets Saumilla, Rāmilla, Maṭṛgupta and Bhartṛmenṭha around 450-400 BCE.

Interestingly, Rāmilla mentioned in his play “*Maṇiprabhā*” that Guru Śri Śaṅkarendra, the disciple of Jagadguru Vidyāghana, was his contemporary and the pontiff of Sarvajña Pīṭha. In Ātmabodhendra Sarasvati’s commentary on “*Gururājaratnamālikā*”, there is a quotation from Rāmilla’s play “*Maṇiprabhā*”.<sup>4</sup>

विद्याधिप रामिलाख्य....तद् बिरुदवाही मणिप्रभाकारो मैथिल इति लक्ष्यम् ॥

अत्रानुसन्धेयः यत्किल मणिप्रभायां –

सूत्रधारः – आर्ये अवधीयताम् ।

भङ्गशचन्दनमर्दिनप्रणतयो स्फूर्जद्रसां साहितीं

**हर्षक्षोणिपतेश्च** हर्षमतुलं दृष्ट्वैव ये तानिषु ।

धीरांस्तान् **गुरुशङ्करेन्द्रयतिनश्चित्ते** स्मरन् **रामिलः**

प्राणैषीत् स **मणिप्रभां** प्रथयितुं भक्तेर्गुरोर्गौरवम् ॥

सूत्रधारः – न जानासि ?

मूकार्मोऽपि जगद्गुरो करुणया **विद्याघनस्याप्तवा-**

गाचार्योऽस्ति हि **शङ्करेन्द्रबिरुदस्सर्वज्ञपीठाधिप** ।

अर्चा किङ्करमातृगुप्तकवितागर्वस्य निर्वासना—  
 याधायोश्वपनागपावपि कवी रामिल्ल...क्षणात् ॥  
 किञ्च —  
 आचार्येशद्विजन्मार्थ्यतिथिषु विनतो वैनतेयश्शकाहे  
 कश्मीरानेव काव्यं किमपि कवयितुर्दत्तवानप्रमत्तम् ।  
 रक्षादत्तप्रहर्षप्रकृतिशताध्मातहर्षस्सहर्षं  
 कर्णाभ्यर्णावतीर्णः कथमथतदनो विक्रमी विक्रमार्कः ॥

Bhartṛmenṭha also mentions in his Kavya “*Hayagrīva-vadha*” that Śrī Śaṅkarendra was his contemporary Śaṅkarāchārya.

यच्च हयग्रीववधेऽपि—  
 ख्यातश्रीशङ्करेन्द्रप्रचुरतरकृपालब्धसाहित्यविद्यः  
 सद्यस्साधूक्तिसमोद्यपि परकवितामर्षिणो मातृगुप्तात् ।  
 प्रौढाः प्रौढोक्तिरुढैर्निबिडरसभरैर्गुम्भनैर्यत्र मेदु —  
 र्मेधुर्मादादिनादीद् हयवदनवधवाङ्म्यकुण्ठस्स मेण्ठः ॥

Considering the epoch of Śrī Harsha era (457 BCE), Guru Śrī Śaṅkarendra was the head of the Sarvajña Pīṭha around 460-420 BCE and his Guru Śrī Vidyāghana was the head of the Sarvajña Pīṭha around 480-460 BCE. Thus, Ādi Śaṅkara undoubtedly flourished in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE and lived before Vidyāghana, Śaṅkarendra, Rāmilla and Bhartṛmenṭha.

In view of the above, Rāmilla, Saumilla and Bhartṛmenṭha must be dated at least few hundred years before Kālidāsa. Ādi Śaṅkara must be placed at least a hundred years before Rāmilla and Bhartṛmenṭha. Considering the date of Kālidāsa around 380-415 CE as erroneously fixed in the modern text books, Ādi Śaṅkara cannot be dated later than the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Unfortunately, eminent historians have brushed aside all these facts and illogically fixed a date around 788-820 CE.

### The Works of Ādi Śaṅkara: Internal Evidence

Ādi Śaṅkara wrote commentaries on Brahmasūtras, ten Upaniṣads and Bhagadgītā. He also wrote a commentary on the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda and a philosophical work named “*Upadeśasāhasrī*”. Many other works are attributed to the name of Śaṅkarāchārya but it appears that most of them were written by a later Śaṅkarāchārya. Ādi Śaṅkara has cited a line

from Diṅnāga's *Ālambanaprakāśa* in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*. Diṅnāga was the pupil of Vasubandhu. Ādi Śaṅkara has quoted a verse from Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika* in his *Upadeśasāhasrī*. He has quoted Gauḍapāda in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*. He refers to Gauḍapāda as his "Paramaguru" in his commentary on Gauḍapāda's Kārikās. Evidently, Ādi Śaṅkara must be dated after Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga and Gauḍapāda. He was a junior contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Let us recapitulate the timeline of Buddhism considering the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE.

	Years after Buddha Nirvāṇa	In CE
1. Buddha lived for 80 years and attained nirvāṇa on 5 <sup>th</sup> Apr 1864 BCE		1944-1864 BCE
2. The first Buddhist Council in Rājagriha immediately after nirvāṇa during the reign of King Ajātaśatru.		1864 BCE
3. Aśoka (Kālāśoka) became the King of Magadha and ruled over a vast kingdom from Magadha to Takśaśilā including Kashmir.	100 years	1765 BCE
4. The second Buddhist Council during the reign of Aśoka and Tripiṭakas were compiled. Theravāda School separated from Mahāsāṅghika School.	100 years	1765 BCE
5. According to Kalhaṇa, Turuṣka Kings Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka became kings of Kashmir. <sup>5</sup>	150 years	1715 BCE
6. Kalhaṇa mentions that Chandrāchārya wrote his grammar and Mahābhāṣya during the reign of Kashmir King Abhimanyu. <sup>6</sup> At the same time, Nāgārjuna I (Vajrapāṇi) laid a strong foundation for Mūlasarvāstivāda school of Buddhist philosophy.	~250 years	1615 BCE

- |     |  |               |               |
|-----|--|---------------|---------------|
| 7.  | Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi attained nirvāṇa.  | 300 years     | 1550 BCE      |
| 8.  | Mauurya King Aśoka ascended the throne   | 318 years     | 1547 BCE      |
| 9.  | The third Buddhist Council was held at Pāṭaliputra   | 318 years     | 1547 BCE      |
| 10. | Theravāda was established in South India and Śri Lanka   | 336 years     | 1529 BCE      |
| 11. | Mūlasarvāstivāda in the form of Sautrāntikas (later evolved as Hīnayāna) dominated in entire western India and Central Asia whereas a school of Sarvāstivāda (later evolved as Mahāyāna) started evolving in Kashmir and Gāndhāra.   |               | 1500-1300 BCE |
| 12. | Zoroaster founded Zoroastrianism in Balkh and central Asia and ensured the decline of Buddhism.  |               | 1307-1230 BCE |
| 13. | Yavana King Milinda and Buddhist scholar Nāgasena flourished 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.   | 500 years     | 1365 BCE      |
| 14. | Mahākātyāyana or Kātyāyanīputra the author of Prajñāpti lived in the 6 <sup>th</sup> century after Buddha nirvāṇa as mentioned in “Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha”. <sup>7</sup> Kātyāyanīputra was the founder of the Vaibhāṣika school of Hīnayāna. According to “Life of Vasubandhu” written by Paramārtha, Bodhisattva Ma-ming (Aśvaghōṣa) was the contemporary of Kātyāyanīputra. | 500-600 years | 1365-1265 BCE |
| 15. | Kumāralāta was the famous scholar of Sautrāntika school of Hīnayāna. Harivarman was his disciple.  | 500-600 years | 1365-1265 BCE |
| 16. | According to <i>Samyukta Ratna Piṭaka Sūtra</i> , Kushana King Kanishka reigned 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.  | 700 years     | 1150-1118 BCE |
| 17. | The Buddhist Council of Kashmir or Jalandhar was held during the reign of  |               | 1125 BCE      |



- Kushana King Kanishka.
- |   |           |                  |
|---|-----------|------------------|
| 18. Vasumitra was the contemporary of Kuṣāṇa King Kanishka. Yaśomitra mentions in his <i>Abhidharmakośavyākhyā</i> that Abhidharma works were composed by Mahākauṣṭhila, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Devaśarman, Vasumitra and Pūrṇa before Vasubandhu. |           | 1150-1100<br>BCE |
| 19. Nāgārjuna II was the founder of Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna. He propounded the famous Śunyavāda.  | 800 years | 1100-1020<br>BCE |
| 20. Asaṅga and Vasubandhu lived 900 years after nirvāṇa. Asaṅga founded the Yogāchāra school of Mahāyāna. Thus, Hīnayāna had two schools, Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika. Mahāyāna had two schools, Mādhyamika and Yogāchāra.                                 | 900 years | 960-880<br>BCE   |

### The Date of Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga

According to Tibetan sources, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were the half-brothers from Puruṣapura of Gāndhāra janapada. Asaṅga's father was a Kśatriya whereas Vasubandhu's father was a Brahmana. Prasannaśīlā was the mother of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Professor J. Takakusu published "The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha" in the year 1904. It is a translation from a Chinese manuscript. It states that a Kauśika Brahmana family of Puruṣapura (Peshawar) had three sons, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Viriñchivatsa. Asaṅga studied Hīnayāna texts from Arhat Pindola and also studied Mahāyāna texts. He went to a cave of Kukkuṭapāda hill and did penance for 12 years and founded Yogāchāra school of Mahāyāna. Buddhamitra was the teacher of Vasubandhu. Manoratha, a Buddhist scholar of law, was the junior contemporary of Vasubandhu.

King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā was the patron of Budhamitra, a Buddhist scholar. Probably Āchārya Vṛṣagaṇa, a philosopher of the Sāṅkhya School, was also in Ayodhyā. Vindhyāvāsin was the pupil of Vṛṣagaṇa and lived in the caves of Vindhyā mountains in the kingdom of the Nāga kings (Probably, the kings of Bhāraśiva Nāga dynasty). Once

Vindhyāvāsin went to Ayodhyā and challenged Budhamitra for debate. He defeated Buddhmitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu in a debate at Ayodhyā in the absence of Vasubandhu. Later, Vasubandhu came to know about the defeat of his guru and wished to avenge his teacher's defeat but he could not trace out the location of Āchārya Vindhyāvāsin. Therefore, Vasubandhu composed "*Paramārthasaptatikā*" in refutation of Vindhyāvāsin. Thus, Āchārya Vindhyāvāsin was the senior contemporary of Vasubandhu.

Vasubandhu authored the famous text *Abhidhamma Kośa*. Bālāditya became the King of Ayodhyā after the death of his father Vikramāditya. King Bālāditya invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhyā. Vasubandhu debated with Vasurāta, a grammarian who was the brother-in-law of King Bālāditya. He also debated with Saṅghabhadra, a Hīnayāna/Theravāda scholar. Saṅghabhadra visited Canton, China and put 975<sup>th</sup> dot on the Upāli's *Vinaya Piṭaka* in 889 BCE. He also translated *Samantapāsādikā* into Chinese language with the assistance of Seng-wei. Bhartṛhari, the author of "*Vākyapadiyam*", was the son and pupil of Vasurāta. It may be noted that Bhartṛhari, the author of *Vākyapadiyam* and Bhartṛhari, the author of *Nīti*, *Śringāra* and *Vairāgya Śatakas* were two different persons.

Asaṅga asked Vasubandhu to come back to Puruṣapura and persuaded him to promote Mahāyāna. Thus, Vasubandhu became the āchārya of Mahāyāna and went back to Ayodhyā where he died at the age of 80 years. Paramārtha mentions in his commentary on the Madhyānta-Vibhāga of Maitreya that Vasubandhu lived 900 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. The Chinese manuscript of "Life of Vasubandhu" written by Paramārtha states that Vindhyāvāsin and Vasubandhu lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century after Buddha nirvāṇa.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the date of Vasubandhu can be fixed around 960-880 BCE. Tibetan sources tell us that Diṅnāga was a disciple of Vasubandhu. Therefore, Diṅnāga can be dated around 920-850 BCE. Interestingly, Vāmana's *Kavyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* clearly mentions that Chandraprakāśa was the son of Chandragupta and his minister was Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE). We have already discussed the date of Chandragupta (984-930 BCE) and his son Chandraprakāśa (930-890 BCE) of the Chandra dynasty.

### The Myth of Two Vasubandhus

Historians have unnecessarily created a confusion about the date of Vasubandhu. They say that Paramārtha gives two dates, i.e., 900 or 1100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa whereas Hiuen Tsang says that Vasubandhu lived around 1000 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. But I have not found the date of 1100 years in the text of “Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha”. Paramārtha says in his commentary on Madhyānta Vibhāga of Maitreya that Vasubandhu lived 900 years after nirvāṇa whereas he says in his work “Life of Vasubandhu” that Vindhyāvāsin and Vasubandhu lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century after nirvāṇa. Evidently, there is no contradiction in these two statements of Paramārtha, which clearly indicate that Vasubandhu lived 900 years after nirvāṇa. If we consider the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE and minimum gap of 900 years, Vasubandhu cannot be dated before 417 CE. According to the Chinese sources, Kumārajīva translated *Abhidharma Kośa* of Vasubandhu. Historians have already fixed the date of Kumārajīva around 344-409 CE. Therefore, Vasubandhu must be dated before Kumārajīva but it will lead to certain chronological inconsistencies.

In 1911, PN Peri proposed the date of Vasubandhu around 350-430 CE and stated that Vasubandhu was the contemporary of Kumārajīva.<sup>9</sup> J. Takakusu opined that Vasubandhu can only be dated around 425-500 CE. In 1951, Prof. E. Frauwallner floated an idea that there were two Vasubandhus.<sup>10</sup> He proposed that the Vasubandhu, brother of Asaṅga, who converted to Mahāyāna, was a different person from the Vasubandhu, a contemporary of Vindhyāvāsin, the famous Sāṅkhya philosopher. Interestingly, Padmanabh S Jaini presented an evidence based on the manuscript of the *Abhidhamma-dīpa* with a commentary of the *Vibhāṣā-Prabhā-Vṛtti* discovered in Tibet by Rahul Sankrityayana in 1937. This *Vṛtti* contains 17 hostile references to the Kośakāra (Vasubandhu) criticizing his Sautrāntika views and accusing him of entering the portals of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Evidently, the Vasubandhu who converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism under the influence of his elder brother Asaṅga and the Vasubandhu, author of *Abhidharma Kośa*, were the same individual. Prof. E. Frauwallner also quoted Yaśomitra’s commentary on *Abhidharma Kośa* in which Yaśomitra has referred to Vasubandhu as Vṛddhāchārya. But Yaśomitra did not give any indication to prove the existence of two

Vasubandhus. He has simply referred to Vasubandhu as Vṛddhāchārya because he was the earliest āchārya and the founder of the Abhidhamma of Yogāchāra School. There is no credible evidence to establish that there were two Vasubandhus. In fact, Prof. E. Frauwallner has failed to reconcile the chronological inconsistencies in dating of Vasubandhu and ultimately concocted the myth of the existence of two Vasubandhus.

### **The Date of Paramārtha and Kumārajīva**

There is the following note at the end of the Chinese manuscript “Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha”.

“From the beginning, as far as here the narrative refers to Vasubandhu and his brothers. Hereafter it records the travel of the Āchārya of the Tripiṭaka from the capital of Tai-chou to the east, and thence to Kwang Chou (Canton), where he re-translated the Mahāyāna works.”

J. Takakusu writes in the note that “We do not know who wrote this note. It is certain, however, that it is by one who struck out the portion relating to the author, Paramārtha, and made the life purely of Vasubandhu. We can see from this note that the original form of the work was different from what we have now, being a sort of memorandum giving biographical notes of Vasubandhu and Paramārtha.”

Evidently, historians blindly assumed the āchārya of Tripiṭaka mentioned in this note as Paramārtha and fixed the date around 499-569 CE. If he was indeed Paramārtha, why the scribe of the manuscript mentions him as āchārya of Tripiṭaka instead of Paramārtha? It appears that one āchārya of Tripiṭaka translated it from Sanskrit text and a scribe made a copy of it. We should not fix the date of Paramārtha just based on the date of āchārya of Tripiṭaka until we get an additional evidence to support it.

It is more logical that the date of Paramārtha must be fixed based on the internal evidence of his works. Paramārtha himself mentioned in his work that he wrote it 1265 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Therefore, we can fix the date of Paramārtha around 630-550 BCE. It is generally assumed that Yaśomitra was a contemporary of Paramārtha. There is also divergence of opinion about the date of birth and the date of death of Kumārajīva but most probably, Kumārajīva lived around 327-248 BCE.

## The Chronology of the Āchāryas of Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā, Buddhism and Jainism

Let us discuss the chronology of the Āchāryas of various schools of philosophies who lived before and after the lifetime of Ādi Śaṅkara considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and the date of Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE) as the sheet anchors.

Indian Philosophers	In CE
<p>1. <b>Íśvara Krishna</b> was the author of <i>Sāṅkhya Kārika</i>. Undoubtedly, he lived before Vṛṣagaṇa and Vindhyaśāsin. This text of Sāṅkhya philosophy is the third oldest after the Sāṅkhya Sūtras of Kapila and <i>Ṣaṣṭi-Tantra</i> of Pañcaśikhāchārya. Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha were the earliest āchāryas of Sāṅkhya philosophy. Mahābhārata's Śānti Parva mentions that Āsuri was the disciple of Kapila. Pañcaśikha was the son of Kapila and the disciple of Āsuri. Seemingly, the Sāṅkhya philosophers Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha lived in the post Rigvedic period but the Sāṅkhya sūtras might have been compiled in the Pre-Rāmāyaṇa era. In all probability, Íśvara Krishna wrote <i>Sāṅkhya Kārikas</i> before the birth of Buddhism. Gauḍapāda wrote a commentary on 69 Kārikas of Íśvara Krishna. Vāchaspati Míśra wrote <i>Sāṅkhya Tattva Kaumudī</i>, a commentary on 72 Kārikas of Íśvara Krishna. <i>Māṭharavṛtti</i> is also a commentary on 73 Kārikas of Íśvara Krishna. The difference in number of Kārikas of Íśvara Krishna indicates that the text of <i>Sāṅkhya Kārikā</i> was very ancient by the time of Gauḍapāda and a divergence of opinion existed about the number of Kārikas.</p>	<p>Before 2100 BCE</p>
<p>2. <b>Māṭhara:</b> One Māṭhara Brahmana wrote a commentary on <i>Sāṅkhya Kārikā</i> known as "<i>Māṭharavṛtti</i>". Gilgit Manuscript of <i>Vinayavastu</i> mentions about a great scholar Māṭhara of Nālada village who was the contemporary of King Bimbisāra. Thus, Māṭhara lived during the lifetime of Bimbisāra and Buddha. Māṭhara refers to Íśvara Krishna as "<i>Bhagavan</i>". Therefore, we must fix the date of Íśvara Krishna at least a hundred years before Māṭhara.</p>	<p>1950-1870 BCE</p>

3. **Upavarṣa:** He was the brother of Varṣa who was the teacher of Pāṇiṇi. Pāṇiṇi flourished during the period of Nanda dynasty of Magadha. Ādi Śaṅkara refers to him as Bhagavān Upavarṣa. Upavarṣa wrote a commentary on Mīmāṃsā Sūtras known as “*Śārīraka Mīmāṃsā Vṛtti*”. 1700-1620 BCE
4. **Sundara Pāṇḍya** wrote a sub commentary known as *Vārtika* on Upavarṣa’s *Śārīraka Mīmāṃsā Vṛtti*. He was also known as Ninraseer Nedumaran Nayanar or Koon Pandyan. He was a king of the Pāṇḍya dynasty and accepted Buddhism initially but Thirujñāna Sambandarar successfully persuaded him to follow Śaivism. Ādi Śaṅkara referred to the sub commentary of Sundara Pāṇḍya. 1280-1200 BCE
5. **Nāgārjuna II**, the founder of Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna. He authored Mādhyamika Kārikas. Gaudapāda was familiar with the Kārikas of Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna was the contemporary of King Sadvāhana, son of Harichandra. He wrote a letter of advice (*Suhrillekha*) to him. The Tibetan translation of this letter is available. Historians simply speculated that Nāgārjuna’s friend King was Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi mistakenly considering him to be a contemporary of a later Śātavāhana King. 1100-1020 BCE  
 But Nāgārjuna lived at least 100 years before Vasubandhu. Most probably, Nāgārjuna might have written this letter to King Sadvāhana who was his friend. **Aryadeva** was the disciple of Nāgārjuna and lived around 1030-990 BCE.
6. **Śabara Swāmi** wrote the famous “*Śābara Bhāṣya*” on Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini. Śabara Swāmi’s real name was Ādityadeva but he had to disguise himself as a forester fearing Buddhist persecution. 1100-1000 BCE
7. **Āchārya Taṅka** probably lived around 1100 BCE. Yāmunamuni, the author of Siddhitraya, places him before Bhartṛprapañcha and Bhartṛhari I. He was the first pre-Ādi Śaṅkara philosopher who propounded the Bhedābheda theory. 1100-1000 BCE

8. **Bhadrabāhu I** was the 5<sup>th</sup> Śrutakevalin and Jain scholar. 1100-1019  
He died 170 years after Mahāvīra Nirvaṇa (1189 BCE). BCE  
He was the author of *Daśavaikaika Niryukti*.
9. **Vātsyāyana** wrote a commentary on Nyāya Sūtras of 1050-970  
Gautama. He refers to Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra. He alludes BCE  
to certain logicians according to whom a syllogism  
consists of ten members as against the normally  
accepted five members. Bhadrabāhu I propounded the  
syllogism of ten members in his work *Daśavaikaika  
Niryukti*. Therefore, Vātsyāyana must be dated after  
Bhadrabāhu I. Diṅnāga criticized Vātsyāyana in his  
works. Udyotakara, the author of *Nyāyabhāṣya-Vārtika*  
and Vāchaspati Miśra also confirmed Diṅnāga's  
criticism of Vātsyāyana. Therefore, Vātsyāyana must be  
dated before Diṅnāga. Vātsyāyana also authored the  
famous '*Kāmasūtra*'.
10. **Bhartṛprapañcha** probably lived around 1000 BCE. 1040-960  
Yāmunamuni places him before Bhartṛhari I. He wrote BCE  
a commentary (unavailable today) on Bṛhadāraṇyaka  
Upaniṣad and supported Bhedābheda theory. Ādi  
Śaṅkara strongly criticized Bhartṛprapañcha in his  
commentary on Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
11. **Vṛṣagaṇa**, a great scholar of Sāṅkhya school, was a senior 1000-940  
contemporary of King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā (King BCE  
Buddhapakṣa). He was the teacher of Vindhyāvāsin.
12. **Bhartṛmitra** probably lived around 1000 BCE. 1000-940  
Yāmunamuni places him before Bhartṛhari I. BCE
13. **Budhamitra** was a junior contemporary of Vṛṣagaṇa 990-930  
and in the court of King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā. He BCE  
was the teacher of Vasubandhu.
14. **Vindhyāvāsin**, the pupil of Vṛṣagaṇa, defeated 990-920  
Budhamitra in Ayodhyā. He was a senior contemporary BCE  
of Vasubandhu.
15. **Asaṅga** was the elder brother of Vasubandhu. Gauḍapāda 962-880  
appears to have modelled a Kārikā on a verse of Asaṅga. BCE

16. **Vasubandhu** was a junior contemporary of Vindhyāvāsin and lived 900 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Vasurāta and Saṅghabhadra were his contemporaries. 960-880 BCE
17. **Vasurāta**, a grammarian, was the brother-in-law of King Bālāditya of Ayodhyā. He debated with Vasubandhu. He was the father and guru of Bhartṛhari I. 960-880 BCE
18. **Saṅghabhadra**, a Hinayāna/Theravāda philosopher, was the contemporary of Vasubandhu and debated with him. He visited Canton of China and put the 975<sup>th</sup> dot on the manuscript of *Vinaya Piṭaka* during the reign of King Ying Zheng Huang-ti of the Qin dynasty. 950-870 BCE
19. **Bhāvaviveka or Bhāviveka or Bhāvya** wrote *Mādhyamika Hṛdaya Kārikā* and a commentary called *Tarka-jwālā*. Bhāvaviveka quoted Kārikās of *Māndūkya Kārikā*. He criticized Buddhapālita. Chandrakīrti criticized Bhāvaviveka. 910-830 BCE
20. **Bhartṛhari I** was the famous author of “*Vākyapadīyam*”, a greatest work on the philosophy of word and meaning. He was the pupil and son of Vasurāta. He has referred to Chandrāchārya (1630-1550 BCE), a grammarian who lived ~250 years after Buddha nirvāṇa as stated by Kalhaṇa (*Chandrāchāryādibhir labdhvā deśam tasmāt tadāgatam, pravartitam Mahābhāṣyam svam ca vyākaraṇam kṛtam*).<sup>11</sup> In all probability, Chandrāchārya was a junior contemporary of Pāṇiṇi (1670-1590 BCE). He mentions that when the ancient grammar of Patanjali (lived around ~7200 BCE) was almost extinct or corrupted, Chandrāchārya and his followers not only revived but also evolved many branches of Patanjali vyākaraṇa (*Yaḥ Patanjali-śiṣyebhyo bhraṣṭo vyākaraṇāgamaḥ, sānito bahuśākhātvam chandrāchāryādibhiḥ punaḥ....*).<sup>12</sup> Vāmana and Jayāditya (750-680 BCE), the contemporaries of Sāhasānka Vikramāditya (719 BCE) wrote *Kāśikā Vṛtti* to embody Chāndra Vyākaraṇa in the Pāṇiṇīya Vyākaraṇa. Historians have mistakenly identified Chandrāchārya with Chandragomin. Yāmunamuni, the author of *Siddhitraya*, gives the names of philosophers



Taṅka, Bhartṛprapañcha, Bhartṛmitra, Bhartṛhari, Brahmadata, Śaṅkara, Śrivatsāṅka and Bhāskara. Seemingly, Taṅka (1100 BCE), Bhartṛprapañcha (1040 BCE) and Bhartṛmitra (990 BCE) lived before Bhartṛhari I.

21. **Diṅgnāga** was the disciple of Vasubandhu according to Tibetan sources. He refers to Vasubandhu as 'Āchārya Vasubandhu'. Thus, Diṅgnāga must be dated as a junior contemporary of Vasubandhu. Diṅgnāga quoted from *Vākyapadīyam* of Bhartṛhari I. 920-840 BCE
22. **Chandrakīrti**, a South Indian, was a disciple of Āryadeva II. He founded a new school of Mādhyamika philosophy known as Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamika. He debated with Chandragomin at Nālanda for years. Chandrakīrti defended Buddhapālita against Bhāvaviveka. 880-800 BCE
23. **Chandragomin** was the contemporary of Chandrakīrti. His pupil was Ratnakīrti. Historians mistakenly identify him to be Chandrāchārya (1630-1550 BCE) who wrote *Chāndra Vyākaraṇa*. 880-800 BCE
24. **Brahmadatta** probably lived around 800-700 BCE. Yāmunamuni places him before Ādi Śaṅkara but after Bhartṛhari I. 800-700 BCE
25. **Udyotakara** was the author of *Nyāyabhāṣya-Vārtika*. He wrote a commentary on *Nyāya-bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana. He attacked Diṅgnāga in his work. He mentions the name of ancient city "Sruḡhna" (Sugh in Yamunanagar of Haryana). He criticised Nāgārjuna. He also refers to Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu as mentioned in the commentary of Vāchaspati Miśra. Dharmakīrti criticized Udyotakara. 800-700 BCE
26. **Dharmapāla** was the teacher of Dharmakīrti and Śīlabhadra. 650-570 BCE
27. **Iśvarasena** taught Nyāya to Dharmakīrti as mentioned by Tibetan monk Tārānātha. He was the follower of Diṅgnāga. 650-570 BCE

28. **Paramārtha** wrote one of his works 1265 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. He probably wrote the biography of Vasubandhu. 640-570 BCE
29. **Yaśomitra** was a contemporary of Paramārtha. 640-570 BCE
30. **Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I** was the author of *Ślokavārtika* and *Bṛhaṭṭikā* on *Sābarabhāṣya*. He referred to Vindhyāvāsin in his *Ślokavārtika*. He criticized Diṅnāga. Jinendrabuddhi, a commentator on Diṅnāga's *Pratyakṣa Pariccheda*, clearly informs us that Kumārila I criticized Diṅnāga. Dharmakīrti attacked Kumārila I in his works. Tibetan sources (Tārānātha) also tell us that Kumārila I and Dharmakīrti were contemporaries. There are some verses attributable to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I but not traceable in *Ślokavārtika*. Evidently, Kumārila I might, have also written another work that not traceable today. According to *Sarvadarśana-Kaumudī*, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I was senior to Prabhākara. Someśvara, in his commentary “*Nyāyasudhā*” on *Tantravārtika* of Kumārila II, explicitly indicates that he relied on another celebrated writing of Kumārila for his comments on the *Tantravārtika*. Evidently, he distinguishes between Kumārila I and Kumārila II. A passage in *Sanskṛita Chandrikā* (collected from Jain Prabandhas) indicates that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I was 48 years older than Ādi Śāṅkara as mentioned by WR Athankar.
31. **Dharmakīrti** was the disciple of Dharmapāla according to Tibetan sources. The same Tibetan sources also tell us that Dharmakīrti was the contemporary of Tibetan King *Srong-btan-gampo* (571-491 BCE) who married a Chinese princess *Kong-Cho*. The date of the Chinese princess is discernible from Chinese sources. The King *Srong-btan-gampo*'s period is given in the works of *Bai'Du'rya dkar-po*, which have been cited in ‘Tibetan Grammar’ by L Soma de Koros. In all probability, Tibetan King *Srong-btan-gampo* lived for 80 years around 571-491 BCE. Dharmakīrti attacked

Udyotakara and Kumārila I. **Devendrabhūti** was the pupil of Dharmakīrti and **Śākyasiddhi** was the pupil of Devendrabhūti.

32. **Prabhākara** was the disciple of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I. He wrote a commentary “*Bṛhatī*” on *Śābara-bhāṣya* of Mīmāṃsā Sūtras. Prabhākara attacked Vārtikakāra (the author of *Ślokavārtika*, i.e., Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I). Uṃveka mentions him as “Anupāsitaguru”. Prabhākara referred to *Vākyapadīyam* of Bhartṛhari and Dharmakīrti. Some scholars speculated that Prabhākara lived after Bhāravi because he stated “अविवेकः परमापदां पदम्”. There existed many traditional one-liners. This cannot be the evidence to place Prabhākara after Bhāravi. 610-520 BCE
33. **Śālikanātha** was the direct disciple of Prabhākara. He wrote a commentary on *Bṛhatī* of Prabhākara. Śālikanātha has explained many times how Prabhākara criticizes Vārtikakāra, i.e., Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. 590-510 BCE
34. **Śīlabhadra** was the disciple of Dharmakīrti. 590-510 BCE
35. **Gauḍapāda** was the Paramaguru of Ādi Śaṅkara. He wrote a commentary on *Sāṅkhya Kārikas* of Iśvara Krishna. Most probably, he was alive during the lifetime of Ādi Śaṅkara. Gauḍapāda was familiar with Yaśomitra’s works. 656-556 BCE
36. **Govindapāda** was the disciple of Gauḍapāda. His real name was probably, Chandra Śarmā. 640-550 BCE
37. **Viśvarūpa** was the disciple of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I and the resident of Māhiṣmatī. He wrote a commentary named “*Bālakridā*” on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*. 575-480 BCE
38. **Ādi Śaṅkara** refers to Gauḍapāda as his Paramaguru. He was the disciple of Govindapāda. 568-536 BCE
39. **Śri Harsha** was the King of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. He was the patron of Matṛgupta, Bhartṛmenṭha, Rāmilla and Saumilla. He wrote three Sanskrit plays *Nāgānnda*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī* etc. 457-406 BCE

40. **Matṛgupta** became the King of Kashmir. He was also the patron of Bhartṛmenṭha. 410-406 BCE
41. **Bhartṛmenṭha** was the author of *Hayagrivavadha*. He was the contemporary of Śri Śāṅkarendra, the head of Sarvajña Pīṭha. 470-390 BCE
42. **Rāmilla-Saumilla** brothers were the authors of *Śudrakakathā*. Rāmilla also wrote a play named “*Maṇiprabhā*”. Rāmilla and Saumilla were the contemporaries of Śri Śāṅkarendra, the head of Sarvajña Pīṭha. 470-390 BCE
43. **Kundakunda**, a Jain Āchārya, became pontiff of Mūla Saṅgha and Nandi Saṅgha around Śaka 49 (534 BCE) - Śaka 100 (483 BCE). He authored *Samayasāra* and criticized Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śāṅkara. 534-483 BCE
44. **Umāswāmī** was the disciple of Kundakunda and became pontiff of Nandi Saṅgha around Śaka 101 (482 BCE) and Śaka 141 (442 BCE). Later, he became the founder of Kāṣṭha Saṅgha. 482-442 BCE
45. **Samantabhadra** was the pupil of Bālakapicṇa, who was the disciple of Umāswāmī. 410-380 BCE
46. **Akalaṅka I or Akalaṅka Vādibhasimha** was a Jain philosopher and the author of *Tattvārtharājavārtika*, a commentary on *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* of Svāti. He also wrote *Aṣṭa-śatī*, a commentary on the *Āpta-Mīmāṃsā* of Samantabhadra. **Siddhasenagaṇi**, the contemporary of Devardhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇa (203 BCE), has referred to Akalaṅka’s *Siddhiviniścaya*. Haribhadra has also referred to Akalaṅka’s Nyāya. Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara wrote *Nandichūrṇi* in Śaka 598 (15 CE) and referred to Akalaṅka’s *Siddhiviniścaya*. Jain scholar Vidyānanda refers to Akalaṅka I. 380-300 BCE
47. **Śrivatsāṅka** lived after Ādi Śāṅkara but before Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa as mentioned by Yāmunamuni. 250-200 BCE
48. **Kālidāsa** wrote *Jyotirvidābharaṇam* in Kaliyuga 3068 (34 BCE). He was one of the Navaratnas of Vikramāditya II of Ujjain. 105-25 BCE

49. **Kumārila II** was the author of *Tantravārtika* and *Tuṭtikā* on the Mīmāṃsā Sūtra Bhāṣya of Śabara Swāmi. He quoted *Vākyapadīyam* of Bhartṛhari I. Kumārila II has criticized Jain scholar Samantabhadra who wrote *Gandhahastibhāṣya* (*Āpta-Mimāṃsa*) on *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* of Svāti. Jain Scholars Vidyānanda and Prabhāchandra refer to Kumārila's criticism of Samantabhadra. Kumārila II has quoted a verse from Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* in his *Tantravārtika* (*satām hi sandehapadeṣu vastuṣu pramāṇa-mantaḥkaraṇasya vṛttayaḥ*). Kālidāsa indirectly refers to Diṅnāga in his *Meghadūtam* as mentioned by commentator Mallinātha. Kumārila also knew "*Kāśikā-vṛtti*" (*Nyāsa*) of Jinendrabuddhi. WR Athankar mentions in his book that Kumarila II was born in Kaliyuga year 2930 (171 BCE) as recorded in the *Śaṅkara Vijaya* of Brahmānanda Sarasvati. This reference needs to be examined. 100 BCE-0 CE
50. **Mandana Mishra** quoted Kumārila. Tradition says that he was the disciple of Kumārila II. He strongly criticized Ādi Śaṅkara in his *Brahmasiddhi*. 90 BCE-10 CE
51. **Śaṅkarāchārya II** revived Śringeri, Puri, Dwārakā and Jyotirmath Pīthas. 44 BCE-58 CE
52. **Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa** authored a commentary on Brahmasūtras and criticized Ādi Śaṅkara. He followed Pariṇāmavāda. 50 BCE-30 CE
53. **Udayana I** was the author of *Nyāyakusumāñjali* and *Bauddhādhikāra*. *Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha* of Madhavāchārya refers to Udayana's *Kusumāñjali*. 50 BCE-30 CE
54. **Bāṇabhaṭṭa** was the author of *Kādambarī* and *Harshacharitam*. Historians mistakenly assumed him to be the contemporary of Śri Harsha (457-405 BCE) of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. He refers to Kālidāsa. *Udayasundarikathā* of Soḍhala places him between Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. Thus, he was a junior contemporary of Kālidāsa and a senior contemporary of Bhavabhūti. Bhavabhūti was in the court of Yaśovarman and a senior contemporary of Vakpatirāja as mentioned 40 BCE-40 CE

by Kalhaṇa.

55. **Mayūra** was the contemporary of Bāṇabhaṭṭa as mentioned in *Mādhava Śāṅkara Vijayam*. 40 BCE-40 CE
56. **Dandī** was also a junior contemporary of Kālidāsa. He himself mentions that his great grandfather was a contemporary of Bhāravi, who was in the court of Ganga King Durviniita (193-138 BCE) 40 BCE-40 CE
57. **Abhinavagupta I** was a Śākta philosopher from Kāmarūpa. He wrote a Śāktabhāṣya. He was a great opponent of the advaita philosophy. *Śāṅkaradigvijayam* of Mādhava and an extract of another Śāṅkara Vijayam mentions him. (*Tadanantaramēṣa Kāmarūpān, Adhigatyābhinavaopaśabdaguptam, Ajayat kila Śāktabhāṣyakāram Sa ca bhagno manasedamāluloce*), Śāṅkarāchārya II defeated him in a Śāstrārtha (debate) when he reached Assam in the course of Digvijaya. 40 BCE-40 CE
58. **Nilakantha** lived in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE as mentioned in *Mādhava Śāṅkara Vijayam*. 40 BCE-40 CE
59. **Murāri Mīśra** lived in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE as mentioned in *Mādhava Śāṅkara Vijayam*. He was the author of *Anargharāghavam*. 40 BCE-40 CE
60. **Dharmagupta Mīśra** lived in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE as mentioned in *Mādhava Śāṅkara Vijayam*. 40 BCE-40 CE
61. **Uṁveka** wrote a commentary named “*Tātparyatīkā*” on *Ślokaṅvārtika* of Kumārila I. He has also written a commentary on the *Bhavana-Viveka* of Mandana Mīśra. Kamalasila has referred to Uṁveka. He was the pupil of Kumārila II and the teacher of Bhavabhūti. In a manuscript of *Mālatī-Mādhavam* of Bhavabhūti, there is a reference to Uṁvekāchārya as a disciple of Kumārila II at end of Act III. 40 BCE-40 CE
62. **Bhavabhūti** was the pupil of Uṁveka as mentioned in a manuscript of *Mālatī-Mādhavam*. Kalhaṇa mentions that Bhavabhūti was in the court of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja and a senior contemporary of Vakpatirāja, the author of *Gauḍavaho*. 30 BCE-50 CE

63. **Sureśvarāchārya** was the famous disciple of Śaṅkarāchārya II. He attacked Mandana Miśra in his works. TR Chintamani pointed out that Vidyānanda, the teacher of Jinasena, the author of *Harivamśa Purāṇa* quotes a verse from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Vārtika of Sureśvarāchārya. Jinasena wrote *Harivamśa Purāṇa* in Śaka 705 (122 CE). We can fix the date of Jinasena around 80-150 CE and his teacher Vidyānanda around 60-140 CE. 20 BCE -70 CE
64. **Dharmottara** was a Buddhist scholar. He wrote *Nyāyabindutikā*. He was the disciple of Archata and Śubhagupta. He was the contemporary of Kashmir King Jayāpīda (52-83 CE). 30-130 CE
65. **Prajñākara Gupta** was the author of *Pramāṇavārtikāṅkāra*. He clarified the view of Dharmakīrti and criticized Devendrabhūti. 40-120 CE
66. **Karṇakagomin** wrote a commentary on *Pramāṇavārtika* of Dharmakīrti. He mentioned Uṁveka. 40-120 CE
67. **Śāntarakṣita** quoted Gauḍapāda. He has repeatedly attacked Kumārila's *Ślokavārtika*. He wrote a commentary on a work of Dharmakīrti. According to Tibetan sources, Śāntarakṣita visited Tibet at the invitation of King *Khri-sron-deu-tsari* who was born around 67 CE. Śāntarakṣita worked in Tibet for 13 years. Śāntarakṣita was born during the reign of Pāla King Gopāla and died during the reign of King Dharmapāla. 50-130 CE
68. **Kamalasīla** was the disciple of Śāntarakṣita. He quoted Gauḍapāda. He referred to Vindhyāvāsini in his *Tattvasaṅgraha*. Kamalasīla not only mentioned Uṁveka but also quoted him. 60-140 BCE
69. **Akalaṅka II** was the author of *Pramāṇasaṅgraha*. Akalaṅka II has attacked Karṇakagomin in his *Pramāṇasaṅgraha*. He was the junior contemporary of Raṣṭrakūṭa King Krishna I (94-109 CE). Kathākośa of Prabhāchandra explicitly tells us that Akalaṅka II was the son of Puruṣottama, the minister of Raṣṭrakūṭa King Śubhattuṅga Krishna I. The Mallinātha Praśasti, a pillar 50-130 CE

inscription at Chandragiri, refers to Akalaṅka being in the court of Sāhasatūṅga (Dantidurga). Another Kathakośa of Brahmanemi Datta states that a debate between Akalaṅka II and Buddhists took place in Śaka 700 (117 CE).

70. **Trilochana** was the teacher of Vāchaspati Miśra. 120-200 CE  
Rājaśekhara (240-320 CE) praised Trilochana.
71. **Jayanta Bhaṭṭa**, a Kashmiri scholar, was the author of “*Nyāyamañjari*”. He refers to Kashmir King Śaṅkaravarman (184-202 CE). Satish Chandra, the author of ‘History of Indian Logic’, has presented an instance of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa citing Vāchaspati Miśra. 150-225 CE
72. **Vāchaspati Miśra** calls Diṅnāga as ‘Arvāchīna’ in his *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tīkā*. Vāchaspati Miśra wrote *Nyāyasūchi-nibandha* in Kārttikādi Vikrama 898 (179 CE). He wrote a commentary called “*Bhāmati*” on the Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya of Ādi Śaṅkara. He also wrote commentaries on Mandana Miśra’s *Brahmasiddhi* and *Vidhiviveka*. He also referred to Dharmakīrti, Udyotakara, Samantabhadra and Dharmottara. He refers to *Rājāvārtika* but it cannot be identified as the work of Paramāra Bhoja (338-394 CE). He also referred to *Nyāyamañjari* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. 150-225 CE
73. **Kalyānarakṣita** refers to Vāchaspati. His disciple **Ratnākaraśānti** became the teacher at Vikramaśilā University during the reign of King Chaṇaka, who died in 322 CE. 225-300 CE
74. **Abhinavagupta II** was the author of *Tantrāloka* and the founder of Śivādvaita. 230-320 CE.
75. **Śri Harsha** was the author of *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyaka* and *Naiṣadhīya-charitam*. 250-320 CE.
76. **Udayana II** authored “*Lakṣaṇāvalī*” in the Śakānta era 950-1030 CE (984 CE). He wrote a commentary “*Parīśuddhi*” on Vāchaspati Miśra’s *Tātparyāṭīkā*. CE



## The Blunders Committed by Historians

### Two Kumārila Bhaṭṭas

Historians have mistakenly assumed that there was only one Kumārila Bhaṭṭa but in reality, there were two Kumārila Bhaṭṭas. Kumārila I, a South Indian, was the contemporary of Dharmakīrti and the senior contemporary of Ādi Śaṅkara whereas Kumārila II, a North Indian and the resident of Prayāga, was the teacher of Mandana Mishra of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

**Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I (616-540 BCE):** According to Tibetan sources, Kumārila I was the senior contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Tārānātha says that he was a South Indian. Kumārila I was a rich man and owned many rice fields. During his times, Buddhism was dominating. He joined a Bauddha Vihāra in disguise and studied Buddhist philosophy so that he can effectively counter Buddhism and re-establish Vedic Mīmāṃsā philosophy. When Buddhists came to know his motives, they threw him out of Vihāra. Kumārila I was hurt in one eye in this physical tussle with Buddhists. Thereafter, Kumārila I emerged as the biggest challenge to Buddhism. Dharmakīrti entered the service of Kumārila I in disguise and learnt Vedic Mīmāṃsā philosophy from him. Later, Dharmakīrti attacked Kumārila I in his works.

Kumārila was the author of *Ślokavārtika* and *Brhāṭṭikā* on Śābarabhāṣya. He referred to Āchārya Vindhyāvāsin in his *Ślokavārtika* and criticized Diṅnāga. Prabhākara was the pupil of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I but he had some differences with his guru and founded his own school of Mīmāṃsā philosophy. Since Prabhākara criticized his own teacher, Umveka calls him as “*Anupāsitaguru*” which means a person who disrespects his teacher. Śālikanātha, the disciple of Prabhākara, explains how Prabhākara differs from Vārtikakāra, i.e., the author of *Ślokavārtika*, i.e., Kumārila I. Owing to the differences between Kumārila I and Prabhākara, two schools of Mīmāṃsā, i.e., “*Bhāṭṭa*” and “*Prābhākara*” came into existence. According to *Sarvadarśanakaumudī*;

शबरस्वामिकृतं भाष्यम् । तदुपरि प्रस्थानद्वयं—भाट्टम् प्राभाकरमिति । तत्र  
भट्टाचार्याणाम् पञ्च व्याख्यानानि भाष्यस्य—एका बृहटीका, द्वितीया मध्यमटीका,

तृतीया टुप्टीका, चतुर्थी कारिका पञ्चमं तन्त्रवार्तिकं..... । तत्र बृहन्मध्यमटीके संप्रति न वर्तेते ।

“There are two Prasthānas (schools) on the commentary named “Śābara-Bhāṣya” on Mīmāṃsā sūtras. One is Bhāṭṭa (Kumārila I) school and another is Prābhākara School. There are five commentaries of the Āchāryas of Bhāṭṭa School, 1. *Bṛhaṭṭikā*, 2. *Madhyamaṭikā*, 3. *Tuṭṭikā*, 4. *Kārikā*, 5. *Tantravārtika*. The texts of *Bṛhaṭṭikā* and *Madhyamaṭikā* are not available today.”<sup>13</sup>

Evidently, *Bṛhaṭṭikā* of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I was lost long time ago. This is the reason why many verses and quotes attributable to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I are not traceable in *Ślokavārtika*. *Nyāyaviveka*, a text of Prabhākara School, indicates a contradiction in the works of Kumārila I. It says that Kumārila I has indeed given six meanings in his *Ślokavārtika* whereas he himself gives ten meanings elsewhere. The work of Kumārila I that gives ten meanings is not available today.

There is a controversy about the date of Kumārila and Prabhākara because of considering only one Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. There are many evidences which indicate that Prabhākara lived much earlier than Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. Ādi Śaṅkara mentions Kumārila and Prabhākara. Kumārila criticizes Prabhākara whereas Prabhākara mentions himself to be the disciple of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. These facts clearly indicate that there were two Kumārilas. Kumārila I was the contemporary of Dharmakīrti and the teacher of Prabhākara. Kumārila II lived few centuries later and criticized Prabhākara. Hariswāmi, who wrote a commentary “*Śrutyaṛthavivṛti*” in Kali year or 3047 (55 BCE), refers to the works of Prabhākara. Hariswāmi was the “Dharmādhyakṣa” and “Dānādhyakṣa” of King Vikramāditya of 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

**Kumārila Bhaṭṭa II (70 BCE-10 CE):** According to one manuscript of Ānandagiri’s Śaṅkara Digvijaya, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa II was a North Indian. Tradition says that he was born in Prayāga. Mandana Mīśra was not only Kumārila II’s disciple but also married his sister Sarasavāṇī. Kumārila II was the author of *Tantravārtika* and *Tuṭṭikā*. Kumārila II clearly attacked Prabhākara in his works. Interestingly, Someśvara, in his commentary

“Nyāyasudhā” on *Tantravārtika* of Kumārila II, explicitly indicates that he relied on another celebrated writing of Kumārila for his comments on the *Tantravārtika*. Evidently, Someśvara has referred to *Bṛhaṭṭikā* of Kumārila I. He also points out how Kumārila II attempted to show that he is not contradicting the *Bṛhaṭṭikā*, which implicitly indicates that Kumārila II is showing utmost respect to the work “*Bṛhaṭṭikā*” of Kumārila I. Kumārila II has criticized Jain scholar Samantabhadra in his *Tuṭṭikā*. Samantabhadra lived at least 100 years after the death of Kundakunda. “Samayasāra” of Kundakunda criticizes Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śaṅkara whereas Ādi Śaṅkara mentions Kumārila. Evidently, Kumārila II, the critic of Samantabhadra cannot be the senior contemporary of Ādi Śaṅkara. Moreover, Kumārila II quotes Kālidāsa’s *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* in his *Tantravārtika*. Kālidāsa lived around 105-25 BCE. Thus, Kumārila II was a junior contemporary of Kālidāsa. Interestingly, Tibetan Buddhist Scholar Tārānātha mentions that Ādi Śaṅkara flourished before Kumārila. Evidently, Tārānātha (1575-1634 CE) mixed up the details of two Kumārilas. In all probability, Tārānātha says that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of Kumārila I and also informs that Ādi Śaṅkara lived before Kumārila II.

Interestingly, the reference of “भट्टाचार्याणाम्” in plural tense in *Sarvadarśana Kaumudī* clearly indicates that there were more than two Kumārila Bhaṭṭas. Ananda Chandra Agrawala’s book “Goalparar Puroni Biworon” claims that Kumārila Bhaṭṭa belongs to Assam based on Assamese literary sources. Out of five Bhaṭṭa commentaries on *Śābara-Bhāṣya*, *Śloka-vārtika* (Kārikā) and *Bṛhaṭṭikā* were written by Kumārila I (630-550 BCE) whereas *Tantravārtika* was written by Kumārila II (80-0 BCE). *Madhyamaṭikā* is not available today. *Tuṭṭikā* refers to Jain philosopher Samantabhadra. Therefore, the author of *Tuṭṭikā* lived after 350 BCE. Probably, the author of *Tuṭṭikā* may be the Kumārila Bhaṭṭa who belonged to Assam. If there was only one Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, why he wrote three commentaries, i.e., *Bṛhaṭṭikā*, *Madhyamaṭikā* and *Tuṭṭikā* on the same *Śābara-Bhāṣya* and ensured his *Tuṭṭikā* to be in conformity with his own *Bṛhaṭṭikā*? Evidently, there were more than one Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.

## Akalaṅkas II

Historians again committed another blunder by considering two Akalaṅkas, the Digambara Jain scholars, as one. In reality, Akalaṅka I flourished in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE whereas Akalaṅka II lived in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

**Akalaṅka I or Akalaṅka Vādibhasimha (380-300 BCE):** Akalaṅka was a Digambara Jain philosopher and the author of *Tattvārtharājavārtika*, a commentary on Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra of Svāti. He also wrote *Aṣṭa-śatī*, a commentary on the *Āpta-Mīmāṃsā* of Samantabhadra. Siddhasenagaṇi, the contemporary of Devardhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇa (203 BCE), has referred to Akalaṅka's *Siddhiviniśchaya*. Haribhadra has also referred to Akalaṅka's Nyāya. Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara wrote Nandichūrṇi in Śaka 598 (15 CE) and referred to Akalaṅka's *Siddhiviniśchaya*. Jain Scholar Vidyānanda refers to Akalaṅka I. Akalaṅka I criticized Kumārila I (a verse of Ślokavārtika). He had a title of Vādibhasimha, probably, given by early Gaṅga kings. A copper plate of Harivarman dated Śaka 169 (414 BCE) refers to a debate between a Brahmana and a Buddhist. King Harivarman gave the title of Vādibhasimha to the Brahmana, who defeated a Buddhist.

**Akalaṅka II (50-130 CE):** Akalaṅka II was the author of *Pramāṇasaṅgraha*. He was a junior contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Krishna I (94-109 CE). The *Kathākośa* of Prabhāchandra explicitly tells us that Akalaṅka II was the son of Puruṣottama, the minister of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Śubhattuṅga Krishna I. The Mallinatha Praśasti, a pillar inscription at Chandragiri, refers to Akalaṅka II being in the court of Sāhasatuṅga (Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga [78-93 CE]). According to *Kathākośa* of Brahmanemi Datta, a debate between Akalaṅka II and Buddhists took place in Śaka 700 (117 CE). Akalaṅka II has attacked Buddhist scholar Karṇakagomin in his *Pramāṇasaṅgraha*.

## Two Udayanas

Udayana I, the author of *Nyāyakusumāñjalī* lived in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE whereas Udayana II, the author of *Lakṣaṇāvalī*, lived in 984 CE around a thousand years later. But historians mistakenly considered them to be the same person.

**Udayana I (50 BCE-30 CE):** Udayana I was the author of *Nyāyakusumāñjalī* and *Bauddhādhikāra*. *Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha* of Mādhāvachārya refers to Udayana's *Nyāyakusumāñjalī*. Śri Harsha wrote *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhāḍya*, a criticism of Udayana I's *Kusumāñjalī* at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.

**Udayana II (984 CE):** Udayana II authored "*Lakṣaṇāvalī*" in the Śākānta era 906 (984 CE). He wrote a commentary "*Parīśuddhi*" on Vāchaspati Miśra's *Tātparyatikā*. Probably, he also authored a commentary on Śri Harsha's *Naiṣadhacharitam*.

## Two Abhinavaguptas

**Abhinavagupta I (40 BCE - 40 CE):** Abhinavagupta I was a Śākta philosopher from Kāmarūpa. He wrote a *Śāktabhāṣya*. He was a great opponent of the advaita philosophy. Mādhava's Śaṅkara Digvijayam mentions him. Śaṅkarāchārya II defeated him in a Śāstrārtha (debate) when he reached Assam in the course of Digvijaya.

**Abhinavagupta II (230 - 320 CE):** Abhinavagupta II was the greatest philosopher of Advaita Śaivism of Kashmir. His ancestor Atrigupta had migrated to Pravarapura (Srinagar), Kashmir from Antarvedi region of Madhyadeśa (Kānyakubja) on invitation from Kashmir King Lalitāditya in the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Abhinavagupta wrote a commentary on "*Dhvanyāloka*" of Ānandavardhana who was in the court of Kashmir King Avantivarmā (156-184 CE). Varāhagupta was the grandfather of Abhinavagupta. His father was Narasimhagupta (also known as Chukhulaka) and mother was Vimalakalā. Abhinavagupta gives his personal details in his works "*Tantrāloka*" and "*Parātrimśika Vivaraṇa*". Ambā was his elder sister. She was married to Karṇa, the grandson of Vallabha. Vallabha was the minister of Kashmir King Yaśaskara (239-248 CE). Karṇa was one of the most favourite pupils of Abhinavagupta. Karṇa and Ambā had a son, Yogeśvaridatta. Karṇa died when his son was probably a teenager. Abhinavagupta also mentions about his paternal uncle, Vāmanagupta and his brother, Manorathagupta. He also mentions his paternal cousins, Abhinava, Chakra, Padmagupta, Rāmagupta and Kśema. He also tells us about his disciples, Mandra, Kśema and Utpala. Mandra was the same age group friend of Karṇa. In fact, Mandra

invited Abhinavagupta to stay at his suburban residence where he wrote “*Tantrāloka*”. Mandra’s aunt Vatsalikā looked after Abhinavagupta during this period.

Abhinavagupta wrote *Kramastava* in the 66<sup>th</sup> year of Laukika era, on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the dark fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, i.e., 24<sup>th</sup> Nov 289 CE (*Ṣaṭṣaṣṭhike nāmake varṣe Navamyām asite ahani, Mayā Abhinavaguptena Mārgaśīrṣe stutaḥ Śivaḥ*). “*Bhairavastava*” was written in the 68<sup>th</sup> year of Laukika era, on 10<sup>th</sup> day of the dark fortnight in the month of Pauṣa, i.e., 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 292 CE (*Vasu-rasa Pauṣe Krishnadaśamyām Abhinavaguptaḥ stavamimāmakarot, yenāvibhurbhava marusantāpam samayati janasya jhaditi dayāyihī*). Abhinavagupta refers to King Nānyadeva’s commentary on Bharata’s *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Nānyadeva established his rule over Nepal in Śaka 811 (227 CE), Kārttikādi Vikrama 948 and Nepali Samvat 9. He ruled for 50 years from 227-277 CE.

A manuscript of “*Īśvarapratyabhijñā-Vivṛti-Vimarsīṇī*” of Abhinavagupta contains a śloka at the end of the work (*iti navatitame’smin vatsare’ntyē Yugamśe , Tithi-śaśi-jaladhi-sṭhe Mārgaśīrṣāvasāne* ). Based on this śloka, historians wrongly concluded that Abhinavagupta wrote it in the 90<sup>th</sup> year and Kaliyuga year 4115 (1013 CE). It appears that someone has edited this verse with reference to the epoch of the Śākānta era (78 CE). We have to verify this distortion from the oldest manuscripts available. Considering the date of Kashmir King Yaśaskara (239-248 CE) and Nepal King Nānyadeva (228-278 CE), we can fix the lifetime of Abhinavagupta around 230-320 CE.

### **The Date of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa (40 BCE - 40 CE)**

Historians wrongly assumed that Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa was the contemporary of King Śri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. In fact, Bāṇa refers to Kālidāsa. Therefore, we must date Bāṇa after Kālidāsa or at least as a junior contemporary of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa informs us that Sanskrit poets Saumilla and Rāmilla lived few centuries before him. Rāmilla himself mentioned in his play *Maṇiprabhā* that he worked in the logistics department of the elephantry and the Cavalry of King Śri Harsha. Thus, Bāṇa cannot be a contemporary of King Śri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty.

Moreover, Bāṇa narrates his meeting with the King Śri Harsha in the capital city of Upamaṇipura. He was invited by Krishna, the brother of King Śri Harsha. Evidently, King Śri Harsha, the contemporary of Bāṇa was not the famous King Harsha Vikramāditya. Soḍhala's *Udayasundarikathā* tells us that Śri Harsha honoured Bāṇa with one hundred crore gold coins and coronated Bāṇa on a prestigious seat. Later, the crown prince (Yuvarāja), the son of Śri Harsha, offered the same seat to Abhinanda, the son of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa. Therefore, Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa and his patron King Śri Harsha must be dated after Kālidāsa. *Śaṅkara Vijayam* tells us that Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE-58 CE) debated with Bāṇa. Thus, the date of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa must be fixed around 40 BCE-40 CE.

### The Date of Śri Harsha (270-350 CE)

Śri Harsha was the author of *Naiṣadhacharitam* and *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyam*. He was the son of Śri Hīra and Māmalladevi. According to Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakośa*, Jayantachandra, the son of Govindachandra, was ruling in Vārānasi. Meghchandra was the son of King Jayantachandra. Śri Harsha's father Hīra was in the court of Govindachandra. Śri Harsha was still a young boy when his father Hīra died. Śri Hīra had suffered defeat in a debate in the royal court. Therefore, he wished that one day his son Śri Harsha must defeat his opponent in the debate. Śri Harsha went to Gurukulas and learnt all arts and sciences. Thereafter, he visited the court of King Jayantachandra. Śri Harsha challenged his father's opponent for a debate and defeated. Thus, Śri Harsha became a court poet of Jayantachandra of Vārānasi.

Śri Harsha wrote *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyam* and *Naiṣadhīya-charitam*. His *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyam* is a critique of the views of Udayana I (*Nyāyakusumāñjalī*). He also wrote *Vijayaprasasti*. Ram Prasad Chanda says that *Vijayaprasasti* is all about the Pratihāra King Vijayapāla (286-310 CE).<sup>14</sup> A manuscript existed in Jaisalmer library but it is not available today. It appears to be correct because Bhandarkar pointed out that Paramāra King Bhoja refers to *Naiṣadhīya-charitam* in his *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* and Vāchaspati Mishra, a contemporary of the Sena kings, has written a criticism of Śri Harsha's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyam*. One Udayanāchārya (undoubtedly Udayana II) wrote a commentary on *Naiṣadhīya-charitam*.

Historians mistakenly considered him to be contemporary of Jayachandra of Kannauj. In fact, Govindachandra, Jayantachandra and Meghachandra mentioned in *Prabandhakośa* were not the kings of Gāhadawāla dynasty. Moreover, Jayachandra was the son of Vijayachandra and not Govindachandra. The kings mentioned in *Prabandhakośa* were the kings of Vārāṇasi and reigned around 230-350 CE. Since Bhoja refers to *Naiṣadhīyacharitam* and Śrī Harsha wrote *Vijayaprasāsti*, a eulogy of Pratihāra King Vijayapāla (286-310 CE), the lifetime of Śrī Harsha can be fixed around 270-350 CE.

### **The Date of Yogi Gorakṣanāth and Bhartrihari**

The date of Yogi Gorakṣanāth is closely linked with the date of Bhartrihari. Therefore, we have to fix the date of Bhartrihari first to arrive the date of Gorakṣanāth. In fact, there were at least three Bhartriharis in the history of ancient India.

#### **Bhartrihari I (935-860 BCE)**

Bhartrihari I was the author of *Vākyapadīyam*, *Mahābhāṣyaṭīkā*, *Śabdadhātu-samīkṣā* and a commentary on *Vākyapadīyam*. Vardhamāna, the author of *Guṇaratnamahodadhi*, mentions that Bhartrihari was the author of *Vākyapadīyam* and *Prakīrṇa*. Helārāja, a commentator on *Vākyapadīyam*, refers to a commentary named *Prakīrṇaprakāśa*. Most probably, the commentary on *Vākyapadīyam* written by Bhartrihari, was known as *Prakīrṇa* or *Prakīrṇaprakāśa*. Buddhist scholar Diṅnāga quotes *Vākyapadīyam*. Thus, Bhartrihari I was the contemporary of Vasubandhu who lived 900 years after the date of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Seemingly, Bhartrihari wrote *Vākyapadīyam* under the influence of Śūnyavāda. Itsing states that Bhartrihari had deep faith in Ratnatraya and Dvidivha-Śūnya. Vachaspati Mishra refers to the author of *Vākyapadīyam* as *Veda-bāhya*.

#### **Gorakṣanāth (640-550 BCE) & Bhartrihari II (610-530 BCE)**

Bhartrihari II was the son of King Virasena. King Virasena had three sons, Bhartrihari, Vikramāditya, Subhaṭavīrya and one daughter, Mynāvati. Most probably, the kingdom of Virasena was in eastern UP. Bhartrihari succeeded his father. Rani Piṅgalā was the wife of Bhartrihari. They did



not have a child for a longtime. According to the legends, Bhartrihari saw a woman jump into the pyre of her husband as her grief would not let her stay alive. He was moved by this incident. He told the incident to Rani Piṅgalā and asked her if she would do the same. Rani Piṅgalā said that she would die on hearing the news itself and there would be no chance of her staying alive until the funeral ceremony. Bhartrihari decided to test her and went on a hunting expedition and sent the news of his death back to the palace. Rani Piṅgalā died on hearing the news. Bhartrihari came back to palace and mourned the death of his queen. He held himself responsible for her death and could not come out of the grief. Guru Gorakṣānāth consoled him and philosophically convinced about the illusory nature of the world. Bhartrihari handed over the reins of kingdom to his younger brother Vikramāditya and became the follower of Gorakṣānāth. Thus, Bhartrihari II became a famous saint in eastern UP, Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Bengal. Interestingly, Taranatha, a Tibetan Buddhist scholar, Vimalachandra, the son of Bālachandra, became the king of Bengal, Kāmarupa and Tirahut. Vimalachandra married Mynāvati, the sister of King Bhartrihari II. Vimalachandra and Mynāvati had a son, Gopichandra. Vimalachandra was a contemporary of Pandita Amarasimha, Ratnakīrti and Mādhyamika Buddhist Srigupta. Queen Mynāvati also became the disciple of Gorakṣānātha.

*Gorakṣa-Siddhānta-Saṅgraha* gives the guruparamparā of Nath Yogis. Ādināth and his disciple Matsyendranāth were the founders of the Nāthparamparā. Udayanāth, the son of Matsyendranāth, succeeded his father. Thereafter, Danḍanāth, Satyanāth, Santhoṣanāth, Kūrmanāth and Bhavanāth became the heads of Nāthparamparā. According to the account of 84 Siddhas, Gorakṣānāth or Anaṅgavajra was the son of a king of eastern Uttar Pradesh. Most probably, the ancestors of Gorakṣānāth had a title of Gorakṣa. Thus, Anaṅgavajra also came to be known as Gorakṣānāth. He may not be the direct disciple of Matsyendranāth but he became the head of Matsyendranāth-Paramparā after Bhavanātha. Gorakṣānāth had many disciples like Bālanath, Hālikapāva and Śakāntapāva. Seemingly, Gorakṣānāth was a Buddhist in his early age but he became Śaiva later.

Taranatha indicates that Gorakṣānāth belonged to the period of King Śālivāhana (~659-630 BCE). Most probably, Gorakṣānāth was born

during the reign of King Śālivāhana. Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Gorakṣānāth around 640-540 BCE. Therefore, we can arrive the dates of Bhartrihari II (610-530 BCE), Vimalachandra (605-530 BCE), Mynāvati (600-530 BCE) and Gopichandra (575-500 BCE). Pandita Amarasimha (610-530 BCE), the author of *Amaruśatakam*, was the contemporary of King Vimalachandra. Interestingly, Ādi Śāṅkara (568-536 BCE) was a junior contemporary of Gorakṣānāth (640-550 BCE). Some scholars speculated that Ādi Śāṅkara was the real author of *Amaruśatakam* but Amarasimha, a senior contemporary of Ādi Śāṅkara authored *Amaruśatakam*. There was another Amarasimha in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE who wrote *Amarakośa*.

There is a famous cave in Nepal which is known as Gorakṣānāth cave. Most probably, Guru Gorakṣānāth practiced “Tantra” in this cave. An inscription on a slab of stone at the entrance of Gorakṣānāth cave is dated in the year 122 of Sri Harsha era (335 BCE).<sup>15</sup> This inscription refers to the Licḥavi King Śivadeva II, who performed Puja of Vajrabhairava in this cave.

Tantrism of Nāth Sampradāya and Vajrayāna Buddhism both worship Vajrabhairava. Buddhists consider Vajrabhairava to be a manifestation of Mañjuśrī under the influence of Tantrism. Gorakṣānāth also visited Tamil Nadu and did penance there. Thus, Gorakṣānāth is considered to be one of 18 Siddhars of Tamil Nadu.

### **Bhartrihari III (100-30 BCE)**

King Gandharvasena had three sons from his Kśatriya queen Vīramati. Śāṅkha was elder brother of Vikramāditya whereas Bhartrihari was the younger brother. Seemingly, Vikramāditya handed over the reins of Ujjain to his younger brother Bhartrihari and went to forest. King Bhartrihari was the author of *Nītiśataka*, *Śringāraśataka* and *Vairāgyaśataka*. According to Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, a Brahmana named Jayanta sold a fruit to King Bhartrihari for one lakh gold coins. (*Tasmin kāle dvijaḥ kaścit Jayanto nāma viśrutah, Tatphalam tapasā prāptaḥ Śakrataḥ svagṛham yayau, Jayanto Bhartriharaye lakṣa-svarṇena varṇayan, Bhuktvā Bhartriharistatra Yogārūḍho vanam gataḥ, Vikramāditya evasya bhuktvā rājyamakantakam*).<sup>16</sup> King Bhartrihari gave the fruit to his beloved wife

Anaṅgasenā. She gave it to her lover who in turn gave the same to his girlfriend. Interestingly, the same fruit came back to King Bhartrihari as a gift. King Bhartrihari was deeply hurt by the behaviour of his wife. He immediately renounced his kingdom and retired in forests. King Vikramāditya returns from forest and again takes over the reins of Ujjain.

Bhaṭṭi, the author of *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, was also sometimes referred to as Bhartrihari. If so, Bhaṭṭi was the fourth Bhartrihari. He wrote *Bhaṭṭikāvya* during the reign of Valabhi King Dharasena (35-23 BCE). Thus, Bhaṭṭi might have lived around 60 BCE - 20 CE.

### **Two Śaṅkarāchāryas and Their “Digvijaya Yātrā”**

According to the chronological account of the āchāryas of various schools of philosophies as given above, it is evident that there were two Śaṅkarāchāryas who have undertaken “Digvijaya Yātrā” to challenge the philosophers for a debate. Ādi Śaṅkara lived around 568-536 BCE whereas Śaṅkarāchārya II lived around 44 BCE-58 CE. Unfortunately, the available texts of various Śaṅkara Vijayas were composed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century or later. *Puṇyaślokamañjarī* and *Gururājaratnamālikā* have been composed only in the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. By this time, Indians forgot the real epochs of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE). Consequently, the followers of Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya, mistakenly clubbed the historical account of Ādi Śaṅkara of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE and Śaṅkarāchārya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

### **The Texts of Śaṅkara Vijayam Related to Ādi Śaṅkara**

There was a “*Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya*” written by Chitsukhāchārya in ancient times but only available in excerpts. Another text “*Prāchīna Śaṅkara Vijayam*” written by Ānandagiri is also lost. These two texts place Ādi Śaṅkara in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. *Keralīya Śaṅkara Vijaya* or *Śaṅkarāchārya Charita*, written by Govindanātha, also gives the account of Ādi Śaṅkara.

### **The Texts of Śaṅkara Vijayam Related to Śaṅkarāchārya II**

The copper plates of Kudali Math dated Śakānta 1073 (1152 CE) clearly tell us that one text of *Śaṅkaravijayam* related to Śaṅkarāchārya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE existed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE. These copper plates give some historical narrations based on a treatise named “*Śaṅkara*

*Vijayam*” like the city of Vidyānagara, Vidyāraṇya I, a debate between Śaṅkarāchārya and Mandana Mīśra in Vārāṇasi and Sureśvara, the first disciple of Śaṅkarāchārya II, etc. Evidently, this old Śaṅkara Vijaya clearly narrates the historical account of Śaṅkarāchārya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Unfortunately, this Śaṅkara Vijaya is not available today.

Today, we have mainly three Śaṅkara Vijayas written by Vidyāraṇya, Chidvilāsayati and Vyāsāchala. Seemingly, there were three Vidyāraṇyas. We will discuss the date of three Vidyāraṇyas in the context of the chronology of Vijayanagara Empire in Chapter 18. Most probably, the famous “*Mādhava-Śaṅkara Vijayam*” was written by either Vidyāraṇya II (1380-1387 CE) or Vidyāraṇya III (1415-1450 CE). Two commentaries named “Dindima” and “*Advaitarājyalakṣmī*” on Vidyāraṇya’s Śaṅkara Vijaya are available and were written by Dhanapati Sūri (1798 CE) and Achyuta Rāya (1824 CE) respectively. The “*Śaṅkara Vijaya*” of Chidvilāsa was written around the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is written as a dialogue between Chidvilāsa and his disciple. This text gives the account of Śaṅkarāchārya II similar to the account given in *Mādhava Śaṅkara Vijaya* but it also provides the information related to the Sarvajña Pīṭha of Kānchipuram. Vyāsāchala’s Śaṅkara Vijaya also gives the account similar to *Mādhava Śaṅkara Vijaya* but it says that Śaṅkarāchārya died in Kānchipuram. The available Śaṅkara Vijaya of Vyāsāchala appears to be edited by someone or it is not the original Vyāsāchalīya Śaṅkara Vijaya because the verses of Vyāsāchalīya quoted by *Gururājaratnamālikā* (16<sup>th</sup> century) are not found in the available text.

Thus, there are three main Śaṅkara Vijayas that provide the historical account of Śaṅkarāchārya II but it appears that all these texts inadvertently mixed up the history of Ādi Śaṅkara with that of Śaṅkarāchārya II considering both as the same person.

1. Śaṅkara Vijaya of Vidyāraṇya II or III (14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century)
2. Śaṅkara Vijaya of Vyāsāchala (16<sup>th</sup> century)
3. Śaṅkara Vijaya of Chidvilāsa (17<sup>th</sup> century)

### **Śaṅkara Vijaya of Anantānandagiri (17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Anantānandagiri’s Śaṅkara Vijaya reports supernatural events associated

with Ādi Śaṅkara. According to Anantānandagiri, one Sarvajña lived in Chidambaram. His wife was Kāmākṣī and Viśiṣṭhā was his daughter. After Gṛhasthāśrama, he went to the forest for penance. He had two disciples, Lakṣmaṇa and Hastāmalaka. The same Lakṣmaṇa became the famous Rāmānujāchārya. He left his body in Kānchipuram and attained Mokṣa. The author, Anantānandagiri calls himself the disciple of Śaṅkarāchārya. Certain portions of this text appear to be unreliable because the author either erroneously distorted the chronological history to prove that Rāmānuja was the disciple of Śaṅkarāchārya II or he mixed up the account of Sarvajñatman with the account of Śaṅkarāchārya II.

### Ādi Śaṅkara (568-536 BCE)

Ādi Śaṅkara was born in a village named Kālāti or Kālady situated on the banks of Pūrṇā River, in Kerala. He was the son of Śivaguru and Āryāmbā. There are more than 300 works attributed to Śaṅkarāchārya but most of them have been written by the Śaṅkarāchārya II. Ādi Śaṅkara, who lived for only 32 years, wrote commentaries on Brahmasūtras, ten Upaniṣads and Bhagadgītā. He also authored *Upadeśasāhasrī* and *Saundaryalaharī*. The internal evidence of Ādi Śaṅkara's works provides most authentic clues about his date.

1. Ādi Śaṅkara discussed a Kārikā of the Buddhist Philosopher Diṅgnāga in his Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya.<sup>17</sup> This Kārikā was “*Yadantarjñeyarūpam tat bahirvadavabhāsate*” from the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* of Diṅgnāga. Ādi Śaṅkara also criticized the interpretations of the Yogāchāra sect of Buddhism. It is well known that Vasubandhu was the founder of Yogāchāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Diṅgnāga was his disciple. Vasubandhu lived around 960-880 BCE, 900 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). Diṅgnāga was the pupil of Vasubandhu and lived around 920-840 BCE.
2. Ādi Śaṅkara also quoted a passage from *Pramāna Viniścaya* of Dharmakīrti in his *Upadeśasāhasrī*: “*Abhinnopi hi buddhyātmā viparyasitadarśanaih grāhyagrāhaka-samvitti bhedavartiva lakṣyate*”.<sup>18</sup> Dharmakīrti was the great Buddhist logician and he wrote a commentary on the work of Diṅgnāga. Dharmakīrti lived around 610-520 BCE.

3. Ādi Śaṅkara refers to Gauḍapāda as his Paramaguru who lived around 650-550 BCE. Govindapāda was the pupil of Gauḍapāda and the teacher of Ādi Śaṅkara as recorded in various Śaṅkara Vijayas. We can assume the date of Govindapāda around 620-540 BCE. Govindapāda's real name was Chandra Śarmā and he belonged to Kashmir.
4. Professor TMP Mahadevan states in his book 'Gauḍapāda. "Gauḍapāda effectively countered the erroneous views of Bauddhas headed by Ayārcya who was being attended by such Yogins of the western border of India as **Apalunya** and **Damisa** as well as by Pravrti, the Śaka chief of Takśaśilā." Mahadevan has paraphrased this information based on the *Gururājaratnamālikā* (अभियुञ्जदयार्च्यपूज्यपादान् अपलून्यादिनिषाकसिद्धनेतृन्...)'<sup>19</sup> and its commentary named "*Suṣamā*". Evidently, *Gururājaratnamālikā* claims that Gauḍapāda was the contemporary of **Apalunya** and **Damisa** who were none other than **Apollonius of Tyana** and his disciple **Damis**. Modern historians place Apollonius around 15 CE -100 CE. Considering the error of 661 years in the chronology of Greeks, Apollonius of Tyana must be dated around 646-561 BCE. Damis, the disciple of Apollonius, lived around 630-550 BCE. Thus, Gauḍapāda was the contemporary of **Apalunya** (Apollonius of Tyana) and **Damisa** (Damis).

[Note: Unfortunately, ancient work "Gauḍapādollāsa" written by Harimiśra is not available today. Suṣamā, a commentary on *Gururājaratnamālikā*, quotes from Gauḍapādollāsa and informs us that how Gauḍapāda logically prevailed over the Buddhist philosophers and Greek philosophers of Takśaśilā and consequently, Apollonius of Tyana became the follower of him. Evidently, Greek scholars starting from Pythagoras (1238-1163 BCE) to Apollonius of Tyana (646-561 BCE) used to visit India regularly and learnt the basics of Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy and Medicine, etc. This is how Hellenistic sciences flourished. In fact, the rise of Christianity led Europe into dark ages. Interestingly, the Christians introduced a fictitious epoch from 1 CE but later it got linked

with the birth of Jesus Christ during the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century. This chronological error has brought forward the lifetime of King Augustus from 724- 647 BCE to 63 BCE-14 CE. Thus, the chronology of Greece has also been brought forward by 661 years.]

5. Interestingly, Ādi Śaṅkara mentions the names of kings like Pūrṇavarmā, Rājavarmā, Balavarmā, Jayasimha, Krishnagupta, etc., and the city of Pātalīputra. It is evident that Ādi Śaṅkara flourished later than the time of these kings.
  - a. *Na hi vandhyāputro Rājā babhūva prāk Pūrṇavarmaṇo' bhiṣekāt ityevam jātiyakena maryādākaraṇena nirupākhyo vandhyāputropajaḥ babhūva bhavati bhaviṣyati iti va viśiṣyate*<sup>20</sup>
  - b. *Tathā cha loke prasiddheṣvapi ativāhikeṣu evam jātiyaka upadeśo dṛśyate, Gaccha ! tvam ito Balavarmāṇam tato Jayasimham tataḥ Krishnaguptamiti*<sup>21</sup>
  - c. *Sādriṣye sati upamānam syāt, Yathā Simhaḥ tathā Balavarmeti*
  - d. *Yathā Pūrṇavarmaṇaḥ sevābhakta-paridhānamatraphala Rājavarmaṇastu Rājatulyaphala iti tadvat*<sup>22</sup>
  - e. *Yathā asadevedam Rājñāḥ kulam sarvagūṇasampanne Pūrṇavarmaṇi Rājanye Satiti tadvat*<sup>23</sup>

Sarvajñātman, the author of *Sankśepa-śārīraka*, clarified that there was a king named Pūrṇavarman who lived before Yudhiṣṭhira (युधिष्ठिरात्प्रागभवन्नरेंद्रो वंध्यासुतः शुर इतीह तद्वत्). Evidently, Ādi Śaṅkara gave the examples of historical kings and not his contemporary kings. Therefore, we should not speculate about the date of these kings.

6. Ādi Śaṅkara quoted Upavarṣa, Śabara Swāmi, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Bhartṛprapañcha, Drāmidāchārya, Vṛttikāra, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Prabhākara, Udyotakara, Praśastapāda and Ívara Krishna. Upavarṣa wrote a commentary on Pūrva Mīmāṃsā much before Śabara Swāmī (1100-1000 BCE). Upavarṣa was the teacher of Pāṇiṇi and lived around

1700-1620 BCE. Praśastapāda authored a commentary on Vaiśeṣika Sūtras of Kaṇāda. He might have lived before the rise of Buddhism. *Milindapanho* (1300 BCE) mentions that Vaiśeṣika was an established branch of Indian philosophy. Praśastapāda had no knowledge of Buddhist philosophy. Therefore, Praśastapāda might have lived at least before 1900 BCE. Nāgārjuna lived around 1100-1020 BCE. Āryadeva was the disciple of Nāgārjuna. Drāmidāchārya wrote a commentary on Brahmasūtras and lived before the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Išvara Krishna, the author of *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, lived before 2000 BCE. Bhartṛprapañcha (1040-970 BCE), Udyotakara (800-700 BCE) lived before Ādi Śaṅkara whereas Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I (618-550 BCE) and Prabhākara (620-540 BCE) were the senior contemporaries of Ādi Śaṅkara.

7. We learn from *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* that Ādi Śaṅkara knew about Bhavadāsa's Vṛtti and Śabara's criticism of Bhavadāsa regarding *ananyatārtha*. Ādi Śaṅkara also refers to Bhavadāsa as Vṛttikāra. Evidently, Bhavadāsa lived before Śabara Swāmi (1100-1000 BCE). While refuting Sphoṭavāda in the *Devatādhikaraṇa*, Ādi Śaṅkara criticises Śabara and Bhagawan Upavarṣa but he was completely unaware of Mandana Miśra's Sphoṭasiddhi because Mandana Mishra lived 500 years after him.
8. In *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad Bhāṣya*, Ādi Śaṅkara refers to "Kārṣāpaṇa", a gold coin of his times. Kārṣāpaṇa was in use in India from ancient times to the era of the Śātavāhanas. Pāṇiṇi also refers to Kārṣāpaṇa. When the Śaka Kśatrapas emerged as the powerful rulers in India under the leadership of the Śaka King Rudradāman, they introduced "Dināra" and "Dramma" coins in India by replacing Kārṣāpaṇas. Gupta kings also used the term "Dināra" for gold coins in their inscriptions, which indicates that the term "Dinara" became popular by the period of the Gupta kings (334-89 BCE). It is evident that the term "Kārṣāpaṇa" was in use up to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Therefore, Ādi Śaṅkara cannot be dated later than the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.



9. Ādi Śaṅkara states in his *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* that there was no Sārvaḥauma king in his time.<sup>24</sup> Evidently, the empire of the Śātavāhanas was on decline in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The Śaka kings had well established themselves in western India around 583 BCE. Pallava dynasty had already established their kingdom in Kānchipuram and the Raṭṭa King Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa was ruling in Kongudeśa including Kerala around 580-540 BCE.
10. Historians claim that Ādi Śaṅkara refers to *Draviḍa Śiśu* in *Soundaryalaharī* who was none other than Śaiva Tamil Saint Thirujñāna Sambandar. But, the commentators of “*Soubhāgyavardhinī*”, “*Arunamodinī*”, “*Ānandagiriya*” and “*Padārthachandrikā*” identify *Draviḍa Śiśu* with Ādi Śaṅkara. Therefore, the speculation of historians is completely baseless.
11. Ādi Śaṅkara was the author of *Soundrayalaharī*. He refers to *Draviḍa Śiśu*.

तव स्तन्यं मन्ये धरणिधरकन्ये हृदयतः  
 पयः पारावारः परिवहति सारस्वतमिव ।  
 दयावत्या दत्तं द्रविडशिशुरास्वाद्य तव यत्  
 कवीनां प्रौढानामजनि कमनीयः कवयिता ॥<sup>25</sup>

“The Milk of your Breasts, O daughter of the Parvataraj (Pārvatī Devī), I think is as if from heart there flowed an ocean of the milk of poesy, when the Draviḍa child tasted this as you gave it to him in compassion; he became the poet laureate of the master poets.”

Some of the scholars argue that Ādi Śaṅkara was referring to himself as *Draviḍa Śiśu* because the authors of “*Soubhāgyavardhinī*”, “*Arunamodinī*”, “*Ānandagiriya*” and “*Padārthachandrikā*” identify *Draviḍa Śiśu* with Ādi Śaṅkara. But most probably, Ādi Śaṅkara had referred to Tamil Śaiva Saint-poet Sambandhar as *Draviḍa Śiśu*. It is well-known that Ādi Śaṅkara was born in Nambudiri Brahmana family. Nambudiris were a branch of Sārasvata Brahmanas who had migrated to Kerala during the time of Paraśurāma. Kerala was never referred to as *Draviḍa* country in entire Indian literature. Moreover, it

would be quite absurd to imagine that Ādi Śaṅkara had referred to himself as the poet laureate of the master poets. Seemingly, Ādi Śaṅkara referred to Sambandhar as Draviḍa Śiṣu.

Since Ādi Śaṅkara mentions to Sambandhar, modern historians argue that Ādi Śaṅkara cannot be dated before the 7<sup>th</sup> century because Sambandhar lived in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Appar or Tirunavukkarasar (20<sup>th</sup> Nayanar) was the contemporary of Thirujñāna Sambandhar (27<sup>th</sup> Nayanar). Sambandhar was the contemporary of Ninraseer Nedumaran (48<sup>th</sup> Nayanar). Ninraseer Nedumaran was a Pāndya king, also known as Koon Pāndyan. He might have succeeded Ukkiraperu Valudi (1276 BCE), the last Pāndya king of the third Sangam period. We will discuss the chronology of Tamilnadu in Chapter 21. King Ninraseer Nedumaran or Koon Pandyan became Ājīvika but Sambandhar persuaded him to become Śaiva and he came to be known as Sundara Pāndya. Thus, we can roughly date Appar, Sambandhar and Ninraseer Nedumaran around 1300-1200 BCE. Sambandhar was born in Draviḍa (Velir) kingdom. He became a devotee of Śiva in his very young age and wrote 84 poems of Tirumurai. He attained nirvāṇa at the age of 16. Since Sambandhar became a poet at a young age, Ādi Śaṅkara referred to him as Draviḍa Śiṣu.

### **The Date of Ādi Śaṅkara (Kaliyuga 2593-2625)**

Ancient Indian tradition tells us that Ādi Śaṅkara was born in the year 2593 and attained Mokṣa in the year 2625. *Puṇyaślokamañjarī* and *Gururājaratnamālikā*, written around the 16<sup>th</sup> century, referred to these traditional dates in the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). Swami Rajarajeshvara Shankara, a pontiff of Dwārakā Math, wrote a book titled “Vimarśa” in 1896 CE and records that Ādi Śaṅkara was born in the year 2631 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era, on Vaiśākha Śukla Pañchami and disappeared in the year 2663 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era on Kārttika Pūrnimā. He also claimed that Dwārakā Math had a copper plate issued by King Sudhanvā in the year 2663 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era but Dwārakā Math did not provide any evidence of the existence of the copper plate till date. TN Shastry wrote

a book titled “The Age of Śaṅkara” around 1918 but published in 1971. He claimed that he has found a manuscript of *Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya* written by Chitsukhāchārya which gives the dates in the Yudhiṣṭhira era. With due respect to TN Shastry, I have found that either he might have edited the verses of Chitsukhāchārya’s Śaṅkara Vijaya or the manuscript found by him was not a copy of the original Śaṅkara Vijaya of Chitsukhāchārya. He quoted five verses of Chitsukhāchārya which give the details of the date of Ādi Śaṅkara (षड्विंशे शतके श्रीमद्युधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ।). The use of the word ‘Śaka’ for Samvat clearly indicates that this verse has been edited by someone who lived after 800 CE. The word ‘Śaka’ became synonymous to Samvat only after 8<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, the year 2631 and the year 2663 of Yudhiṣṭhira era given by Dwāarakā Math and TN Shastry cannot qualify to be traditional dates.

### **Traditional Dates (2593 & 2625) in the Epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira Era (3162 BCE)**

In the last 150 years of Indian historical research, the year 3138 BCE as the date of Mahābhārata war became popular considering 36 years before the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE) but this date has no literary, epigraphic or traditional evidence. It also contradicts with the statement of Āryabhaṭa. Āryabhaṭa says that third Yugapāda (Dwāpara Yuga) ended and the fourth Yugapāda, i.e., Kaliyuga commenced before Mahābhārata war. Moreover, Kaliyuga Rajāvṛttānta records that Saptarṣis entered Māgha constellation when Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling in Indrapastha around 3176 BCE.

I have already explained that according to Āryabhaṭa, the fourth Yugapāda (Kaliyuga) commenced in 3173 BCE but Lāṭadeva, the author of Sūrya Siddhānta had fixed the epoch of Kaliyuga in 3101 BCE considering a rough conjunction of planets. The Aihole inscription dated Śaka 556 (27 BCE) clearly says that Mahābhārata war took place in 3162 BCE. Undoubtedly, 3162 BCE was the traditional date of Mahābhārata war, which was also the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era. The statement of Āryabhaṭa is also correct because Mahābhārata war occurred in 3162 BCE after the Kali epoch of 3173 BCE. The epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE) was in vogue for more than 3000 years. Kālidāsa mentions that the Yudhiṣṭhira era ended in the year 3044

(118 BCE). Evidently, an epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era was popularly in use before the introduction of Śāka era (583 BCE) and gradually faded away around the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Thus, the traditional dates of Ādi Śāṅkara must have been recorded in Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE) in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Therefore, Ādi Śāṅkara born in the year 2593 of Yudhiṣṭhira era (568 BCE) and attained Mokṣa in the year 2625 of Yudhiṣṭhira era (536 BCE).

### **Why Ādi Śāṅkara should be dated around 568-536 BCE and not 508-476 BCE?**

If the date of Ādi Śāṅkara is considered around 508-476 BCE in the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE), we may miserably fail to explain the following inconsistencies.

1. According to Paṭṭāvalis of Digambara Jainism, Āchārya Kundakunda became the pontiff of Mūla Nandi Saṅgha in Śāka 49 (534 BCE) at the age of 33 years. He was the pontiff of Mūla Saṅgha for 51 years and passed away. Thus, we can accurately fix the lifetime of Āchārya Kundakunda around 567-483 BCE. Interestingly, Kundakunda criticized Advaitavāda giving the example of Setiya (Śvetamṛttikā) in his work "*Samayasāra*". He argues that if we put white colour on the wall made of soil, it becomes completely white but it does not mean that the soil of the wall becomes white. Similarly, Jiva cannot become ultimate divinity. Apparently, it is the criticism of Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śāṅkara. Historians have ridiculously distorted this statement of Kundakunda and concocted that he criticized the Vijñanavāda of Buddhism and not Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śāṅkara but all commentators of *Samayasāra* unambiguously referred to Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śāṅkara. Undoubtedly, Kundakunda wrote *Samayasāra* before 500 BCE. If Ādi Śāṅkara was born in 508 BCE, we cannot explain the criticism of Brahmādvaitavāda by Kundakunda.
2. Ādi Śāṅkara visited Kashmir during the reign of King Sandhiman. We can accurately fix the dates of Kashmir Kings

Pratapāditya (701-669 BCE), Sandhiman (555-508 BCE) and Matr̥gupta (410-406 BCE). The date of Sandhiman cannot be explained if we place Ādi Śaṅkara around 508-476 BCE. The hill was still known as Sandhiman Parvat during the time of Muslim rulers as recorded in Tarikh-i-Husaini.

3. Gauḍapāda (650-550 BCE) was the contemporary of Apollonus of Tyana (646-561 BCE). Ādi Śaṅkara refers to Gauḍapāda as “Paramaguru” which unambiguously indicates that he might have met him at least once in his lifetime. The meeting of Ādi Śaṅkara with Gauḍapāda was not possible if we fix the date of birth of Ādi Śaṅkara in 508 BCE.
4. According to *Kongudeśarājakkal*, a Tamil chronicle, mentions that Ādi Śaṅkara lived in the time of King Trivikrama Deva I. Konguni Varman, the first King of Gaṅga Dynasty reigned around Śaka 111 (472 BCE) and seven Raṭṭa kings ruled before 472 BCE. King Trivikrama Deva I was the first king out of seven Raṭṭa kings. Therefore, King Trivikrama Deva I can only be dated around 570-540 BCE. Kalhana’s Rajatarangini refers to King Pratapasila II, the son of Sri Harsha Vikramaditya who was the contemporary of Pravarasena II (405-355 BCE).
5. When Ādi Śaṅkara met Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I, he advised him to meet his disciple Viśvarūpa, the resident of Māhiṣmatī. Ādi Śaṅkara went to Māhiṣmatī and debated with him. In all probability, Viśvarūpa became the follower of Ādi Śaṅkara. Viśvarūpa wrote a commentary “*Bālakṛidā*” on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* and referred to the reigning king Pratāpaśīla I (*Iti sambhṛti mandalaḥ sudhāmā Pururuchiro ramaṇaḥ Pratāpaśīlaḥ, Raviriva nṛpatiḥ samaḥ prajānām jagadakhila-vyavahārato bibharti*). Kalhana refers to a King Pratāpaśīla II, the son of Sri Harsha Vikramāditya (457-406 BCE) who was the contemporary of Kashmir King Pravarasena II (405-355 BCE). In all probability, King Pratāpaśīla I was Prabhākara vardhana, the father of Sri Harsha Vikramāditya. We can fix the chronology of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty as given below:

**In CE**

1. Pratāpaśīla I or Prabhākaravardhana	520-470 BCE
2. Rājyavardhana	470-457 BCE
3. Śri Harsha Vikramāditya	457-406 BCE
4. Pratāpaśīla II	405-375 BCE

Viśvarūpa himself states that he was the contemporary of King Pratāpaśīla I. Thus, Viśvarūpa lived around 570-470 BCE.

6. Moreover, it is not logical to accept the date of Mahābhārata war around 3138 BCE. It also contradicts with the statement of Āryabhaṭa that the Mahābhārata war occurred after the commencement of fourth Yugapāda (Kaliyuga). The Aihole inscription clearly informs us that the Mahābhārata war occurred in 3162 BCE. Seemingly, the epoch of Mahābhārata war or the Yudhiṣṭhira era has also been referred to as the epoch of Kaliyuga.
7. It appears that TN Shastry had indeed some excerpts of *Bṛhat Śāṅkara Vijaya* of Chitsukhāchārya. *Bṛhat Śāṅkara Vijaya* had three parts, 1. *Purvāchārya Saptaha* 2. *Śāṅkarāchārya Saptaha* and 3. *Sureshvarāchārya Saptaha*. Evidently, Chitsukhāchārya was not the direct disciple of Ādi Śāṅkara. Moreover, it gives the account of Sureśvarāchārya. Therefore, Chitsukhāchārya, the author of *Bṛhat Śāṅkara Vijaya*, must be either the 24<sup>th</sup> or the 35<sup>th</sup> pontiff of Kānchi Math. Adyar Library of Madras could find a mutilated manuscript of *Bṛhat Śāṅkara Vijaya* containing only the Śāṅkarāchārya Saptaha but it was impossible to extract the text. TN Shastry quoted the original verses that give the planetary positions at the time of Ādi Śāṅkara's birth.

The details of planetary positions given in *Bṛhat Śāṅkara Vijaya* are as under:

...हायने नंदने शुभे ।  
 मेषराशिं गते सूर्ये वैशाखे मासि शोभने ॥  
 शुक्लपक्षे च पञ्चम्यां तिथ्यां भास्करवासरे ।  
 पुनर्वसुगते चन्द्रे लग्ने कर्कटाह्वये ॥

मध्याह्ने चाभिजिन्नाममुहूर्ते शुभवीक्षिते ।  
स्वोच्चस्थे च केन्द्रस्थे गुरौ मन्दे कुजे रवौ ॥  
निजतुङ्गगते शुक्रे रविणा संगते बुधे ।  
प्रासुत तनयं साध्वी गिरिजेव षडाननम् ॥

According to Mādhava Śaṅkara Vijayam:

शिवगुरोः निजतुङ्गसंस्थे सूर्ये कुजे रविसुते च गुरौ च केन्द्रे ।

A Śloka of Prāchīna Śaṅkara Vijaya quoted by Ātmabodha in his commentary “Suṣamā”:

तिष्ये प्रयात्यनलशेषधिबाणनेत्रे,  
यो नन्दने दिनमणावुदगध्वभाजि ।  
राधेऽदितेरुडुविनिर्गतमस्रलग्नेऽ,  
प्याहूतवान् शिवगुरुः स च शंकरेति ॥

Seemingly, the exaltation of all planets on the date of Ādi Śaṅkara as mentioned in *Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya* and *Mādhava Śaṅkara Vijaya* may be an astrological exaggeration. The traditional dates (2593 and 2625) must be calculated with reference to the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE) and not in the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). Thus, Ādi Śaṅkara was born on 6<sup>th</sup>/ 7<sup>th</sup> Apr 568 BCE in Punarvasu Nakṣatra during noon time.

### Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE-58 CE)

Ādi Śaṅkara mentions in his works that Sāṅkhya philosophers are “*Pradhāna-Malla*” meaning the main opponents of Advaitavāda. Some Indian philosophers even declared Ādi Śaṅkara to be “*Pracchanna-Bauddha*” meaning a Buddhist in disguise. Though Ādi Śaṅkara defeated Buddhist philosophers and ensured the decline of Buddhism, Indian philosophers of Sāṅkhya, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta could not accept the Brahmādvaitavāda. Thus, the school of Advaitavāda could not get wider acceptance owing to strong opposition from other schools of Indian philosophies after the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

Buddhism was on decline in Kashmir and North-western India from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE onwards. Zoroastrianism was dominating in Bactria,

Khurasan and Azarbaijan, etc. Buddhism remained limited to Gāndhāra and Takśāśilā regions but it started gaining ground in China and a revival of Buddhism in Tibet. The cultural and educational exchanges between eastern India, Tibet and China led to a revival of Buddhism in eastern India (Bihar and Bengal), Nepal, Burma and Śri Lanka. Nālanda University had emerged as the center of education of Buddhism during the Gupta period (334-89 BCE). Gradually, Buddhism has been revived in eastern India during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE after the fall of Gupta Empire and it has reached its zenith during the reign of the early kings of the Pāla dynasty (1<sup>st</sup> century CE to 4<sup>th</sup> century CE). The Buddhist philosophers have again started posing a challenge to the Indian philosophers from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE onwards.

At this time, the second Śāṅkarāchārya was born in 44 BCE, in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and lived more than 85 years. He himself mentions in “*Devaparādha Stotra*” that he crossed the age of 85 years “*Mayā pañcāśīteradhikamapanīte tu vayasi*”. It is also recorded in “*Darśanaprakāśa*” composed in 1638 CE that Śāṅkarāchārya entered the cave in Śaka 642. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE, the 642<sup>nd</sup> year corresponds to 58 CE. Thus, we can fix the lifetime of Śāṅkarāchārya II from 44 BCE to 58 CE and he might have lived for 102 years. He undertook an extensive travel in India (Digvijaya Yātrā) and defeated many philosophers of various schools. He revived and re-established four Mathas in Śringeri, Dwāraka, Puri and Badrinath. Undoubtedly, he was the author of the most of Prakaraṇa Granthas and Stotras.

Unfortunately, all available Śāṅkara Vijayas give the account of the Digvijaya of Śāṅkarāchārya II but inadvertently mix up the biographical account of Ādi Śāṅkara. Only *Keraliya Śāṅkara Vijayam* of Govindanātha gives the account of Ādi Śāṅkara and mentions that Ādi Śāṅkara established two Sarvajña Pīthas in Kānchipuram and Kashmir. Interestingly, the account given in *Keraliya Śāṅkara Vijayam* differs from the account given in other Śāṅkara Vijayas. Therefore, we can conclude that Ādi Śāṅkara was born in Kālady, Kerala and lived only for 32 years whereas Śāṅkarāchārya II lived for 102 years. It appears that the account



of the early life of Śaṅkarāchārya II is now lost due to the erroneous mixing up of the account of the early life of Ādi Śaṅkara and the account of Digvijaya of Śaṅkarāchārya II. If the Śaṅkara Vijaya of Anantānandagiri is to be believed, one Sarvajña was born in Chidambaram but it is extremely difficult to say anything affirmatively whether the account given by Anantānandagiri belongs to Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE-58 CE) or Sarvajñātman (310-400 CE).

Interestingly, Viśvarūpa of Māhiṣmatī was the disciple of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I (618-540 BCE) who became the disciple of Ādi Śaṅkara but the later authors of Śaṅkara Vijayas mistakenly identified him to be Mandana Mīśra (60 BCE - 20 CE) because he was the pupil of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa II (70 BCE-10 CE). Accordingly, a myth has been floated around that Sureśvarāchārya, the disciple of Śaṅkarāchārya II, was the real Mandana Mīśra. Interestingly, Sureśvarāchārya himself strongly criticised Mandana Mīśra's "*Brahmasiddhi*" in his works "*Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*" and "*Bṛhadāranyaka-Bhāṣya-vārtika*" because Mandana Mīśra criticized Ādi Śaṅkara in his *Brahmasiddhi*. Undoubtedly, Sureśvara was at least a junior contemporary of Mandana Mīśra and he can never himself be Mandana Mīśra.

*Vyāsāchaliya Śaṅkara Vijaya* tells us that Ādi Śaṅkara completely annihilated the philosophers of Śaiva, Śākta, Bhākta, Bhāgavata, Vaiṣṇava, Hiraṇyagarbha, Agnivādin, Saura, Mahāgaṇapati, Gaṇapatya, Ekadeśin, Ucchiṣṭha-Gaṇapati, Kāpālika, Chārvāka, Saugata, Jaina, Bauddha, Mallari, Viśvaksena, Manmatha, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Karma, etc. He visited the places like Madhyārjuna, Rameśvara, Anantaśayana, Guṇapura, Bhavānipura, Kuvalayapura, Ujjayini, Anumalla, Varudhapuri, Arthapura, Indraprastha, Dharmaprastha, Prayāga, Vārānasi, Kedāra, Badari, Dwārakā, Ayodhyā, Gayā Magadha, Vṛṣāchala, Venkatāchala, Kānchi, Chidambara, Madurā, Gokarṇa, Jagannātha, Kashmirā, etc. He founded five Mahāliṅgas, namely, Bhogaliṅga at Śrīmatha in Śringeri, Varaliṅga at Nilakantha Kshetra in Nepal, Mokshaliṅga at Chidambaram and Yogaliṅga in the Śrīmatha at Kānchipura. He had pupils like Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Hastāmalaka and Totaka who became the heads of four Mathas.

*Mādhava Śaṅkara Vijaya* (written by Vidyāraṇya II or Vidyāraṇya III) informs us that Śaṅkarāchārya II defeated Mandana Mīśra in a Śāstrārtha (debate). He also defeated Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa, Udayana I, Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, Mayūra, Dandin, Abhinavagupta I, Murāri Mīśra, Dharmagupta and Nilakantha. I have already explained above that these scholars can be roughly dated around 50 BCE to 40 CE. Mayūra was a contemporary of Bāṇa and both were in the court of King Sri Harsha as mentioned by Rājaśekhara (*Aho prabhāvo vāgdevyāḥ yanmātāṅga-divākaraḥ, Sri Harshasyābhavat sabhyaḥ samo Bāṇa-Mayūrayoḥ* – as quoted by Jalhana in his *Sūktimuktāvalī*).

*Mādhava Śaṅkara Vijaya* also mentions that Śaṅkarāchārya II established four Mathas and placed Sureśvara at Śringeri Math, Hastāmālaka at Dwāraka Math, Padmapāda at Govardhana Math, Puri and Totakāchārya at Jyotirmath, Badrinath. Thus, four Mathas have been re-established in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.

### **The Date of Gauḍapāda and Sri Samsthāna Gauḍapādāchārya Math**

Gauḍapāda was the “*Paramaguru*” and Govindapāda was the “*Guru*” of Ādi Śaṅkara. Seemingly, Gauḍapāda was born in 656 BCE, 120 years before the nirvāṇa of Ādi Śaṅkara (536 BCE). Thus, the date of Gauḍapāda can be roughly fixed around 656-556 BCE. Govindapāda (640-550 BCE) was the disciple of Gauḍapāda. Ādi Śaṅkara and Vivaraṇānanda Swāmī were the pupils of Govindapāda.

It appears that there was another Gauḍapāda who authored Kārikās on *Māndukyopaniṣad* known as “*Māndukya Kārikā*” or “*Gauḍapāda-Kārikā*”. Ādi Śaṅkara refers to him as a pupil of Śukāchārya in his commentary on *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* (*Tathā ca Śuka-śiṣyo Gauḍapādāchāryaḥ*). Probably, Gauḍapada I lived during the Mahābhārata era (3162 BCE). Thus, the date of Gauḍapāda I, the author of *Māndukya-Kārikā*, can be roughly fixed around 3180-3080 BCE. Thereafter, the pupils of Gauḍapāda might have come to be known as Gauḍapādas.

Interestingly, Bālakrishnānanda describes Gauḍapāda as *Gauḍajātīśreṣṭha* and as one being in Samadhi right up from the Dvāpara Yuga. Bhāvaviveka (915-850 BCE) and Śāntarakṣita quote some Kārikās

from Māṇḍukya-Kārikā as coming from some Vedāntaśāstra and they did not mention the name of Gauḍapāda. Kamalaśīla, pupil of Śāntarakṣita, quotes ten Kārikās of Upaniṣadśāstra, i.e., *Māṇḍukya-kārikā*. Ādi Śaṅkara also quotes a Kārikā in his *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* and refers to a tradition of Vedānta Sampradāya (*atrotam vedāntasampradāyavidbhirāchāryaiḥ...*).<sup>23</sup> Sureśvarāchārya also quotes Kārikās in his *Naiṣkramyasiddhi* with reference to a Sampradāya (*tathā cha sampradāyavido vadanti...*). Evidently, *Māṇḍukya-kārikā* text existed before the lifetime of Gauḍapada II (656-556 BCE), the guru of Govindapāda. Two famous philosophical texts, *Māṇḍukya-Kārikā* and *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā* were written before the birth of Buddhism.

The Gauḍapādāchārya Math existed near to Keloshi in Goa. Srimat Vivaraṇānanda Sarasvati Swami became the head of Gauḍapāda Math around 550 BCE. Francis Xavier, an Assassin-Saint of Vatican and his Portuguese followers led forcible conversions and killing of hundreds of Hindus in Goa. They destroyed the Gauḍapāda Math of Keloshi in 1564 CE. Unfortunately, Gauḍapāda Math lost almost all valuable records in the bloodiest inquisition by the Portuguese Christians in Goa. At that time, Srimat Purnānanda Sarasvati Swami, the 57<sup>th</sup> guru had no other option to leave Goa and took shelter at Golvan Math. In 1630 CE, King Basavalinga Soundha of the Sondha kingdom gifted land at Kavale, Ponda, Goa. Thus, the present Kavale Math (Gauḍapāda Math) of Gomantak (Goa) was built in 1630 CE.

The Guruparamparā of Gauḍapāda Math:

#### Āchāryas of Gauḍapada Math

1. Sri Gauḍapādāchārya
2. Sri Govinda Bhagavatpādāchārya
3. Sri Vivaraṇānanda Saraswati Swami
4. Sri Ādinātha Paramaśivānanda Saraswati Swami
5. Sri Sadāśiva Paramaśivānanda Saraswati Swami
6. Sri Ívara Paramaśivānanda Saraswati Swami
7. Sri Rudra Pramashivananda Saraswati Swami
8. Sri Vishnu Paramaśivānanda Saraswati Swami

9. Sri Brahma Paramaśivānanda Saraswati Swami
10. Sri Sanaka Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
11. Sri Sadānanda Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
12. Sri Sanātana Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
13. Sri SanatKumāra Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
14. Sri Sārikā Sujāta Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
15. Sri Vibhuṣita Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
16. Sri Dattātreyā Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
17. Sri Raivata Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
18. Sri Vāmadeva Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
19. Sri Vyāsa Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
20. Sri Śuka Mahāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
21. Sri Nṛsimha Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
22. Sri Maheśa Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
23. Sri Bhāskara Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
24. Sri Mahendra Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
25. Sri Vishnu Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
26. Sri Mādhava Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
27. Sri Maheśa Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
28. Sri Advaita Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
29. Sri Paramātmānanda Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
30. Sri Siddhayeśvarānanda Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
31. Sri Kaivalyānanda Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
32. Sri Amṛtānanda Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
33. Sri Haṁsānanda Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
34. Sri Brahmānanda Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
35. Sri Vimalānanda Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
36. Sri Sachidānanda Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
37. Sri Vimalānanda Sadāśivānanda Saraswati Swami
38. Sri Ramānanda Sadashvananda Saraswati Swami

*The records of Āchāryas from 39 to 56 had been lost during the bloodiest inquisition by the Portuguese Christians in the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE.*

57. Sri Pūrṇānanda Saraswati Swami (1630 CE)
58. Sri Sahajānanda Saraswati Swami
59. Sri Vidyānanda Saraswati Swami
60. Sri Rāmānanda Saraswati Swami
61. Sri Sadānanda Saraswati Swami
62. Sri Bhavānanda Saraswati Swami
63. Sri Sachidānanda Saraswati Swami
64. Sri Shivānanda Saraswati Swami& Sri Ātmānanda Saraswati Swami
65. Sri Śrīmat Rāmānanda Saraswati Swami
66. Sri Jyotirānanda Saraswati Swami, Sri Lilananda Saraswati Swami, Sri Sadānanda Saraswati Swami& Sri Pūrṇānada Saraswati Swami
67. Sri Rāmānanda Saraswati Swami
68. Sri Śivānanda Saraswati Swami
69. Sri Ātmānanda Saraswati Swami
70. Sri Pūrṇānanda Saraswati Swami
71. Sri Rāmānanda Saraswati Swami
72. Sri Śivānanda Saraswati Swami
73. Sri Ātmānanda Saraswati Swami
74. Sri Pūrṇānanda Saraswati Swami
75. Sri Rāmānanda Saraswati Swami
76. Sachidānanda Saraswati Swami
77. Śivānanda Saraswati Swami

**Two Sarvajña Pīthas and Four Mathas Established by Ādi Śaṅkara**

*Keralīya Śaṅkara Vijaya* of Govindanātha gives the variant traditions about the Sarvajña Pītha. It mentions about two Sarvajña Pīthas, Kanchipuram and Kashmir. It did not mention about the establishment of four Mathas but other texts of Sankara Vijayas like *Prāchīna Śaṅkara Vijaya* and *Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya* indicates that Ādi Śaṅkara also established four Mathas. Evidently, Ādi Śaṅkara established two Sarvajña Pīthas; one in

Kanchipuram and another in Kashmir and also founded four Mathas in Sringeri, Puri, Dwārakā and Jyotirmath. Sixteen verses of the 25<sup>th</sup> chapter of Chidvilāsa's Śāṅkara Vijaya describe the story of Sarvajña Pītha of Kānchipuram. An āsarīri voice (a divine voice) informed Śāṅkara, when he was about to ascend the Pītha, that it would be proper for him to ascend after winning in debate, the scholars assembled there. Śāṅkara thought for a while. A group of scholars who had come there from some villages of the Tāmraparṇi valley put some questions to Śāṅkarāchārya on his philosophy of Advaita, Māyā (the theory of illusion), Devabheda, Mūrtibheda, etc. Śāṅkara explained to them the eternal and all-pervading nature of Brahman, the inability of man to understand the Supreme One seeming as different entities, because of ignorance, the non-existence of a second other than the Brahman and the means for attaining emancipation. The scholars were fully convinced. They bowed before the Great Āchārya. Thereafter, Śāṅkara ascended the Sarvajña Pītha amidst the sounding of musical instruments and the tumultuous shouts of joy of the vast number of devoted spectators. Showers of flowers fell from above and a fragrant breeze blew all around. Evidently, Ādi Śāṅkara might have challenged the Buddhists and other philosophers in Kānchipuram for a debate and defeated the scholars of all philosophical schools. The king of Kānchipuram might have coronated Ādi Śāṅkara on Sarvajña Pītha.

Ādi Śāṅkara also went to Srinagar, Kashmir and defeated many scholars in a debate. Kashmir King Sandhiman might have coronated Ādi Śāṅkara on Sarvajña Pītha on the famous Śāṅkarāchārya hill. This is the reason why the hill is traditionally called as "Sandhiman Parvat". Ādi Śāṅkara particularly chose the cities of Kānchipuram and Srinagar because these two were the major centers of Buddhism in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

### **The Sarvajña Pītha of Kanchipuram**

Ādi Śāṅkara established the Sarvajña Pītha in Kānchipuram. *Śiva Rahasya*, a semi-puranic text, states that the birth of Ādi Śāṅkara took place in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium of Kaliyuga era and he founded a Pītha in Kānchipuram. *Keralīya Śāṅkara Vijayam* of Govindanātha and *Śāṅkara Vijaya* of Anantānandagiri also refer to the Pītha of Kanchipuram. In all

probability, Ādi Śaṅkara attained Mokṣa in Kānchipuram at the age of 32 years.

According to the traditional account, Ādi Śaṅkara met Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I (618-545 BCE) when he was on deathbed and decided to leave material world by burning himself on a pile of peanut shells. Ādi Śaṅkara persuaded him not to undergo such painful death but Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I did not listen to him. Kumārila I advised Ādi Śaṅkara to meet his disciple Viśvarūpa at Māhiṣmatī. Ādi Śaṅkara went to Māhiṣmatī and had a debate with Viśvarūpa. *Mādhava Śaṅkara Vijayam* mistakenly identifies Mandana Miśra, the disciple of Kumārila II, as the resident of Māhiṣmatī. But the Kudali copper plates of the 12<sup>th</sup> century explicitly tell us that Mandana Miśra lived in Vārāṇasi. Moreover, Mandana Miśra lived around 40 BCE-40 CE and he cannot be the contemporary of Ādi Śaṅkara. It appears that Viśvarūpa became the disciple of Ādi Śaṅkara who succeeded the Sarvajña Pītha after the death of Ādi Śaṅkara in 536 BCE. Rāmilla's Maṇiprabhā mentions that Śri Śaṅkarendra, the disciple of Vidyāghana, was the head of Sarvajña Pītha around 460-410 BCE. *Gururājaratnamālikā* of the 16<sup>th</sup> century mistakenly identified Śaṅkarendra to be the 20<sup>th</sup> Āchārya of Kānchi Math owing to ignorance of the true chronology. In reality, Kānchi Math has records only after Śri Sarvajñātman who lived in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.

### The Guruparamparā of Sarvajña Pītha (Ancient Kānchi Math)

	In CE
1. Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya Bhagavatpāda	568-536 BCE
2. Viśvarūpa	536-500 BCE
As recorded in Rāmilla's play "Maṇiprabhā" written around 430 BCE.	
3. Vidyāghana	500-460 BCE
4. Śaṅkarendra	460-410 BCE

No records of Guruparamparā is available from 400 BCE to 170 CE. Kānchi Math records have the details of Guruparamparā starting from the time of Śri Sarvajñātman.

### The Date of Sarvajñātman (310-400 CE)

According to *Gururājaratnamālikā* and *Guruparamparā-stotra*, Sarvajñātman died in Kali 2695 (407 BCE) whereas *Punyaślokamañjarī*

tells us that Sarvajñātman died in Kali 2737 (365 BCE). Kānchi Pītha claims that he was the disciple of Sureśvara. But the internal evidence of the works of Sarvajñātman clearly indicates that he cannot be dated before 300 CE. Sarvajñātman was the author of “*Saṅkṣepa-Śārīraka*”. He refers to “*Iṣṭasiddhi*” of Vimuktātman. *Iṣṭasiddhi* refers to Bhāskara, the author of a commentary on Brahmasūtras and criticised Ādi Śaṅkara. Yamunāchārya, the Guru of Rāmānujāchārya, wrote a treatise, named, *Siddhitraya* and chronologically mentioned the names of Ādi Śaṅkara, Śrīvatsāṅka and Bhāskara. I have already explained above that Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa lived around 40 BCE-40 CE and the contemporary of Śaṅkarāchārya II of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Interestingly, Sarvajñātman himself mentions that Deveśvara was his Guru and Deveśvara was the disciple of Devānanda and Devānanda was the disciple of Śreṣṭhānanda. Sarvajñātman also refers to Sureśvara as the author of Vārtikas and quotes him in his works. Therefore, Sarvajñātman cannot be the disciple of Sureśvara.

Moreover, Sarvajñātman refers to the reigning King Manukulāditya. Some scholars identified Manukulāditya as the Chola King Āditya whereas some other scholars identified Manukulāditya as a Kulaśekhara King Bhāskara Ravi Varman. In fact, Cholas claimed in their inscriptions that they belonged to Manukula. And also Kulaśekhara kings of Kollam had a regnal title of Manukulāditya. *Sitāharāṇa kāvya* of Kerala poet Nārāyana also refers to the reign of King Manukulāditya. A Vishnu temple inscription refers to Bhāskara Ravi Varman as Manukulāditya. Sarvajñātman refers to Bhasarvajña, the author of *Nyāyasāra*. Bhasarvajña was a Kashmiri scholar. Bhasarvajña was the senior contemporary of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, who refers to Kashmiri King Śaṅkara Varmā (184-202 CE). Ānandabodha, the author of *Nyāyamakaranda*, was the disciple of Vimuktātman. He refers to Vāchaspati Mīśra. Vāchaspati wrote *Nyāyasūchi-nibandha* in Kārttikādi Vikrama 898 (179 CE). Thus, we can fix the date of Vimuktātman around 180-220 CE and Ānandabodha around 220-260 CE.

In view of the above, Sarvajñātman can only be dated around 310-400 CE. Therefore, with due respect to the traditions, we can conclude that the extant *guruparamparā* of Kānchi Math starts from the middle of



the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE. Sarvajñātman cannot be a contemporary of Sureśvara based on the chronology given above. Moreover, Sarvajñātman himself mentions that he was the disciple of Deveśvara. We can reconstruct the *guruparamparā* of Kānchi Math before Sarvajñātman as given below.

1.	Avyayātman Bhagavat Puḡyapāda (The Guru of Vimuktātman)	130-180 CE
2.	Vimuktātman	180-220 CE
3.	Ānandabodha	220-260 CE
4.	Śreṣṭhānandapāda	260-290 CE
5.	Devānandapāda	290-320 CE
6.	Deveśvarapāda	320-350 CE
7.	<b>Sarvajñātman</b>	<b>350-380 CE</b>

Now the question is why *Puḡyaślokamañjarī* and *Gururājaratnamālikā* starts the Guruparamparā from Sarvajñātman considering him to be the 3<sup>rd</sup> Āchārya? What was the list of Guruparamparā of Kānchi before *Puḡyaślokamañjarī* (16<sup>th</sup> century)? It is almost impossible to find the answers to these questions. I do not know whether Kānchi Math has any records of Guruparamparā written before the 14<sup>th</sup> century. I have attempted to reconstruct the Guruparamparā based on the epigraphic evidence available.

The copper plate inscription of Telugu Chola King Vijaya Ganda Gopāla is the earliest epigraphic evidence that refers to the Āchārya Śri Śankara Yogin. King Vijaya Ganda Gopāla issued this grant in his 16<sup>th</sup> regnal year and in Khara Samvatsara, Karkātaka solar month, Śukla pakṣa, 10<sup>th</sup> tithi, Mitra Daivata (Anuradha) Nakṣatra and Sunday. The date regularly corresponds to 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> Jul 1351 CE. One inscription of a Telugu Chola King Ganda Gopāla is dated in Śakānta 1207 (1285 CE). Many other inscriptions also suggest that Telugu Chola kings started ruling in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

A grant of Vijayanagara King Vira Narasimha issued a grant to Āchārya Maheśvara Sarasvati, the disciple of Sadāśiva Sarasvati in Śakānta 1429 (1507 CE). Vijayanagara King Krishnadeva Raya II issued a grant of

village Ambi in Śakānta 1436 (1514 CE) according to an inscription on the walls of Kānchi temple. The Kanchipuram plates of Krishnadeva Raya II were issued to Āchārya Chandrachūḍa Sarasvati, the disciple of Mahādeva Sarasvati in Śakānta 1444 (1522 CE). It is clearly written in this grant that Chandrachūḍa Sarasvati was the resident of Kānchipuram (*Kānchipuranivasāya Māyāvāda Budhindave, Chandrachūḍa-sarasvatyai Yatirājāya Dhimate*). Considering the dates of epigraphs and the records of Kānchi Pītha, we can fix the dates of Āchāryas from the 47<sup>th</sup> Āchārya to the 52<sup>nd</sup> Āchārya.

#### In CE

47.	Śiva Yogin	<b>1330-1385 CE</b> Śiva Yogin or Śaṅkara Yogin was the contemporary of King Vijaya Ganda Gopāla who ascended the throne in 1336 CE. Therefore, the year 1351 CE must be taken as Khara saṁvatsara and the 16 <sup>th</sup> regnal year of Vijaya Ganda Gopāla. Thus, the date of Siva Yogin can be around 1330-1385 CE. The period of Vidyātīrtha (46 <sup>th</sup> Āchārya) given in guruparampara is too long from 1297 CE to 1385 CE. The date of Vidyātīrtha was around 1297-1330 CE.
48.	Śaṅkarānanda	1385-1417 CE
49.	Sadāśiva I	1417-1498 CE
50.	Mahādeva	1498-1507 CE
51.	Chandrachūḍa IV	1507-1524 CE
52.	Sadāśiva II	1524-1539 CE

Now, we have to place the guruparamparā of 42 Āchāryas (from the 4<sup>th</sup> Āchārya to the 46<sup>th</sup> Āchārya) between 380 CE and 1330 CE. Ānandajñāna, the 7<sup>th</sup> Āchārya, has referred to Śri Harsha's *Khaṇḍanakhāṇḍakhāḍya*. Śri Harsha lived around 250-320 CE. Ānandajñāna's teacher Anubhūtiśvarūpa also referred to Śri Harsha. Thus, Ānandajñāna can only be dated at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Interestingly, the date of Śri Sarvajñātman in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century indicates that he was a senior contemporary of Śri

Rāmānujāchārya. According to Anantānandagiri's Śaṅkara Vijaya, one Sarvajña lived in Chidambaram. His wife was Kāmākṣī and Viśiṣṭhā was his daughter. After Grihasthāśrama, he went to the forest for Tapasyā. He had two disciples, Lakṣmaṇa and Hastāmalaka. The same Lakṣmaṇa became the famous Rāmānujāchārya. He left his body in Kānchipuram and attained Mokṣa. We have to research further to ascertain whether Anantānandagiri gives the account of Sarvajñātman or a story of Śaṅkarāchārya II of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.

Evidently, the chronology of the Guruparamparā of Kānchi as presented in the official website of Kānchi Pitha seems to be erroneous. “*Gururajaratnamalikā Stotra*” of Kānchi Pitha gives the list of 52 Āchāryas up to Sadāśiva, the disciple of Chandrachūḍa Sarasvati. This *stotra* was written in the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE and perfectly follows the available epigraphic evidence. Therefore, I have reconstructed the following chronology of the Guruparampara of Kānchi Pitha:

<i>Sl No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>In CE</i>
	Bhagavatpāda Ādi Śaṅkara	568-536 BCE
	Viśvarūpa	536-500 BCE
	Vidyāghana	500-460 BCE
	Śankarendra	460-410 BCE
	.....	
1.	Śri Śaṅkarāchārya Bhagavatpāda	44 BCE-58 CE
2.	Sureśvarāchārya	58-80 CE
	.....	
	Avyayātman Bhagavat Pujiyapāda (The Guru of Vimuktātman)	130-180 CE
	Vimuktātman	180-220 CE
	Ānandabodha	220-260 CE
	Śreṣṭhānandapāda	260-290 CE
	Devānandapāda	290-320 CE
	Deveśvarapāda	320-350 CE
3.	Sarvajñātman	350-380 CE

4.	Satyabodha	
5.	Jñānānanda	
6.	Suddhānanda	
7.	Ānanda Jñāna Yogin	
8.	Kaivalyānanda	
9.	Kṛpā Śaṅkara	
10.	Maheśvara	
11.	Śivānanda Cidghana	
12.	Chandrachūḍa I	
13.	Satchidghana	
14.	Vidyāghana	
15.	Gaṅgādhara I	
16.	Sadāśiva	
17.	Surendra	
18.	Vidyāghana	380-789 CE
19.	Śaṅkarendra	
20.	Chandrachūḍa II	
21.	Paripūrṇabodha	
22.	Satchitsukha	
23.	Chitsukha I	
24.	Chidānandaghana	
25.	Prajñānaghana	
26.	Chidvilāsa	
27.	Mahadeva I	
28.	Bodha	
29.	Satchidānandaghana	
30.	Chandraśekhara	
31.	Chitsukhendra	
32.	Vidyāghana	789-810 CE
33.	Abhinava Śaṅkara	788-820 CE
34.	Satchidvilāsa	820-852 CE

35.	Mahādeva II	852-885 CE
36.	Gaṅgādhara II	885-927 CE
37.	Pūrṇabodha I	927-963 CE
38.	Brahmānandaghana	963-998 CE
39.	Ānandaghana	998-1026 CE
40.	Paramaśiva I	1026-1052 CE
41.	Sandrānandabodha	1052-1073 CE
42.	Chandrachūḍa III	1073-1110 CE
43.	Advaitānandabodha Chidvilāsa	1110-1178 CE
44.	Mahādeva III	1178-1225 CE
45.	Chandrachūḍa IV	1225-1275 CE
46.	Vidyātīrtha	1275-1325 CE
47.	Śīva Yogin	1325-1385 CE
48.	Śaṅkarānanda	1385-1417 CE
49.	Pūrṇānanda Sadāśiva	1417-1498 CE
50.	Vyāsāchala Mahādeva	1498-1507 CE
51.	Chandrachūḍa V	1507-1524 CE
52.	Sadāśiva II	1524-1539 CE
53.	Paramaśivendra Sarasvati	1539-1586 CE
54.	Atmabodhendra Sarasvati	1586-1638 CE
55.	Bodhendra Sarasvati	1638-1692 CE
56.	Advaitātma Prakāśendra Sarasvati	1692-1704 CE
57.	Mahādevendra Sarasvati	1704-1746 CE
58.	Chandraśekharendra Sarasvati	1746-1783 CE
59.	Mahādevendra Sarasvati	1783-1813 CE
60.	Chandraśekharendra Sarasvati	1813-1851 CE
61.	Sudarśana Mahādevendra Sarasvati	1851-1891 CE
62.	Chandraśekharendra Sarasvati	1891-1907 CE
63.	Mahādevendra Sarasvati	1907 CE
64.	Chandraśekharendra Sarasvati	1907-1994 CE
65.	Jayendra Sarasvati	1994-2018 CE
66.	Vijayendra Sarasvati	2018 onwards

### **The Sarvajña Pitha of Srinagar, Kashmir**

*Keraliya Śaṅkara Vijaya* of Govindanātha, Vyasāchala's Śaṅkara Vijaya and the traditional account of Kashmir inform us that Ādi Śaṅkara visited Srinagar, Kashmir and ascended the Sarvajña Pitha at the Śaṅkarāchārya hill. Kalhaṇa mentions that Aśoka's son Jalauka constructed a Śiva temple on the hill around 1737-1715 BCE. Later, King Gopāditya (1005-945 BCE) reconstructed the temple known as Jyeṣṭheśvara temple. King Sandhiman was ruling around 555-506 BCE when Ādi Śaṅkara visited Kashmir.

We have already discussed that Matr̥gupta was the contemporary of Puṣpabhūti King Śri Harsha Vikramāditya (457-406 BCE) and reigned for 4 years and 9 months. Śri Harsha died while Matr̥gupta was ruling in Kashmir. Thus, we can accurately fix the date of Matr̥gupta around 410-405 BCE. Kalhaṇa states that Pratapāditya was the relative of Śākāri Vikramāditya of 719 BCE. Therefore, we can also convincingly fix the date of Pratapāditya around 701-669 BCE. Thus, Kashmir King Sandhiman was the contemporary of Ādi Śaṅkara.

As far as the temple of Śaṅkarāchārya on the hill of Srinagar is concerned, *Tarikh-i-Hassani*, and *Waquia-i-Kashmir* of Mulla Ahmed also inform us that the temple was known originally as Anjana and later as Jeth Ludrak (Jeṣṭharudra). Thereafter, the temple was built by King Sandhiman of the Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir. Thus, the hill came to be known as Sandhiman Parbat after the name of the king. Evidently, Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya is believed to have visited Kashmir and stayed at the temple complex during the reign of King Sandhiman. The timeline of King Sandhiman given by *Tarikh-i-Hassani* and Mulla Ahmed is speculative and completely different from the traditional account of Kashmir.

The 'Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh' published in 1890 also says: "It is also known by the name Śaṅkarāchārya". JN Gankar wrote in his book 'Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh', 'One ruler of the period who prominently stands out for his patronage of Śaivism and the Brahmanas was Gopāditya, who built a new temple, Jyeṣṭheśvara, on the Śaṅkarāchārya hill in Srinagar. Earlier a Śiva shrine known as Jyeṣṭharudra had been founded here by Aśoka's son and successor Jalauka.' Dr. Sarla Khosla also

says in her book “History of Buddhism in Kashmir” -- ‘The Śaṅkarāchārya temple is the oldest temple of the valley in the Sandhiman Parvata (now called Takht-i-Sulaiman).’ According to a local tradition, it was built by Aśoka’s son Jalauka in ancient times.

Evidently, the temple on the hill of Srinagar was built by Aśoka’s son Jalauka (1737-1715 BCE) and Known as Jyeṣṭharudra temple. When King Gopāditya (917-857 BCE) rebuilt the same temple and also an “Agrahāra”, the temple came to be known as “Jyeṣṭheśvara” and the hill came to be known as “Gopātri”. During the reign of King Sandhiman (555-508 BCE), Ādi Śaṅkara visited Srinagar, Kashmir and defeated Buddhist scholars. King Sandhiman honoured Ādi Śaṅkara and built a Sarvajña Pītha in the temple. Thereafter, the temple came to be known as “Śaṅkarāchārya temple” and the hill came to be known as “Sandhiman Parvat”. Thus, Ādi Śaṅkara established two Sarvajña Pīthas (Kāñchipuram and Kashmir) along with four Mathas in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. I have no information whether Kashmir Pītha had any Guruparamparā. It may be noted that these Sarvajña Pīthas and Mathas could not get royal and public support after the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Later, Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE-58 CE) revived the philosophy of Brahmādvaitavāda and re-established four Mathas.

### **The Guruparamparā of Śringeri Math**

Śri Sureśvarāchārya was the first successor of Śaṅkarāchārya II in Śringeri Math. Evidently, the official Guruparamparā given by Śringeri Pītha is completely distorted one which has been reconstructed under the influence of the chronology propounded by colonial historians. According to a manuscript “*Śringeri Guruparamparā*”, Vidyāraṇya was the 22<sup>nd</sup> Āchārya but it starts from Brahma, Vishnu, Maheśa, etc., whereas the official Guruparamparā of Śringeri Math places him as the 11<sup>th</sup> Āchārya. Considering the date of Kaivalya Mukti of Śaṅkarāchārya II in Śaka 642 (58 CE), I have reconstructed the following list of the Śaṅkarāchāryas of Śringeri Pītha based on epigraphic evidence but it needs to be completed with reference to the other records held at Śringeri Math or elsewhere.

	Riṣyaśringapurādhivāsa (Śringeri) Āchāryas	Date	Reference
	Śaṅkarāchārya II	44 BCE-58 CE	
1.	Sureśvarāchārya	58-80 CE	EC, VIII, Nagar, No. 68
2.	Vidyānanda I (Disciple of Sureśvarāchārya)	80-120 CE	EC, VIII, Nagar, No. 68
3.	Vidyābodhaghanāchārya	120-170 CE	EC, VIII, Nagar, No. 67
4.	Vidyānanda II (Jyeṣṭha Śiṣhya of Vidyā Bodhaghana)	170-200 CE	EC, VIII, Nagar, No. 67
5.	Nityabodhagana	200-250 CE	(Reconstructed based on the official guru-paramparā of Śringeri Math. Needs to be reviewed.)
6.	Jñanaghana	250-290 CE	
7.	Jñanottama	290-350 CE	
8.	Jñanagiri	350-400 CE	
9.	Simhagiri	400-450 CE	
10.	Iśvara Tirtha	450-500 CE	
11.	Nṛsimha Tirtha	500-550 CE	
12.	Vidyātīrtha	550-650 CE	IVR, Vol 1, Part 2, No. 208
13.	Vidyāraṇya I	560-660 CE	
14.	Bhāratī Tirtha	575-675 CE	

*No epigraphic evidence is available*

15.	Narasimha Śāradā or Narasimha Bhāratī (Śaka 1315, 1328, 1329)	710-747 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, No. 22 & 26
16.	Chandraśekhara Bhāratī (Śaka 1331, 1337)	748-756 CE	
17.	Puruṣottama Bhāratī (Śaka 1340)	757-759 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, No. 33 & 36
18.	Śaṅkara Bhāratī (Śaka 1343)	759-795 CE	EC, VIII, Ti. 144 & IVR, I, Pt.3, no. 498.
19.	Narasimha Bhāratī (Śaka 1380)	795-830 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, No. 3



*No epigraphic evidence is available*

- |     |  |              |                                     |
|-----|--|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| 20. | Vijaya Śaṅkara Bhārati<br>(Śakānta 1073) | 1125-1175 CE | EC, Vol VII, Shimoga,<br>No.79 & 80 |
|-----|--|--------------|-------------------------------------|

*No epigraphic evidence is available*

- |     |   |               |  |
|-----|---|---------------|--|
| 21. | Śaṅkara Bhārati (Śakānta<br>1261)   | 1330-1380 CE  | IVR, Vol 1, Part 5, No.<br>748.                                  |
| 22. | Vidyāraṇya II (Śakānta 1302<br>to 1309)   | 1380-1387 CE  | IVR, Vol 1, Part 2, No.<br>180 & IVR, Vol 1, Part<br>2, No. 208. |
| 23. | Krishna Tirtha  | 1387-1415 CE  | IVR, Vol 1, Part 4, No.<br>681.                                  |
| 24. | Vidyāraṇya II (Śakānta 1371)  | 1415-1450 CE  | IVR, Vol 1, Part 4, No.<br>681.                                  |
| 25. | Ānanda Tirtha – Ananta<br>Tirtha (Śakānta 1377)                                     | 1450-1463 CE  | EC, VIII, Tirthahalli,<br>200                                    |
| 26. | Rāghaveśvara Sarasvati<br>(Śakānta 1386 to 1429)                                    | 1464-1506 CE  | EC, VIII, Nagar, 69<br>& 64                                      |
| 27. | Śri Rāmachandra Bhārati<br>(Śakānta- 1446)  | 1506- 1542 CE | EC, VI, Śringeri, 21   |
| 28. | Śri Narasimha Bhārati<br>(Śakānta-1465)   | 1543-1590 CE  | EC, VI, Śringeri, 10   |
| 29. | Śri Abhinava Narasimha<br>Bhārati (Śakānta-1525, 1529<br>& 1542)                    | 1590-1620 CE  | EC, VI, Śringeri, 2 ,8<br>& 5                                    |
| 30. | Śri Sacchidānanda Bhārati<br>(Śakānta- 1550, 1564, 1574,<br>1574, 1574, 1581, 1584) | 1620-1662 CE  | EC,VI, Śringeri, 12, 14,<br>13, 11, 9, 24, 17                    |
| 31. | Śri Jñānedra Bhārati<br>(Śakānta-1585)  | 1662-1666 CE  | EC, VIII, Tirthahalli,<br>145                                    |
| 32. | Śri Krishnānanda Bhārati<br>[Śiṣya of Sacchidānanda<br>Bhārati] (Śakānta-1588)      | 1666-1669 CE  | EC, VIII, Tirthahalli,<br>156                                    |
| 33. | Śri Narasimha Bhārati<br>(Śakānta-1591)   | 1669-1680 CE  | EC, VII, Shimoga, 81   |

34.	Śri Śaṅkara Bhārati (Śakānta-1605)	1680-1706 CE	EC, VII, Shimoga, 82
35.	Sri Sacchidānanda Bhārati	1706-1741 CE	
36.	Sri Abhinava Sacchidānanda Bhārati	1741-1767 CE	
37.	Sri Nṛsimha Bhārati	1767-1770 CE	
38.	Sri Sacchidānanda Bhārati	1770-1814 CE	
39.	Sri Abhinava Sacchidānanda Bhārati	1814-1817 CE	
40.	Sri Nṛsimha Bhārati	1817-1879 CE	
41.	Sri Sacchidānanda Śivābhinava Nṛsimha Bhārati	1879-1912 CE	
42.	Sri Chandrasekhara Bhārati	1912-1954 CE	
43.	Sri Abhinava Vidyātirtha	1954-1989 CE	
44.	Sri Bhārati Tirtha	1989-Present	
45.	Sri Vidhuśekhara Bhārati	Successor- Designate	

According to the research thesis of WR Antarkar, a representative of Śringeri Math filed an affidavit in the court in 1865 CE and claimed that the Math has a list of 66 āchāryas and having Guruparamparā starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. The Śringeri Math should clarify to the nation how the list of 66 got reduced to 32 (up to 1865 CE). Interestingly, the date of Śaṅkarāchārya was mentioned as 44 BCE on the wall of Kālady temple till 1904. It seems that Śringeri Math started formally claiming 788 CE as the date of birth of Ādi Śaṅkara since 1960 under the influence of leftist historians.

Moreover, the date of Vidyāranya needs to be revised with reference to the copper plate of Kudali Math, which is dated Śakānta 1073 (1151 CE) and the inscription of later Vijayanagara King Harihara dated Śakānta 1109 (1187 CE). We will discuss the chronology of Vijayanagara kingdom in Chapter 18. In fact, Vijayanagara was founded around 660 CE and not in 1336 CE.

### The Guruparamparā of Kudali Math

Interestingly, Sringeri Math and Kudali Math both claim themselves to be the original Math established by Ādi Śaṅkara. According to Kudali Math, Ādi Śaṅkara made the original wooden idol of Saraswati in a standing position and placed at Kudali. The founders of Vijayanagara Empire and Bhārati Krishna Tirtha had shifted to present location of Śringeri Math and made the golden idol of Śāradā (Saraswati) in a sitting position.

Kudali Math is located 100 kms away from Sringeri Math. There is a confluence of Tuṅgā and Bhadrā rivers close to the city of Sringeri. This River after the confluence is known as Tuṅgabhadrā. Kudali Math claims that Śāradā or Saraswati is addressed as looking at the Tuṅgabhadrā River by Ādi Śaṅkara in his Bhujaṅga Prayāta Stotra. Therefore, the original Math was located on the banks of Tuṅgabhadrā River.

According to the inscriptions of Śringeri Pitha, the present temple and Math was indeed constructed by Vijayanagara King Harihara I around 668 CE during the time of Bhārati Krishna Tirtha. But it is difficult to say that the Math was not existed in the present location before the time of Bhārati Krishna Tirtha. It is also possible that the old Math might have been reconstructed by King Harihara I.

The oldest copper plates found at Kudali refer to Vijaya Śaṅkara Bhārati and his guru Viśvarūpāchārya. These plates are dated Śakānta 1073 (1151 CE) and clearly mention Vidyāraṇya, the city of Vidyānagara and Vidyā Śaṅkara. These plates are also signed off at the end as “Śri Vidyā Śaṅkara Sarasvati Śri”. Most of the inscriptions of Śringeri Math have the seal of “Śri Vidyā Śaṅkara”. Kudali Math claims that Vijaya Śaṅkara Bhārati was the pontiff of Kudali but there is no reference of Kudali Math in these copper plates.

Evidently, it appears that Śringeri and Kudali Mathas both are ancient Pithas and belong to the same Guruparamparā since ancient times. Probably, Kudali has been separated from Śringeri in the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE. The book “Jagadguru Paramparā Darpaṇa” (in Kannada language) published in 1999 by Kudali relates that Ādi Śaṅkara established Kudali Math in 47 CE (the 102<sup>nd</sup> year of Chaitrādi Vikrama era).

The Guruparamparā of Kudali Math as given in Jagadguru Paramparā Darpaṇa:

	<b>Āchāryas of Kudali Math</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1.	Śaṅkarāchārya II	19-58 CE
2.	Sureśvarāchārya	58-80 CE
3.	Prithvīśvara	80-115 CE
4.	Viśvarūpa	115-190 CE
5.	Chidrūpa I	190-242 CE
6.	Gaṅgādhara	242-312 CE
7.	Chidghana	312-367 CE
8.	Bodhaghana I	367-412 CE
9.	Jñānottama I	412-458 CE
10.	Śivānanda I	458-498 CE
11.	Jñānottama II	498-536 CE
12.	Nṛsimha I	536-576 CE
13.	Iśvara	576-606 CE
14.	Nṛsimha II	606-628 CE
15.	Vidyā Śaṅkara I	628-656 CE
16.	Krishna	656-676 CE
17.	Śaṅkara	676-698 CE
18.	Chandra Śekhara	698-722 CE
19.	Śivānanda II	722-745 CE
20.	Brahmānanda	745-773 CE
21.	Chidrūpa II	773-798 CE
22.	Puruśottama I	798-833 CE
23.	Madhusūdana	833-871 CE
24.	Jagannātha	871-899 CE
25.	Viśvānanda	899-931 CE
26.	Vimalānanda	931-966 CE
27.	Vidyāranya I	966-1006 CE
28.	Viśvarūpāchārya	1006-1026 CE
29.	Bodhaghana II	1026-1056 CE

30.	Jñānottama III	1056-1082 CE
31.	Íśvara II	1082-1095 CE
32.	Bhāratītīrtha	1095-1110 CE
33.	Vidyātīrtha I	1110-1052 CE
34.	Vijaya Śaṅkarāchārya	1052-1248 CE
35.	Nṛsimha III	1248-1296 CE
36.	Vidyātīrtha II or Vidyāśaṅkara	1296-1376 CE
37.	Bhāratī Krishnatīrtha	1328-1380 CE
38.	Vidyāraṇya II	1331-1386 CE
39.	Chandraśekhara II	1368-1389 CE
40.	Narasimha I	1387-1408 CE
41.	Śaṅkara II	1407-1428 CE
42.	Puruṣottama II	1428-1454 CE
43.	Chandraśekhara III	1449-1464 CE
44.	Narasimha II	1463-1481 CE
45.	Puruṣottama III	1475-1514 CE
46.	Rāmachandra	1508-1546 CE
47.	Nṛsimha III	1546 CE
<b>Ādhunika Kāla (The gurus of Modern times)</b>		
47.	Narasimha I	1546-1586 CE
48.	Vidyāraṇya III	1586-1617 CE
49.	Narasimha II	1617-1641 CE
50.	Śaṅkara I	1641-1663 CE
51.	Abhinava Vidyāraṇya	1663-1664 CE
52.	Narasimha III	1664-1688 CE
53.	Śaṅkara II	1688-1714 CE
54.	Narasimha IV or Kambada Guru	1714-1726 CE
55.	Śaṅkara III	1726-1766 CE
56.	Narasimha V	1766-1772 CE
57.	Śaṅkara IV or Vṛddha Śaṅkara	1772-1808 CE
58.	Narasimha VI	1808-1820 CE
59.	Narasimha VI	1820-1854 CE

60.	Narasimha VII	1854-1860 CE
61.	Śaṅkara VI	1860-1875 CE
62.	Narasimha VIII	1873-1897 CE
63.	Vidyāśaṅkara I	1875-1879 CE
64.	Śaṅkara VII	1879-1924 CE
65.	Vidyāśaṅkara II	1924 CE (9 months)
66.	Vālukeśvara	1924-1932 CE
67.	Vidyābhinava Vālukeśvara	1932-1936 CE
68.	Sacchidānanda Śaṅkara	1936-1970 CE
69.	Vidyābhinava Nṛsimha Bhārati	1971-1994 CE
70.	Sacchidānanda Vālukeśvara Bhārati	1976-1994 CE
71.	Vidyābhinava Vidyāraṇya Bhārati	1984.....

Unfortunately, Kudali Math has only the detailed history of Guruparamparā starting from 1546 CE when Nṛsimha Bhārati was the pontiff. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to verify the dates given above but it clearly indicates the following:

- Kudali Math records that Ādi Śaṅkara was the pontiff for the period 19-51 CE. Evidently, he was the Śaṅkarāchārya II. Thus, Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE-58 CE) and his pupil Sureśvarāchārya were the founders of the Kudali Math. Evidently, Kudali math belongs to the same tradition of Śringeri Math.
- I have already pointed out that there were at least three Vidyāraṇyas in the *guruparamparā* of Sringeri based on the epigraphic evidence. The *guruparampara* of Kudali Math also clearly endorses it.

### **Guruvamśakāvya of Sh. Kashi Lakshmana Shastri**

This Kāvya is an account of the pontiffs of the Śringeri Math. Sh. Kashi Lakshmana Shastri wrote Guruvamśakāvya during the second half of 18<sup>th</sup> century (1750-1800 CE). Śri Sacchidānanda Bhārati, the disciple of Śri Nṛsimha Bhārati was the pontiff of Śringeri Math at that time.

This Kāvya has also erroneously mixed up the account of Ādi Śaṅkara and Śaṅkarāchārya II. According to this Kāvya, Ādi Śaṅkara met

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa on his death bed. He asked Śaṅkara to meet his disciple Viśvarūpa in Magadha (instead of Māhiṣmatī). Interestingly, this Kāvya clearly says that Mandana Miśra was different from Sureśvarāchārya but it erroneously says that Viśvarūpa adopted the name of Sureśvarāchārya. In reality, Viśvarūpa, the disciple of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I, was the contemporary of Ādi Śaṅkara (568-536 BCE) and became the disciple of Ādi Śaṅkara whereas Sureśvarāchārya was the disciple of Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE-58 CE).

This Kāvya also records that Śaṅkarāchārya established four Maths and handed over to his four disciples. Interestingly, it says that Śaṅkarāchārya attained Mokṣa at Siddheśvari Temple, in Nepal. After Śaṅkarāchārya, Sureśvarāchārya, Bodhaghana, Jñanaghana, Jñanottamaśiva, Jñanagiri, Simhagiri, Iśvaratīrtha, Nṛsimhatīrtha and Vidyātīrtha succeeded him.

Interestingly, this kāvya clearly says that Vidyāraṇya was entirely different from the two brothers Sāyaṇa and Mādharma. Vidyāraṇya cannot be the brother of Sāyaṇa. The author of this kāvya had no knowledge of the difference between the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE). Therefore, he has assumed the Vidyāraṇya of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the Vidyāraṇya of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as the same and mixed up the historical account of both Vidyāraṇyas. This Kāvya contains several interesting historical events related to the life of Vidyāraṇya. Historians miserably failed to reconcile these events. Therefore, they have preferred to brush aside this Kāvya. In reality, this Kāvya gives the mixed historical account of two Vidyāraṇyas mistakenly considering them to be identical.

This Kāvya clearly indicates that Śringeri Math might have lost its records of guruparamparā between Vidyāraṇya I and Vidyāraṇya II by the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As explained above, epigraphic evidence explicitly proves that the existing list of Śringeri guruparamparā is wrong and needs to be reconstructed based on the information available from epigraphic sources.

### **The Guruparamparā of Govardhana Pītha, Puri**

Śri Padmapādāchārya was the 1<sup>st</sup> successor of Śaṅkarāchārya II in Govardhana Math, Puri. It was established on Vaiśākha Śukla Daśamī in

543 BCE. This Math has a list of 144 Āchāryas. Āchārya Śaṅkara Swami inspired Vachaspati Mishra to write a commentary named “*Bhāmati tīkā*” on *Brahmasūtra Śāṅkara Bhāṣya* of Ādi Śaṅkara. Āchārya Śrīdhara Swami wrote “*Śrīdharī tīkā*” on Srimad Bhāgavatam. The Guruparampara of Govardhana Pītha:

Āchāryas of Govardhana Pītha	In CE
Śaṅkarāchārya II	44 BCE - 58 CE
1. Padmapāda	58-70 CE
2. Ananta Śree Śūla Pāṇi	} 70-1849 CE
3. Nārāyaṇa	
4. Vidyāraṇya	
5. Vāmadeva	
6. Padmanābha	
7. Jagannātha	
8. Madhureśvara	
9. Govinda	
10. Śrīdhara	
11. Mādhavānanda	
12. Krishna Brahmānanda	
13. Rāmānanda	
14. Vāgīśvara	
15. Parameśvara	
16. Gopāla	
17. Janārdana	
18. Jñānānanda	
19. Bṛhadāranya	
20. Mahādeva	
21. Parama Brahmānanda	
22. Rāmānanda	
23. Sadāśiva	
24. Hariśvarānanda	



25. Bodhānanda
26. Rāmakrishna
27. Chit Bodhātma
28. Tattvaksavara
29. Śaṅkara
30. Vāsudeva
31. Hayagriva
32. Smṛtiswara
33. Vidyānanda
34. Mukundānanda
35. Hiranyagarbha
36. Nityānanda
37. Śivānanda
38. Yogīśvara
39. Sudarśana
40. Vyomakeśa
41. Dāmodara
42. Yogānanda
43. Golakeśa
44. Krishnānanda
45. Devānanda
46. Chandrachūḍa
47. Halāyudha
48. Sidhya Sevyā
49. Tārakātma
50. Bodhāyana
51. Sridhara
52. Nārāyaṇa
53. Sadāśiva
54. Jayakrishna
55. Virūpākśa
56. Vidyāraṇya

— 70-1849 CE

57. Viśveśvara
58. Vibodheśvara
59. Maheśvara
60. Madhusūdana
61. Raghūttama
62. Rāmachandra
63. Yogindra
64. Moheśvara
65. Omara
66. Narayam
67. Jagannātha
68. Sridhara
69. Rāmachandra
70. Tamrakh
71. Ugreśvara
72. Uddanda
73. Saṅkarṣaṇa
74. Janārdana
75. Akhandātma
76. Dāmodara
77. Śivānanda
78. Gadādhara
79. Vidyādhara
80. Vāmana
81. Śaṅkara
82. Nilakantha
83. Rāmakrishna
84. Raghūttama
85. Samodara
86. Gopāla
87. Mṛtyuñjaya
88. Govinda

70-1849 CE

89. Vāsudeva
90. Gaṅgādhara
91. Sadāśiva
92. Vāmadeva
93. Upamanyu
94. Hayagrīva
95. Hari
96. Raghūttama
97. Pundarikākśya
98. Parāśankara Tirtha
99. Vedagarbha
100. Vedānta Bhāskara
101. Vinayātma
102. Śivānanda
103. Maheśvara
104. Rāmakrishna
105. Vṛṣadhwaḥ
106. Sudhabodha
107. Someśvara
108. Gopadeva
109. Śambhu Tirtha
110. Bhṛgu
111. Keśavānanda
112. Vidyānanda
113. Vedānanda
114. Bodhānanda
115. Sutapananda
116. Sridhara
117. Janārdana
118. Kamalāsanānanda
119. Hariharānanda
120. Gopāla

70-1849 CE

121. Krishnānanda	}	70-1849 CE
122. Mādhavānanda		
123. Madhusūdana		
124. Govinda		
125. Raghūttama		
126. Vāmadeva		
127. Hrishiksha		
128. Dāmodara		
129. Gopālananda		
130. Govinda		
131. Raghunātha		
132. Rāmachandra		
133. Govinda		
134. Raghunātha		
135. Rāmakrishna		
136. Madhusudana		
137. Dāmodara		
138. Raghūttama		
139. Śiva		1849-1870 CE
140. Lokanātha		1870-1883 CE
141. Dāmodara Tirtha		1883-1898 CE
142. Madhusūdana Tirtha		1898-1926 CE
143. Bhāratī Krishna Tirtha		1926-1960 CE
144. Sri Nirañjana Deva Tirtha		1.7.1964 to 8.2.1992
145. Sri Niśchalānanda Saraswati		9.2.1992 onwards

### **The Guruparamparā of Dwārakā Math**

Śri Hastāmalakāchārya was the 1<sup>st</sup> successor of Śaṅkarāchārya II in Dwārakā Math. Swami Rajarajeśvara Śaṅkara wrote a book “*Vimarśa*” in 1896 CE. He gives the dates starting from Ādi Śaṅkara to Brahmajyotsna, the 9<sup>th</sup> pontiff in Yudhiṣṭhira era considering the epoch in 3138 BCE. As already explained, the epoch of 3138 BCE is not a traditional epoch.

Rajarajeśvara Śaṅkara gives the date of other pontiffs (10<sup>th</sup> pontiff onwards) in Vikrama era. According to him, Ādi Śaṅkara attained Mokṣa in the year 2663 of Yudhiṣṭhira era, on Kārttika Pūrṇimā. He refers to a copper plate of King Sudhanvā but it appears to be a fake claim.

The Guruparamparā of Dwāarakā Pītha:

**Āchāryas of Dwāarakā Pītha**

Śaṅkarācharya II

1. Brahmasvarūpa (Hastāmalaka)
2. Chitsukha
3. Sarvajñāna
4. Brahmānanda
5. Svarupābhijñāna
6. Mangalamūrti
7. Bhāskara
8. Prajñāna
9. Brahmajyotsna
10. Ananāvīrbhāva
11. Kalānidhitirtha
12. Chidvilāsa
13. Vibhūtyānanda
14. Sphūrtinilaya
15. Varatantupāda
16. Yogārūḍha
17. Vijayadindima
18. Vidyātīrtha
19. Chicchakti Daiśika
20. Vijñāneśvara
21. Ritāmbhara
22. Amareśvaraguru
23. Sarvatomukha
24. Ananda Daiśika

25. Samādhirasika
26. Narayanāśrama
27. Vaikunṭhāśrama
28. Trivikramāśrama
29. Nrisimhāśrama
30. Tryambakāśrama
31. Srivaishnavāśrama
32. Keshvāśrama
33. Chidambarāśrama
34. Padmanābhāśrama
35. Mahādevāśrama
36. Sacchidānandāśrama
37. Vidyāśankarāśrama
38. Abhinavasacchidānandāśrama
39. Śaśīsekharāśrama
40. Vāsudevāśrama
41. Puruṣottamāśrama
42. Janardanāśrama
43. Hariharāśrama
44. Bhavāśrama
45. Brahmāśrama
46. Vāmanāśrama
47. Sarvajñāśrama
48. Pradyumnāśrama
49. Govindāśrama
50. Srichidāśrama
51. Viśveśvarāśrama
52. Dāmodarāśrama
53. Mahādevāśrama
54. Aniruddhāśrama
55. Achyutāśrama
56. Mādhavāśrama

57. Anantāśrama
58. Viśvarūpāśrama
59. Chidghanāśrama
60. Nṛsimhāśrama
61. Manoharāśrama
62. Prakāśānanda Sarasvati Svami
63. Viśuddhāśrama
64. Vāmanendrāśrama
65. Keśvāśrama
66. Madhusūdanāśrama
67. Hayagrīvāśrama
68. Prakāśāśrama
69. Hayagrīvānanda Sarasvati
70. Sridharāśrama
71. Dāmodarāśrama
72. Keśavāśrama
73. Srimad Rājarājeśvara Śaṅkarāśrama Svami
74. Mādhava Tirtha Svami
75. Shāntyananda Sarasvati Svami
76. Chandraśekharāśrama Svami
77. Abhinava Sacchidānanda Tirtha Svami
78. Swarūpānanda Sarasvati Svami (1981 onwards)

### **The Guruparamparā of Jyotirmath, Badrinath**

Śri Totakāchārya was the first successor of Śaṅkarāchārya II in Jyotirmath. Unfortunately, Jyotirmath does not have any records of its history. Brahmānand Sarasvati (1941-1953) had revived this Pīṭha in 1941 after a vacancy of 165 years. The Dasnāmi Sannyāsi Sampradāya was affiliated with Jyotirmath. There is historical evidence that indicates the existence of the oldest Dasnāmi Akhada as early as in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.

### **Where did Ādi Śaṅkara and Śaṅkarāchārya II attain Mokṣa?**

*Vyāsāchalīya Śaṅkara Vijaya*, *Keralīya Śaṅkara Vijaya* (as quoted in the commentary named “*Suṣamā*”) and Anantānandagiri’s *Śaṅkara Vijaya* mention that Śaṅkarāchārya attained mokṣa in Kānchi. According to other texts, Śaṅkarāchārya attained mokṣa at Kedarnath. Chidvilāsayati’s *Śaṅkara Vijaya* tells us that Śaṅkarāchārya entered Dattātreyā Cave at Badarikāśrama and went to Kailash to unite himself with Śiva. *Guruvamśakāvya* of the 18<sup>th</sup> century says that Śaṅkarāchārya proceeded to Nepal to see Siddheśvari and attained mokṣa. However, it can be concluded that Ādi Śaṅkara, in all probability, attained mokṣa at Kānchipuram and Śaṅkarāchārya II attained mokṣa in a cave at Kedarnath or Badrinath.

Interestingly, *Mādhava Śaṅkara Vijayam* and *Guruvamśakāvya* tell us that Śaṅkarāchārya was suffering from “Bhagandara” disease (Fitsula-in-ano) in his last days. Evidently, “Bhagandara” disease is a middle age or old age related problem. How a 32-year-old young man was suffering from such a disease. Undoubtedly, Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE - 58 CE) was suffering from “Bhagandara” disease in his last days of life. The cause of the death of Ādi Śaṅkara (568 - 536 BCE) is not known. We just come to know that he attained nirvāṇa in Kānchipuram.

### **Nepāla-Rājavamśāvalī written by a Buddhist Monk**

This Nepāla-Rājavamśāvalī mentions that Ādi Śaṅkara visited during the reign of Licṇavi King Vṛṣadeva.<sup>27</sup> Ancient Vamśāvalīs like Gopāla-Rājavamśāvalī did not refer to the visit of Ādi Śaṅkara. There are many Vamśāvalīs found in Nepal but there is no reference of the visit of Ādi Śaṅkara. Interestingly, the Buddhist author places Buddha during the time of Mahābhārata war. There are many chronological inconsistencies in this Vamśāvalī.

We learn from *Vyāsāchalīya Śaṅkara Vijaya* that Śaṅkarāchārya II visited Nepal. There is no reference of Ādi Śaṅkara’s visit to Nepal in Indian sources. However, King Mānadeva I (580-539 BCE), the grandson of Vṛṣadeva was ruling in Nepal during the lifetime of Ādi Śaṅkara.



### Śaṅkarāchārya in Kaliyuga 3501 (399-400 CE)

According to Keralolpathi, a historical work written in Malayalam language, a Śaṅkarāchārya was born in the month of Śrāvaṇa/Bhādrapada when moon was in Ārdrā nakṣatra, in the year 3501 of Kaliyuga and that within 38 years he established the Smārta sect during the reign of King Cheraman Perumal. Undoubtedly, Keralolpathi refers to a later Śaṅkarāchārya (400 CE) and not Ādi Śaṅkara (568-536 BCE).

### Śaṅkarāchārya of 788-820 CE

KB Pathak found only three leaves of a manuscript which indicate that a Śaṅkarāchārya was born in Śaka 710 and died in Śaka 742. *Āryavidyāsudhākara* (written in the 17<sup>th</sup> century), refers to *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Mādhava and, says that Śaṅkara was born in Kālaṭi in the year 3889 of Kaliyuga. *Śaṅkaramandārasaurabha* also says that he was born in the year 3889 of Kaliyuga. Evidently, the Śaṅkarāchārya of 788-820 CE was a later Śaṅkarāchārya, probably known as Abhinava Śaṅkara. It appears that the authors of these texts mistakenly considered him to be Ādi Śaṅkara and calculated the dates accordingly.

### Śaṅkarāchārya of the 9<sup>th</sup> century

The Cambodian inscription of Indravarman (877-889 CE) mentions the name of Āchārya Śivasoma, who was the pupil of Bhagvan Śaṅkara. Evidently, Śivasoma was the disciple of a later Śaṅkarāchārya who lived in the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE.

### The Manuscript of Jinavijaya

TN Shastry has claimed that there is a Jain work called *Jinavijaya* that describes Kumārila Bhaṭṭa having deceptively studied under Mahāvīra. This manuscript also gives the year of Kumārila's birth as the year 2077 and the year of Ādi Śaṅkara's death as the year 2157 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era. TN Shastry has also claimed that there is a difference of 468 years in the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era used by Jains.

First of all, nobody has any information about this manuscript. Moreover, the verse quoted by TN Shastry refers to Samvat as "Śaka" (*Yaudhiṣṭhira Śaka*). Evidently, either someone has tampered these ślokas or this text has been written after the 8<sup>th</sup> century because "Śaka" became

synonymous to Samvat only after the 8<sup>th</sup> century. If it is a late work, why the author has referred to an outdated epoch? No author has ever referred to the Yudhiṣṭhira era after 500 BCE. Moreover, Jain āchāryas have no information of a text named “*Jinavijaya*” and Jains never referred to the Yudhiṣṭhira era. Therefore, we can ignore the evidence of the unknown text named “*Jinavijaya*”.

### **Śaktibhadra, a Sanskrit Poet of Kerala**

According to tradition, Śaktibhadra of Kerala wrote a play “*Aścharyachūdāmaṇi*” and read out to Śaṅkarāchārya II when he had been observing silence for a year. Śaktibhadra was the contemporary of the Kulaśekhara kings. Since Śaṅkarāchārya did not respond to Śaktibhadra, he in despair threw his play into the fire. When Śaṅkarāchārya II ended his year-long silence, he came to know about the destruction of the play of Śaktibhadra. Śaṅkarāchārya II reproduced the whole play from his memory. Undoubtedly Śaktibhadra was a junior contemporary of Śaṅkarāchārya II and lived in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Though his plays are not available today, Vallabhadeva of Kashmir quoted some verses from *Aścharyachūdāmaṇi* in his *Subhāṣitāvalī*. Vallabhadeva lived in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. However, modern historians place Vallabhadeva in the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE due to the chronological error of 661 years. Śaktibhadra’s *Aścharyachūdāmaṇi* has been rated high as play in ancient and medieval times.

### **King Rājaśekhara of Kerala**

*Guruvamśakāvya* says that a Kerala King Rājaśekhara composed three plays and read out to Śaṅkarāchārya II. Rājaśekhara was the son of King Kulaśekhara. Evidently, King Kulaśekhara and his son Rājaśekhara were the contemporaries of Śaṅkarāchārya II. According to some scholars, King Rājaśekhara wrote three plays in the name of Śaktibhadra.

The Valappalli or Vazhapalli copper plates<sup>28</sup> and the Kurumattur prasasti slab inscription<sup>29</sup> refer to the King Rājaśekhara. Unfortunately, these inscriptions are not dated but literary evidence clearly indicates that King Rājaśekhara was the contemporary of Śaṅkarāchārya II.

### **King Sudhanvā**

Dwārakā Math has claimed that a copper plate inscription dated in the

year 2663 of Yudhiṣṭhira era was issued by King Sudhanvā. TN Shastry has provided a transcript of this inscription but nobody has ever produced at least an image of the copper plate. But, the tradition says that King Sudhanvā was a contemporary of Śaṅkarāchārya. *Mādhava Śaṅkara Vijayam* also mentions the name of King Sudhanvā. According to tradition, King Sudhanvā favoured Bauddhas initially but he again started following Sanatana Vedic rituals under the influence of Kumarila Bhaṭṭa I. Unfortunately, there is no further information available. Most probably, King Sudhanvā was either the contemporary of Ādi Śaṅkara (568-536 BCE) or Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE - 58 CE).

### **Patañjalicharitam and Govindapāda**

Rāmabhadra Dikṣita, a contemporary of Paramaśivendra Sarasvati, a pontiff of Kānchi Math (16<sup>th</sup> century) wrote “*Patañjalicharitam*”. He gives a mythological account of Gauḍapāda and his disciple Govindapāda. He also says that Chandra Śarmā (later known as Govindapāda) had four wives from four varnas and Bhartṛhari, Vikramāditya, Bhaṭṭi and Vararuchi were his sons. Interestingly, a tradition also gives the similar account of Śabara Swāmi. In reality, it is chronologically incorrect to say that Bhartṛhari and Vikramāditya were the sons of Chandra Śarmā. Ancient sources tell us that Bhartṛhari I, the author of *Vākyapadīyam*, was the son and pupil of Vasurāta and belonged to the royal family of Ayodhyā. Bhartrihari II was the contemporary of Gorakśanātha (640-540 BCE). Vetāla Bhaṭṭa’s “*Vetālapañchavimsati*” and “*Dvātrimśatputtalikā*” inform us that King Gandharva Sena of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE had four wives from four varnas. He had six sons, Brahmavīta, Śaṅkha, Vikramāditya, Bhartṛhari, Chandra and Dhanvantari. King Gandharva Sena’s son Vikramāditya was the famous King of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Bhartṛhari III, the younger brother of Vikramāditya, was the author of *Śatakatraya*, i.e., *Nīti Śataka*, *Śringāra Śataka* and *Vairāgya Śataka*. Therefore, Govindapāda cannot be the father of Bhartṛhari and Vikramāditya. Moreover, Govindapāda was the teacher of Ādi Śaṅkara (568-536 BCE).

### **Why Śaṅkara was called as “Ādi Śaṅkara”?**

The epithet “Ādi” clearly indicates that there were many Śaṅkarāchāryas and he was the earliest. Generally, it is believed that since four Mathas had

a succession of many Āchāryas. Therefore, Śaṅkara was referred to as Ādi Śaṅkara. First of all, the successors of the Mathas were never referred to in common name as Śaṅkarāchārya. In the inscriptions, they were generally referred to as “*Padavākyapramāṇajña Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakāchārya*”. In the last 100 or 200 years, we have started referring to them as Śaṅkarāchārya in general. Rāmānujāchārya and Mādhavāchārya also had many successors but we have never referred to them as Ādi Rāmānuja or Ādi Mādhava.

According to Kānchi records, there were five Śaṅkarāchāryas, namely, Ādi, Kṛpā, Ujjwala, Mūka and Abhinava. It is also recorded that Mūka Śaṅkara died in Śaka 359. Thus, most probably, there were five Śaṅkarāchāryas. Ādi Śaṅkara lived around 568 - 536 BCE. Ujjwala Śaṅkara was probably the Sankarāchārya II (44 BCE - 58 CE). Ātmabodha tells us that Mūka Śaṅkara died around Śakānta 359 (437 CE). It appears that the Śaṅkarāchārya of Kaliyuga 3501 (399 CE) mentioned in the treatise of Keralolpathi was Mūka Śaṅkara. Kṛpā Śaṅkara might have lived around 500 CE. In all probability, Abhinava Śaṅkara lived around 788-810 CE.

In view of the comprehensive and critical study of various evidences as attempted above, it can be concluded that there were mainly two Śaṅkarāchāryas. Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya was born on 6<sup>th</sup>/ 7<sup>th</sup> April 568 BCE and lived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE whereas Sankarāchārya II was born in 44 BCE and flourished around 44 BCE - 58 CE. Owing to the chronological error of 661 years, Indians mistakenly considered both Śaṅkarāchāryas as the same person during the medieval period. The authors of all available Śaṅkara Vijayas have committed this blunder and mixed up the biographical account of Ādi Śaṅkara and the Digvijaya account of Śaṅkarāchārya II. In reality, Ādi Śaṅkara lived for 32 years whereas Śaṅkarāchārya II lived for 102 years. Ādi Śaṅkara established two Sarvajña Pithas (Kānchi and Kashmir) and four Mathas whereas Śaṅkarāchārya II re-established four Mathas (Śrīṅgeri, Dwārakā, Puri and Jyotirmath). Ādi Śaṅkara attained mokṣa at Kānchipuram whereas Śaṅkarāchārya II attained mokṣa in a cave in Badrinath or Kedaranath.



# 15

## The Uttarāpatha Kingdoms

The region of Jambūdīvīpa (Indian peninsula) lying north of Narmada river or Māhiṣmatī city was generally called Uttarāpatha. Sanskrit poet Rājaśekhara divides the region of Uttarāpatha into three territories -- Paśchāddeśa, Uttarāpatha and Madhyadeśa.<sup>1</sup> The region lying west beyond Devasabhā (Udaipur) was called Paśchāddeśa. It consisted of the janapadas like Devasabhā, Surāshtra, Daśeraka, Travana, Bhrigukacṇa, Kacṇiya, Ānarta, Arbuda, Brāhmaṇavāha, and Yavana, etc. The region lying north of Prithūdaka (Pehowa in Haryana) was called Uttarāpatha. It consisted of the kingdoms like Śaka, Kekaya, Vokkāṇa, Hūṇa, Vānāyuja, Kāmboja, Bāhlika, Pahlava, Limpāka, Kulūta, Kīra, Tangana, Tuṣāra, Turuṣka, Barbara, Harahura, Huhuka, Sahuda, Hansamārga, Rāmaṭha and Karakanṭha, etc. Kuru, Pāñchāla, Matsya, Śūrasena, Avanti, Kānyakubja, Vatsa, Chedi, Kāśī, and Kosala, etc., were parts of Madhyadeśa.

The janapadas of Uttarāpatha mentioned by Rājaśekhara were part of the north and northwestern India beyond Haryana. We have already discussed the chronological history of Bāhlika and Gāndhāra mahājanapadas. The chronological history of Jammu & Kashmir, Uttarakhand, Sindhu and Sauvira will be discussed in upcoming chapters. Primarily, we will discuss the chronological history of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh starting from the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) in this chapter.

### The Mālavas

According to “Kālakācāryakathānaka” (a story of Kālakācārya), a Jain source, Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjain, abducted the sister of a Jain monk named Kālakācārya. The hapless Kālakācārya sought the aid of

the Śakas (Sagakula) who were the natives of Gāndhāra and Bāhlika. Numerous (around ninety-six) Śaka warriors accompanied Kālakācārya and crossed the Indus to Kathiawar and then, to Ujjain. They defeated Gardabhilla in 723 BCE and ruled Ujjain for four years. Vikramāditya I, son of Gardabhilla, drove them out of Ujjain and founded the Mālava kingdom and the epoch Kārttikādi Vikrama era in 719 BCE, an era that was earlier known as the Kṛta era or Mālava-gaṇa era. Vikramāditya I and his four successors ruled Ujjain for 135 years. The meteoric rise of King Śālivāhana (659-630 BCE) led to decline of the Mālava kingdom.

### **The Śakas**

Originally, the Śakas or Scythians belonged to the Valley of the Helmund River in Afghanistan as the region was called Śakasthāna (Seistān). The Śakas were possibly appointed as Kśatrapas and Mahākśatrapas during the reign of the Kuṣāṇa kings. The names of Mahākśatrapa Kharapallāna and Kśatrapa Vanashpara find mention in some inscriptions<sup>2</sup> found at Sāranāth, which are dated in the third regnal year of Kushana King Kanishka. Taking advantage of the weak Indian political conditions, the Śakas established their own kingdom in northwestern India. The Śaka Muruṇḍas also reigned in Northern India.

Seemingly, the Śaka Mahākśatrapas became the military officials of Indo-Parthian Kings of Takśāsilā during the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Some of these Śaka Kśatrapas accompanied Kālakācārya and founded their rule in Ujjain for only four years (723-719 BCE). Though King Vikramāditya I drove them away from Ujjain in 719 BCE, they settled in the neighbouring kingdoms of Saurashtra and Lāta. It appears that these Śakas supported King Śālivāhana (659-630 BCE) of Pratiṣṭhāna. The Śaka King Nahapāna of Kśaharāta dynasty reigned after Śālivāhana. Caṣṭana conquered Kathiawar and Ujjain after Nahapāna, who introduced a regnal reckoning in commemoration of his coronation in 583 BCE, which came to be known as the Śaka era.

It is well known that the Western kśatrapas of Ujjain were the earliest users of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Two inscriptions of Caṣṭana found in Kutch district are dated in Śaka 11 (572 BCE) and Śaka 6 (577 BCE). Four

Andhau inscriptions<sup>3</sup> of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman are dated on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna month in Śaka 52 (19<sup>th</sup> Feb 531 BCE) [*Rājño Caṣṭanasa Yaśomotika-putrasa rājño Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varṣe 50, 2 Phālguna-bahulasa dvitīyām va 2*]. *Yavanajātakam* refers to the 56<sup>th</sup> year (528-527 BCE) of the Śaka era.

Probably, Śakas called themselves Kśatrapa or Mahākśatrapa because these were the highest titles in their tradition. Indian society never accepted them as “Kśatriya”. Since these Western Kśatrapas of Ujjain were struggling to get social acceptance in India, they claimed themselves to be descendants of Rishi Kardamaka. The Western Kśatrapas of Ujjain ruled over 337 years. The inscriptions of these rulers are dated from Śaka 6 (577 BCE) to Śaka 203 (380 BCE) and their coins from Śaka 100 (483 BCE) to Śaka 337 (246 BCE).

The Junagarh inscription of Mahākśatrapa Rudradāman I (the grandson of Caṣṭana) is dated in Śaka 72 (511 BCE) [*Svāmi Caṣṭanasya putra....putrasya Rajño Mahākśatrapasya... Rudradāmno varṣe dvisaptatitame 70 2 Margaśīrṣa bahula prati..*].<sup>4</sup> The Gunda inscription of the time of Mahākśatrapa Rudrasimha I (the son of Rudradāman I) is dated in Śaka 103 (480 BCE) [*Rājño Mahākśatrapasya Svāmi-Caṣṭana-prapautrasya.....Jayadāma-pautrasya.... Rudradāma-putrasya rājño kśatrapasya Svāmi-Rudrasimhasya varṣe tryuttara-śate 100 3 Vaiśākha śuddhe Pañcami-dhatya-tithau Rohinī-nakśatre....*].<sup>5</sup> King Rudrasena I's Mulavasara stone inscription is dated in Śaka 122 (461 BCE) [*Rājño Mahākśatrapasya Svāmi Rudrasenasya varṣe 122 Vaiśākha bahula pañcamyām.....*].<sup>6</sup>

### The Chronology of the Western Kśatrapas:

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	In CE
Caṣṭana, the son of Yaśomotika	1-52	583-531 BCE
Jayadāman, the son of Caṣṭana	-	-
Rudradāman I, the son of Jayadāman	52-90	531-493 BCE
Damajadasri I	91-97	494-486 BCE
Jivadāman	97	486 BCE

Rudrasimha I	97-110	486-473 BCE
Isvaradatta	110-113	473-470 BCE
Rudrasimha I (restored)	113-119	470-464 BCE
Jivadaman (restored)	119-121	464-462 BCE
Rudrasena I	122-144	461-439 BCE
Saṅghadaman	144-145	439-438 BCE
Damasena	145-154	438-429 BCE
Damajadasri II (ruled along with Viradaman and Yaśodaman)	154-161	429-422 BCE
Viradaman	156-160	427-423 BCE
Yaśodaman	161	422 BCE
Vijayasena	161-172	422-411 BCE
Damajadasri III	173-177	410-406 BCE
Rudrasena II	177-199	406-384 BCE
Viśvasimha	199-204	384-379 BCE
Bharṭṛdaman	204-217	379-366 BCE
Viśvasena	215-226	368-357 BCE
<b><i>Family of Rudrasimha II</i></b>		
Rudrasimha II (ruled along with Yaśodaman II and Rudradaman II)	226-270	357-313 BCE
Yaśodaman II	239-254	344-329 BCE
Rudradaman II	254-270	329-313 BCE
Rudrasena III	270-302	313-281 BCE
Simhasena	302-304	281-279 BCE
Rudrasena IV	304-310	279-273 BCE
Rudrasimha III	310-337	273-246 BCE

### **The Puṣpabhūti Kings and Early Guptas**

The Kings of Puṣpabhūti dynasty flourished in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE and Sri Harsha was the most illustrious king of this dynasty. Probably, Puṣpabhūti was the progenitor of this dynasty as mentioned in the *Harshacharitam* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. According to the genealogy given in three grants of Sri Harsha,<sup>7</sup> Naravardhana was the earliest known king of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty who was succeeded by his son Rājyavardhana I and subsequently by his grandson Ādityavardhana. Prabhākaravardhana, the son of Ādityavardhana, had two sons, Rājyavardhana II and Sri Harsha



and one daughter, Rājyaśri. Sri Harsha ascended the throne in 457 BCE and founded the epoch of Sri Harsha era (457 BCE).

### The Chronology of the Puṣpabhūti Dynasty:

	<i>In CE</i>
1. Naravardhana	590-560 BCE
2. Rājyavardhana I	560-540 BCE
3. Ādityavardhana	540-520 BCE
4. Prabhākaravardhana	520-470 BCE
5. Rājyavardhana II	470-458 BCE
6. Sri Harsha or Harshavardhana	457-406 BCE

Prabhākaravardhana was the first sovereign king of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty as he was referred to as “Mahārājādhirāja” in the inscriptions. He defeated the Hūṇas, the kings of Sindh, Gāndhāra, Gurjara, Lāṭa and Mālava as mentioned in *Harshacharitam*. His capital was Sthāṇvīśvara or Thanesar located in Kurukṣetra district of Haryana. It seems that the Puṣpabhūtis had family relations with the early Guptas. Mahāsenaguptadevi, the mother of Prabhākaravardhana, was the daughter of Gupta king Mahāsenagupta (*Mahāsenaguptadevyāmutpannaḥ*).<sup>8</sup> Later, Mahāsenagupta also sent his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to live as companions to the Puṣpabhūti princes. Historians wrongly called the early Guptas as the later Guptas; in reality, their period was prior to the rise of the Imperial Guptas. Therefore, the Guptas, who were the contemporaries of Puṣpabhūti dynasty must be referred to as the Early Guptas. The Apsad inscription of the Gupta king Ādityasena, the son of Mādhavagupta, is dated in Sri Harsha era 66 (391 CE).<sup>9</sup>

### The Chronology of the Early Guptas (Later Guptas?):

	<i>In CE</i>
Krishnagupta	630-610 BCE
Harshagupta	610-590 BCE
Jīvitagupta I	590-570 BCE
Kumāragupta	570-550 BCE
Dāmodaragupta	550-530 BCE
Mahāsenagupta	530-480 BCE
Mādhavagupta	480-440 BCE
Ādityasena	440-390 BCE

Devagupta	390-360 BCE
Vishṇugupta	360-330 BCE
Jivitagupta II	330-300 BCE

According to the *Harshacharitam* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Prabhākara-wardhana married off his daughter Rājyaśri to Grahavarman, the son of Avantivarman of Maukhari family of Kānyakubja. Thus, Maukhari kings became the allies of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. A Mālava king had slain Grahavarman and imprisoned Rājyaśri in Kanauj. His elder brother Rājyavardhana succeeded in defeating the Mālava king named Devagupta but was probably killed by the king of Gauḍa. It appears that he was treacherously killed in the camp of enemies as recorded in the inscriptions of Sri Harsha (*rājāno yudhi duṣṭavājina iva Śri-Devaguptādayaḥ.....Prāṇānujjhitavānrāti-bhavane satyānurodhena yaḥ*). Certainly, Devagupta cannot be linked to the Mahāsenagupta and Ādityasena family of the early Guptas because they and Maukharis had family relations with Puṣpabhūtis.

Historians mistakenly identified the Gauḍa king to be King Śaśāṅka. The Ganjam plates<sup>10</sup> of Śaśāṅka are dated in 34-33 BCE (Gupta era 300) considering the epoch of Gupta era in 334 BCE. Therefore, King Śaśāṅka of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE cannot be the contemporary of Rājyavardhana. Some sources even pointed out that there is no record of a battle between Rājyavardhana and Śaśāṅka and that the latter took care to avoid a fight with the Puṣpabhūti king after the defeat of the Mālava ruler at his hands.<sup>11</sup> *Harshacharitam* tells us that the Mālava king and the Gauḍa king joined hands to fight against Rājyavardhana. The Mālava king is named as Devagupta in inscriptions. One manuscript of the *Harshacharitam* names the Gauḍa king as Narendragupta.<sup>12</sup> Seemingly, Narendragupta belonged the Chandra dynasty of Aparāntaka kingdom. The Mahāyāna Buddhist text *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions that a certain king “*Rakārādyotayuktātmā*” ruled the “*Madhyadeśa*” and his younger brother “*Hakārākhyā*” also became the king who defeated “*Somākhyā*”.<sup>13</sup> Historians speculated that *Rakārādyotayuktātmā* means Rājyavardhana, *Hakārākhyā* means Harsha and *Somākhyā* means Śaśāṅka. *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* tells us that *Rakārādyotayuktātmā* became the king of *Madhyadeśa*. He was in conflict with the Mālava king Devagupta. Thus, Śaśāṅka of the

Ganjam grant cannot be the Gauḍa king mentioned in *Harshacharitam*. Most probably the Gauḍa king was Narendragupta as recorded in one manuscript of *Harshacharitam*. In all probability, *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* refers to the Gauḍa king of Chandra dynasty as “*Somākhyā*”.

Sri Harsha marched with a strong army to avenge the death of Rājyavardhana and destroyed the Gauḍa king. Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa also became the ally of Sri Harsha. Bhāskaravarman was the most illustrious king of Assam and belonged to the Bhagadatta and Puṣyavarman dynasty. The Apsad inscription of Ādityasena tells us that Mahāsenagupta defeated Susthitavarman, the father of Bhāskaravarman. According to the Nidhanpur copper plates,<sup>14</sup> it is said that the kings of the dynasty of Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta and their descendants ruled for 3000 years. Thereafter, Puṣyavarman ascended the throne around 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Thus, Bhāskaravarman can be dated around 460-420 BCE.

It seems that Sri Harsha also conquered Nepal. We learn from the *Harshacharitam* of Bāṇa that Sri Harsha collected tax from a land of snowy mountains (*atra paramēśvareṇa tuṣāraśailabhuvo durgāyā grhītaḥ karaḥ*).<sup>15</sup> Some inscriptions of the Licchavi dynasty of ancient Nepal are dated in the Sri Harsha era. Sri Harsha conquered Nepal during the reign of Śivadeva I and introduced his era in Nepal. The earliest kings of the Licchavi dynasty used an era having the epoch in the 966-965 BCE. Historians assumed this unknown era to be the Śaka era. It is evident that the Licchavi kings followed the Kārttikādi calendar in their inscriptions whereas the Chaitrādi calendar is used in the Śaka era. The inscriptions of Licchavis indicate the practice of intercalation of only two months, i.e., Pauṣa and Āṣāḍha. The Pauṣa-Āṣāḍha intercalation was first adopted in Lagadha's *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*. There is no evidence to prove such intercalation in the calendar of the Śaka era.

According to the Paṣupati stele inscription<sup>16</sup> of Jayadeva II dated in Sri Harsha era 157 (300 BCE), Jayadeva I was the founder of the Licchavi dynasty and 11 kings ruled after him. Thereafter, Vṛṣadeva, his son Śankaradeva and his grandson Dharmadeva, ascended the throne. Mānadeva was the 16<sup>th</sup> king and his earliest inscription<sup>17</sup> is dated in an unknown (Licchavi) era 386 (580 BCE) and the date corresponds regularly to 16<sup>th</sup> Apr 580 BCE (*Samvat 300 80 6 Jyeṣṭhamāse śuklapakṣe pratipadi*

*Rohiṇī-nakṣatre candramasi muhūrte praśaste'bhijiti....*). Jayadeva I may have founded this unknown era or Licchavi era in 966-965 BCE.

The Paṣupati inscription of Jayadeva II tells us that Śivadeva II married Vatsadevi, the daughter of Maukhari king Bhogavarma and the maternal granddaughter of Magadha king Ādityasena (*Śri Bhogavarmodbhavā, Dauhitrī Magadhādhīpasya mahataḥśryādityasenasya yā vyūdhā....*).<sup>18</sup> Ādityasena belonged to Mālava Gupta family and his Apsad inscription is dated in Sri Harsha era 66 (391 BCE).<sup>19</sup> Śivadeva II's son Jayadeva II married Rājyamatī, the daughter of Sri Harshadeva, the king of Gauḍa, Oudra, Kaliṅga and Kosala and the descendant of the Bhagadatta royal dynasty (*Gauḍoḍrādi-Kaliṅga-Kosala-pati Śri-Harshadevātmajāl Devi Rājyamati kulocitagunair yuktā prabhūtā kulair yenodhā Bhagadattarājakulajā lakṣmīriva kṣmābhujā*). Harshadeva was the descendant of the same lineage of Bhāskaravarman and probably was the grandson of Bhāskaravarman.

It is also widely believed by historians that the famous Sanskrit poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa was the court poet of Sri Harsha and that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India during the reign of Sri Harsha. Interestingly, Bāṇabhaṭṭa mentions *Brhatkathā* of Guṇādhyā, *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla Śātavāhana, *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, *Setubandha* of Pravarasena, Harichandra, Bhāsa and Kālidāsa.<sup>20</sup> Vākātaka King Pravarasena was the son of Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. He reigned around 210-180 BCE. Kālidāsa flourished in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE during the reign of Vikramāditya II. Thus, the date of Bāṇabhaṭṭa cannot be fixed prior to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Therefore, he cannot be a contemporary of King Sri Harsha of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Historians misunderstood the second chapter "*Rājadarśana*" of *Harshacharitam* in which Bāṇabhaṭṭa narrates his meeting with the King Sri Harsha. Bāṇabhaṭṭa tells us that he was invited by Krishna, the brother of King Sri Harsha (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śri-Harshasya bhrātrā Kṛṣṇanāmnā....*).<sup>21</sup> He crossed the Gaṅgā River and reached the capital city named Upamaṇipura where the royal palace was situated (*anyasmin dine skandhāvāramupamaṇipuram anvajiravati kṛtasanniveśam samāśasāda, [Upamaṇipuram nagara nāma]*).<sup>22</sup> But Sri Harsha's brother was Rājyavardhana, not Krishna and his capital was Sthāṇvīśvara or Kānyakubja, not Upamaṇipura. It is evident that

Bāṇabhaṭṭa met a later king Sri Harsha of Upamaṇipura and not Sri Harsha of Sthāṇvīśvara or Kānyakubja.

In all likelihood, Bāṇabhaṭṭa lived around 40 BCE-40 CE. He became the court poet of Sri Harsha, a later descendant of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. Seemingly, the kings of Upamaṇipura had the title of Sri Harsha. One Sri Harsha was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga [78-93 CE] (*Kāñchīśa-Kerala-narādhipa-Chola-Pāṇḍya Sri Harsha-Vajraṭa-vibheda-vidhāna-dakśam*).<sup>23</sup> Bāṇabhaṭṭa narrates the entire story of *Harshacharitam* as it happened in the remote past. Thus, he cannot be a contemporary of Sri Harsha of Sthāṇvīśvara.

According to Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Sri Harsha annexed the kingdom of Sindh (*atra puruṣottamena Sindhurājam pramathya lakṣmīrātmīyā kṛtā*). Sri Harsha established a vast empire that included Nepal and Kāmarūpa in the east to Sindh in the west. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India around 31-15 BCE whereas Sri Harsha ruled in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, more than 400 years before him. Thus, Hiuen Tsang can be a contemporary of a later king named Sri Harsha. Western historians and their followers completely distorted the historical account given by Hiuen Tsang because they believed that Sri Harsha flourished in the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE.

The inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas claim that Pulakeśin II defeated Harsha or Harshavardhana and acquired the title of Parameśvara. The Kurtakoti grant dated in Śaka 530 (53 BCE) has the earliest reference to the defeat of Harshavardhana, the king of Uttarāpatha (*Śakalottarāpatheśvara Śri Harshavardhana parājayopalabdha Parameśvara parama nāmadheyasya*).<sup>24</sup> Western historians assumed the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE) as identical. Historians wrongly fixed the date of Pulakeśin II and Sri Harsha in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and believed that Pulakeśin II defeated Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. Pulakeśin II flourished in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE whereas Sri Harsha flourished in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Thus, both cannot be contemporaries.

If, for the argument's sake, we assume that Pulakeśin II was ruling in the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE, he must have defeated Sri Harsha at a date earlier than that of Śakānta 530 (608 CE). According to JF Fleet, Hiuen Tsang visited the court of Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-ha or Harshavardhana, otherwise

called Shi-lo-o'-t'ie-to or Śīlāditya and apparently visited a capital of the kingdom of Mo-ho-la-ch'a or Maharashtra, the king of which was named Pu-lo-ki-she or Pulakeśin II.<sup>25</sup> Since Hiuen Tsang sojourned in India from 629 CE to 645 CE, JF Fleet argued that the date of the defeat of Harshavardhana cannot be earlier than 630 CE. Fleet was so obsessed with his distorted chronology of India that he even declared the Kurtakoti grant as spurious to promote his concocted theory. Since historians believed that Hiuen Tsang was a contemporary of Pulakeśin II and Sri Harsha, they made wild speculations from the historical account of Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang tells us that the king lived in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon, which is absolutely incorrect with reference to Sri Harsha. The so-called king Śīlāditya referred to by Hiuen Tsang cannot be Sri Harsha of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty.

Now the question is who was Harsha or Harshavardhana, the contemporary of Pulakeśin II? In all likelihood, he was either Vikramāditya II of Ujjain, the so-called founder of the Vikrama era in 57 BCE and also known as Harsha. Harsha was referred to in the Kurtakoti grant of the early Chālukyas as the king of Uttarāpatha. According to Kālidāsa's *Jyotirvidābharaṇam*, Vikramāditya conquered Draviḍa, Lāṭa, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Gurjara, Dhārā and Kāmbhoja. Undoubtedly, Harsha Vikramāditya II of Ujjain was a contemporary of the early Chālukya Pulakeśin II. Seemingly, the Harsha or Harshavardhana mentioned in the early Chālukya grants was Harsha Vikramāditya II of Ujjain and the war between Harsha and Pulakeśin II occurred at a date earlier than 53 BCE. Harsha Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa as his emissary to the court of Kuntaleśvara, i.e., Pulakeśin II after his defeat; Kālidāsa beautifully narrates his experience as an emissary in his work "*Kuntaleśvaradautyam*" which is unfortunately now lost.

The Navasari grant of Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa II dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 456 (53 CE) tells us that Dadda I had protected the Valabhi ruler who had been overpowered by the king Harshadeva (*Sri-Harshadevābhībhūta-Valabhīpati-trāṇopārjjita.....*).<sup>26</sup> It may be noted that while the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 402 BCE, historians wrongly concluded that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced around 249 CE. The only inscription of Jayabhaṭa I, the son of Dadda I, is dated in

Kalachuri-Chedi era 355 (47 BCE)<sup>27</sup> and the earliest inscription of Dadda II, the son of Jayabhāṭa I is dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 380 (22 BCE).<sup>28</sup> Harshadeva or Harsha Vikramāditya must have defeated the Valabhi ruler at a date prior to 47 BCE. Probably, the Valabhi ruler was either the Maitraka king Dharasena II who ruled around 83-60 BCE or the Maitraka king Śīlāditya I, who ruled around 60-40 BCE. If the Kalachuri-Chedi era had commenced in 249 CE, the date of the inscription of Jayabhāṭa I works out to be 604 CE, which means Harshadeva defeated the Valabhi ruler at a date earlier than 604 CE. Colonial historians distorted these facts and concocted that it was Dadda II and not Dadda I, who protected the Valabhi ruler. The inscription of Jayabhāṭa II unambiguously tells us that it was Dadda I, not Dadda II, who protected the Valabhi ruler. Historians again concocted that Jayabhāṭa II of the Navasāri grant was actually Jayabhāṭa III and that he had not mentioned the names of Dadda I and Jayabhāṭa I (the names of these two fictitious kings were concocted by eminent historians) in his genealogy. Thus, eminent historians converted Dadda I to Dadda II, Dadda II to Dadda III, Jayabhāṭa II to Jayabhāṭa III and Jayabhāṭa III to Jayabhāṭa IV by creating two more fictitious kings in their genealogy as these concoctions were absolutely necessary to prove that Sri Harsha flourished after 606 CE.

Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty lived in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE and he cannot be a contemporary of Gurjara king Dadda I and the early Chālukya king Pulakeśin II. It appears probable enough that it was Harsha Vikramāditya, who defeated the Valabhi king at a date earlier than 48 BCE. Seemingly, Dadda I could provide protection to the Valabhi king Dharasena II or Śīlāditya I because Harsha Vikramāditya immediately engaged in the conflict with Pulakeśin II and suffered defeat. More precisely, these events occurred at a date earlier than 53 BCE because the Kurtakoti grant of 53 BCE records the victory of Pulakeśin II over Harshavardhana. Thus, Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain or Sri Harsha of Upamañipura were the contemporaries of Pulakeśin II and not Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty.

Historians also claimed that the Ahar<sup>29</sup> and Peheva inscriptions<sup>30</sup> of Pratiḥāra Bhojadeva are dated in the Sri Harsha era. The calendar used in these inscriptions is the Chaitrādi whereas Sri Harsha era followed the

Kārttikādi calendar. The Anantaliṅgeśvara inscription<sup>31</sup> of the Licchavi king Narendradeva dated in Sri Harsha era clearly indicates that the calendar of Sri Harsha era was Kārttikādi. Therefore, it is incorrect to say that the Pratihāra king Bhojadeva used the Sri Harsha era in his inscriptions. Actually, Bhojadeva used two eras, i.e., the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Thus, the Ahar and Peheva inscriptions are dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and not in the Sri Harsha era (457 BCE).

### **The Maukharis**

The Maukhari was one of the oldest Kśatriya dynasties of North India. Seemingly, Mukhara was the progenitor of the Maukharis. Later Sanskrit grammarians like Vāmana, Jayāditya and Kaiyaṭa have mentioned “*Maukharya*” as an example of “*gotrāvayava*”.<sup>32</sup> This indicates that the Maukhari dynasty is derived from one of the ancient gotras. The Haraha inscription<sup>33</sup> claims that the Maukharis are descendants of the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati got as a boon from Vaivasvata (*Sutaśatam lebhe nṛpo’śvapatir Vaivasatād.....*). According to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Chāndogyopaniṣad, Aśvapati was a king of Kekaya kingdom during the Rigvedic era.

The Barabar<sup>34</sup> and Nagarjuni hill<sup>35</sup> inscriptions tell us that The Maukharis were reigning in the Gayā region of Magadha as chief feudatories (*Sāmanta-cūḍāmaṇi*). These inscriptions refer to one Maukhari chief Anantavarman, the son of Śārdūlavarman and the grandson of Yajñavarman. Unfortunately, these inscriptions are not dated. It is quite likely that Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman and Anantavarman reigned in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Historians wrongly assumed that they were feudatories of the imperial Guptas. Three Yupa inscriptions<sup>36</sup> found in Kota, Rajasthan, are the earliest inscriptions of the Maukharis that are dated in the Kṛta or Kārttikādi Vikrama Samvat 295 (424-423 BCE). These Yūpas were installed by the three sons (Balavardhana, Somadeva and Balasimha) of Mahā-Senāpati Maukhari Bala on the 5<sup>th</sup> *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month, i.e., 26<sup>th</sup> Jan 423 BCE.

According to the *Harshacharitam* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the Maukhari prince Grahavarman, the son of Avantivarman, married Rājyaśrī, the



daughter of Prabhākaravardhana of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty and the sister of the illustrious king Sri Harsha. It is established that Sri Harsha founded an era in 457 BCE. Undoubtedly, the marriage of Grahavarman and Rājyaśrī took place prior to 457 BCE.

The Maukhari kings Avantivarman and Grahavarman were in all probability the descendants of the Maukharis of the Gaya region. Historians concocted the fable that Grahavarman was the grandson of Śārvavarman but the Nalanda seal<sup>37</sup> clearly tells us that the name of Śārvavarman's grandson must start with "Sucha" or "Su".<sup>38</sup> Thus, Grahavarman was not the grandson of Śārvavarman. Therefore, Śārvavarman's son Avantivarman and Grahavarman's father Avantivarman cannot be the same personage. Moreover, as Śārvavarman was the brother of Sūryavarman and the Haraha inscription of Sūryavarman is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 611 (108-107 BCE), it follows that Grahavarman's father Avantivarman flourished around 400 years before Śārvavarman's son Avantivarman.

According to the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Suvra was the successor of Graha. Suvra was probably, the son of Grahavarman. One ancient Nepali inscription, i.e., the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva<sup>39</sup> tells us that the Licchavi king Śivadeva married the daughter of Bhogavarman, the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari dynasty. This Nepali inscription is dated in Sri Harsha era 157 (300 BCE). Bhogavarman was probably the grandson of Grahavarman; he married the daughter of Ādityasena whose Shahpur inscription<sup>40</sup> is dated in Sri Harsha era 66 (391-390 BCE).

The Haraha stone inscription<sup>41</sup> of Sūryavarman and the Asirgarh copper seal of Śārvavarman<sup>42</sup> give the genealogy of the Maukhari dynasty starting from Mahārāja Harivarman but the Shankarpur grant of Mahārāja Harivarman<sup>43</sup> gives the genealogy starting from Mahārāja Sālanaka and also tells us that Mahārāja Harivarman was a feudatory of the Gupta king Budhagupta. Harivarman, Ādityavarman and Íśvaravarman were feudatories of the Gupta kings and were ruling at Kānyakubja (Kanauj). Taking advantage of the decline of the Gupta Empire, Íśvaravarman's son Íśānavarman established the Maukhari Kingdom by defeating the Āndhras,

the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas and became Mahārājādhirāja. According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, Kumāragupta II defeated Iśānavarman but he could not re-establish the authority of the Guptas over the Maukharis. Iśānavarman successfully established himself as Mahārājādhirāja. He had two sons, Sūryavarman and Śarvavarman. Sūryavarman renovated a Śiva temple and recorded it in the Haraha stone inscription dated in Kṛta era 611 (108-107 BCE) during the reign of his father Iśānavarman. Śarvavarman, Ādityavarman and Suchandravarman were the successors of Iśānavarman.

The Mālava Gupta king Ādityasena records in his Apsad stone inscription<sup>44</sup> that his great-grandfather Kumāragupta defeated the Maukhari king Iśānavarman and that Dāmodaragupta also defeated a Maukhari king. Historians mistakenly identified Iśānavarman of the Apsad inscription with the Iśānavarman of Haraha inscription and referred to the Mālava Guptas as “Later Guptas”. The Shahpur inscription of Ādityasena is dated in Sri Harsha era 66 (391-390 BCE). It may be noted that the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. Therefore, Iśānavarman of the Apsad inscription was the earlier Maukhari king, who lived before the Iśānavarman of the Haraha inscription. Therefore, the Mālava Gupta kings must be called the Early Guptas instead of the Later Guptas. The Kadamba king Kākusthavarman married off his daughter to the Mālava Guptas and not the Imperial Guptas as erroneously concluded by historians. The chronology of the Maukharis can be re-constructed based on the above cited facts.

### **Maukhari kings, the contemporaries of the early Guptas and Sri Harsha:**

	<i>In CE</i>
Yajñavarman	620-600 BCE
Śārdūlavarman	600-570 BCE
Anantavarman	570-550 BCE
Iśānavarman (Iśānavarman I)	550-510 BCE
Avantivarman	510-475 BCE
Grahavarman	475-460 BCE
Suvra or Suvratavarman	460-410 BCE
Bhogavarman	410-370 BCE

**Maukhari kings, the contemporaries of the Imperial Guptas:**

	<i>In CE</i>
Sālanaka	260-235 BCE
Gītarman	235-210 BCE
Vijayarman	210-185 BCE
Harivarman	185-165 BCE
Ādityavarman	165-155 BCE
Íśvaravarman	155-130 BCE
Íśānavarman (Íśānavarman II)	130-100 BCE
Sūryavarman	100-80 BCE
Śarvarman	90-70 BCE
Ādityavarman	70-50 BCE
Su or Suchandrarman	50-30 BCE

**The Pānduvarṁśis**

The Pānduvarṁśi kings were ruling in the Dakṣiṇa Kosala region (Bilaspur, Raipur, Mahāsamand, and Gariaband districts of Chattisgarh and Sambalpur of Orissa) around the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Sirpur was the capital city of this dynasty. The Sirpur stone inscription<sup>45</sup> tells us that the Maukhari king Sūryavarman was the maternal grandfather of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna who ruled Magadha around 100-80 BCE. Seemingly, Maukhari Kings reigned over Magadha after the decline of Imperial Guptas. Tīvaradeva was the grandfather of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. The Rajim and Baloda grants of Tīvaradeva<sup>46</sup> used the box-headed script, which was in use in Central India during the Vākāṭaka period. Tīvaradeva was the son of king Nannadeva, the grandson of king Indrabala and the great-grandson of king Udayana.

Nannadeva had two sons, Tīvaradeva and Chandragupta. Harshagupta was the son of Chandragupta and married Vāsātā, the daughter of Maukhari king Sūryavarman. Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, the son of Harshagupta and Vāsātā, had a long reign of 57 years.

	<i>In CE</i>
Indrabala	160-140 BCE
Nannadeva	140-120 BCE
Tīvaradeva	120-100 BCE

Chandragupta	100-80 BCE
Harshagupta	80-55 BCE
Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna	55 BCE - 2 CE

Ajay Mitra Sastry argued<sup>47</sup> that the Sūryavarman mentioned in the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna was not the Maukhari king because the Maukharis never ruled over Magadha as their territorial possessions were confined to Uttara Pradesh. He also opined that Iśānavarman's victory over the Gauḍas was just a raid. According to the Haraha inscription, Iśānavarman established a strong Maukhari kingdom by defeating the Āndhras and the Gauḍas, which would not have been possible without taking over Magadha. The Gupta Empire ended by the time of Sūryavarman. Undoubtedly, Sūryavarman consolidated the Maukhari kingdom in Magadha following the footsteps of his father. It is also possible that his brother Śarvarman was ruling at Kanauj whereas Sūryavarman was ruling at Magadha after the death of their father Iśānavarman. Thus, the Sūryavarman mentioned in the Sirpur inscription was undoubtedly the Maukhari king. Interestingly, Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna mentions his maternal uncle Bhāskaravarman, who was probably the son of Sūryavarman.

### **The Aulikaras**

The Aulikaras ruled over the western Mālava region of Madhya Pradesh and Mandasor or Dāsapura was their capital. The Aulikara kings used the Mālava-gaṇa era in their inscriptions. The Mālava-gaṇa era was also known as the Kṛta era. Thus, the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) was used by the Aulikaras. Initially, the Aulikaras were the feudatories of the Imperial Gupta kings but later, became independent rulers. The first family of the Aulikaras ruled around Mālava-gaṇa era 430-510 (289-209 BCE). The Mandasor inscription of Naravarman is dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 461 (258 BCE) and the Gangadhar inscription of Viśvarman<sup>48</sup> is dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 481 (238 BCE). Bandhuvarman mentions Gupta King Kumāragupta I in his Mandasor inscription<sup>49</sup> dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 493 (226 BCE).

**The chronology of the first family of the Aulikaras:**

	<i>Mālava-gaṇa era</i>	
	<i>(719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Jayavarman	430-445	289-274 BCE
Siṃhavarman	445-460	274-259 BCE
Naravarman	460-480	259-239 BCE
Viśvarman	480-492	239-227 BCE

One Mandasor inscription<sup>50</sup> dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 524 (195 BCE) tells us that King Prabhākara, a Gupta feudatory, was ruling at Dāsapura. A statement by Vatsabhaṭṭi at the end of the inscription of Bandhuvarman talks about the renovation of the Sun temple built by Bandhuvarman. Vatsabhaṭṭi records the year of renovation as 529 without referring to the name of the era but based on his statement [“when a considerably long time has passed away and some other kings also passed away”], it is not possible to justify the year 529 in the Mālava-gaṇa era. It is entirely probable that he was referring to the Śaka era that commenced in 583 BCE.

The second family of the Aulikaras emerged around Mālava-gaṇa era 550 (169 BCE) and ruled over Mālava as independent rulers. A stone slab inscription<sup>51</sup> of Prakāśadharman is dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 572 (147 BCE) and two Mandasor inscriptions<sup>52</sup> of Yaśodharman are dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 589 (130 BCE). Yaśodharman was the most prominent king of this family.

**The chronology of the second family of the Aulikaras:**

	<i>Mālava-gaṇa era</i>	
	<i>(719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Drumavardhana	—	—
Jayavardhana	—	—
Ajitavardhana	—	—
Vibhiṣaṇavardhana	—	—
Rājyavardhana	—	—
Prakāśadharma	550-575	169-144 BCE
Yaśodharma	575-600	144-119 BCE

**Yaśovarman of Kanauj**

The Nalanda stone inscription<sup>53</sup> of the time of Yaśovarman has records

that Mālada, the son of a minister of King Yaśovarmadeva, donated certain gifts to the temple that King Bālāditya erected at Nalanda in honour of the son of Śuddhodana, i.e., the Buddha. Unfortunately, this inscription is not dated. “*Gauḍavaho*”, a poetry written in Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit by Vākpati and Jain works like *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara Sūri and *Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri Caritam* of Māṇikyā Sūri are the main sources for the history of the reign of Yaśovarman. *Prabhāvaka-Caritam* of Prabhāchandra Sūri, *Vicārasāra-Prakaraṇa* of Pradyumna Sūri and a *Paṭṭāvali* by Ravivardhana Gaṇi also tell us about Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri, a Jain scholar who was the junior contemporary of Vākpati.

According to the *Gauḍavaho*, Yaśovarman was ruling at Kanauj; he conquered Magadha, Vaṅga and Gauḍa and also defeated the Pārasīkas. The killing of the king of Gauḍa by Yaśovarman is the title story of the Prakrit poetry “*Gauḍavaho*”. He probably became the most powerful king of North India. As recorded in Jain sources, Yaśovarman’s son Āmarāja became the king of Kanauj in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 811 (91-92 CE). Yaśovarman had quite likely died by then. Thus, the rule of Yaśovarman can be fixed around 30-91 CE. Vākpati, the author of “*Gauḍavaho*”, was in the court of Yaśovarman and the famous Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti was his senior contemporary. Kalhaṇa states in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that Bhavabhūti and Vākpati were in the court of Yaśovarman (*Kavi-Vākpatirāja-Śri-Bhavabhūtyādibhiḥ sevitaḥ..... Yaśovarmā*).<sup>54</sup> Therefore, Bhavabhūti and Vākpati flourished in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.

According to Jain Sources, Yaśovarman invaded and killed the Gauḍa king Dharma and imprisoned his court poet Vākpati. Vākpati wrote “*Gauḍavaho*” during his confinement to please king Yaśovarman and thus became his court poet. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa mentions a war between the Kashmir King Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman. They entered into a peace treaty but Lalitāditya’s minister Mitraśarman opposed it. Later, Lalitāditya defeated Yaśovarman comprehensively. Thus, the time of Lalitāditya can be fixed around the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. We will discuss the chronology of the kings of Kashmir given by Kalhaṇa in Chapter 19.

According to Jain sources, Āmarāja was the son and successor of Yaśovarman. Āmarāja became the Yuvarāja of Kanauj in Saṃvat 807 (87-88 CE) and the king in Saṃvat 811 (91-92 CE). The era mentioned

in the Jain sources was the Kārttikādi Vikrama era that commenced in 719-718 CE. Interestingly, the renowned Jain scholar Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri was educated by Siddhasena, who happened to be the teacher of Yaśovarman's son Āmarāja. Thus, Bappabhaṭṭi was not only the classmate of Āmarāja but also became his teacher. Therefore, Jain sources referred to Bappabhaṭṭi as “Āmarājaguru”, “Āmarāja-pratibodhakaḥ” etc.

The *Vicārasāra Prakaraṇa* of Pradyumna Sūri tells us that Harisūri was born one thousand fifty five years after the nirvāṇa of Mahāvira and Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri was born around 1300 years after the nirvāṇa of Mahāvira.<sup>55</sup> As discussed earlier, Mahāvira attained Nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE. According to *Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri Caritam*, *Prabandhakośa* and the *Paṭṭāvali* of Ravivardhana Gaṇi, Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri was born in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 800 (80-81 CE) and died in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 895 (175-176 CE). The time of Bappabhaṭṭi can be fixed around Mahāvira-nirvāṇa Saṃvat 1269 to 1364, which validates the statement of Pradyumna Sūri that Bappabhaṭṭi flourished around 1300 years after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa. Bappabhaṭṭi was born on the 3<sup>rd</sup> *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month and in Hasta nakṣatra. The date corresponds regularly to 6<sup>th</sup> Aug 80 CE.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, Yaśovarman flourished around 30-91 CE and not in the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE as concluded by the eminent historians.

According to *the Chacha-Nāmā*,<sup>57</sup> Rai Harachandra, the son of Jahtal, was ruling at Kanauj during the time of Muhammad bin Kasim (30-50 CE). We will discuss the true chronology of Muslim rulers in India in Chapter 17. Kasim sent his emissary to Kanauj and coerced Harachandra to acknowledge his suzerainty and embrace Islam. But Harachandra replied, “This country (of Kanauj) for about one thousand and six hundred years has been under our rule. During our sovereignty no enemy has ever dared to encroach on our boundary. Now go back to your master and tell him that we are ready for war.” The generals of Kasim urged him to declare war but Kasim died before any such war could take place. According to the *Chachanāmā*, Kasim killed the Hindu king Dāhir and annexed Sindh and Multan. He sent the daughters of King Dāhir as presents to the Khalifa. The daughters of king Dāhir tricked the Khalifa into believing that Kasim had already violated them. The furious Khalifa ordered Kasim to be stitched in ox hides, which resulted in his death.

In all likelihood, King Harachandra of Kanauj mentioned in *Chachanāmā* was indeed Yaśovarman. According to legends, King Yaśovarman constructed a temple at Harischandranagari. Vākpati's Gaudavaho tells us that Yaśovarman defeated Parasikas in the west. Seemingly, Yaśovarman belonged to the Maukhari lineage of King Harischandra and had a title of "Harischandra". Thus, Yaśovarman was the contemporary of Mohammad bin Kasim. Chacha-Nāmā also tells us that a king named Siharasa (Sri Harsha of Upamañipura, contemporary of Banabhatta), the son of Rasal, was ruling in Kanauj during the reign of Chandara, the king of Sind. The Rai dynasty was supplanted by a Brahmana minister Chacha in Sind. Chandara, the brother of Chacha, succeeded him. King Dāhir was the son of the Brāhmaṇa king Chacha.

According to the Early Chālukya (Malayur and Nerur) grants<sup>58</sup> dated in Śaka 622 (39 CE), Vinayāditya (19-35 CE) defeated the king of the whole of North India (*Śakalottarāpatha-nātha-mathanopārjjitorjjita-pālidhvajādi-samsta-paramaiśvarya-cihnasya*). Vijayāditya (36-72 CE) also defeated the king of North India and despite being captured by the retreating enemies, he managed to re-establish his authority (*Gaṅgā-Yamunā-Pālidhvaja-pada-dhakka-mahāśabda-cihnaka-manikya-mataṅgajādin pitrisat kurvan paraiḥ palāyamānairāsādyā kathamapi vidhivaśādapanitopi pratāpād....*). It appears that the ruler of North India defeated by Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya was King Yaśovarman of Kanauj.

### **The Pratīhāras**

The Pratīhāras trace their origin from Lakśmaṇa who acted as the "Pratīhāra" (Door-keeper) of his elder brother Rāma during his fight with Meghanāda. According to Puranic tradition, Kāmadhenu of Rishi Vasiṣṭha was forcibly taken away by Viśvāmitra. Rishi Vasiṣṭha performed a Yajña in "Agnikunḍa" at Mount Arbuda (Abu). Four Agnivamśas or Brāhmaṇa-Kśatriya dynasties, i.e., Pratīhāra, Paramāra, Chaulukya and Chāhamāna were born out of the Agnikunḍa.

The Pratīhāras occupied Avanti and established their kingdom at Ujjain in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Pratīhāras used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) in their inscriptions. Nāgabhaṭa I established his kingdom by defeating Valacha, the Mlecchā king and became the first Pratīhāra



king of Ujjain. He also conquered the invincible Gurjaras. The Rāṣṭrakūta king Dantidurga probably defeated Nāgabhaṭa I around 87-92 CE.

*Hiraṇyagarbham rājanyair Ujjayinyām yadāsthitam |  
Pratīhārī-kṛtam yena Gurjareśādi-rājakam ||*<sup>59</sup>

According to the Gwalior praśasti<sup>60</sup> of Mihira-Bhoja, Kākustha or Kakkuka succeeded Nāgabhaṭa I. He was the son of the brother of Nāgabhaṭa I. Kākustha's younger brother Devarāja succeeded him. Devarāja's son Vatsarāja was the famous Pratīhāra king, who forcibly wrested the empire from the Bhāṇḍi clan. Udyotana Sūri, the author of *Kuvalayamālā*, mentions that King Vatsarāja was ruling Avanti in Śaka 700 (117 CE). According to a Jain Purāṇa "Harivaṃśa" written by Jinasena, Vatsarāja was ruling in Avanti, Indrāyudha in the North and Srivallabha in the South around Śaka 705 elapsed (122-123 BCE). An inscription of Vatsarāja<sup>61</sup> is dated in Śaka 717 elapsed (134-135 BCE). Vatsarāja's son Nāgabhaṭa II was the most successful Pratīhāra king. He defeated the Āndhra, Saindhava, Vidarbha and Kālīṅga kings. He also defeated Chakrāyudha and the king of Vaṅga. He took away the hill forts of the Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣaka, Vatsa, Matsya and other kings. The Pathari pillar inscription<sup>62</sup> of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala mentions that Parabala's father Karkarāja fought with the king Nāgāvaloka. Nāgabhaṭa II was probably referred to as Nāgāvaloka. The Buchkala inscription<sup>63</sup> of Nāgabhaṭa II is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 872 (153-154 CE).

The Pratīhāras took control over Kānyakubja or Kanauj during the reign of Nāgabhaṭa II. Rāmabhadra succeeded Nāgabhaṭa II. Rāmabhadra's son Bhoja I or Mihira-Bhoja expanded the Pratīhāra kingdom from Sind in the West to Vaṅga in the East and Narmadā in the South. The earliest inscription of Bhoja I<sup>64</sup> was dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 893 (174 CE). The Deogarh pillar inscription<sup>65</sup> of Bhoja I is dated in Śaka era 784 (200-201 CE) and also in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 919 (200-201 CE). Interestingly, the Ahar inscription<sup>66</sup> of the time of Bhoja I consists of 10 documents with 10 different dates. One date is given in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and other nine dates are given in the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). The fourth document is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 943 (224 CE) while the third, eighth and tenth documents are dated in

Chaitrādi Vikrama era 298 (241 CE). The earliest inscription of Bhoja I's son Mahendrapāla is dated in 955 (236 CE). Thus, Bhoja I may have ruled for at least 60 years from 174 CE to 234 CE and died in 241 CE. The Ahar inscription is the earliest epigraphic evidence that the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) came into use in the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Historians speculated that the nine documents of the Ahar Inscription are dated in the Sri Harsha era considering the fictitious epoch of the Sri Harsha era in 606 CE. In reality, the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE.

It appears that the Pratihāra Empire declined after Bhoja I or Mihira-Bhoja. Mahendrapāla succeeded Bhoja I. It is very likely that the rise of the Chedi kingdom at Tripuri near Jabalpur in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century may have been the reason behind the decline of the Pratihāras. The Sudi plates<sup>67</sup> of Ganga king Butuga II and the Kudlur plates<sup>68</sup> of Mārasimha tell us about the Chedi king Vandyaga or Baddiga and his younger brother Krishna who established a kingdom by defeating the Magadha, Kalinga, Pāṇḍya and Chola kings. After Mahendrapāla, Bhoja II and his half-brother Vināyakapāla ascended the throne.

### The Chronology of the Pratihāras:

	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	In CE
Nāgabhaṭa I	794-814	75-95 CE
Kakkuka or Kākustha	814-824	95-105 CE
Devarāja or Devaśakti	824-830	105-111 CE
Vatsarāja	830-859	111-140 CE
Nāgabhaṭa II	859-889	140 -170 CE
Rāmabhadra	889-893	170-174 CE
Bhoja I or Mihira-Bhoja	893-953	174-234 CE
Mahendrapāla I	953-973	234-254 CE
Bhoja II	973-983	254-264 CE
Vināyakapāla	983-993	264-274 CE
Mahendrapāla II	993-1004	274-285 CE
Vijayapāla	1005-1040	286-321 CE
Rajyapāla	1040-1080	321-361 CE

Trilochanapāla	1080-1093	361-374 CE
Yaśaḥpāla	1093-1100	374-381 CE

### The Paramāras of Mālava

Abul Fazal's "*Ain-i-Akbari*" mentions that Dhanji or Dhananjaya reigned in Mālava around 842 BCE 785 years before Vikramāditya II (57 BCE). Jitchandra reigned around 742 BCE whereas Śālivāhana reigned around 656 BCE. Naravāhana and Putrarāja were the successors of Śālivāhana in Mālava. All these kings reigned for 387 years. Āditya Paramāra was the founder of Paramāra dynasty and he ascended the throne around 455 BCE. Brahmarāja, Atibrahma, Sadhroshana, Hemarth, Gandharb and Vikramāditya were the successors of Āditya Paramāra.

According to Puranic tradition, the Paramāra dynasty was one of the four dynasties born out of the Agnikunḍa of Rishi Vasiṣṭha. The Dongargaon inscription<sup>69</sup> of Jagaddeva also mentions this mythological origin of the Paramāras (*Kāmadhenu-hṛtavate Viśvāmitrāya kupyataḥ | Vasiṣṭhāttatra homāgnau Paramāro vyajāyata* ||). It appears that Paramāra or Pramāra was the progenitor of this dynasty. Paramāra, Mahamāra, Devāpi, Devaduta, Gandharvasena I, Śāṅkha Mahārāja, Gandhrvasena II and Vikramāditya (57 BCE) were the kings of Mālava kingdom.

According to the Udaypur Praśasti<sup>70</sup> and the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* of Padmagupta, Upendrarāja was the founder of the later Paramāra kingdom of Mālava. While the Harsola Grant<sup>71</sup> of Siyaka mentions Bappaiyarāja as the earliest Paramāra king, the Dharmapuri grant<sup>72</sup> of Vākpati mentions Krishnarāja as the earliest Paramāra king leading to the surmise that Bappaiyarāja and Krishnarāja were the same person. It is also probable that Vākpatirāja I of the Udayapur Praśasti and the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* was referred to as Bappaiyarāja and Krishnarāja. Upendrarāja was the great grandfather of Vākpatirāja I. The Paramāras also used Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) in their inscriptions.

Some historians have speculated that the Paramāras were initially either feudatories or members of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. This speculation is based purely on the Harsola grant that refers to "Amoghavarṣa" and "Akālavarṣa". It may be noted that the Paramāra kings also patronised Jainism in their kingdom. The Paramāra King

Siyaka explicitly mentions in his Harsola grant that “Amoghavarṣa” and “Akālavarṣa” were his ancestors and that his father Bappaiyarāja was born in their dynasty (*tasmin kule*). Thus, it is absurd to link the Paramāras with the Rāṣtrakūṭas.

Though Upendrarājā was the founder, it was Krishnarāja or Bappaiyarāja or Vākpatirāja I who was the first independent ruler of the Paramāra dynasty. Dhārā city in Madhya Pradesh was the capital of the Paramāra dynasty. Siyaka II succeeded Vākpatirāja I. The Udaypur Praśasti refers to Siyaka II as Sri Harshadeva who defeated Khoṭṭigadeva and annexed his kingdom (*Khoṭṭigadeva-lakṣmīm jagrāha yo yudhi....*). Khoṭṭiga mentioned in the Udaypur Praśasti was probably a Rāṣtrakūṭa king.

Vākpatirāja II succeeded Siyaka II. He was also referred to as Muñja in the Nagpur Praśasti.<sup>73</sup> According to the Udaypur Praśasti, Vākpatirāja II established his authority in Karnāta, Lāta, Kerala and Chola (*Karṇāta-Lāta-Kerala-Chola-śīroratna-rāgi-pāda-kamalaḥ*). It seems that the Chedi king Yuvarāja challenged Vākpatirāja II whom he successfully defeated in Tripuri, the capital of Chedi kingdom (*Yuvarājam vijityājau hatvā tadvāhinīpatīn, Khaḍgamūrdhvikṛtam yena Tripuryām vijigīṣuṇā*). Sindhurāja, the younger brother of Vākpatirāja II, succeeded him. His major achievement was his victory over the Hūṇas (*tasyānujo nirjita-Hūṇa-rājah*). Padmagupta, the author of *Navasāhasāṅkacaritam*, was in the court of Sindhurāja and according to him, Sindhurāja conquered Kuntala, Vāgada, Murala, Lāta, Aparānta, Kosala and Hūṇas.

Bhojadeva, the son of Sindhurāja, was one of the most celebrated kings of Indian history. The Kalvan grant<sup>74</sup> of the time of Bhojadeva tells us that he ruled over Karnāta, Lāta, Gurjara, Chedi and Koṅkaṇa (*Karṇāta-Lāta-Gurjara-Chedyādhipa-Koṅkaṇeśa-prabr̥ti-ripu-varga-nirdhārita-janita-trāsa-yaśo-dhavalita-bhuvana-trayaḥ*). Bhojadeva issued the Betma grant<sup>75</sup> on the occasion of his victory over Koṅkaṇa. According to Udaipur Praśasti,<sup>76</sup> Bhojadeva subjugated the kings of Chedi, Indraratha, Karnāta, Lāta, Gurjara and Turuṣka (*Chediśvarendraratha..... Karṇāta-Lātapati-Gurjararāt-Turuṣkān*). The Udaipur Praśasti also tells us that Bhojadeva ruled from Kailāsa in the North to Malayagiri in the South and from the Western Ghats to the Eastern Ghats (*Akailāsān-Malaya-*

*giritō'stodayādridvayādābhukta-pr̥thvīm pr̥thu*). His kingdom was protected by Kedāranāth in the North, Rāmeśvara in the South, Somanātha in the West and Śuṅdīra-Kālānala-Rudra in the East (*Kedāra-Rāmeśvara-Somanātha-Śuṅdīra-Kālānala-Rudra-satkaiḥ Surāśrayairvyāpya ca yaḥ samantādyathārtasamjñam jagatīm cakāra*). According to the Pattana Manuscript Catalogue,<sup>77</sup> Bhojadeva subjugated the kings of Draviḍa, Lāṭa, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Gurjara, Kīra and Kāmboja and also terrorised the kings of Choḍa, Āndhra, Karṇāṭa, Gurjara, Chedi and Kānyakubja.

It is evident from the Paramāra inscriptions that Bhojadeva ruled over the whole of North India and Karṇāṭaka in South India. Bhojadeva's inscriptions are dated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) from 1067 (348 CE) to 1103 (384 CE). The *Rājamṛgāṅkakaraṇa* mentions that Bhoja was ruling in Śaka 964 (381 CE). Bhoja was still on the throne when the “*Cintāmaṇi-Sāraṇika*” was composed by his court-poet Daśabala in Śaka 977 (394 CE). According to Merutuṅga and Bhojaprabandha of Ballaladeva, Bhoja ruled for fifty-five years, seven months and three days (*Pañcāśat-pañca-varṣāṇi saptamāsā dinatrayam, Bhojarājena bhoktavyaḥ sagauḍo dakṣiṇāpathaḥ*) Therefore, the time of Bhojadeva can be fixed around 338-394 CE.

Colonial historians knew only one epoch of Vikrama era (57 BCE) and believed that Bhoja ruled around 1010-1060 CE. Historians rejected the claims of the Udaipur Praśasti as poetry and not historical facts. They also doubted the defeat of the Chedi kings because there is no definite evidence to prove it. In fact, Bhojadeva flourished in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE and not in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. As recorded in the Sudi plates of the Gaṅga king Butuga II, a powerful kingdom of Chedis was established in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE. The Paramāras defeated the Chedi kings to expand their kingdom. There are numerous references in the Paramāra inscriptions about the subjugation of the Chedi kings. It is also recorded in the Udaipur Praśasti that Bhojadeva's successor Udayāditya killed the ruler of Dāhala deśa or Chedi kingdom (*Dāhalādhiśa-sarṅhāra-vajra-danḍa ivāparaḥ*).

Thus, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, the Paramāra dynasty established a powerful empire in North India and in Karnataka and Bengal as well. Bhojadeva, who ruled around 338-394 CE, was the most illustrious king of the Paramāras and he may well have been the most successful

king of India after Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. The Vādnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla<sup>78</sup> refers to Bhoja as “*Mālava Chakravartin*”. Bhoja was a learned king and a great Sanskrit poet who wrote the “*Saraswatikaṇṭhābharaṇa*” on poetics, the “*Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*” on architecture and the “*Rājamārtāṇḍa*” on Yogaśāstra, etc. He authored a *Karaṇa* treatise “*Rājamṛgāṅka*” in KV 1100 (381 CE). He was a great patron of learning and according to the Patna inscription,<sup>79</sup> Bhāskarāchārya’s great grandfather Bhāskarabhaṭṭa received the title of *Vidyāpati* from him. He rebuilt the city of Dhārā and also constructed a Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya (college) in Dhārā, now occupied by a mosque.

The Sanskrit poet Soḍhala authored his famous work *Udayasundarikathā* during the reign of Vatsarāja, the Chaulukya king of Lāṭa (Gujarat) and Mummuṇirāja, the Śilāhāra king of North Konkan.<sup>80</sup> King Trilochanapāla was the son of Vatsarāja and his copper plate inscription is dated in Śākānta 972 (1050 CE).<sup>81</sup> The inscriptions of Mummuṇirāja are dated in Śākānta 970 (1048 CE), 971 (1049 CE), 975 (1053 CE), 982 (1060 CE).<sup>82</sup> King Nāgārjuna, the brother of Mummuṇirāja was ruling prior to him and his Thana plates are dated in Śākānta 961 (1039 CE).<sup>83</sup> It is evident that the Silāhāra King Mummuṇirāja reigned around 1040-1061 CE. The reign of the Chaulukya King Vatsarāja ended by 1049 CE because his son Trilochanapāla started ruling from 1049 CE. Thus, it can be concluded that Soḍhala wrote the *Udayasundarikathā* between 1040 CE to 1049 CE. If the Paramāra King Bhojadeva was ruling around 1010-1060 CE as arrived at by the eminent historians, Soḍhala was not only a contemporary of Bhojadeva but also the latter was certainly alive when the *Udayasundarikathā* was written. Soḍhala has mentioned Vikramāditya, Harsha, Muñja, Bhoja as the great learned kings of past. It is evident that Paramāra Bhoja was a king of the past and that he flourished in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE and not in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Kalachuri king Sodhadeva’s grant dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 1135 (1078 CE) also tells us that Bhojarāja was king before many generations.

The Mandhata grant<sup>84</sup> tells us that Jayasimha succeeded Bhojadeva but his rule lasted only for a very short period. According to the Udaipur Praśasti, the Dhārā kingdom was filled with dense darkness after the death of Bhojadeva. Emboldened by his death, the Chedi king invaded Dhārā

and various other enemy kings also tried to regain their lost territories until Udayāditya, the *bandhu* or a relative of Bhojadeva (as mentioned in the Nagpur Museum stone inscription of Naravarman<sup>85</sup>), killed the Chedi king and re-established the authority of the Paramāras. Udayāditya's son Naravarman succeeded him. The Mandhata grant<sup>86</sup> of Jayavarman II dated in KV 1331 (612 CE) gives the complete genealogy of the Paramāra dynasty.

**The chronology of Paramāra dynasty:**

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Upendra	—	—
Vairisīmha I	—	—
Siyaka I	—	—
Vākpati I or Krishnarāja	950-975	231-256 CE
Vairisīmha II or Vajrata	975-1000	256-281 CE
Siyaka II or Śri Harshadeva	1000-1027	281-308 CE
Vākpati II or Muñja	1027-1043	308 -324 CE
Sindhurāja	1043-1057	324-338 CE
Bhojarāja	1057-1113	338-394 CE
Jayasīmha	1113-1118	394-399 CE
Udayāditya	1118-1151	399-432 CE
Naravarman	1143-1190	432-471 CE
Yaśovarman	1190-1214	471-495 CE
Jayavarman I or Ajayavarman	1214-1255	495-536 CE
Vindhavarman	1255-1262	536-543 CE
Subhaṭavarman	1262-1266	543-547 CE
Arjunavarman	1266-1274	547-555 CE
Devapāla (son of Hariśchandra)	1274-1290	555-571 CE
Jaitugideva (Elder Son of Devapāla)	1290-1312	571-592 CE
Jayasīmha?	1312-1314	592-594 CE
Jayavarman II (Younger son of Devapāla)	1314-1331	594-612 CE

Interestingly, an inscription<sup>87</sup> of the Later Paramāras found at Sagar in Madhya Pradesh is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1116 (1058-59 CE), Śākānta era 981 (1058-59 CE) and Kaliyuga era 4160 (1058-59 CE) and informs us that the Later Paramāra descendant king Udayāditya II

(Aribalamathana), the son of Gāndala or Gondala or Gondila and (the grandson of Sūravira?), went to Mālava and recovered Madhyadeśa, which had been formerly governed by his ancestors and usurped by enemy kings. It is evident that king Udayāditya II (Aribalamathana) re-established the Paramāra kingdom in 1059 CE. As a matter of fact, the Sanskrit used in this inscription appears to have been misinterpreted by historians resulting in a distorted translation where Aribalamathana is identified as the father of Udayāditya whereas it was only an honorific or term of praise for Udayāditya meaning the destroyer of enemy forces. Similarly, Sūravira was also used as a term of praise for Gāndaladeva. Interestingly, this inscription explicitly tells us that Udayāditya II re-established the Paramāra kingdom after 446 years (*gata-pada-veda-śatādhika-catvāriṃśayad-gateyasairgya 446 pūrva-nr̥pa-gata-samhyatakana-prabhṛti....*).

The last inscription of the early Paramāras, i.e., the Mandhata Grant of Jayavarman II is dated in KV 1331 (612 CE) and seems to suggest that the Paramāras lost their kingdom in the year 612-613 CE. Udayāditya II, the son of Gāndaladeva, re-established the Paramāra kingdom in 1058-59 CE exactly after the completion of 446 years. It is the strongest epigraphic evidence that the Paramāra dynasty ruled around the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE and not around the 10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries CE and also clearly substantiates that the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era cannot be fixed in 57 BCE. Thus, the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era is different from the epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era and it commenced in 719-718 BCE. Interestingly, historians could not understand the reference to 446 years in the inscription of Udayāditya II.

HT Prinsep thought it was a new era established by Udayāditya II with the epoch around 618 CE. Some historians ridiculously added 446 years to 1116 years to establish the rule of Udayāditya II around 1506 CE, which is nothing but a forgery.<sup>88</sup>

Seemingly, there were two Jagaddevas. Two inscriptions<sup>89</sup> found at Kolanupaka, Bhuvanagiri, Nalgonda district in Telangana tell us that Jagaddeva I, son of Udayāditya I, was ruling in the 29<sup>th</sup> year of Chālukya Vikrama era (415 CE) and the Tārana Saṁvatsara, i.e., 443-444 CE. These



inscriptions refer to a lunar eclipse occurred on Chaitra Pūrṇimā, Sunday. The date regularly corresponds to 31 Mar 443 CE. According to the third inscription found at Kolanupaka, Jagaddeva II, son of Udayāditya II and the grandson of Gondala, was ruling as the feudatory of the Kalyāṇi Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla around 1105-1106 CE. The third inscription at Kolanupaka clearly mentions that when important Paramāra kings like Śrī Harsha, Muñja, Sindhala, Bhoja, etc., and many other descendant kings of the same dynasty flourished and thereafter King Gondila was born (*Śrī Harsha-Muñjanṛpa-Sindhala-Bhojadeva-mukhyeṣu rāja-kamalāmanubhūtavatsu, tadvaṁśajeṣu bahuṣu kṣitipālakeṣu jātastatastadanu Gondila-bhūmipālaḥ*) and his son Udayāditya II ruled the city of Dhārā (*Rājyam cakāra Dhārāyāmudayādityadevaḥ*). Jagaddeva II was the son of Udayāditya II.

The Dongargaon stone inscription<sup>90</sup> of the time of Jagaddeva II dated in Śākānta 1034 (1112 CE) tells us Bhojadeva II of the Paramāra dynasty became the king who was like Rāma (*tadvamśe.... babhūva Bhojadevākhyo rājā Rāmasamo guṇaiḥ*). After him, the Mālava kingdom was subjugated by three enemies (*tato riputrayaskande magnām Mālava-medinim*). Bhojadeva II's cousin Udayāditya II re-established the rule of the Paramāra dynasty (*uddharan Udayādityaḥ tasya bhrātā oyavarddhata*). This is stated in the inscription found at Sagar as well. According to the inscription found at Kolanupaka,<sup>91</sup> Gondala was the father of Udayāditya II and the uncle (*tasya pitṛvyah*) of Bhojadeva II. The Jainad inscription<sup>92</sup> also mentions that Bhojarāja II was the uncle of Jagaddeva (*pitṛvyah sa ca Bhojarājah*).

It is absurd to conclude that Udayāditya I was the brother of Bhojarāja I. Bhojarāja I ruled for 55 years, 7 months and 3 days and possibly died at the age of 80. His son Jayasimha also ruled for a few years (around 5 years). Thus, Udayāditya I ascended the throne 60 years after the date of the coronation of Bhojarāja I and reigned for at least 23 years. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that Udayāditya I was the brother or cousin of Bhojarāja I. This is the reason why the Nagpur Museum inscription simply mentions that Udayāditya I was the *bandhu* (meaning a relative) of Bhojarāja I. Moreover, the inscriptions of the Paramāra dynasty do not mention Jagaddeva and his grandfather Gondala clearly indicating

that Gondala, Bhojarāja II, Udayāditya II and Jagaddeva were the later Paramāra kings who flourished in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Thus, it is evident that Udayāditya I was the *bandhu* or just a relative of Bhojadeva I whereas Udayāditya II was the cousin of Bhojadeva II. Historians claim that Al Beruni mentions Bhoja, the ruling king of Dhārā when he visited India during 1017-1030 CE.<sup>93</sup> In reality, Bhojadeva II was ruling in Dhārā around 1025 CE and therefore, the Bhoja referred to by Al Beruni was Bhojadeva II and not the great Mālava king Bhojadeva I, who flourished in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Udayāditya I had many sons. Though Jagaddeva I had the opportunity to become the king after the death of his father, he relinquished his claim in favour of his elder brother (*divam prayāte pitari svayam praptāmapī śriyam, parivittibhayam tyaktvā yo'grajāya nyavedayat*) and became a close associate of the Kuntala king, i.e., the Kalyāṇi Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla. The earliest inscription of Jagaddeva I is dated in year 29 of the Chālukya Vikrama era, i.e., 444 CE. Historians have identified Naravarman and Lakśmadeva to be the elder brothers of Jagaddeva I. The Kamagiri inscription of Jagaddeva<sup>94</sup> is dated in Śākānta 1051 (1129 CE).

### The chronology of Later Paramāra kings:

	<i>In Śākānta era (78 CE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Gondala or Gandala	—	—
Bhojarāja II	—	1025-1050 CE
Udayāditya II	981-1120	1058-1098 CE
Jagaddeva	1026-1051	1104-1129 CE

There is a serious need to re-write the entire tract of ancient and early mediaeval history of India and the chronology must be reconstructed considering the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). It is quite likely that Udayāditya II could recover only some territories of Madhyadeśa including the city of Dhārā around 1058-59 CE. Thus, the great Paramāra dynasty ruled around the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE and the later Paramāra king Udayāditya II re-established himself around 1058-59 CE.

### The Chaulukyas (Solankis) of Gujarat

The Chaulukya dynasty was also one of the four dynasties born out of the Agnikunda of Rishi Vasiṣṭha. The Chaulukya kingdom was in Northern Gujarat and Anhilapātan or Anhilwad was its capital city. The Chaulukyas were the successors of the Chāvaḍa kings. According to *Vicārasreṇi* of Merutuṅga (644 CE),<sup>95</sup> Vanarāja, the founder of the Somachauda or Chāvaḍa dyanasty, built the city of Anhilapura on the 2<sup>nd</sup> *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha month in KV 821, i.e., 7<sup>th</sup> Apr 102 CE but the *Tapagaccha Paṭṭāvali* mentions that Vanarāja founded Anhilapura in KV 802 (83 CE). Abul Fazal's "Ain-i-Akbari" also indicates the Gujarat kingdom became an independent state in KV 802 (83 CE).<sup>96</sup> The Chāvaḍa dynasty ruled for 196 years from KV 821 to 1018 (102-299 CE).

### The chronology of the Chāvaḍa dynasty:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Vanarāja	821-881	102-162 CE
Yogarāja	881-890	162-171 CE
Ratnāditya	891-893	172-174 CE
Vairasimha	893-903	174-184 CE
Kśemarāja	903-944	184-225 CE
Chamuṇḍarāja	944-981	225-262 CE
Ghaghada	981-991	262 -272 CE
Sāmantasimha	991-1018	272-299 CE

According to Jain sources, Sāmantasimha had no successors. However, his sister Lilādevi was given in marriage to the Chaulukya prince Rāja or Rāji, the son of Bhuvanāditya and their son Mūlarāja born around KV 998 (279 CE) succeeded Sāmantasimha and founded the rule of the Chaulukya dynasty in Anhilapātan in KV 1018 (299 CE) and reigned for 35 years. His son Chāmuṇḍarāja, who succeeded him and reigned for 14 years, had two sons, Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja, of whom Vallabharāja died within six months of his accession and was succeeded by his brother Durlabharāja, who reigned for 12 years until KV 1079 (360 CE). He was succeeded by Bhimadeva I, the son of Nāgarāja, the younger brother of Durlabharāja. Bhimadeva I and his son Karṇadeva ruled between KV 1079 and 1152 (360-433 CE).

Siddharāja Jayasimha ascended the throne in 433 CE and reigned for 47 years. Jain scholar Hemachandra Sūri was in the court of Siddharāja and authored the “*Siddha-Haima-Śabdānuśāsana*” on grammar. According to Jain sources, Siddharāja wanted to kill his nephew Kumārapāla but Hemachandra saved him by hiding him under a pile of manuscripts. Merutuṅga tells us that Siddharāja Jayasimha died on the 3<sup>rd</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month in KV 1199, i.e., 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 480 CE and Kumārapāla ascended the throne on the 4<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa month, i.e., 21<sup>st</sup> Nov 480 CE. Hemachandra also tells us that Kumārapāla was coronated in Mahāvira-nirvāṇa Saṃvat 1669 (480 CE). As discussed earlier, Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE. The Vādnagar Praśasti<sup>97</sup> was composed by the poet Śripāla on the ramparts of Nagara-Ānandapura built in KV 1208 (489 CE) by king Kumārapāla. Two additional verses were written in the same inscription on the renovation of the ramparts in KV 1689 (970 CE). Hemachandra influenced King Kumārapāla to declare Jainism as the official religion of Gujarat at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. According to *Vicāraśreṇi*, Kumārapāla died on the 12<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa month in KV 1229, i.e., 28<sup>th</sup> Dec 510 CE. His successors Ajayapāla and Mūlarāja II died on the 12<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month in KV 1232, i.e., 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 514 CE and the 4<sup>th</sup> tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month in KV 1234, i.e., 22<sup>nd</sup> Feb 516 CE respectively. Bhimadeva II ascended the throne in KV 1235 (517 CE), who according to Meruttuṅga, reigned for 63 years.

### The Chronology of the Chalukya Dynasty:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Mūlarāja	1018-1053	299-334 CE
Chāmuṇḍarāja	1053-1067	334-348 CE
Vallabharāja	1067-1067	348-348 CE
Durlabharāja	1068-1079	349-360 CE
Bhimadeva I	1079-1128	360-409 CE
Karṇadeva	1128-1152	409-433 CE
Siddharāja Jayasimha	1152-1199	433-480 CE
Kumārapāla	1199-1229	480 -510 CE
Ajayapāla	1230-1232	511-514 CE

Mūlarāja II	1232-1234	514-516 CE
Bhimadeva II	1235-1298	517-579 CE
Tribhuvanapāla	1298-1300	579-581 CE

According to the *Vicāraśreṇi* of Merutuṅga, Viśaladeva, the son of Vīradhavalā and the grandson of Raṇaka Lavaṇaprasāda, ascended the throne of Anhilwad in KV 1300 (581 CE). Dhavala, the grandfather of Lavaṇaprasāda, was married to the sister of Kumārapāla's mother. Thus, Viśaladeva belonged to another branch of the Chaulukyas.

### The chronology of Viśaladeva Family as given by Merutuṅga:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Dhavala	—	—
Arṇorāja	—	—
Lavaṇaprasāda	—	—
Vīradhavalā	—	—
Viśaladeva	1300-1318	581-599 CE
Arjunadeva	1318-1331	599-612 CE
Sāraṅgadeva	1331-1353	612-634 CE
Karṇadeva	1353-1360	634-641 CE

Interestingly, the oldest manuscripts of Jain literature available today, were written during the reign of the Chaulukya king Viśaladeva. The manuscript of Hemachandra's *Deśināmamālā* and *Dhātupārāyaṇavṛtti* were written in KV 1298 (579-580 CE) [*Samvat 1298 varṣe Āśvina śudi 10 ravau adyeha Bhṛgukacche Mahāraṇaka Śri-Viśaladeva... (4<sup>th</sup> Sep 580 CE)*] and KV 1307 (588-589 CE) [*Samvat 1307 varṣe Chaitra vadi 13 bhaume Śri-Viśaladeva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye... (19<sup>th</sup> Mar 589 CE)*] respectively and the manuscript of *Uttarādhyayanavṛtti* was written in KV 1310 (591-592 CE) [*Samvat 1310 varṣe Māgha śudi 13 ravau Puṣyarkṣe Mahārājādhirāja-Śri-Viśaladeva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye... (30<sup>th</sup> Jan 592 CE)*].<sup>98</sup>

The chronology of the Chaulukyas given by Merutuṅga and other Jain sources is amazingly accurate and is in full agreement with the epigraphic evidence. The Chaulukya kings used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) in their inscriptions and ruled from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Ancient Jain sources also refer to the Kārttikādi Vikrama

era. Unfortunately, historians considered only the epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and fixed the rule of the Chaulukyas around the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries CE that led to the distortion of numerous facts.

1. It is a well-known fact that Mahmud Ghazni invaded Anhilwad and looted the Somanāth temple in 1024 CE but the Jain sources and the inscriptions of the Chaulukyas have no direct or indirect reference of the invasion of Mahmud Ghazni and the destruction of Somanāth temple.
2. *Vicārasreṇi* of Merutuṅga mentions that the Gajjanakas (Muslim invaders who belonged to Gazni) ruled after the fall of the Chaulukyas (*tato Gajjanakarājyam*).
3. The genealogy given in the grant<sup>99</sup> of the later Chaulukya Trilochanapāla dated in Śakānta 972 (1050 CE) is completely different from the genealogy of the Chaulukyas of Anhilwad. According to this grant, a Chaulukya king married the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kanauj. Bārapparāja, a descendant of this Chaulukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage, established his kingdom in the Lāṭadeśa of Gujarat in 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. The genealogy of Trilochanapāla:

	Śakānta era (78 CE)	In CE
Bārapparāja	880-900	958-978 CE
Gongirāja	900-930	978-1008 CE
Kirtirāja	930-950	1008-1028 CE
Vatsarāja	950-971	1028-1049 CE
Trilochanapāla	971-990	1049-1068 CE

This grant also tells us that King Vatsarāja presented the “*Hemaratnaprabham chatram*” (an umbrella resplendent with gold and jewels) to Somanāth temple. The *Udayasundarī Kathā* of Soḍhala also refers to king Gongirāja (Yogirāja), king Kirtirāja and king Vatsarāja. In fact, Soḍhala wrote his work during the reign of Vatsarāja and it is entirely probable that Kirtirāja was the ruler of Lāṭadeśa during the invasion of Mahmud Gazni. Historians wrongly concluded that Vatsarāja and Trilochanapāla were contemporary kings of the Chaulukya

Mūlarāja. All Jain literary sources unanimously tell us that Mūlarāja was the first Chaulukya king in Gujarat; he flourished in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE whereas the Chaulukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings ruled in Lāṭadeśa around the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries CE.

4. According to “*Ain-i-Akbari*”, Sultan Mahmud invaded during the reign of Raja Chāmunda (334-348 CE) in the year 1064 of Kārttikādi Vikrama era and 416 solar Hijrah era, i.e., 346 CE. The epoch of solar Hijrah commenced in 69-68 BCE as indicated in *Akbarnāmā*. Seemingly, Sultan Mahmud gave the throne of Anhilwad to a descendant of the royal line (probably, Vallabharaja or Durlabharaja) having arranged for the annual payment of a tribute. It may be noted that Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni who lived in the 4<sup>th</sup> century whereas the Mahmud of Ghazni who looted and destroyed Somnath temple in 1024-1025 CE were two different persons. According to Firishta, Mahmud is said to have selected a descendant of Dabishlim as the king of Anhilwad. Some historians tried to identify the Dabishlim with Durlabhasena (Durlabharāja).<sup>100</sup> If Chāmundarāja and Durlabharāja are placed around 1024-1025 CE, the entire chronology of the Chaulukyas given by Jain sources gets disarranged. Moreover, the chronology given by Jain sources is perfectly proven by epigraphic evidence. Therefore, historians conveniently ignored the later Muslim sources and accepted the dates of Chaulukya kings recorded in Jain sources. This is precisely why Jain sources and inscriptions of the Chaulukyas were oblivious of somnath temple’s destruction. It is one of the strongest pieces of evidence that the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718 BCE and not in 57 BCE.
5. According to some historians, the oldest account of the Somanāth expedition is given by Ibn Asir. He stated that the chief of Anhilwad, called Bhim, fled to the fort of Kandahat. Historians identified the Bhim with Chaulukya king Bhimadeva I. There is no literary or epigraphic evidence available to prove that Mahmud invaded during the reign of Bhimadeva I (360-409 CE). It appears that a later king named Bhim was ruling Anhilwād

around 1024 CE. Later Muslim historians unanimously tell us that Mahmud placed a descendant of Dabishlims on the throne of Anhilwād in 1024 CE.

6. Bhimadeva I ruled around KV 1079-1128 (360-409 CE) and therefore, cannot be dated in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. This entire confusion was created by historians because they were ignorant of the two different epochs of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era. If the chronology of the Chaulukyas is established in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era, then the history recorded by Muslim sources can be easily explained. It is likely that Bhim was a feudatory of the later Chaulukya king Kirtirāja ruling in Lāṭadeśa in 1024 CE.
7. According to historians, the Veraval inscription<sup>101</sup> of Chaulukya Arjunadeva is dated in Mohammad era 662, Vikrama era 1320 and Siṃha saṃvat 151. They have erroneously identified the Arjunadeva of Veraval inscription with Viśaladeva's successor Arjunadeva. A copper plate grant of Viśaladeva is dated in KV 1317 (598 CE). Jain scholar Merutuṅga tells us that Vīradhava had two sons, Vīramadeva and Viśaladeva. Viśaladeva ruled up to KV 1318 (599 CE). Arjunadeva succeeded him and ruled till KV 1331 (612 CE). Sāraṅgadeva and Kaṇḍadeva were the successors of Arjunadeva. In my opinion, Arjunadeva of Merutuṅga and Arjunadeva of the Veraval inscription were two different persons. Similarly, Sāraṅgadeva of Merutuṅga and Sāraṅgadeva of the Cintra Praśasti<sup>102</sup> were also two different persons. It appears that one later branch of the Chaulukyas led by Viśvamalla established their rule in Anhilwad in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE. Interestingly, this Kathiawar inscription of the time of Sāraṅgadeva is now placed in the Cintra city of Portugal. According to this Cintra Praśasti, Viśvamalla was the founder of this branch. Pratāpamalla was his younger brother. Viśvamalla selected Pratāpamalla's son Arjunadeva to be his successor. Arjunadeva's son Sāraṅgadeva succeeded him. It is evident that the genealogy given by Merutuṅga is entirely different from the genealogy given in the Cintra Praśasti.



Historians concocted that Viśvamalla and Viśaladeva were the same personage. Actually, the Arjunadeva of the Viśaladeva family ruled around 599-612 CE whereas the Arjunadeva of Viśvamalla ruled around 1263 CE. The Vodhaka-Rasula-Mohammad Samvat mentioned in the Veraval inscription is actually an epoch of later Islamic lunar calendar that has been reset in 622 CE. The Persian astronomers introduced the Fasli calendar starting from 21 Mar 631 CE and the new epoch of the Yazdajird era in 631 CE. This Fasli calendar inserted a leap day called “Avardad-sal-Gah” once every four years after the five Gathā days at the end of the year. In all likelihood, the epoch of Islamic lunar calendar has been reset starting from 26 Jul 621 CE in the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE to reconcile it with the Fasli calendar of 21 Mar 631 CE.

8. The Vikrama era referred to in the Veraval and Cintra inscriptions is the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE); the expression “Śri-nṛpa-Vikrama Saṁvat” was never used for the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 CE).
9. Historians also argue that the Veraval inscription refers to Śiṁha Saṁvat 151. Śiṁha Saṁvat was founded by the Chaulukya king Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. Therefore, the Arjunadeva of the Veraval inscription and the Arjunadeva of Merutuṅga were the same. A grant<sup>103</sup> of Bhimadeva II is dated in KV 1266 (547 CE) and Śiṁha Saṁvat 96. The calendar used in the grant of Bhimadeva II for Śiṁha Saṁvat was Kārttikādi. Therefore, it can be construed that the Chaulukya king Siddharāja Jayasiṁha founded the Kārttikādi Śiṁha Saṁvat or Śiṁha era in 450-451 CE. If Vikrama 1266 is Śiṁha 96, then Vikrama 1320 should be Śiṁha 150. It is absurd to accept Vikrama 1320 as Śiṁha 151. Moreover, Veraval inscription probably used the Chaitrādi calendar for Śiṁha Saṁvat. Therefore, the Chaitrādi Śiṁha era used in the Veraval inscription is different from the Kārttikādi Śiṁha era used in the inscriptions of Bhimadeva II. The Śiṁha era referred to in the Veraval inscription is the Śiva-Śiṁha era, which was established by the Gohils in the island of Div. We

have already discussed the epoch of Simha Saṁvat and Śiva Simha Saṁvat in Chapter 7.

10. One grant<sup>104</sup> of Bhimadeva II was issued on the 11<sup>th</sup> *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month, Sunday in Simha Saṁvat 93, on the occasion of Saṅkrānti, i.e., Sāyana Meṣa Saṅkrānti. This date is irregular with reference to the epoch of Simha Saṁvat in 1112 CE. It corresponds regularly to 22<sup>nd</sup> Mar 544 CE considering the epoch of the Kārttikādi Simha saṁvat in 450-451 CE.

Thus, it can be concluded that the inscriptions of the Chaulukyas and the Viśaladeva branch of the Chaulukyas used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 CE) and reigned around the 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE whereas the inscriptions of the Chaulukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings and the Viśvamalla branch of the Chaulukyas used the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and reigned in the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE.

### **The Chāhamānas of Sapādalakṣa or Śakambhari**

According to Puranic tradition, the Chāhamāna dynasty was also one of the four dynasties born out of Agnikunda of Rishi Vasiṣṭha and Chāhamāna was the likely progenitor of this dynasty. Interestingly, the Chāhamāna dynasty has many branches. The earliest branch of the Chāhamānas was reigning at Bhrigukacṇa or Bharuch in Gujarat. The Hansot plates<sup>105</sup> tell us that Chāhamāna king Bhartṛvaddha was reigning in KV 813 (94-95 CE) as a feudatory of the Pratihāra king Nāgāvaloka or Nāgabhaṭa I. Later, the Chāhamāna king Sindhurāja, who was reigning in Bharuch in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, was a contemporary of Dholka Lavaṇaprasada, the grandfather of the Chaulukya king Viśaladeva and the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa (560-585 CE).

According to the Harsha stone inscription,<sup>106</sup> the Chāhamāna king Vighararāja was reigning in the region known as Ananta around KV 1030 (311 CE). The Bijolia rock inscription<sup>107</sup> dated in KV 1226 (507 CE) also gives the genealogy of the Chāhamāna kings. The Menalgarh inscription<sup>108</sup> dated in Saṁvat 1226 (507 CE) refers to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (*Mālaveśa-gata-vatsara-śataih dvādaśaiśca ṣaḍviṁśa-pūrvakaih*). Ahicṇatrapura was their first capital. According to the Bijolia inscription,

Chāhamāna kings belonged to the Vatsa gotra and their ancestors were Brāhmaṇas of Ahicṣatra (*Viprah Śri-Vatsagotre'bhūd Ahicṣatrapure purā*).

The genealogy of the Chāhamāna kings as given in Bijolia inscription:

	<i>Kārttikādi</i>	
	<i>Vikrama era</i>	
	<i>(719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Sāmantarāja I	—	—
2. Purnatalla	—	—
3. Jayarāja	—	—
4. Vighararāja I	—	—
5. Chandrarāja I	—	—
6. Gopendrarāja	—	—
7. Durlabharāja I	—	—
8. Gūvaka I	850-875	131-156 CE
9. Chandrarāja II	875-900	156-181 CE
10. Gūvaka II	900-925	181-206 CE
11. Chandana	925-950	206-231 CE
12. Vākpatirāja I or Bappayarāja	950-970	231-251 CE
13. Vindhyaarāja	970-990	251-271 CE
14. Simharāja I	990-1010	271-291 CE
15. Vighararāja II	1010-1030	291-311 CE
16. Durlabharāja II		
17. Gundurāja or Govindarāja I		
18. Vākpatirāja II		
19. Viryārāma		
20. Chāmunḍarāja I		
21. Singhata		
22. Dūsala	1031-1209	312-490 CE
23. Vīsalarāja (wife Rajadevi)		
24. Prithvirāja I (wife Rāsalladevi)		
25. Ajayarāja I (wife Somalladevi)		
26. Arṇorāja		
27. Vighararāja III		
28. Prithvirāja II or Pṛthvibhata		
29. Someśvara I	1209-1226	490-507 CE
30. Prithvirāja III	1226-1275	507-556 CE

Prithvirāja III is considered based on the genealogy given in the *Prithvirāja Vijaya* of Jayānaka where he says that Someśvara was the father of Prithvirāja III and Arṇorāja was the grandfather.

It appears that Śakāmbhari (Sambhar) and Ajayameru (Ajmer) in Rājasthan became the capital of the Chāhamānas in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. Ajayarāja I, the father of Arṇorāja, built the city of Ajayameru and their state 'Ananta' later became known as Sapādalakṣa. According to the second Pariśiṣṭa or Appendix II of the *Prabandhakośa* written by Rajaśekhara Sūri, Vasudeva was the earliest king of Chāhamānas. The *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* mentions that Vāsudeva received the gift of the Salt Lake of Sambhar from Vidyādhara.

**The genealogy of the Śakāmbhari Chāhamānas given in *Prabandhakośa*:**

		Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE)	In CE	
1.	Sāmantarāja II	757-1045		
2.	Naradeva			
3.	Ajayarāja II			
4.	Vigraharāja IV			
5.	Vijayarāja I			
6.	Chandrarāja III			
7.	Govindarāja II			
8.	Durlabharāja III			97-328 CE
9.	Vatsarāja			
10.	Simharāja II			
11.	Duryojana			
12.	Vijayarāja II			
13.	Bappāyirāja II			
14.	Durlabharāja IV			
15.	Gandu	1045-1145	385-485 CE	
16.	Balapadeva			
17.	Vijayarāja III			
18.	Chāmunḍarāja II			
19.	Dūsaladeva			
20.	Vīsaladeva I			
21.	(Bṛhat) Prithvirāja IV			
22.	Alhanadeva			

23.	Analadeva		
24.	Jagaddeva		
25.	Viśaladeva II		
26.	Amaragāṅgeya		
27.	Panthadadeva		
28.	Someśvaradeva II		
29.	Prithvirāja V	1236-1248	517-529 CE
30.	Harirājadeva		
31.	Rājadeva		
32.	Balanadeva		
33.	Viranārāyana		
34.	Bahadadeva		
35.	Jaitrasimhadeva		
36.	Śri-Hammīradeva	1342-1358	623-639 CE

### **Hammira Mahākāvya of Nayachandra Suri**

Jain poet Nayachandra Suri, a pupil of Jayasimha Suri, wrote *Hammira Mahākāvya* in Perojapura (Firojpur) in the month of Śrāvaṇa of the Kārttikādi Vikrama 1542, i.e., Jul 823 CE. He also refers to the Persian kings as Śaka Kings. He gives the genealogy of Chāhamāna kings and detailed historical account from Prithvirāja III to Hammira. Nayachandra gives the genealogy of Chauhan kings in Canto I and II.

1. Vasudeva
2. Naradeva
3. Chandrarāja
4. Jayapāla
5. Jayarāja
6. Samanta Simha
7. Guyaka
8. Nandana
9. Vaprarāja
10. Harirāja
11. Simharāja

It is stated that Simharāja killed a Śaka king, i.e., Persian King Hetim or Hatim in a battle (*Hatvā yo yudhi Hetimam Śakapatim...*).<sup>109</sup> Most probably, Simharāja reigned at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century because

his successor Vighraharāja was the contemporary of Chaulukya Mūlarāja (299-334 CE) and killed him in a battle.

12. Bhima (nephew of Simharāja)
13. Vighraharāja
14. Gundadeva
15. Vallabharāja
16. Rāma
17. Chamundarāya
18. Durlabharāja
19. Dusshala
20. Vishvala or Visaladeva

Chamundarāya and Durlabharāja reigned in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century because their successor Dusala was the contemporary of Chaulukya king Karnadeva (409-433 CE) and killed him in a battle. Nayachandra Suri mentions that Chamundarāya killed Śaka king Hejimuddin and Chamundarāya defeated Shihabuddin. Visaladeva, the successor of Dusshala killed Shihabuddin (*Sa saṅgare Hejamadina-saṅjnam Śakadhirājam...<sup>110</sup> Sahāvadinam samare vijitya...<sup>111</sup> Sahavadinam samare nihatyā...<sup>112</sup>*).

21. Prithvirāja
22. Alhana or Ajayarāja
23. Anala or Arṇorāja
24. Jagaddeva
25. Visala
26. Jayapāla
27. Gangapāla
28. Someśvara
29. Prithvirāja
30. Harirāja
31. Govinda
32. Balhana
33. Prahlāda

34. Viranārāyaṇa
35. Vagbhata
36. Jaitrasimha
37. Hammiradeva (621-638 CE)

Nayachandra tells us that Prithvirāja was the son of Someśvara and Karpūradevi. Someśvara coronated his son Prithvirāja on the throne and retired in Vānaprasthāśrama. While Prithvirāja was ruling, a Śaka king or Persian King Shihabuddin was vigorously trying to invade India. Shihabuddin conquered Multan and made it as his capital. Prithvirāja declared war against Shihabuddin and took him captive in a battle. Prithvirāja forced Shihabuddin to ask for forgiveness of the Rajput princes whom he had despoiled. Thereafter, Prithvirāja allowed Shihabuddin to go back to his capital Multan. Nayachandra clearly indicates that Prithvirāja defeated Shahabuddin many times. Shihabuddin communicated an account of his successive defeats to the King of Ghataika Deśa and solicited his aid. Thus, reinforced, Shihabuddin invaded Dilli and captured.

Overconfident Prithvirāja could not meticulously plan his strategy to counter the Persian army. Eventually, Shihabuddin captured Prithvirāja alive and imprisoned him. Prithvirāja refused all food and rest in the prison. Prithvirāja's close friend or a feudatory Udayarāja was leading the reinforcement of Chauhan army and arrived at Yoginipura (Dilli). He laid siege to the city. Interestingly, one of the Persian nobles suggested Shihabuddin that it would be becoming on his part for once to release Prithvirāja, who had several times taken him captive and released him with honours but angry Shihabuddin paraded the captive Prithvirāja in the fortress. Prithvirāja was deeply hurt by this insult and died within few days. When Udayarāja learnt of the death of Prithvirāja, he attacked the Persian army but got killed in the battle.

Harirāja performed the funeral ceremony of Prithvirāja and then ascended the throne of Ajmer. A king of Gurjara deśa wanted to secure the throne of Ajmer. He sent some dancing Gurjara girls to Harirāja. Gujarat was famous for the beauty of its dancing girls. It is recorded in an anecdote that one of Gujarat kings was forced to give his daughter in marriage to

an ancient Persian king (Sasanian king Bahram Ghur?), who took with him 1200 dancing girls of Gujarat. Possibly, the dancing girls (Kaneej) of Persia were the descendants of Gujarat dancing girls. Harirāja spent most of his time in the company of dancing girls. Shihabuddin invaded Ajmer but Harirāja ascended the funeral pile along with his family members. Thus, Shihabuddin took over the control of Ajmer.

Many people of Ajmer vacated the city and started living under the protection of Govindarāja, the grandson of Prithvirāja who had established his capital at Ranathambhor. After Govindarāja, Balhana succeeded to the throne. He had two sons – Prahlāda and Vagbhata. Prahlāda ascended the throne after the death of his father. Unfortunately, Prahlāda was severely wounded by a lion in a hunting accident. Prahlāda was on death bed when he placed his son Viranārāyana on the throne and requested his brother Vāgbhata to support him. When Viranārāyana came of age, a marriage was arranged between him and the daughter of a Kacṇapaghāta king of Jayapur. Viranārāyana set out for Amarapur (Amber), the capital of the Kacṇapaghāta. Sultan Jalaluddin and his army pursued Viranārāyana on his way. Viranārāyana decided to return to Ranathambor. Evidently, Jalaluddin Allauddin was the 5<sup>th</sup> Sultan of Dilli as recorded in the Palam Baoli and Ladnu inscriptions.

Jalaluddin knew that it would be difficult to defeat Viranārāyana in Ranathambhor. He sent a messenger for friendship and stated that we both are the Sun and Moon in the surrounding starry heaven of kings. He also requested to accept his hospitality at Delhi. At this time, Viranārāyana had a grudge against King Vighraha of Vakśasthalapura (Vanasthali). He decided to accept the friendship of Jalaluddin. His uncle Vāgbhata disapproved this alliance but Viranārāyana insulted him. Vāgbhata left the fort of Ranathambor with heavy heart and departed for Mālava.

Viranārāyana went to Yoginipura (Dilli) and stayed with Jalaluddin for few days. He was delighted with his reception. Within few days, Viranārāyana was poisoned and killed at Dilli. Jalaluddin now easily captured the fort of Ranathambor and sent a message to the king of Mālava to kill Vāgbhata. But Vāgbhata discovered the conspiracy. Vāgbhata somehow managed to kill the King of Mālava and ascended the throne



of Mālava. He united the distressed Rajputs and made a league with the Kharpuras who were fighting against the Persian kings. Thus, Vāgbhata managed to defeat Persians at Ranathambhor and became the king of Ranathambhor.

Vāgbhata was succeeded by his son Jaitrasimha. Hammira was the son of Jaitrasimha and Hiradevi. Jaitrasimha coronated his son Hammira on the throne of Ranathambhor in the year 1339 of Kārttikādi Vikrama era and on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of Magha month, Puṣya nakṣatra, i.e., 13<sup>th</sup> Jan 621 CE (*Tataśca Saṁvat Nava(9) Vahni(3) Vahni(3) Bhu(1) hāyane Māgha-valakṣa-pakṣe, Pauṣyām Tithau Helidine sapuṣye daivajña-nirdiṣṭa-bale'lilagne*) and retired in the Vānaprasthāśrama.

Hammira went on military expedition and defeated King Arjuna of Sarasapura, King of Gadhamandala, King Bhoja of Dhara, Ujjain, Chitrakota (Chittod), Medapata (Mewad), Mount Abu, Vardhamānapura, Puṣkara, Ajmer, Śakambhari, etc. It seems that Jaitrasimha, the father of Hammira, used to pay tribute to Dilli but Hammira stopped it. Allauddin, the Sultan of Dilli, had sent his younger brother Ullug Khan to invade Ranathambhor. Hammira sent his generals, Bhimasimha and Dharmasimha to drive away the Śakas. Bhimasimha died in the battle. Hammira assumed that Dharmasimha's inaction was responsible for the death of Bhimasimha. Therefore, Hammira ordered Dharmasimha to be blinded.

Dharmasimha developed a grudge against Hammira and intelligently used Radhā Devi, a courtesan to get back his post. Bhojadeva, a natural brother of Hammira, used to inform him about the misdeeds of Dharmasimha but Hammira did not pay any attention. Bhoja along with his younger brother Pitama decided to leave Ranathambhor and went to Yoginipura (Dilli) on pretext of a pilgrimage to Varanasi. Hammira appointed Ratipāla as Kotwal of the fort in place of Bhoja.

Allauddin welcomed Bhoja and lavished presents and honours on Bhoja and Pitama. One day Allauddin asked Bhoja that how he can subjugate Hammira. Bhoja said that Hammira is the terror of the kings of Kuntala, Madhyadeśa, Angadeśa, Kānchi, etc. Virama, the brother of Hammira, conquered many kings. Hammira is also served by the fearless Kāmboja prince Mahimā Śāhi.

Allauddin sent his brother Ullug Khan with one lakh horses to attack Ranathambor. Hammira's warriors Virama, Mahimā Śāhi, Jājadeva, Garbharuka, Ratipāla, Tihar, Ranamalla and Vaichara defeated Ullug Khan. Allauddin was extremely disappointed with this defeat. He despatched letters to the kings of Aṅga, Teliṅga, Magadha, Maisur, Kaliṅga, Baṅga, Bhotta, Medapāta, Pāñchāla, Bengal, Thamim, Bhilla, Nepal, Dāhala and some Himalayan chiefs. All these kings sent soldiers of their respective quotas to join the expedition of Allauddin.

Allauddin now invaded Ranathambhor with the support of various neighbouring kings and laid siege to the fort. He deputed his brothers, Ullug Khan and Nusarat Khan as envoys to Hammira. Allauddin offered to Hammira the choice between paying down one lakh gold mohors, four elephants, 300 horses and giving his daughter in marriage or the giving up to him four in-subordinates who joined the service of Ranathambhor. Hammira rejected this offer and declared war. Allauddin's brother Nusarat Khan died in an attack. Both the armies suffered heavy losses. Nayachandra Suri mentions that 85000 men of Allauddin were slain in two days.

Kāamboja Prince Mahimā Śāhi was commanding the army of Hammira. Frustrated Allauddin sent a request to Hammira to depute Ratipāla for peace negotiations. Hammira sent Ratipāla to the camp of Allauddin. Instead of talking peace, Allauddin brainwashed Ratipāla that if he wins, he will hand over the fort to him. He said that he has only ambition to get the fame of Ranathambhor's capture. He also took Ratipāla into his harem and left him to eat and drink with his youngest sister. Ratipāla went back to the fort and caused a rumour to be spread that Allauddin only asked for the hand of Hammira's daughter. When the innocent girl heard this rumour, she asked her father Hammira to hand over her to Allauddin to save the kingdom but Hammira rejected her proposal.

All the women of the fort decided to perform Jauhar. Kāamboja Prince Mahimā Śāhi also killed his family to fight with Allauddin. Many generals Virama, Mahimā Śāhi, Jāja, Gangādhar, Tak, Kshetrasingh and Paramāra died in the fierce battle. Finally, Hammira, the last king of the Chauhans,

died in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of his reign in the month of Śrāvaṇa. The date of Hammira's death was around Jul 638 CE (Śrāvaṇa of the year 1356 of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era).

The genealogy of the Chāhamānas given in the *Hammira-Mahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri closely agrees with that given in the *Prabandhakośa*. Many Indian literary sources like *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, *Prithvirāja Rāso*, *Hammira-Mahākāvya*, *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, *Prabandhakośa*, *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, *Viruddha Vidhi Viddhvaṅsa*, *Praśasti Kāvya*s and other Jain sources provide substantial historical information about the Chāhamāna kings. Since Indians forgot the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE), Western historians followed only one epoch that of the Vikrama era (57 BCE) to reckon the dates mentioned in literary and epigraphic sources.

The manuscript of the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, written in the ancient Śāradā script on birch bark leaves, was found in 1875 and was probably written by the Kashmiri Pandit Jayānaka, who was also in court of the Chāhamāna King Prithvirāja III at Ajayameru (Ajmer). *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* was written about the Prithvirāja III who flourished around 507-556 CE.

1. According to the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, Karpūradevi was the mother of Prithvirāja III and the daughter of King Achala of the Haihaya dynasty, who ruled at Tripuri. We also learn from Col. James Tod that Rukadevi, the daughter of Anaṅgapāla of Delhi, was the mother of a Prithvirāja. The *Hammira-Mahākāvya* also mentions that Karpūradevi was the mother of Prithvirāja (507-556 CE).
2. The Bijolia inscription tells us that the Chāhamāna king Vighraharāja III conquered Delhi (*Dhillikā*). But Prithvirāja Rāso mentions that Someśvara led his army to help Anaṅgapāla of Delhi because he was the son-in-law of the Tomara king Anaṅgapāla.
3. Actually, the Bijolia inscription is dated in KV 1226 (507 CE). Therefore, the Bijolia inscription and the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* undoubtedly refer to Prithvirāja III.

4. The Prithvirāja Rāso of Chandra Bardai tells us of the story of Prithvirāja having eloped with Saṁyuktā or Saṁyogitā, the daughter of the Kanauj king Jayachandra. Abul Fazl of *Ain-e-Akbari* and Chandrasekhara of *Surjanacharita* also narrate this story. According to the Prithvirāja Rāso, Vijayapāla was the father of Jayachandra. We learn from the Basahi plates<sup>113</sup> of Rājaputra Govindachandra that his father Madanapāla was ruling in KV 1161(443 CE) and his grandfather was Chandradeva. Madanapāla was referred to as Madanachandra in the Sāranāth inscription<sup>114</sup> of Kumāradevi. Jayachandra was the son of Vijayachandra or Vijayapāla and the grandson of Govindachandra. The Chandrāvati plates<sup>115</sup> of Chandradeva dated in KV 1148 (430-431 CE), 1150 (432-433 CE), 1156 (443-444 CE) tell us that Chandradeva established the Gāhadwāla kingdom in Kanauj around 430 CE.

#### The chronology of Gāhadwāla Kings:

	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	In CE
1. Yaśovigraha	—	—
2. Mahichandra	—	—
3. Chandradeva	1145-1158	427-440 CE
4. Madanachandra or Madanapāla	1158-1164	440-446 CE
5. Govindachandra	1164-1211	446-493 CE
• Three sons of Govindachandra		
• Asphotachandra (KV 1193)		
• Rājyapāla (KV 1199)		
• Vijayachandra		
6. Vijayachandra or Vijayapāla	1211-1224	493-506 CE
7. Jayachandra	1224-1245	506-527 CE
8. Hariśchandra	1245-1277	527-558 CE

The Machlisahar grant<sup>116</sup> dated in KV 1253 (534 CE) refers to the Gāhadwāla king Harśchandra, the son of Jayachandra, as a sovereign victorious ruler (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parama-māheśvara.....Śrimad-Hariśchandra-*

*devo Vijayī*). In reality, the Gāhadwāla kings ruled Kanauj and Vārāṇasi in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries CE and not in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Al Beruni records that Kanauj city was in ruins and found desolate around 1031 CE and that the capital had been transferred thence to the city of Bari, east of the Ganges and there was a distance of three or four days' Mar es between the two towns, i.e., Kanauj and Bari.<sup>117</sup> Kanauj completely lost its glory during the invasions of Mahmud Gazni and therefore, it is unbelievable that a powerful Gāhadwāla kingdom existed in North India around the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Therefore, the story of Saṁyogitā and Prithvirāja and the conflict between Chāhamānas and Gāhadwālas was all about Prithvirāja III of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE.

5. According to Muslim chroniclers, Moinuddin Chishti came to Ajmer and got engaged in a conflict with the ruler and people of Ajmer prior to the Turk conquest.
6. The *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* mentions that Durlabharāja lost his life in a battle with the Mātaṅgas and Ajayarāja defeated the Garjana Mātaṅgas. It is also stated in the 6<sup>th</sup> Sarga of *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* that Arṇorāja, the grandfather of Prithvirāja III, defeated and killed the large number of Turuṣkas in heavy armour near Ajmer who had come through the desert, where for want of water they had to drink the blood of horses. Arṇorāja constructed a lake named Ana Sagar in celebration of this great victory. According to the fragmentary Chauhan Praśasti of Ajmer Museum, Arṇorāja killed Turuṣkas near Ajmer and defeated Naravarman of Mālava and led his army up to the Sindhu and the Sarasvati.<sup>118</sup>
7. According to the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, Someśvara died when Prithvirāja III was a minor. His mother Karpūradevi had to take over the reins as regent and ruled with the help of the minister Kadambavasa and the general Bhuvanaikamalla. During the reign of Prithvirāja III, a king of the Mlecchās captured Garjani in the North-west border; on hearing that Prithvirāja had vowed to exterminate the Mlecchās, the Mlecchā king sent a messenger to Ajayameru and we learn from the 11<sup>th</sup> Sarga that

the minister Kadambavasa played an intelligent move in this regard and ultimately, the king of Gujarat completely routed the army of the Mlecchas.

8. There is a story of Samarasimha of Mewar having been killed in a battle fought in KV 1249 (530 CE) while helping Prithvirāja III. Samarasimha of Mewar was the brother-in-law of Prithvirāja III. The Jalor stone inscriptions<sup>119</sup> of Samarasimha are dated in KV 1239 (520 CE) and KV 1242 (523 CE).
9. The manuscript of *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* is found written in the ancient Śāradā script. There is no evidence to prove that the use of the ancient Śāradā script was in vogue in the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE. Thus, *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* of Jayānaka is all about the great victories of Prithvirāja III who flourished as “*Bharateśvara*” (the emperor of India) in the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. Historians mistakenly identified the hero of the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* with Prithvirāja V of the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE. There is a serious need for further research to classify the historical information of the Chāhamānas given in various sources with reference to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).

### The Chāhamānas of Marwar

Inscriptions of the Chāhamānas of Marwar are also dated from KV 1147 (428 CE) to KV 1353 (634 CE).<sup>120</sup> This branch of the Chāhamānas ruled over Naḍḍula (Nadol) and Jābālipura (Jalor) in Rajasthan.

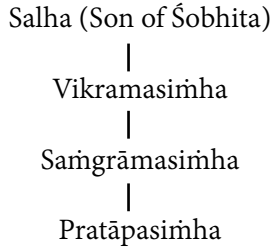
### The chronology of the Chāhamānas of Marwar:

	<b>Kārttikādi Vikrama</b>	
	<b>era (719-718 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1. Jojaladeva	1147	428 CE
2. Aśvarāja	1167	448 CE
3. Katukarāja (He was a feudatory of Chaulukya Siddharāja Jayasimha. Sevadi inscription of Katukarāja is dated in Kārttikādi Simha Samvat 31. This era was founded by Siddharāja Jayasimha in 450-451 CE.)	1172-1201	453-482 CE

4.	Rāyapāla (He established an independent state of Chāhamānas in Nadlai and declared himself as Mahārājādhirāja. He had two sons, Rudrapāla and Amṛtapāla.)	1189-1202	470-483 CE
5.	Alhaṇadeva (He was a feudatory of Chaulukya king Kumārapāla)	1209	490 CE
6.	Kelhanadeva (Initially, he was also a feudatory of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla but later declared himself Mahārājādhirāja.)	1221-1236	502-517 CE
7.	Samarasimha (Probably, the brother-in-law of Prithvirāja III.)	1236-1249	517-530 CE
8.	Udayasimha	1306	587 CE
9.	Sāmantasimha	1345-1353	626-634 CE

It appears that another branch of the Chāhamānas was ruling in Satyapura or Sanchor. A stone inscription<sup>121</sup> of Pratāpasimhadeva is dated in KV 1444 (725 CE).

#### The Genealogy of the Satyapura Branch of Chāhamānas:



Interestingly, the Kot Solankian inscription<sup>122</sup> of Vanavira is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1394 (1337 CE) and the Nadlai inscription<sup>123</sup> of Raṇavira is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1443 (1386 CE). These inscriptions express the era as “Śri-nṛpa-Vikrama-kālātīta-saṁvat” or “Śri-nṛpa-Vikrama-samayātīta-saṁvat” which was probably used to distinguish the Chaitrādi Vikrama era from the Kārttikādi Vikrama era. Thus, the Chāhamāna King Vanavira ruled around 1337 CE and King Raṇavira ruled around 1386 CE.

### The Guhilas of Medapāta

Bhilwara, Udaipur and Chittorgarh districts of Southern Rajasthan are popularly known as Medapāta or Mewar. The Guhilas reigned over this region. The Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya indicates that the Guhilas belonged to a Brahma-Kśatra dynasty.<sup>124</sup> Evidently, they originally belonged to the Hārīta gotra of Brāhmaṇa-Kśatriyas. Hārīta was a descendant of Ikśvāku King Māndhātā but he became a Rishi. This is the reason why the Udaypur Museum inscription refers to Guhilas as “*Sūrya-Variśa-Samutpanna*” (descendants of the solar dynasty).<sup>125</sup> According to *Ekaliṅga Māhātmya* and Atpur inscription, Guhadatta or Guhila was the founder of the Guhila dynasty but the Kumbhalgarh, Chittor, Abu and Sadadi inscriptions tell us that Bappa or Bappaka was their founder. Bappa or Bappaka was probably the father of Guhadatta.<sup>126</sup>

The capital of Medapāta (Mewar) was Mādhyamikā Nagari since ancient times. Mahābhārata has many references of Mādhyamikā Nagari. King Śrutāudha was ruling in Mādhyamikā during Mahābhārata era. The Hathi Bada or Gosundi Brahmi stone inscription at Nagari<sup>127</sup> indicates that Pārāśariputra Sarvatāta of Gājāyana gotra reigned at Nagari and performed Aśvamedha Yajña. Seemingly, Sarvatāta reigned around 1500 BCE. Patanjali, the author of “Mahābhāṣya” mentions that the Yavanas plundered Mādhyamikā. Probably, Yavanas invaded during the reign of King Sarvatāta or his successors. It appears that the Śibis of Sauvira janapada settled in Mādhyamikā Nagari after Yavana invasion because some coins having legend “*Majhamikaya-Śibi janapadasa*” found in this region. Some local traditions associate King Samprati of Ujjain (944-896 BCE) with various sites in Mewar. The Junagarh inscription informs us that Śaka king Rudradāman was having his sway over Maru, Yaudheya and Avanti.

Epigraphic evidence indicates that the Mori kings were ruling in Chittorgarh before the rise of Guhilas. Historians have speculated Mori Kings to be Mauryas but in all likelihood, Mori Kings belonged to a branch of Mayura or Matta Mayura clan of Yaudheyas. Chitrāngada Mori was the earliest king of Mori clan, who constructed the fort of Chittor and Chitrāngada tank. The *Chitrakūta Prabandha* relates that Rājā Shambarish invaded Chittor and defeated its Mori king but later on re-instated him



there. Two inscriptions of Mori King Man are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 770 (51 CE). The Mansarovar inscription contains the names of Mori kings, namely, Maheshwar, Bhim, Bhoj and Man or Mānabhaṅga. One Chittor inscription dated KV 811 (92) refers to Mori King Kukudeshwar.

Undoubtedly, Guhila was the progenitor of the Guhila dynasty. According to traditional legends, Guha or Guhila was a posthumous child of Sūrya Vaṁśi king Śīlāditya of Valabhi. Historians have rejected this claim because the Maitrakas were not Sūrya Vaṁśi kings. In fact, historians have mistakenly assumed Śīlāditya of Valabhi as a Maitraka king but there is no reference of Maitrakas in the legends. The Maitrakas reigned in Valabhi during the reign of the Guptas but Sūrya Vaṁśi kings reigned in Valabhi and Vatanagara before the rise of Gupta Empire.

According to Jain historical accounts, Rājā Kanakasen of Sūrya Vaṁśa (Ikśvāku dynasty) migrated from Kosala in KV 201 (518 BCE) and the city of Valabhi became his capital. When his descendant Śīlāditya was ruling in Valabhi, the Yavanas (Kushano-Sasanian kings?) invaded and destroyed Valabhi (*Valabhi bhaṅgaḥ Yavana-vihitaḥ*). Ancient Jain sources inform us that “*Valabhi Bhaṅga*” took place in 345 BCE 845 years after Mahāvira Nirvāṇa (1189 BCE) and 375 years after Vikramāditya of 719 BCE. Thus, the Sūrya Vaṁśi King Kanakasen and his descendants reigned in Valabhi around 518-345 BCE. King Śīlāditya died in 345 BCE and his pregnant wife Puṣpavati escaped and took shelter in a cave where she delivered a son. Queen Puṣpāvati gave her newborn son to Kamalavati, a Brāhmaṇī of Birnagar before committing Jauhar and instructed her to educate him as a Brāhmaṇa but marry him to the daughter of a Rajput. Kamalavati named him Guhila because he was born in a cave. All literary and epigraphic sources speak of the migration of Guhila from Anandpur, Gujarat. The annals of Guhilas mention that Bappa I was born in the year 191. In all probability, the year 191 has been counted from the year of Valabhi Baṅga (345 BCE). Thus, Bappa I or Bappaka, the father of Guhadatta was born in 154 BCE, the 191<sup>st</sup> year from 345 BCE. The Samoli inscription of King Śīlāditya,<sup>128</sup> great-great grandson of Guhāditya is dated in KV 703 (16 BCE). An inscription of King Aparājita is dated in KV 718 (1 BCE). The genealogical chronology of early Guhila kings as given in the Atpur inscription:

		In CE
	Guha or Guhila	Mahāvira Nirvāṇa 845
	.....	
1.	Bappa I or Bappaka	Valabhi Bhaṅga 191
2.	Guhadatta or Guhila	130-90 BCE
3.	Bhoja (Lātavinoda?)	90-75 BCE
4.	Mahendra	75-50 BCE
5.	Nāga	50-25 BCE
6.	Śīlā or Śīlāditya or Bappa	KV 703
7.	Aparājita	KV 718
8.	Mahendra	20-40 CE
9.	Kālabhoja	40-60 CE
10.	Khommana or Nāgāditya?	60-80 CE
11.	Manttata	80-90 CE
12.	Bhartripatta or Bhartribhata (Bappa Rawal?)	KV 810 91-150 CE

### Who was Bappa Rawal?

There is still a divergence of opinion about the identification of Bappa Rawal, the most celebrated king of Guhila or Sisodia dynasty. DC Sircar and Dasharath Sharma have identified him with Śīlāditya whereas GH Ojha has identified him with Kālabhoja. Some other historians identified him with Khummana. According to inscriptions, Guhadatta's father was Bappa I. The Kumbhagarh inscription refers to Śīlā or Śīlāditya as Bappa II. An inscription dated KV 1461 mentions Khummana as a son of Bappa but the Atpur inscription refers to him as a son of Kālabhoja. Actually, Bappa means father. Since many Guhila kings have been referred to as Bappa, it is pertinent to arrive the exact date of Bappa Rawal for his true identification.

*Ekaliṅga Māhātmya* unambiguously relates that Bappa Rawal was born in the 9<sup>th</sup> generation of Guhadatta and became king in KV 810 (91 CE). Since King Śīlāditya and King Aparājita were ruling in KV

703 (16 BCE) and KV 718 (1 BCE) respectively, Śīlāditya, Kālabhoja or Khummana cannot be dated in KV 810 (91 CE). In all probability, Bhartripatta or Bhartribhata must be identified with Bappa Rawal. The Chatsu inscription compared Bhartripatta with Rāma (*Brahma-ksātrānrito asmin samabhavadasamo Rāmatulyo viśasyaḥ śauryādhyo Bhartripatto...*).<sup>129</sup> After Bhartripatta, many branches of Guhilas came into existence but almost all branches mention Bhartripatta as their ancestor.

According to legends, Gorakhnath gave a sword or Khukuri to Bappa I. There are numerous legends of Gorakhnath. Seemingly, there were two Yogis having the name of Gorakhnath in the tradition. Gorakhnath I was born during the reign of King Śālivāhana (659-630 BCE) and flourished around 640-540 BCE as discussed in Chapter 14. The legend of Puran Bhagat and Rasalu indicates that there was another Gorakhnath II during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Rājā Gaj of Jaisalmer founded the city of Gazni in the year 3008 of Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE) on Vaiśākha Śukla tritīyā, Sunday, Rohiṇī nakṣatra. The date regularly corresponds to 17/18 Apr 154 BCE. King Salbahan was the son of Rājā Gaj. Puran Bhagat and Rasalu were the sons of King Salbahan. Thus, Gorakhnath II (160-70 BCE) was the contemporary of Bappa I (154-100 BCE) and Puran Bhagat. There was another Gorakhnath III during the time of Gogāji.

Bappa Rawal (Bhartripatta) built the famous temple of Eklingji at Nagda which was the deity of Guhila Kings. Bappa Rawal conquered the region up to Gazni in Afghanistan and founded the city of Rawalpindi. His capital was at Nagagrada or Nagda. He founded 13 principalities for his sons.

### The Chronology of Guhila Kings:

	In Kārttikādi Vikrama Era	In CE
1. Bhartripatta Bappa Rawal	or KV 810	91-130 CE
2. Simha		130-150 CE
3. Khommana II		150-170 CE
4. Mahayaka		170-190 CE
5. Khommana III		190-210 CE

6.	Bhartripatta II	KV 999 & 1000	260-282 CE
7.	Allata	KV 1008&1010	282-290 CE
8.	Naravāhana	KV 1028	290-309 CE
9.	Śalivāhana		309-315 CE
10.	Śaktikumāra	KV 1034	315-330 CE
11.	Amraprasāda	}	330-440 CE
12.	Suchivarman		
13.	Naravarman		
14.	Kirtivarman		
15.	Yogarāja		
16.	Vairāta		
17.	Vamsapāla		
18.	Vairisimha		
19.	Vijayasimha	KV 1164 & 1173	440-450 CE
20.	Vairisimha II		450-460 CE
21.	Arisimha		460-470 CE
22.	Chodasimha		470-480 CE
23.	Vikramasimha		480-490 CE
24.	Ranasimha	KV 1223	490-505 CE

After the reign of Ranasimha, the Guhila of Nagda-Ahad branch split into the Raula (Rawal) branch and the Rānā branch.

### The Raula or Rawal Branch of Guhilas

			In CE
1.	Kshemasimha	KV 1228, 1236, 1256, 1258	505-540 CE
2.	Samantasimha	}	540-550 CE
3.	Kumarasimha		
4.	Mahanasimha		
5.	Padmasimha		
6.	Jaitrasimha	KV 1270, 1279, 1284	550-580 CE
7.	Tejasimha	KV 1317, 1322, 1324	580-605 CE

8.	Samarasimha	KV 1330, 1331, 1335, 1342, 1344, 1345, 1356, 1358	605-641 CE
9.	Ratnasimha or Karnasimha?	KV 1359	641-642 CE
10.	Bhuvanasimha (son of Samarasimha)	}	642-680 CE
11.	Jayasimha		
12.	Lakshmasimha		
13.	Ajaysimha		
14.	Arisimha		

The inscriptions of King Kumbhakarṇa and *Ekalinga Māhātmya* unambiguously indicate that Samarasimha's successors like Bhuvanasimha, Jayasimha, Lakshmasimha, Ajaysimha and Arisimha belonged to the Rawal branch.

### The Rana Branch of Guhilas

According to the Eklingji inscription, Rahapa, son of Ranasimha founded the Rana branch. The genealogy of Rana Kings of Chittor:

		<b>In CE</b>
1.	Rahapa	
2.	Narapati	
3.	Dinakara	
4.	Jasakarna	
5.	Nagapala	}
6.	Bhuvanasimha	
7.	Bhimasimha	
8.	Jayasimha	
9.	Lakshmasimha	
10.	Arisimha	642-670 CE

11. Hammira	}	
12. Kshetrasimha		
13. Lakshasena or Lakshasimha		670-770 CE
14. Mokala		
15. Kumbhasvamin alias Kumbhakarna		KV 1496, 1517      771-800 CE

The Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbhakarna mentions that when Ratnasingh was martyred in the war against Alauddin Khilji, Lakshamasimha of Rana branch died fighting to defend the fort.

### **Rani Padmavati or Padmini**

According to the well-known Rajput legends and “Padmavat” the poetry of Malik Mohammad Jayasi, Padmavati married to Ratan Singh of Mewar (641-642 CE). Rajput legends tell us that Sultan Alauddin laid siege to Chittorgarh. He sent a message to the defenders that he would end the war if Ratan Singh permitted him a glimpse of his beautiful wife Padmavati. Ratan Singh agreed and the Sultan saw Padmavati’s image in the mirror. The sultan then went back to Dilli. But after short period, he again laid siege to Chittorgarh. The sultan treacherously captured Ratan Singh and demanded to surrender his wife Padmavati. The Rajpur generals Gora and Badal planned a strategy and informed the sultan that Padmavati will arrive in 150 palanquins along with her companions (Sakhiyan). Rajput warriors sat in 150 palanquins and entered the camp of Allauddin. They could bring back Ratan Singh to the fort but many Rajputs including Gora died in this rescue operation. The furious Sultan Allauddin led a full-fledged attack on Chittorgarh. Finally, Rani Padmavati performed Jauhar by torching the pyre herself. Ratan Singh and Rajput warriors sacrificed their lives by bravely fighting with the Persian army.

According to Sufi poet Malik Mohammad Jayasi, Padmavati was the daughter of Gandharva Sen, the king of Simhala and married to Ratansen of Chittaur. A Brahman Raghav Chetan goes to Dilli and describes the beauty of Padmavati to Sultan Allauddin. Allauddin lays siege of Chittaur and demands the surrender of Padmavati. Ratansen refuses but agrees to

pay tribute. After negotiations, Allauddin was allowed to see Padmavati's image in the mirror. Allauddin traps Ratansen into accompanying him to the foot of the fort and treacherously captures and takes him to Dilli. Gora and Badal enter the fort and prison of Dilli disguised as Padmamati and her companions and free the king but Gora gets killed like Abhimanyu. Meanwhile, Devpal, the king of Kumbhalner, sends a message to Padmavati to marry him. Padmavati narrates this incident to Ratansen. The furious Ratansen goes to punish Devpal but both kill each other. Padmavati performs Jauhar. When Allauddin arrives, the Rajputs go all out for their last battle and all women of the fort perform Jauhar. Thus, Allauddin conquers an empty fortress.

The date of Jayasi is generally given with reference to the years mentioned in his works. Jayasi states that he wrote Akhari Kalaam in the year 936 Hijrah (857 CE) when Babur was ruling. He also gives a date of 947 Hijrah (868 CE) or 927 in the Padmavat (Nau sai saintalisa or Nau sai sattaissa) and the reference to Sher Khan as the ruler of Dilli. We also find the story of Padmavati in Chittai Charita composed in KV 1583 (864 CE). Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal also gives the story of Padmavati similar to Padmavat of Jayasi. The Khumman Raso, the chronicle of Guhilot and Sisodia Rajputs, also narrates the invasion of Allauddin on Chittaur and the story of Padmavati. The author of Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi of the 17<sup>th</sup> century mentions that Allauddin Khilji captured the Chittaur king but his daughter escaped and took refuge in Aravalis. Allauddin offered the king his freedom if he surrendered the daughter.

Historians have doubted the story of Padmavati as historical because *Khazanul Futuh*, the contemporary history written by Amir Khusrau contains no record of Padmavati. But Amir Khusrau mentions that 30000 Rajputs were killed in the battle of Chittaur. Though Rajputs lost the war, Padmavati's jauhar and the military adventures of Gora and Badal became folk tales in Mewar. Evidently, the story of Padmavati is indeed historical. Samar Singh Rawal, the king of Mewar, died in 641 CE and his son Ratan Singh Rawal succeeded him. Evidently, Khilji perceived an opportunity and finally conquered Chittaur in Aug 642 CE.

### **Some Early Branches of Guhilas**

The Guhilas of Kishkindha (present Kalyanpur), the Guhilas of Dhavagarta (Dhor in Bhilwara), the Guhilas of Chatsu and the Guhilas of Vagada, etc., were the early branches which came into existence after the reign of King Bhartripatta. The Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya gives the genealogy from King Ishānabhata, son of Bhartripatta to King Bālāditya. The genealogy: Bhartripatta - Isānabhata - Upendrabhata - Guhila - Dhanika - Aauka - Krishnarāja - Śaṅkaragaṇa - Sri Harsha - Guhila II -Bhatta - Bālāditya. Guhila king Sri Harsha was the contemporary of Paramāra king Bhoja (338-394 CE). King Bālāditya married the daughter of Chāhamāna king Śivarāja.

The Dabok inscription of Guhila king Dhanika<sup>130</sup> is dated in the year 207 (150 CE) of Chaitradi Vikrama era (57 BCE). The Nasun inscription of Isānabhata, son of Dhanika, is dated in the year 887 (168 CE) of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE).<sup>131</sup> Interestingly, the Nāgar inscription of Dhanika is dated in Samvat 741.<sup>132</sup> This inscription refers to historical Guhila kings Dhanika, his son Isānabhata, his son Upendrabhata and his son Guhila. Undoubtedly, this inscription refers to a later Guhila king named Dhanika, who reigned in the year 741 (684 CE) of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).

### **The Bhatti Kings of Jaisalmer**

The Bhatti kings of Jaisalmer trace their origin from the Yadu dynasty. The annals of Yadu-Bhattis relate that Sri Krishna, his son Pradyumna, his son Aniruddha, his son Vajra, his son Nabha and his son Prithvibahu were the ancestors of the Bhatti kings. Rājā Gaj, the celebrated king of Bhattis, was son of Rijh, grandson of Subāhu, great grandson of Bāhu and great-great grandson of Rājā Bāhubal.

According to Yadu-Bhatti annals, Rājā Gaj defeated the Mlecchā army of Farid Shah Mamrez, king of Khurasan in the year 3008 of Yudhiṣṭhira Samvat (3162 BCE), i.e., 154 BCE on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of Vaiśākha month, Rohiṇī nakṣatra and founded the city of Gajani. The date regularly corresponds to 17<sup>th</sup> Apr 154 BCE. Bhatti Rajput king Śālibāhan was the son of Rājā Gaj. He founded Śālibāhanapura in the 72<sup>nd</sup> year from the foundation of Gajani, i.e., 82 BCE. Rājā Baland was the son and Rājā



Bhatti was the grandson of Rājā Śālibāhan. Mahārāja Bhatti mentioned in the Dhule plate dated in the year 73 of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era, i.e., 16 CE belonged to the clan of Bhatti Rajputs.

Rājā Jaisal, a descendant of Rājā Bhatti founded the city of Jaisalmer in the year 1212 of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era, i.e., 492-493 CE on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of Śrāvaṇa month, i.e., 22 Jul 492 CE or 11 Aug 493 CE. Later, the Bhatti kings of Jaisalmer founded an epoch of the Bhātika era in 623 CE.

### The Chandrātreyas or Chandellas

The Chandella dynasty was one of the glorious royal dynasties of North India. They claimed to be descendants of Rishi Chandrātreyā and belonged to Chandravamśa. The territory occupied by Chandella kings was called Jejjābhukti or Jejjākabhukti (*Ā-Kālañjaramā ca Mālavanādī-tīrasthite bhāsvataḥ, Kālindisaritaḥ tatādita ito'pyā-Chedideśāvadheḥ*) which is now modern Bundelkhand. Probably, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti were the first independent rulers of the Chandella dynasty and they were called Jejjāka and Vijjāka. The word Jejjākabhukti means the kingdom of Jayaśakti. Their earliest capital was Kharjūrāvāhaka or Khajuraho and sometime later the capital was shifted to Mahotsavanagara or Mahoba. The earliest king of the Chandellas mentioned in their genealogy is Nannuka. It appears that the Chandellas were initially the feudatories of the Pratīhāra kings but later they established their independent kingdom. The inscriptions of the Chandellas are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). The Khajuraho inscription<sup>133</sup> of the 8<sup>th</sup> Chandella king Dhāṅga gives the earliest recorded date as KV 1011 (292 CE) and the latest date known from the Charkhari grant of the last Chandella king Hammīravarmadeva is KV 1346 (627 CE). Hammīravarma ruled at least till KV 1368 (649 CE).<sup>134</sup>

### The Chronology of the Chandella Kings:

		Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	In CE
1.	Nannuka	810-835	91-116 CE
2.	Vākpati	835-860	116-141 CE

3.	Jayaśakti	860-890	141-171 CE
4.	Vijayaśakti	860-890	141-171 CE
5.	Rāhila	890-930	171-211 CE
6.	Sri Harsha	930-970	211-251 CE
7.	Yaśovarman I	970-1003	251-284 CE
8.	Dhāṅgadeva	1003-1059	284-340 CE
9.	Gaṇḍadeva	1059-1060	340-341 CE
10.	Vidyādharma	1060-1095	341-376 CE
11.	Vijayapāla	1095-1106	376-387 CE
12.	Devavarman	1106-1115	387-396 CE
13.	Kīrtivarman	1115-1155	396-436 CE
14.	Sallakṣaṇavarman	1155-1165	436-446 CE
15.	Jayavarman	1165-1168	446-449 CE
16.	Prithvivarman	1168-1175	449-456 CE
17.	Madanavarman	1175-1220	456-501 CE
18.	Yaśovarman II	—	—
19.	Paramardideva	1220-1260	501-541 CE
20.	Trailokyavarman	1260-1300	541-581 CE
21.	Vīravarman	1300-1338	581-619 CE
22.	Bhojavarman	1338-1346	619-627 CE
23.	Hammīravarman	1346-1368	627-649 CE
24.	Vīravarman II	1368	649 CE

Kokalladeva I, the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty, married a Chandella princess Nattadevi as recorded in the Banaras grant of Karṇa (*Chandellavamaṅsa-prabhavām suśilām Nattākhyadevīm sa tu pryāṇaiṣīt*).<sup>135</sup> Nattadevi was probably the daughter of the Chandella King Vijayaśakti or Rāhila. It is also stated in the Banaras grant that Kokalla I gave protection to Sri Harsha, the king of Chitrakūṭa who was none other than the Chandella King Rāhila's son Sri Harsha. Thus, Sri Harsha was a contemporary of the Kalachuri king Kokalla I. The Chandella Sri Harsha was married to a princess of the Chāhamāna dynasty. His son Yaśovarman probably married a Gāndhāra princess.

Dhāṅga, the son of Yaśovarman, was the illustrious king of the Chandellas. He ruled for at least 50 years. According to one Mahoba inscription, Dhāṅga defeated a king named Hamvira. Historians distorted that Hamvira is a sanskritised form of Amir and that Amir was the same as

to Ghazni ruler Subuktigin. Actually, Dhāṅga was ruling at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and Hamvira was a contemporary Indian king. The Mau inscription of Madanavarman tells us that Dhāṅga defeated the king of Kānyakubja and established his empire (*Yaḥ Kānyakubjam narendram samarabhuvī vijitya prāpa sāmrajyamuccaiḥ*).<sup>136</sup> He quite likely defeated the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla II whose only inscription is dated in KV 1003(284 CE). Dhāṅga's son Gandadeva and grandson Vidyādhara succeeded him.

Vidyādhara was one of the illustrious kings of the Chandellas. He was a contemporary of the Paramāra king Bhoja. The Chandella inscription tells us that he had caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja, and that Bhojadeva and the Kalachuri king were like pupils in front of Vidyādhara.<sup>137</sup> It is recorded in the Dubkund inscription<sup>138</sup> of the Kacchāpaghāta prince Vikramasimha that Arjuna, the great-grandfather of Vikramasimha, as a military official of Vidyādhara, killed the Pratihāra king Rājyapāla in a fierce battle (*Śri-Vidyādhara devakāryanirataḥ Śri-Rājyapālam haṭhāt-kaṅṭhāsthicchīd-ane kabāṇanivahair-hatvā mahatyāhave....*).

According to Muslim historians, when Sultan Mahmud of Gazani invaded Kanauj, the ruler of Kanauj named Rajbal or Rajpal fled away. Then the Chandella ruler Mar ed against him and punished him for his cowardly conduct. It may be noted that Vidyādhara's army defeated and killed Pratihāra Rājyapāla in a war. Vijayapāla succeeded his father Vidyādhara and probably was the contemporary of the Chedi king Gāṅgeyadeva. He had two sons, Devavarman and Kīrtivarman. Initially, Kīrtivarman suffered defeat but later with the help of his feudatory or minister Gopāla, he defeated the Chedi king Karṇa and restored the authority of the Chandellas.

Madanavarman was the son of Prithvivarman and the grandson of Kīrtivarman. According to the *Kumārapālacharita*, the Chaulukya king Jayasimha defeated Madanavarman. Paramardideva, the grandson of Madanavarman succeeded him. According to Paramāla Rāso, Paramāla was the Chandella king and ruled around 1165-1203 CE. Historians wrongly identified Paramāla to be Paramardi. In reality, Paramardi ruled in the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE whereas Paramāla ruled in the

second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Mahobākhandā of Paramāla Rāso gives the genealogy of Chandellas:<sup>139</sup>

1. Chandravarman 2. Balavarman 3. Paravarman 4. Rūpavarman I 5. Belavarman 6. Gajavarman 7. Jñanavarman 8. Jānavarman 9. Śaktivarman 10. Pṛthubarman 11. Bhaktavarman 12. Jagatvarman 13. Kilavarman 14. Kalyāṇavarman 15. Surajavarman 16. Rūpavarman II 17. Vidhavarman (Muslim historians referred to him as Bida) 18. Rāhilavarman 19. Madanavarman 20. Kīrtivarman 21. Paramāla 22. Brahmajit, Kāmajit, Raṇajit, Sabhajit or Samarajit.

As quoted by RK Dikshit in his book “Candellas of Jejjakabhukti”, Crooks refers to another tradition which states that there were 49 rulers between Chandravarman and Paramāla. Evidently, the genealogy of the Chandellas given by Paramāla Rāso is completely different from the genealogy given in the inscriptions. According to the Batesvar inscription<sup>140</sup> dated in KV 1252 (533 CE), Paramardi was the son of Yaśovarman whereas Paramāla was the son of Kīrtivarman. The Madanpur inscription and Jinapāla’s Kharatagaccha Paṭṭāvali state that the Chāhamāna king Prithvirāja III (507-556 CE) defeated Paramardi of Jejjakabhukti in KV 1239 (520 CE) whereas Prithvirāja Rāso informs us that Prithviraj Chauhan defeated Paramāla in CV 1241 (1182 CE). The Garra grant tells us that Trailokyavarman, the son of Paramardi, was ruling in KV 1261 (542 CE) whereas Paramāla Rāso records that Brahmajit, Kāmajit, Raṇajit, Sabhajit or Samarajit were the sons of Paramāla. It is evident that the inscriptions dated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) tell us the history of the Chandellas from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE to the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE whereas Paramāla Rāso records the history of the Chandellas from the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE to the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE.

According to the Duhreti grant<sup>141</sup> and two Rewa grants,<sup>142</sup> the Kalachuri King Trailokyamalla ruled over the kingdom of Kānyakubja and Trikaliṅga from Kalachuri year 963 (560 CE) to KV 1298 (579 CE). It may be noted that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 402 BCE. Since historians knew only one epoch of the Vikrama era that commenced in 57 BCE, they have to fix the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era in 248 or 249 CE. Interestingly, historians concocted the myth that Kalachuri Trailokyamalla of the Duhreti grant was identical to the Chandella Trailokyavarman of

the Garra grant. Cunningham speculated that the titles of Chedi princes, including the reference to Vāmadeva, were simply transferred to a Chandella prince. There is not an iota of evidence to prove the Kalachuri Trailokyamalla was the same as Chandella Trailokyavarman. In fact, both were contemporary kings and the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla was ruling in Kānyakubja around 560-578 CE whereas the Chandella king Trailokyavarman was ruling in Kālinjar around 542-575 CE.

Viravarman, the son of Trailokyavarman succeeded him. An unpublished Mathura museum plate<sup>143</sup> dated in KV 1334 (615 CE) was issued by Pratihāra Ajayapāla, a feudatory of Viravarman. Fifteen inscriptions found in the Bangla village of Shivapuri district, Madhya Pradesh, inform us about a fierce battle fought between the Yajvapāla king Gopāla and Viravarman.<sup>144</sup> It seems that Viravarman, along with four other kings attacked Gopāla in KV 1337 (618 CE). The Narwar inscription<sup>145</sup> dated in KV 1339 (620 CE) records that Gopāla defeated Viravarman. Viravarman has two sons, Bhojavarman and Hammīravarman. Bhojavarman ruled for a short period. According to some inscriptions, Hammīravarman was ruling around KV 1368 (649 CE). A damaged stone inscription<sup>146</sup> tells us that Viravarman II was ruling in KV 1368 (649 CE).

It is well known that Qutbuddin Aibak comprehensively defeated the Chandellas and conquered the fort of Kālinjar. He appointed Hasan Arnal as governor of Kālinjar. A Persian historian Minhaj-us-Siraj mentions in his *Tabqat-e-Nasiri* that Malik Nusratuddin Tayasi led an army from Gwalior towards Kālinjar but the king of Kālinjar fled away. *Tabqat-e-Nasiri* also tells us that a Rāṇā named Dalaki and Malaki was ruling in a mountainous region not far from Kaḍa (Allahabad district) which was raided by Ulugh Khan (Balban) in 645 Hijrah (591 CE). Firishta also records that Dalaki and Malaki (early Baghel kings Dalakesvar and Malakesvar) resided at Kālinjar. It is also recorded in the Muslim accounts that the Delhi Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud subjugated Bundelkhand and appointed his governor. He was also controlling the regions of Gwalior, Chanderi and Mālava.

Chandela Kings Trailokyavarman, Viravarman, Bhojavarman and Hammīravarman had proclaimed themselves as Mahārājādhirāja and

Kāliñjarādhipati. Seemingly, Trailokyavarman had defeated the Muslim governor and re-established the Chandella kingdom in 543 CE. Pratihāra Ajayapāla was a feudatory of King Viravarman. In fact, the Chandella kings Trailokyavarman to Hammīravarman flourished from 542 CE to 649 CE and their inscriptions are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE).

### The Kacṇapaghātas

The Dubkund inscription<sup>147</sup> of Vikramasimha dated in KV 1145 (426 CE) is the earliest available source of information about the dynasty of Kacṇapaghāta. It seems that the Kacṇapaghātas were the military officials of the Chandellas and Arjuna was likely the commander-in-chief of the Chandella king Vidyādharma. Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, became the feudatory of Paramāra Bhoja. They were ruling in the region of Gwalior.

### The Genealogy of Kacṇapaghātas:

	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	In CE
1. Yuvarāja	—	—
2. Arjuna	1060-1090	341-371 CE
3. Abhimanyu	1090-1100	371-381 CE
4. Vijayapāla	1100-1130	381-411 CE
5. Vikramasimha	1130-1145	411-426 CE

Interestingly, two Gwalior stone inscriptions<sup>148</sup> of Mahipāla dated in CV 1150 (1093 CE) and CV 1161 (1104 CE) indicate that the Kacṇapaghātas were independent rulers of the Gwalior region in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. Historians wrongly concluded that Mahipāla and Vikramasimha were contemporaries and belonged to two different families. Evidently, Vikramasimha of the Dubkund inscription was the descendant of a feudatory family of the Kacṇapaghātas whereas Mahipāla was the descendant of a family of sovereign kings of Kacṇapaghātas. According to Mahipāla's inscriptions, his ancestor Vajradāman put down the valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara and his great-grandfather Kīrtirāja defeated the king of Mālava. Historians mistakenly identified the king of Mālava with the Paramāra king Bhoja.

Vikramasimha proudly tells us that his grandfather Abhimanyu's valour and skill were highly eulogised by the Mālava king Bhoja. In fact, the inscription of Vikramasimha is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 CE) whereas the inscriptions of Mahipāla are dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Therefore, Vikramasimha and Mahipāla cannot be contemporaries. Mahipāla was ruling at Gopādri (Gwalior) in the 11<sup>th</sup> century whereas Vikramasimha flourished in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Kacchāpaghāta king Kīrtirāja may have defeated a Mālava king of the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE.

### The genealogy of Gopādri (Gwalior) family of Kacchāpaghātas:

	Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)	In CE
1. Lakṣmaṇa	960-980	903-923 CE
2. Vajradāman	980-1000	923-943 CE
3. Maṅgalarāja	1000-1020	943-963 CE
4. Kīrtirāja	1020-1050	963-993 CE
5. Mūladeva also known as Bhuvanapāla (Trailokyamalla)	1050-1080	993-1023 CE
6. Devapāla	1080-1110	1023-1053 CE
7. Padmapāla	1110-1140	1053-1083 CE
8. Mahipāla (Bhuvanaikamalla)	1140-1161	1083-1104 CE

Another inscription<sup>149</sup> of the Kacchāpaghātas dated in CV 1177 (1120 CE) is found in Narwar, Shivapuri district, Madhya Pradesh. Evidently, another branch of the Kacchāpaghāta dynasty was ruling at Nalapura (Narwar) in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and they bore the titles of Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Paramabhaṭṭāraka.

### The Genealogy of the Nalapura Family of the Kacchāpaghātas:

	Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)	In CE
1. Gaganasimha	1100-1130	1043-1073 CE
2. Śaradasimha	1130-1160	1073-1103 CE
3. Vīrasimha	1160-1177	1103-1120 CE

### The Yajvapālas

Some inscriptions found in Narwar in the Shivpuri district of Madhya

Pradesh tell us that the Yajvapāla or Jejjapella dynasty was ruling in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. They also used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era in their inscriptions. The earliest inscription<sup>150</sup> of this dynasty is dated in KV 1319 (600 CE), which was engraved on stone during the reign of Āsalladeva. One inscription at Narwar mentions that the Yajvapāla king Nrivarman forced the king of Dhārā to pay tribute to him (*paribhūya yena Dhārādhipādapi karo jagrhe'tidṛptāt*).<sup>151</sup> It is probable that Jayavarman II of the Paramāra dynasty was the king of Dhārā, who paid tribute to Yajvapāla king Nrivarman. Gopāla was an illustrious king of this dynasty who claimed his victory over the Chandella King Vīravarman I around KV 1337-1338 (618-619 CE).<sup>152</sup> Gopāla's son Gaṇapati conquered the Kirtidurga (*ādāya Kirtidurgam*) around KV 1351 (632 CE).<sup>153</sup>

	<b>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
1. Yaramādi or Paramādi	—	—
2. Chāhada	1290-1311	571-592 CE
3. Nrivarman	1311-1319	592-600 CE
4. Āsalladeva	1319-1335	600-616 CE
5. Gopāla	1335-1350	616-631 CE
6. Gaṇapati	1350-1360	631-641 CE

One inscription of the Yajvapāla king Gaṇapati is dated in KV 1351(632-633 CE) and Śaka 1216 (633 CE), which is also the evidence of the fact that Yajvapālas used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era.<sup>154</sup> Thus, the Yajvapālas, in fact, flourished in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century CE and not in 13<sup>th</sup> century CE as believed by historians.

### **The Kalachuri-Chedi dynasty**

The Chedis and Kalachuris were the descendants of the ancient Haihaya dynasty of Rigvedic era. Seemingly, the Chedis and Kalachuris established a powerful kingdom in central India around 402 BCE and founded an era as the earliest inscriptions issued from the city of Māhiṣmatī are dated around Kalachuri year 167 (235 BCE).<sup>155</sup> Assumably, Mahārāja Subandhu and his ancestors belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty and founded the Kalachuri-Chedi era. We have already discussed the epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era in Chapter 6. Most probably, King Vijayābhinandana



of Chitrakuta was the founder of the epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era as indicated by Kālidāsa in his “*Jyotirvidābharaṇam*”.

### The Maharajas of Valkhā

According to Dr. Mirashi, the Mahārājas of Valkhā, who were probably the earliest feudatories of the Kalachuris, used Kalachuri era in their inscriptions. More than 35 inscriptions of the Mahārājas of Valkhā have been discovered so far and found to be dated from the year 29 to 117.<sup>156</sup> Some historians opined that these inscriptions were dated in the Gupta era. It is difficult to establish whether these inscriptions were dated in the Kalachuri era or the Gupta era. Since the kingdom of Valkhā was very close to the Kalachuri kingdom, it is deducible that the Mahārājas of Valkhā used the Kalachuri-Chedi era in their inscriptions. Valkhā is undoubtedly the present village Bāgh in Dhār district of Madhya Pradesh, close to the Narmadā River. The genealogy and chronology of the Mahārājas of Valkhā:

	<b>Kalachuri-Chedi</b>	
	<b>Era (402 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
Bhaṭṭāraka	29-36	373-366 BCE
Bhulunḍa I	37-59	365-343 BCE
Svāmidāsa	60-68	342-334 BCE
Rudradāsa I	66-85	336-317 BCE
Bhulunḍa II	86-107	316-295 BCE
Rudradāsa II	108-117	294-285 BCE
Nāgabhaṭa	—	—

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

### The Traikūṭakas

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

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

### **The Kaṭachchuris**

We learn from the Abhona grant dated in the year 347 that Śaṅkaragaṇa, the king of the Kaṭachchuri dynasty, conquered Ujjayini and established his kingdom.<sup>157</sup> Some historians conclude, without any evidence, that the Kaṭachchuris were the early Kalachuris and used the Kalachuri era in their inscriptions. Actually, Kaṭachchuri was a different royal dynasty, which presumably used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and not the Kalachuri era.

Historians also mistakenly identified Maṅgalarāja of the Nerur grant<sup>158</sup> with the early Chālukya king Maṅgalīśvara and concluded that Maṅgalīśvara defeated the Kaṭachchuri king Buddharāja, the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa. The Kurtaketi grant<sup>159</sup> of Chālukya Vikramāditya is dated in Śaka 530 and in his 16<sup>th</sup> regnal year. Therefore, the rule of Maṅgalīśvara must have ended by Śaka 515. Thus, Maṅgalīśvara's rule ended at least 3 years before the Kaṭachchuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa could establish his kingdom in Ujjayini. Moreover, the Vadner and Sarsavni grants of Buddharāja<sup>160</sup> are dated in the year 360 and 361 respectively, which means Buddharāja was defeated after the year 361. It is, therefore, totally absurd to conclude that Maṅgalarāja of the Nerur grant was Maṅgalīśvara who defeated Buddharāja.

The genealogy given in the Nerur grant tells us that Maṅgalarāja was the son of Vallabha. There is no mention of the names of Pulakeśin I and Kirtivarman I. Therefore, Maṅgalarāja of the Nerur grant, the son of Vallabha, was the anterior Chālukya king and not Maṅgalīśvara, the son of Kirtivarman I. It is also clear from the above that the dates of the Kaṭachchuri inscriptions cannot be explained in the chronology of the Kalachuri era. The Kaṭachchuris probably used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era.

**The chronology of the Kaṭachchuri dynasty:**

	<b>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
Krishnarāja	—	—
Śaṅkaragaṇa	347-355	372-364 BCE
Buddharāja	355-361	364-358 BCE

The Marruturu grant of Satyaśraya,<sup>161</sup> the Mudhol grant of Pugavarman,<sup>162</sup> the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja<sup>163</sup> and the Godchi grant of Kaṭṭi Arasa<sup>164</sup> mention the existence of Chālukya kings prior to the establishment of the early Chālukya dynasty by Jayasimha I. Two grants issued by Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana from Rājamahendravaram are dated in Kaliyuga era 2625 (477 BCE) and 2628 (474 BCE).<sup>165</sup> Maṅgalarāja of the Nerur grant was reigning in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE and defeated Buddharāja around 359 BCE. It appears that the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja was also dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era and was issued in the year 394 (325 BCE).

The Mankani grant of the Kaṭachchuri king Taralāsvāmi is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama 346 (373 BCE)<sup>166</sup> thereby indicating that one more family of the Kaṭachchuris existed around 373 BCE. The genealogy of the king Taralāsvāmi:

	<b>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE)</b>	<b>In CE</b>
Maharāja Nanna	—	—
Sūrya-Bhāvuka	—	—
Taralāsvāmi	346	373 BCE

Historians unduly rejected the Mankani grant because the date was expressed in decimal notation. However, it is well-established that Indians were conversant with decimal notation since ancient times. The Yajurveda gives the specific names for the powers of 10 up to 10<sup>12</sup> and the highest number 10<sup>12</sup> is named as Parārdha. Piṅgala's *Chandaśāstra* and Sarvanandī's *Lokavibhāga* explicitly mention zero and decimal place notation. An inscription of the early Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana dated in Kaliyuga era 2628 (474 BCE) expressed the year in positional notation as “*Kalyādyabda-gaṇeṣṭa-netra-rasa-dossankhye gate vatsare*” (*aṣṭa* = 8, *netra* = 2, *rasa* = 6 and *doḥ* = 2). Therefore, it can be clearly seen that the Mankani grant is absolutely genuine.

### The Early Gurjaras

The Gurjara kings reigned in Southern Gujarat and Northern Maharashtra. They were the descendants of Mahārāja Karṇa of the Mahābhārata era. The inscriptions of the early Gurjara kings were dated in the Kalachuri era from the year 355 to 486. Dadda I, the first known king of the early Gurjaras protected the Maitraka king of Valabhi when he was attacked by Harshadeva or Harsha Vikramāditya. The earliest inscription of Jayabhāṭa I<sup>167</sup> was dated in the year 355 and the last inscription of Jayabhāṭa III was dated in the year 486.<sup>168</sup>

### The Chronology of the Early Gurjaras:

	Kalachuri-Chedi era (402 BCE)	In CE
Dadda I	330-354	72-48 BCE
Jayabhāṭa I	355-380	47-22 BCE
Dadda II	380-427	22 BCE-24 CE
Jayabhāṭa II	428-460	25-57 CE
Ahirola	461-480	58-77 CE
Jayabhāṭa III	480-486	77-83 CE

The inscriptions of the Gurjaras tell us that it was Dadda I and not Dadda II who protected the Valabhi ruler from Harshadeva or Harsha Vikramāditya (*Parameśvara-Śri-Harshadevābhībhūta-valabhī-patiparitrāṇopajāta-bhramadabhra-subhra-vibhrama-yaśovitānaḥŚri-Daddaḥ*). Historians concocted the fable that Jayabhāṭa II of the Navasari grant was actually Jayabhāṭa III and that he had not mentioned the names of Dadda I and Jayabhāṭa I in his genealogy. Thus, eminent historians converted Dadda I to Dadda II, Dadda II to Dadda III, Jayabhata II to Jayabhata III and Jayabhata III to Jayabhata IV by creating two more fictitious kings in their genealogy. Thus, historians proved, by distorting the facts, that the Harshadeva mentioned by Gurjaras was Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty who flourished after 606 CE. Actually, the Harshadeva mentioned by the Gurjaras was either Harsha Vikramāditya of Avanti or Sri Harsha of Upamañipura, contemporary of Bānabhatta and not Sri Harsha (457 BCE) of Sthāṇvīśvara.

Some inscriptions of the Later Gurjaras were dated in the Śākānta era from the year 400 to 417. The Umeta grant of Dadda IV was dated in

Śakānta 400 (478 CE),<sup>169</sup> the Bagumra grant in Śakānta 415 (493 CE) and the Ilao grant of Dadda IV in Śakānta 417 (495 CE).<sup>170</sup>

### The Chronology of the Later Gurjaras:

	Śakānta era (78 CE)	In CE
Dadda III	350-375	428-453 CE
Jayabhaṭa IV	375-400	453-478 CE
Dadda IV	400-417	478-495 CE

Historians rejected all the three inscriptions of the Later Gurjaras as spurious because they could not explain the dates of these inscriptions in their distorted chronology. In fact, they were ignorant of the difference between Śaka era (583 BCE) and Śakānta era (78 CE).

### The Sendrakas

The Sendrakas were the feudatories of the Kadam̄ba kings and the early Chālukyas of Gujarat. The earliest known king of the Sendrakas was Bhānuśakti and the Halsi grant of Harivarman was issued in his 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year at the request of the Sendraka king Bhānuśakti.<sup>171</sup> Interestingly, the inscriptions of the Sendrakas used the Kalachuri era and the Śaka era and provide invaluable information about the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. The Kasare grant<sup>172</sup> and Bagumra grant<sup>173</sup> of Āllaśakti, the grandson of Bhānuśakti, were dated in Kalachuri year 404 (1-2 CE) and 406 (3-4 CE) respectively. The Nagad grant of Āllaśakti<sup>174</sup> is dated in Śaka 577 (6 BCE) and the Mundakhede grant<sup>175</sup> of Jayaśakti in Śaka 602 (19 CE).

### The Chronology of the Sendrakas:

	In CE
Bhānuśakti or Nikumbha	145-90 BCE
Ādityaśakti	90-40 BCE
Āllaśakti or Nikumbhāllaśakti	40 BCE-4 CE
Jayaśakti	4-19 CE

The Early Chālukyas of Gujarat also used the Kalachuri era and their inscriptions dated from the year 421 (18 CE) to 461 (58 CE).

### **The Kalachuris of Mahishmati and the Chedis of Tripuri**

The Kalachuri and Chedi kings traced their origin from the legendary king Kārtavīryārjuna of the Rigvedic era who successfully subjugated Rāvaṇa I, grandson of Rishi Pulastya (*Rāvaṇam yo babandha*). According to some inscriptions, Purūrāvā, Nahuṣa and Haihaya were their ancestors. Kārtavīryārjuna, the son of Kṛtavīrya, was the descendant of the Haihaya dynasty and he was the senior contemporary of Paraśurāma. The Kalachuri and Chedi kings proudly proclaimed themselves as “Haihayas” meaning the descendants of the Haihaya dynasty. Māhiṣmatī was the capital of the kingdom of Kalachuris and Tripuri in Dāhala deśa (Tiwari near Jabalpur) was the capital of Chedis. We learn from the inscriptions that Kokalladeva I was the founder of the Tripuri branch of the Kalachuri-Chedi dynasty.

VV Mirashi opined that Vāmarājadeva of the Saugor inscription<sup>176</sup> ought to be the founder of the Tripuri branch of the Chedi dynasty and the Vāmadeva mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chedi king Karṇa and later kings is identical to Vāmarājadeva. None of the inscriptions mentions the name of Vāmarājadeva or Vāmadeva in the genealogy of the Kalachuri kings but the inscriptions of king Karṇa and his successors mention “*Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-Śri-Vāmādeva-Pādānudhyāta.....*”. In all likelihood, Vāmadeva may be another name of Kokalladeva I, the founder of the Tripuri branch of the Kalachuri dynasty or the illustrious Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, the father of King Karṇa. Historians wrongly identified the Saugor inscription as the inscription of Kalachuris. King Śaṅkaragaṇa referred to in the Saugor and Chhoti Deori inscriptions<sup>177</sup> may be the one who was protected by Kokalladeva I (*Śaṅkaragaṇe ca rājani yasyasīdabhayadaḥ pāṇih*).<sup>178</sup>

According to the Kāritalāi inscription, King Lakśmaṇarāja was ruling in Kalachuri year 593 (190 CE).<sup>179</sup> It mentions the rout of the Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa (140-170 CE) and praises the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I (157-213 CE) [*Bhagne Nāgabhaṭe..... Śrīmadamoghavarṣa-nṛpatiḥ pādau.....*]. Undoubtedly, king Lakśmaṇarājadeva was a contemporary of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I and the Kalachuri king Kokalladeva. We have no information about the relationship between Lakśmaṇarāja of Kāritalāi inscription and Kokalladeva. In all probability,

Lakṣmaṇarāja was the younger brother of Kokalladeva as mentioned in the Kahla grant of Sodhadeva.

All the Kalachuri inscriptions unanimously refer to Kokalladeva I as the founder of the Tripuri branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. The Amoda plates of Prithvideva I refer to Kokalla as “*Chedyadi-Kṣitiśa*” meaning the earliest king of the Chedis.<sup>180</sup> The Bilhari stone inscription also mentions that, having conquered the whole earth, Kokalla, set up two pillars of victory, the Krishnarāja in the South and Bhojadeva in the North. The Banaras grant of Karṇa tells us that Kokalla gave protection to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Sri-Harsha (the king of Chitrakūta) and Śaṅkaragaṇa. The Bhoja mentioned here is the Pratihāra king Bhojadeva or Mihira Bhoja. Thus, Kokalla was a contemporary of Pratihāra Bhojadeva (174-234 CE) and the time of Kokalla can be fixed around 180-210 CE.

The Amoda grant tells us that Kokalla had eighteen sons. The eldest son of Kokalla became the king of Tripuri and he made his brothers kings of various mandalas (*Aṣṭādaśāri-karikumbha-vibhaṅga-simhāh putrā babhūvuratiśauryaparāśca tasya, Tatrāgrajo nṛpavaras-Tripuriśa āsīt pārśve ca mandalapatīn sa cakāra bandhūn*). According to the Bilhari inscription, Kokalla was followed by his son Mugdhatuṅga who, also known as Prasiddhadhavaḷa, was likely the eldest son of Kokalla. It appears that Mugdhatuṅga was also called Baddega as the Sudi grant of the Gaṅga king Butuga II dated in Śaka 860 (277 CE) mentions Tripuri kings Baddega and Krishna.<sup>181</sup> When the Gaṅga kingdom was in trouble, Butuga II approached the Chedi King Baddega at Tripuri and impressed upon him that he could be instrumental in strengthening the Chedi rule in Southern region. Baddega married off his daughter to Butuga II to ensure his loyalty to Chedi kings.

*“Tasyānujo nijabhujārjjita-sampadārthī  
Bhūvallabham samuṇagatya Dahāla-deśe,  
Śri-Baddegam tadanu tasya sutām sahaiva  
vakkanyayā vyavahaduktavidhis-Tripuryām ||”*

Dr. Mirashi quotes the following extract from an ancient manuscript in possession of Dr. SN Sen, keeper of the Nepal Museum.

*Gatavati Śaka-kāle maṅgaleṣvaṣṭa-saṅkhye,  
Śaradi viśadapakṣe cāśvineśukravāre |*

*Uḍuni Surapatīṣe yoga Āyusmatīyam,  
Tithirapi ca gatānām Pañchamī yatra śuddhā ||  
Chedikularājadhānyām gatavati Śri Vandyage nihatyārīn |  
Tacchāsanena vasudhām parirakṣati Krishnarāje'pi ||<sup>182</sup>*

“When Śaka year 858 elapsed, on the 5<sup>th</sup>tithi of the bright fortnight of Aśvina Month, Friday, Āyusmatī Yoga, King Śri Vandyaga or Baddega went back to Tripuri, the capital city of the Chedi Dynasty after defeating all his enemies while Krishnarāja was governing the country in the South”. The date corresponds regularly with 21<sup>st</sup> / 22<sup>nd</sup> Sep 274 CE.

It is very likely that the Chedi king Baddega or Vandyaga was the eldest son of Kokalla who became the king of Tripuri and Krishnarāja was the younger brother of Baddega who became king in the Southern region of the Chedi kingdom. The Gaṅga king Butuga II strengthened the rule of Chedi Krishna after the death of his elder brother Baddega. In fact, Butuga II became the patron of Krishnarāja, the Chedi king of the Southern region and seized the kingdom from the possession of Lalleya (*Lakṣmīm Indrasya harttum gatavati divi yad Baddegaṅke mahīṣe, hr̥tvāLalleya hastād..... Prādāt Krishnāya rājñe....*). Butuga II's son Puṅṣeya Gaṅga married the daughter of the Chedi King Krishnarāja. Butuga II also defeated Kakkarāja of Achalapura, Bijja Dantivarman of Vanavāsi, Rājavarmān or Ajavarmān, Dāmari the king of Nulugugiri, the Nāgavarmas and extended the Chedi kingdom up to Tañjāpuri. Thus, the Chedi king Krishnarāja established the Chedi Empire that included Magadha, Kalinga, Pāṇḍya and Chola. Historians mistakenly identified Baddiga and Krishna mentioned in the Sudi grant as Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas never conquered Magadha and Kalinga in their entire history.

The Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II gives the genealogy of the Tripuri branch of the Chedi kings. Kokalla's eldest son Mugdhatuṅga was succeeded by his son Yuvarājadeva I, also known as Keyūrarvaṣa. The Banaras grant of Karṇa tells us that Prasiddhadhavalā or Mugdhatuṅga's elder son Bālaharsha reigned before his younger brother Yuvarājadeva I came to power. Nohala, daughter of the Chaulukya king Avanivarman, was the wife of Yuvarājadeva I. The Bilhari inscription indicates that Yuvarājadeva I established his authority over Gauda, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Kāśmīra and Kalinga. The Paramāra king Vākpatirāja II claimed victory



over the Tripura king Yuvarāja.<sup>183</sup> Rājaśekhara, the famous poet who finds mention in the Bilhari inscription (*Vismita-kavi-Rājaśekhara-stutyā....*), flourished in the court of Yuvarājadeva.

Lakṣmaṇarāja succeeded his father Yuvarājadeva I and subjugated the kings of Oḍra and Kosala. His elder son Śaṅkaragaṇa and younger son Yuvarājadeva II succeeded him. The Bilhari stone inscription was engraved during the reign of Yuvarājadeva II. Kokalladeva II ascended the throne after his father Yuvarājadeva II. The Mukundpur inscription<sup>184</sup> tells us that Gāṅgeyadeva was ruling in Kalachuri year 772 (369 CE). Gāṅgeyadeva was the son of Kokalladeva II. It appears that the Kalachuris lost Tripuri to the Paramāras. Bhoja established a powerful Paramāra kingdom in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, the Kalachuris migrated to Prayāga and Vārāṇasi region during the reign of Kokalladeva II. King Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgeyadeva, issued the Banaras grant<sup>185</sup> from Prayāga in Kalachuri year 793 on the occasion of the first annual Śrāddha of his father, which means Gāṅgeyadeva died on the 2<sup>nd</sup> tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna month in the year 792, i.e., 28<sup>th</sup> Feb 389 CE and Karṇa ascended the throne on 1<sup>st</sup> Mar 389 CE.

Karṇa established a settlement of the Brāhmaṇas called Karṇāvati or Karṇaparakāśa. The Rewa stone inscription<sup>186</sup> is dated in Kalachuri year 812 (409 CE) and in the 9<sup>th</sup> year from the establishment of Karṇaparakāśa, clearly indicating that Karṇa established Karṇaparakāśa or Karṇāvati in Kalachuri year 803 (400 CE). Some historians wrongly calculated the Kalachuri year of the Goharwa grant<sup>187</sup> of Karṇa as 799 considering the regnal years. The Goharwa grant was issued in the 7<sup>th</sup> year from the establishment of Karṇaparakāśa. Thus, the Goharwa grant must be dated in Kalachuri year 810 (407 CE).

Karṇa married the Hūṇa princess named Āvalladevi and his son was Yaśaḥkarṇa. The Khairha grant<sup>188</sup> of Yaśaḥkarṇa is dated in Kalachuri year 823 (420 CE). Yaśaḥkarṇa defeated the Āndhra king and worshipped the god Bhīmeśvara near the Godāvarī. Probably, Yaśaḥkarṇa defeated the eastern Chālukya king Kulottuṅga Choḍadeva I (401-450 CE). It appears that the Kalachuris recaptured Tripuri and Dāhala deśa during the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇa. The Jabalpur grant of Yaśaḥkarṇa<sup>189</sup> was dated in the year

529. Eminent historians could not explain the era used in this grant. Undoubtedly, the Jabalpur grant used the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and the grant was issued on the 10<sup>th</sup> tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha month in the year 529, i.e., 21<sup>st</sup> Jan 472 CE.

Yaśaḥkarṇa's son Gayākarṇa succeeded him. The Tiwar inscription of Gayākarṇa<sup>190</sup> was dated in Kalachuri year 902 (499 CE). We learn from the Bhera-Ghat inscription of Narasiṃha<sup>191</sup> dated in Kalachuri year 907 (504 CE) that Gayākarṇa married Alhaṇadevi, the daughter of King Vijayasimha and Śyāmaladevi. King Vijayasimha belonged to the gotra of Gobhilaputra. He was the son of king Vairisimha and the grandson of king Haṅsapāla. Śyāmaladevi was the daughter of Mālava king Udayāditya of Paramāra dynasty (399-432 CE). Thus, Alhaṇadevi was the maternal granddaughter of Paramāra king Udayāditya I. Gayākarṇa had two sons, Narasiṃha and Jayasimha. The Tewar inscription of Jayasimha<sup>192</sup> is dated in Kalachuri year 928 (525 CE). It appears that the rule of the lineage of Kokalladeva I ended with Jayasimha. The Rewa stone inscription<sup>193</sup> tells us that the Kalachuri king Vijayadeva or Vijayasimha, who was reigning in Kalachuri year 944 (541 CE) was born in the family of Karṇa. One Rewa grant of Vijayadeva<sup>194</sup> is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 1253 (534 CE).

### The chronology of the Kalachuri kings of Tripuri:

	Kalachuri-Chedi era (402 BCE)	In CE
Kokalladeva I	583-623	180-220 CE
Mugdhatuṅga or Vandyaga or Baddega or Prasiddhadhavalā	623-679	220-276 CE
Bālaharsha	680-683	277-280 CE
Yuvarājadeva I or Keyūrarvaṣa	683-718	280-315 CE
Lakṣmaṇarājadeva	718-743	315-340 CE
Śaṅkaragaṇa	743-753	340-350 CE
Yuvarājadeva II	753-763	350-360 CE
Kokalladeva II	763-770	360-367 CE
Gāṅgeyadeva	770-792	367-389 CE
Karṇadeva	792-822	389-419 CE
Yaśaḥkarṇa	822-875	419-472 CE
Gayākarṇa	876-905	473-502 CE

Narasimha	906-917	503-514 CE
Jayasimha	917-935	514-532 CE
Vijayasimha	936-963	533-560 CE
Trailokyamalla	963-983	560-580 CE

We learn from the Dhureti plates<sup>195</sup> that the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla was reigning in Kānyakubja in Kalachuri year 963 (560 CE). Apparently, the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla defeated Gāhadwāla king Hariśchandra, the son of Jayachandra and became the king of Kānyakubja (*Kānyakubjādhipati*). The Rewa grant of Mahāraṇaka Kumārapāladeva<sup>196</sup> dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1297 (578 CE) mentions the glorious reign of Trailokyavarmmadeva. The grant of Mahāraṇaka Harirājadeva<sup>197</sup> dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1298 (579 CE) also mentions the victorious reign of Trailokyamalla. It is evident that these inscriptions refer to the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla who was ruling from Kānyakubja. The titles like “*Śrīmad-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta*” “*Trikaliṅgādhipati*”, etc., were exclusively used for Kalachuri kings in their inscriptions.

The Garra grant<sup>198</sup> and Sagar grant<sup>199</sup> of the Chandella king Trailokyavarman were dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1261 (542 CE) and 1264 (545 CE) respectively. This indicates that Chandella Trailokyavarman was a contemporary of Kalachuri Trailokyamalla. Some historians believed that the so-called Kalachuri Trailokyamalla was the same as the Chandella king Trailokyavarman. Cunningham speculated that the titles of Chedi princes, including the reference to Vāmadeva, have been simply transferred to a Chandella prince. There is not an iota of evidence to prove that Kalachuri Trailokyamalla was the same as Chandella Trailokyavarman. In fact, both were contemporary kings and the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla was ruling in Kānyakubja around 560-578 CE whereas the Chandella king Trailokyavarman was ruling in Kālinjar around 542-575 CE.

The Duhreti grant and the grants of Mahāraṇaka Kumārapāladeva and Harirājadeva provide the strongest evidence that the epochs of Kārttikādi Vikrama era and Kalachuri era cannot be fixed in 57 BCE and 248-249 CE respectively. According to eminent historians, Kalachuri Trailokyamalla or Chandella Trailokyavarman were the same and ruled around 1204-1241 CE. The Duhreti grant referred to Trailokyamalla as Mahārājādhirāja,

Kānyakubjādhipati and Trikaliṅgādhipati in 1212 CE. The Gāhadwāla king Harśchandra also proclaimed himself Mahārājādhirāja in 1197 CE.

Some historians thought Trikaliṅga means Kosala, Utkala and Kaliṅga but the Sonpur grant tells us that the king Mahāśivagupta was the lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgāda, Utkala, Kosala and Trikaliṅga, which clearly indicates that the geography of Trikaliṅga was different from Kaliṅga.<sup>200</sup> It is quite likely that Trikaliṅga was the area of Rewa, Baghelkhand, Prayāg, Vārāṇasi, etc.

Actually, eminent historians are ignorant of the difference between the epochs of Kārttikādi Vikrama era and Chaitrādi Vikrama era. They believed that both eras commenced in 57 BCE. As already discussed, the Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718 BCE and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era in 57 BCE. The epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era can only be fixed in 402 BCE and not in 248-249 CE. All inscriptions of the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era. Thus, the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla and the Chandella king Trailokyavarman flourished in the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE and not in the 13<sup>th</sup> century CE.

According to Paramāla Raso, Paramāla was the Chandella king around 1165-1203 CE. Historians wrongly identified Paramāla to be Paramardi. Actually Paramardi ruled in the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE whereas Paramala ruled in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE. Unfortunately, historians incorrectly questioned the historicity of Paramāla Rāso and Prithvirāja Rāso. Paramāla Rāso tells us that Paramāla's eldest son Brahmajit fell fighting against Prithvirāj Chauhan. Samarajit was the second son of Paramāla. There is no reference of Trailokyavarman in Paramāla Rāso. Thus, the Chandella kingdom ended in 1203 CE and their last king was Paramāla.

### **The Kalachuris of Ratanpur or South Kosala**

According to many Kalachuri inscriptions found in South Kosala, i.e., Chattisgarh, Kokalladeva I's grandson Kaliṅgarāja established the Kalachuri kingdom near Ratanpur. His son Kamalarāja was a contemporary of Gāṅgeyadeva, the Kalachuri king of Tripuri whom he helped in his campaign against the king of Utkala. Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja or Ratnadeva I who, in turn, was succeeded by his son

Prithvideva I whose earliest grant is dated in Kalachuri year 821 (418 CE).<sup>201</sup> The Ratanpur inscription tells us that Prithvideva's son Jājalladeva I was reigning in Kalachuri year 866 (463 CE). Jājalladeva was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva II in whose court the famous astronomer Padmanābha accurately predicted the time of the total lunar eclipse that occurred on 7<sup>th</sup> Nov 477 CE. Ratnadeva II defeated the Kalinga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and his feudatory Gokarṇa (*Yaśchoḍagaṅga-Gokarṇau yudhi cakre paraṅgmukhau*).<sup>202</sup> It may be noted that the inscriptions of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga are dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE) and he ruled around 417-489 CE. Prithvideva II was the son of Ratnadeva II and his earliest grant is dated in Kalachuri year 890 (487 CE).<sup>203</sup> Interestingly, his Ratanpur stone inscription is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1207 (488 CE).<sup>204</sup>

Jājalladeva II, the son of Prithvideva II, ascended the throne around Kalachuri year 916 (513 CE) and on his untimely demise, was succeeded by his elder brother Jagaddeva and he, in turn, was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva III whose son Pratāpamalla ascended the throne after him. Pratāpamalla's Pendrabandh grant is dated in Kalachuri year 965 (562 CE)<sup>205</sup> and Bilaigarh grant in Kalachuri year 969 (566 CE).<sup>206</sup>

### The chronology of the Kalachuris of South Kosala:

	Kalachuri-Chedi era (402 BCE)	In CE
Kalingarāja	725-750	322-347 CE
Kamalarāja	750-795	347-392 CE
Ratnadeva I	795-820	392-417 CE
Prithvideva I	820-840	417-437 CE
Jājalladeva I	840-866	437-463 CE
Ratnadeva II	866-889	463-486 CE
Prithvideva II	889-915	486-512 CE
Jājalladeva II	916-920	513-517 CE
Jagaddeva	920-930	517-527 CE
Ratnadeva III	930-950	527-547 CE
Pratāpamalla	950-970	547-567 CE

We have no information about the immediate successors of Pratāpamalla. It is quite likely that the rule of this family of the Kalachuris

ended with Pratāpamalla due to the rise of the Yādava dynasty. The Bilaigarh grant of Pratāpamalla is the last grant dated in Kalachuri era thereby suggesting that the use of the Kalachuri era ended with the downfall of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. There is no instance of the use of the Kalachuri-Chedi era after the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. The knowledge of the epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era faded away from public memory by the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE and therefore, Al Beruni had no knowledge of it.

It appears that the descendants of this Kalachuri family of Ratanpur re-established themselves in the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Ratanpur stone inscription<sup>207</sup> of the Kalachuri king Vāhara is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year in 1552 (833 CE) and the Kosgain stone inscription No. 2<sup>208</sup> is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1570 (851 CE). According to Kosgain inscription No. 2, Ghatama was the feudatory of the Kalachuri king Vāhara. Kosgain inscription No. 1 tells us that Kalachuri king Vāhara's minister Mādhava completely destroyed all enemies, snatched away the royal fortune of the enemies, defeated the Pathāṇas in the battle, wrested away the territory of Pathāṇas and brought away camels, gold, other metals, elephants, horses, innumerable cows and female buffaloes. Seemingly, Mādhava also defeated the ruler of Sindh (*Ādau jivvā Sindhu\_li\_maulim...*). Such victories of Mādhava cannot be explained if the inscriptions of Vāhara are dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Therefore, the inscriptions of the Kalachuri king Vāhara are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and he flourished in the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE.

The Raipur inscription<sup>209</sup> of Rāya-Brahmadeva is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1458 (1400-1401 CE) and Śālivāhana 1322 elapsed (1400-1401 CE). This inscription was engraved on the 8<sup>th</sup> *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month. King Rāya-Brahmadeva was referred to as Mahārājādhirāja and Rayapur was his capital. Most probably, Rāya-Brahmadeva was not a Kalachuri king.

The Khallari temple inscription<sup>210</sup> of Hari-Brahmadeva, dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1470 (1412-1413 CE) and Śākānta 1334 elapsed (1412-1413 CE), states that the Kalachuri king Siṅghaṇa conquered 18 of his enemies' forts (*Nija-Bhuja-guru-darpādyo'ri-durgānyajaiṣit-raṇa-bhuvi*

*daśa cāṣṭau Singhana-kṣoṇipālah...*). King Singhana's son was Ramadeva and the grandson Haribrahmadeva whose capital was Khalvāṭikā, known as Khallāri in modern times. Evidently, Hari-Brahmadeva was a Kalachuri king and cannot be the same as Rāya-Brahmadeva.

### The Kalachuris of Kuśinagara

The branch of the Kalachuris of Kuśinagara is known from the Kasia stone inscription which is not dated but possibly belonged to the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>211</sup> King Śankaragaṇa was the earliest known king of this family and is quite likely one of the eighteen sons of Kokalladeva I. The genealogy of Kalachuris of Kuśinagara:

1. Śankaragaṇa
2. Nannarāja
3. Lakśmaṇa I
4. Śivarāja I
5. Bhīmaṭa I
6. Lakśmaṇa II
7. Śivarāja II
8. (Name lost)
9. Lakśmaṇa III
10. Bhīmaṭa II (5<sup>th</sup> century)

### The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra

The Kahla grant<sup>212</sup> of Soḍhadeva, dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1135 (1078 CE), is the only source of information about the Kalachuri family of Sarayūpāra and it is evident from the grant that the Kalachuri king Vyāsa, the son of Guṇasāgara, re-established his kingdom and made the city of Gokulaghāṭṭa his capital on the 8<sup>th</sup> *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the second Jyeṣṭha month in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1087, i.e., 31<sup>st</sup> May 1031 CE. King Vyāsa's son Soḍhadeva issued the Kahla grant on the 7<sup>th</sup> *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa month on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti, i.e., 24<sup>th</sup> Dec 1077 CE.

Kahla grant tells us that the earliest king of the Kalachuri family of Sarayūpāra was Lakśmaṇarāja who was the younger brother of

Kalachuritolaka (the ornament of Kalachuris). It is probable that, the epithet “Kalachuritolaka” was applied to Kokalladeva I as he appears to have conquered the country of “Śvetapāda” and given it to his brother Lakṣmaṇarāja. Lakṣmaṇarāja was succeeded by his son King Rājaputra; he, in turn, by his son Śivarāja, and he, in turn, was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaragaṇa, whose son Guṇāmbhodhideva was a contemporary of Paramāra Bhojadeva and received some territory from Bhojadeva. Ullābha succeeded his father Guṇāmbhodhideva and Ullābha’s half-brother Bhāmaṇadeva ascended the throne after him. Bhāmaṇadeva, who was probably a contemporary of the Dhārā king Paramāra Naravarman, defeated the forces of the king of Dhārā.

Soḍhadeva’s grant dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 1135 (1078 CE) is a strong evidence in itself that the great Paramāra king Bhojadeva cannot be dated around 1010-1060 CE. According to this grant, Guṇāmbhodhideva was a contemporary of Bhoja. After Guṇāmbhodhideva, seven kings from Ullābha to Bhima flourished. After the reign of Bhima, the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra lost their kingdom. Later, Guṇasāgara II re-established the kingdom of the Kalachuris and Soḍhadeva was his grandson. Soḍhadeva’s father Vyāsa made the city of Gokulaghaṭṭa as his capital in 1031 CE. It is impossible to explain the history of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra from Guṇāmbhodhideva to Soḍhadeva between 1060 CE and 1078 CE. Therefore, Paramāra Bhoja and Kalachuri Guṇāmbhodhideva flourished in the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE whereas Soḍhadeva ruled in the 11<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Some historians argued that Guṇāmbhodhideva was a contemporary of Pratihāra Bhoja, not Paramāra Bhoja. It may be noted that the Kalachuri king Kokalladeva gave protection to Pratihara Bhoja. Therefore, it is highly improbable that a king of Kalachuris became a feudatory of Pratihāras. Undoubtedly, Guṇāmbhodhideva was a contemporary of Paramāra Bhoja. Moreover, Soḍhadeva, the sovereign Kalachuri king, preferred to use Vikrama era instead of Kalachuri-Chedi era, which also indicates that the Kalachuri-Chedi era was not in use by the time of Soḍhadeva.



**The Chronology of the Kalachuri family of Sarayūpāras:**

	<b>In CE</b>
Lakshmanarāja	190-240 CE
Rājaputra	240-290 CE
Śivarāja I	290-330 CE
Śaṅkaragaṇa I	330-370 CE
Guṇāmbhodhideva	370-410 CE
Ullābha	410-430 CE
Bhāmaṇa I	430-450 CE
Śaṅkaragaṇa II	450-475 CE
Guṇasāgara I	475-500 CE
Śivarāja II or Bhāmaṇa II	500-525 CE
Śaṅkaragaṇa III	525-550 CE
Bhīma (lost their kingdom)	550-570 CE
.....	
Guṇasāgara II	1000-1030 CE
Vyāsa	1031-1076 CE
Soḍhadeva	1077-1100 CE

Dr. Mirashi opined that the Kuśinagara family and the Sarayūpāra family belong to only one lineage but the genealogies given in the inscriptions tell a different story altogether, thereby establishing the fact that the Kuśinagara and Sarayūpāra are two different families of the Kalachuris.

A comprehensive list of inscriptions of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty, Licchavi kings of Nepal, Pratihāras, Paramāras, Chaulukyas, Chāhamānas, Chandelas, Kalachuri-Chedi kings of Tripuri and Ratanpur dated in the Kārttinādi Vikrama era, Sri Harsha era and Kalachuri-Chedi era is provided in **Appendix III**.





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तदा सप्तर्षयः प्रापुर्मघाः पितृहितेरताः ॥
4. पञ्चसप्ततिवर्षाणि प्राक्कलेः सप्त ते द्विजाः ।  
मघास्वासन् महाराजे शासत्युर्वी युधिष्ठिरे ॥
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211. CII, IV, pt. II, pp. 375-382.
212. CII, IV, pt. II, pp. 382-397.





## Appendix I

### The Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE)

Total 83 epigraphic records of solar eclipses with reference to the epoch of Śaka era (583 BCE) have been critically analysed below. The solar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions of Śaka-kālātita era or Śakānta era (78 CE) have not been considered. It is evident that the epoch of 583 BCE perfectly explains 90% of solar eclipses (75 out of 83) whereas the epoch of 78 CE explains only 44% of Solar eclipses (37 out of 83). Moreover, the epoch of 78 CE miserably fails to explain the strongest verifiable details like total or annular solar eclipses, solar eclipses on Saṅkrānti and Solar eclipses on Pratipadā.

	Verifiable details	Śaka (583 BCE)	Śakānta (78 CE)	Ref.
1.	<b>Chālukya Vikramāditya the elder:</b> Śaka 530, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, Rohiṇī Nakṣatra, Madhyāhna kāla, Total Solar eclipse in Vṛṣabha Rāśi.	9 <sup>th</sup> May 53 BCE	Irregular	IA, VII, pp. 217-220
2.	<b>Chālukya Pulakeśin II:</b> Śaka 534, Bhādrapada Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.	21 <sup>st</sup> Aug 49 BCE	Irregular	IA, VI, pp. 73-77
3.	<b>Chālukya Vikramāditya I:</b> Śaka 582, 6 <sup>th</sup> regnal year, Śrāvaṇa Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.	31 <sup>st</sup> Jul 1 BCE	Irregular	EI, IX, pp. 98 ff.

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| 4. | <b>Raṣṭrakūṭa Krishna I:</b><br>Śaka 687, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse.   | 22 <sup>nd</sup> Jun 103<br>CE  | Irregular  | JESI, Vol XI,<br>no. 13    |
| 5. | <b>Raṣṭrakūṭa Krishna I:</b><br>Śaka 690, Vaiśākha<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.  | 21 <sup>st</sup> Apr 106<br>CE  | Irregular  | EI, XIII, pp.<br>275-282   |
| 6. | <b>An Inscription at Shimoga:</b><br>Śaka 861, Chaitra Pratipadā,<br>Annular Solar eclipse.   | 20 <sup>th</sup> Feb 277<br>CE ( <i>The<br/>eclipse ended<br/>at 11:39 hrs.<br/>Pratipadā<br/>started at<br/>11:00 hrs.</i> ) | Irregular  | EC, VIII,<br>Sorb., No. 71 |
| 7. | <b>Chālukya Jagadekamalla:</b><br>Śaka 872, Sadhāraṇa Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Kārttika Amāvāsyā,<br>Thursday, Solar eclipse.   | 30 <sup>th</sup> Nov 289<br>CE  | Irregular  | SII, XV, No.<br>42         |
| 8. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya King<br/>Tailapa:</b><br>Śaka 900, Vikrama Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Āṣāḍha Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse and Sunday.<br>( <i>Śaka-varṣa 900 (902?)<br/>neya Vikrama Saṁvatsara-<br/>da-āṣāḍha amāvāsyā ādivāra<br/>sūrya-grahaṇa...</i> )                          | 6 <sup>th</sup> Jul 316<br>CE   | 8 <sup>th</sup> Jun 978<br>CE but it<br>was Jyeṣṭha<br>Amāv āsyā | EI, 16, pp.<br>1-11        |
| 9. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya King<br/>Tailapa:</b><br>Śaka 904, Chitrabhānu<br>Saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.<br>( <i>Śaka-nṛpa-saṁvatsareṣu Ca-<br/>turadhika-nava-śateṣu gateṣu<br/>Chitrabhānu saṁvatsare<br/>Bhādrapadamāse Sūryagra-<br/>haṇe sati...</i> ) | 18 <sup>th</sup> Oct 320<br>CE  | 20 <sup>th</sup> Sep<br>982 CE                                   | EI, IV, pp.<br>204-208     |

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| 10. | <b>Chālukya Jagadekamalla:</b><br>Śaka 958, Dhātu Saṁvatsara,<br>Kārttika Amāvāsyā, Śuddha<br>Pratipadā, Solar eclipse.  | 20 <sup>th</sup> Nov 374<br>CE ( <i>This<br/>eclipse oc-<br/>curred from<br/>15:52 hrs to<br/>17:50 hrs.<br/>Amāvāsyā<br/>ended at<br/>15:42 and<br/>Pratipadā<br/>started at the<br/>same time.</i> ) | 22 <sup>nd</sup> Oct<br>1036 CE<br>but the<br>eclipse<br>ended on<br>Amāvāsyā<br>and not on<br>Pratipadā. | SII, IX, No.<br>90                     |
| 11. | <b>Chālukya Trailokyamalla:</b><br>Śaka 969, Sarvajit Saṁvatsara,<br>Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, Solar<br>eclipse.  | 15 <sup>th</sup> Apr 386<br>CE   | 9 <sup>th</sup> Apr<br>1046 CE  | SII, IX, No.<br>105                    |
| 12. | <b>Chola King Rājādhirāja:</b><br>Śaka 971, Virodhi Saṁvatsara,<br>Solar eclipse.<br>( <i>Śaka varṣa 971 Saṁvatsara<br/>Virodhi sam... Sūrya Gra-<br/>haṇa...</i> )  | 18 <sup>th</sup> Aug 388<br>CE   | 5 <sup>th</sup> Feb<br>1049 CE  | EC, III, Pt.<br>3, Gundlu-<br>pete, 56 |
| 13. | <b>Chālukya Trailokyamalla:</b><br>Śaka 983, Plava Saṁvatsara,<br>Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā, Solar<br>eclipse.  | 8 <sup>th</sup> Jul 400<br>CE  | 20 <sup>th</sup> Jun<br>1061 CE   | SII, IX, No.<br>125                    |
| 14. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya King<br/>Trailokyamalla:</b><br>Śaka 988, Parābhava<br>Saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.<br>( <i>Śaka Varṣa 988 neya<br/>Parābhava sam.. Bhādrapa-<br/>da Amāvāsyā Maṅgalavāra<br/>Sūrya Grahaṇa...</i> ) | 19 <sup>th</sup> Aug 407<br>CE or 9 <sup>th</sup> Sep<br>405 CE  | 22 <sup>nd</sup> Sep<br>1066 CE   | EC, XI,<br>Davanagere,<br>11           |

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| 15. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>Chālukya Vikrama (CV) 9,<br>Śaka 1007, Śubhakṛt Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Uttarāyaṇa, Solar<br>eclipse. | 6 <sup>th</sup> Mar 425<br>CE                                    | Irregular                       | EC, VII, Shi-<br>moga, 39 |
| 16. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>CV 17, Śaka 1015, Śrimukha<br>Saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.               | 10 <sup>th</sup> Oct 432<br>CE or 29 <sup>th</sup><br>Sep 433 CE | 23 <sup>rd</sup> Sep<br>1093 CE | SII, IX, No.<br>163       |
| 17. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>CV 33, Śaka 1031, Sarvad-<br>hari Saṁvatsara, āṣāḍha<br>Amāvāsyā, Wednesday, Solar<br>eclipse. | 29 <sup>th</sup> Jun 447<br>CE                                   | 11 <sup>th</sup> Jun<br>1108 CE | SII, XX, No.<br>70        |
| 18. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>CV 45, Śaka 1042, Jyeṣṭha<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.  | 28 <sup>th</sup> Feb 458<br>CE                                   | 11 <sup>th</sup> May<br>1119 CE | SII, XXVII,<br>No. 23     |
| 19. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>CV 44, Śaka 1042, Vikāri<br>Saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha<br>Amāvāsyā, Sunday, Solar<br>eclipse.        | 28 May 458<br>CE   | 11 <sup>th</sup> May<br>1119 CE | SII, IX, No.<br>197       |
| 20. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>CV 47, Śaka 1044, Chaitra<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.  | 7 <sup>th</sup> Apr 460<br>CE                                    | 10 <sup>th</sup> Mar<br>1122 CE | SII, XXVII,<br>No. 21     |
| 21. | <b>Kalyani Chalukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>CV 47, Śaka 1044, Śar-<br>varī Saṁvatsara, Āśvayuja<br>Amāvāsyā, Monday, Solar<br>eclipse.     | 20 <sup>th</sup> Sep 461<br>CE                                   | Irregular                       | SII, XX,<br>No. 80        |



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| 22. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>Śaka 1045, Śubhakṛt Saṁ-<br>vatsara, ... Amāvāsyā, Friday,<br>Solar eclipse.   | 17 <sup>th</sup> Mar 462<br>CE and Meṣa<br>Saṅkrānti   | 11 <sup>th</sup> Aug<br>1124 CE | SII, XX,<br>No. 82               |
| 23. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>CV 50, Śaka 1048, Viśvāvasu<br>Saṁvatsara, Māgha Śud-<br>dha Pratipadā i.e. Pauṣa<br>Amāvāsyā, Friday, Solar<br>eclipse. | 13 <sup>th</sup> Jan 465<br>CE ( <i>Eclipse<br/>was visible<br/>around<br/>10:48 hrs to<br/>12:27 hrs.<br/>Amāvāsyā<br/>ended<br/>around<br/>11:53 hrs<br/>and Māgha<br/>Pratipadā<br/>started at the<br/>same time.</i> ) | Irregular                       | SII, IX,<br>No. 210              |
| 24. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya Tribhuva-<br/>namalla:</b><br>CV 51, Śaka 1049, Parābha-<br>va Saṁvatsara, Jyeṣṭha<br>Amāvāsyā, Sunday, Solar<br>eclipse.                              | 19 <sup>th</sup> May 467<br>CE   | Irregular                       | SII, IX, No.<br>211 & 212        |
| 25. | <b>Chālukya Bhūlokamalla:</b><br>CV 54, Śaka 1052, Sādhāraṇa<br>Saṁvatsara, Kārttika Śuddha<br>Pratipadā, Solar eclipse.   | 21 <sup>st</sup> Oct 469<br>CE   | Irregular                       | EC, XII,<br>Tiptur, 104          |
| 26. | <b>Hoysala King Ballāla:</b><br>CV 55, Śaka 1053, Virodhikṛt<br>Saṁvatsara, Āśvayuja<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.   | 21 <sup>st</sup> Oct 469<br>CE   | 4 <sup>th</sup> Oct<br>1130 CE  | EC, VII,<br>Shikarpur,<br>No. 87 |
| 27. | <b>Chālukya Bhūlokamalla:</b><br>Śaka 1056, Ānanda Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Aṣāḍha Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse.   | 20 <sup>th</sup> Aug 472<br>CE   | 23 <sup>rd</sup> Jul<br>1134 CE | SII, XX,<br>No. 105              |

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| 28. | <b>Chālukya Bhūlokamalla:</b><br>CV 58, Śaka 1056, Pramādi<br>Saṁvatsara, Puṣya Amāvāsyā,<br>uttarāyaṇa, vyatipāta, Sunday,<br>Solar eclipse.  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Jan 474<br>CE                            | Irregular | SII, IX,<br>No. 228                  |
| 29. | <b>Hoysala King Viṣṇuwardhana:</b><br>Śaka 1063, Durmati Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Āśvina Amāvāsyā,<br>Monday, Solar eclipse and<br>Saṅkramaṇa<br>( <i>Śaka Varṣam 1063 neya<br/>Durmati Saṁvatsarada<br/>Āśvayuja Amāvase Somavāra<br/>Sūrya Grahaṇa Saṅkra-<br/>maṇadandu...</i> )  | 20 <sup>th</sup> Sep 480<br>CE and Tulā<br>Saṅkrānti     | Irregular | EC, VI,<br>Kadur, 96                 |
| 30. | <b>Hoysala King Viṣṇuwardhana:</b><br>Śaka 1066, Raktākṣi Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Puṣya Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse and Saṅkramaṇa<br>( <i>Śaka Varṣam Sasirad-aruvat-<br/>teleneya (1066 or 1067) Rak-<br/>tākṣi Saṁvatsarada Pauṣyad<br/>Amāvāsyē ....vāra Uttarāyaṇa<br/>Saṅkramaṇa vyatipāta gra-<br/>haṇavum...</i> ) | 14 <sup>th</sup> Jan<br>484 CE and<br>Saṅkrānti<br>Parva | Irregular | EC, IV,<br>Nagamanga-<br>la, No. 100 |
| 31. | <b>Hoysala King Viṣṇuwardhana<br/>/ his son Narasimha:</b><br>Śaka 1072, Raktākṣi Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Phālguna Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse, Sunday and<br>Saṅkramaṇa.<br>( <i>Śaka varṣa 1072 da neya Pra-<br/>moda-Saṁvatsarada Phālgu-<br/>na māsada amāvāsyē Ādivāra<br/>Sūrya grahaṇa vyatipāta...</i> )           | 18 <sup>th</sup> Mar 489<br>CE and Meṣa<br>saṅkramaṇa    | Irregular | EC, XII,<br>Tumkur, 9                |

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| 32. | <b>Chālukya Jagadekamalla:</b><br>Śaka 1072, Pramādi Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse.  | 18 <sup>th</sup> Mar 489<br>CE                             | Irregular | SII, IX,<br>No. 257         |
| 33. | <b>Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla:</b><br>Śaka 1075, Śrimukha Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Pauṣa Amāvāsyā,<br>Uttarāyaṇa, Vyatipāta, Solar<br>eclipse.  | 4 <sup>th</sup> Jan 493<br>CE                              | Irregular | SII, IX,<br>No. 264         |
| 34. | <b>Hoysala King Viṣṇuvardhana<br/>/ his son Narasimha:</b><br>Śaka 1076, Sarvajit Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Chaitra Śuddha<br>Saptamī (refers to a Solar<br>eclipse followed by Saṅkrānti<br>that occurred before Chaitra<br>month).<br>(Śaka Varuṣa 1076 (1073)<br>reneya Sarvajitu Saṁvatsarada<br>Chaitra Śu 7 So, Sūrya Gra-<br>haṇa saṅkrānti vyatipāta...) | 4 <sup>th</sup> Jan 493<br>CE                              | Irregular | EC, VI,<br>Tarikere, 61     |
| 35. | <b>Kalachuri King Bijjana:</b><br>Śaka 1080 (1081??), Bahud-<br>hānya Saṁvatsara, Bhādra-<br>pada Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse<br>and Saṅkrānti<br><br>(Śaka Varṣada 1080<br>(1081?? Bahudhānya can<br>be 1080) Bahudhānya<br>Saṁvatsarada Bhādrapada<br>amāvāse Sūrya-Grahaṇa<br>dīna-traya-saṅkramaṇa vyat-<br>ipāta puṇya tithau....)                     | 22 <sup>nd</sup> Oct<br>496 CE and<br>Vṛścika<br>Saṅkrānti | Irregular | EC, VII, Shi-<br>karpur, 18 |

36. **Hoysala King Narasimha:** 10<sup>th</sup> Jun 503 3<sup>rd</sup> Jul 1163 EC, XII,  
Śāka 1085, Chitrabhānu Saṁ- CE CE Gubbi, 12  
vatsara, Āṣāḍha Amāvāsyā,  
Solar eclipse.  
(*Śāka varṣa 1085 ne Chitra-  
bhānu sam. Āṣāḍha... vara...  
Sūrya Grahaṇa vyatipātadan-  
du...*)
37. **Hoysala King Ballāla I:** 10<sup>th</sup> May 514 Irregular EC, V, Ar-  
Śāka 1096, Jaya Saṁvatsara, CE sikere, 139  
Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, Monday,  
Solar Eclipse.  
(*Śāka Varṣada 1096 Jaya  
sam.. Vaiśākha amāvase  
Somavāra vyatipāta Sūrya  
Grahaṇa...*)
38. **Kalyani Chālukya King** 23<sup>rd</sup> Nov 523 17<sup>th</sup> Nov EC, VII, Shi-  
**Trailokyamalla:** CE 1183 CE karpur(108),  
Śāka 1105, Śobhakṛt pp.143-148  
Saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa  
Amāvāsyā, Solar Eclipse.  
(*... Vatsarada Mārgaśirṣa  
amāvāsyē Somavāra  
Sūrya-Grahaṇa vyatipātadan-  
du. Śrimat-Śāka-Varṣa 1105  
neya Śobhakṛtu Saṁvatsara-  
da...*)
39. **Chālukya Someśvara:** 10<sup>th</sup> Jun 522 Irregular SII, XV, No.  
Śāka 1106, Krodhi Saṁ- CE 57  
vatsara, Āṣāḍha Amāvāsyā,  
Solar eclipse.

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| 40. | <b>Yādava King Billama:</b><br>Śaka 1109, Plavaṅga<br>Saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada<br>Amāvāsyā, Saṅkramaṇa,<br>Sunday, Solar eclipse.<br>( <i>Bhillamadeva Varṣada<br/>yeradaneya (2) plavaṅga<br/>Saṁvatsarada Bhādrapada<br/>amāvāsyā ādivāra Sūrya<br/>grahaṇa...</i> )                               | 22 <sup>nd</sup> Sep 526<br>CE  | Irregular.<br>The date<br>was possi-<br>bly<br>4 <sup>th</sup> Sep<br>1187<br>CE but<br>Saṅkrānti<br>cannot be<br>explained.                          | Insr. of So-<br>lapur, 23, pp.<br>39-42 |
| 41. | <b>Yādava King Billama:</b><br>Śaka 1110, 3 <sup>rd</sup> regnal year,<br>Bhādrapada Amāvāsyā,<br>saṅkramaṇa, Solar eclipse  | 22 <sup>nd</sup> Sep 526<br>CE  | Irregular   |   |
| 42. | <b>Hoysala King Ballāla II:</b><br>3 <sup>rd</sup> Regnal Year, Śaka 1116,<br>Ānanda Saṁvatsara, Chai-<br>tra Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse,<br>Sunday.  | 29 <sup>th</sup> Apr 534<br>CE  | 12 <sup>th</sup> Apr<br>1195 CE   | SII, XX, No.<br>209                     |
| 43. | <b>Yādava King Jaitugi:</b><br>Śaka 1118, Solar eclipse<br>during Uttarāyaṇa.  | 29 <sup>th</sup> Apr 534<br>CE  | 12 <sup>th</sup> Apr<br>1195 CE   | SII, XX, No.<br>182                     |
| 44. | <b>Kalyani Chālukya King<br/>Tribhuvanamalla:</b><br>Śaka 1121, Kālayukta Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Māgha Śuddha<br>Prathamā, Solar eclipse,<br>Saṅkrānti<br>( <i>Śaka Varṣa 1121 Kālayuk-<br/>ta Saṁvatsarada Māgha<br/>śu 1 Somavāradandu Ut-<br/>tarāyaṇa saṅkrānti Vyatipāta<br/>Sūrya-grahaṇa...</i> ) | 15 <sup>th</sup> Feb<br>538 CE and<br>Kumbha<br>Saṅkrānti<br>( <i>The eclipse<br/>ended at<br/>15:07 hrs.<br/>Amāvāsyā<br/>ended at<br/>14:20 hrs<br/>and Prati-<br/>padā started<br/>at the same<br/>time.</i> ) | Irregular.<br>The date<br>was possi-<br>bly<br>28 <sup>th</sup> Jan<br>1199<br>CE but<br>Saṅkrānti<br>occurred<br>on 23 <sup>rd</sup> Jan<br>1199 CE. | EC, XI, Chi-<br>taldroog, 36            |

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| 45. | <b>Yādava King Jaitugi:</b><br>Śāka 1121, Māgha Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse.   | 15 <sup>th</sup> Feb 538<br>CE.    | Irregular  | SII, XX, 184                             |
| 46. | <b>Yādava King Singhana:</b><br>Śāka 1128, Krodhana Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Solar eclipse, Mon-<br>day.  | 8 <sup>th</sup> Apr 544<br>CE      | 11 <sup>th</sup> Mar<br>1206 CE  | SII, XX, No.<br>155                      |
| 47. | <b>Yādava King Singhana:</b><br>Śāka 1135, Śrimukha Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse and Saṅkrānti.<br>( <i>Śrimukha sam.. Bahula<br/>Akṣtadige ...Pata Saṅkramaṇa<br/>Sūrya grahaṇadalu...</i> )                       | 21 <sup>st</sup> May 551<br>CE     | Irregular.<br>The dare<br>was 22 <sup>nd</sup><br>Apr 1213<br>CE but<br>it was<br>Chaitra<br>Amāvāsyā. | Insr. of So-<br>lapur, 27, pp.<br>50-52. |
| 48. | <b>Yādava king Singhana:</b><br>Śāka 1136, Chaitra Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse   | 19 <sup>th</sup> Mar 554<br>CE     | 22 <sup>nd</sup> Apr<br>1213 CE  | JBBRAS,<br>XII, 33, pp.<br>7 ff.         |
| 49. | <b>Hoysala King Narasimha II:</b><br>Śāka 1142, Vikrama Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā,<br>Monday, Solar eclipse.<br>( <i>Śāka varṣa 1142 neya Vikra-<br/>ma Saṁvatsarada Jyeṣṭha<br/>amāvāsyē somavāra Sūrya<br/>grahaṇa dandu...</i> ) | 21 <sup>st</sup> Jun 559<br>CE     | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Jun<br>1220 CE   | EC, XI, Ho-<br>lalkere, 56               |
| 50. | <b>Yādava King Singhana:</b><br>21 <sup>st</sup> Regnal year, Śāka 1142,<br>Vikrama Saṁvatsara, Jyeṣṭha<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse.   | 21 <sup>st</sup> Jun 559<br>CE     | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Jun<br>1220 CE   | SII, XX, No.<br>164                      |
| 51. | <b>Yādava King Singhana:</b><br>24 <sup>th</sup> Regnal year, Śāka 1146,<br>Svabhānu Saṁvatsara, Chaitra<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse,<br>Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkramaṇa.  | 19 <sup>th</sup> Apr<br>562 CE and | Irregular<br>Vṛṣabha<br>Saṅkrānti  | SII, XX, No.<br>167                      |

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| 52. | <b>Hoysala King Narasimha:</b><br>Śaka 1148, Vyaya Saṁvatsara,<br>Puṣya Amāvāsyā, Solar<br>Eclipse.<br>(Śaka varṣam 1148 vyaya<br>sam.. Puṣyada amāvāsyē<br>Sūrya grahaṇa saṅkrānti<br>vyatipāta)   | 6 <sup>th</sup> Feb 566<br>CE                        | Irregular  | EC, XII,<br>Gubbi, 11           |
| 53. | <b>Hoysala King Ballāla:</b><br>Śaka 1150, Sarvadhāri Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Āṣāḍha Amāvāsyā,<br>Monday, Solar eclipse.<br>(Śaka varṣa 1150 ya Sar-<br>vadhāri-Saṁvatsarada<br>Āṣāḍha bahula amāvase<br>Somavāra-Sūrya-grahaṇa<br>andu...)  | 1 <sup>st</sup> Aug 566<br>CE                        | 3 <sup>rd</sup> Jul 1228<br>CE                                       | EC, XI, Ho-<br>lalkere, 104     |
| 54. | <b>Hoysala King Narasimha II:</b><br>Śaka 1155, Virodhi Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Phālguna Śuddha<br>pañcamī, Thursday, followed<br>by a Solar eclipse that oc-<br>curred on Meṣa Saṅkrānti.<br>(Śaka Varṣa 1155 Virodhi<br>Saṁvatsarada Phālguna<br>Śuddha 5 Brihavāra Ut-<br>tarāyaṇa Saṅkramaṇa Sūrya<br>grahaṇadandu...) | 19 <sup>th</sup> Mar 573<br>CE and Meṣa<br>Saṅkrānti | Irregular  | EC, VI,<br>Tarikere, 83         |
| 55. | <b>Hoysala King Someśvara:</b><br>Śaka 1158, Durmukhi Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Śrāvāṇa Amāvāsyā,<br>Sunday, Solar eclipse.<br>(Śaka varṣa 1158 Durmukhi<br>Saṁvatsarada Śrāvāṇa bahula<br>da amāvāsyā Ādityavāra<br>Sūrya grahaṇa dandu...)   | 1 <sup>st</sup> Sep 574<br>CE                        | 15 <sup>th</sup> Aug<br>1235 CE<br>or 3 <sup>rd</sup> Aug<br>1236 CE | EC, XI,<br>Davanage-<br>re, 129 |

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|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| 56. <b>Yādava King Singhana:</b><br>42 <sup>nd</sup> Regnal Year, Śaka 1164,<br>Virodhi Saṁvatsara, Kārtti-<br>ka Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse,<br>Saṅkrānti.   | 24 <sup>th</sup> Oct<br>580 CE and<br>Vṛścika<br>Saṅkrānti<br>occurred on<br>23 <sup>rd</sup> Oct 580<br>CE. | Irregular  | SII, XX, No.<br>173                 |
| 57. <b>Hoysala King Someśvara:</b><br>Śaka 1172, Sādhāraṇa Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse.<br><i>(Sādhāraṇa Saṁvatsarada<br/>Jyeṣṭha śu 5 Ādi, A-Saṁ-<br/>vatsarada Vaiśākha māse<br/>Sūrya grahaṇa...)</i>  | 31 <sup>st</sup> May 588<br>CE   | 3 <sup>rd</sup> May<br>1250 CE   | EC, V,<br>Channaray-<br>apatna, 180 |
| 58. <b>Yādava King Krishna:</b><br>Śaka 1178, Pauṣa Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse.  | 16 <sup>th</sup> Jan 595<br>CE   | Irregular  | SII, XV, No.<br>191                 |
| 59. <b>Yādava King Mahādeva:</b><br>Śaka 1189, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse.   | 11 <sup>th</sup> Jan 606<br>CE   |  | IA, XVIII,<br>pp. 128.              |
| 60. <b>Hoysala King Narasimha III:</b><br>Śaka 1197, Yuva Saṁvatsara,<br>Āṣāḍha Amāvāsyā, Solar<br>eclipse on Dakṣiṇāyana<br>Saṅkrānti.<br><i>(Śaka Varuṣada 1197 neya<br/>Yuva Saṁvatsarada Āṣāḍhada<br/>Somavāra Sūrya grahaṇam<br/>vyatipāta dakṣiṇāyana<br/>saṅkrāntiyalu)</i> | 23 <sup>rd</sup> Jul 613<br>CE and Sim-<br>ha Saṅkrānti  | 25 <sup>th</sup> Jun<br>1275 CE<br>but it was<br>Jyeṣṭha<br>Amāvāsyā<br>and<br>Saṅkrānti<br>occurred<br>on 28 <sup>th</sup> Jun. | EC, XVIII,<br>Shikarpur,<br>361     |
| 61. <b>An Inscription dated in the<br/>Śaka era:</b><br>Śaka 1215, Nandana Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Puṣya Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse and Thursday.   | 27 <sup>th</sup> Jan 632<br>CE   | 9 <sup>th</sup> Jan<br>1293 CE   | EC, VI,<br>Tarikere, 52             |



- (Śaka Varṣa 1215 neya Nandana Saṁvatsarada Puṣya Ba 30 Bri andu... Sūrya grahaṇadalu...)
62. **An Inscription dated in the Śaka era:** 13<sup>th</sup> Jul 660 CE 26<sup>th</sup> Jun 1321 CE EC, VI, Kadur, 103 & 107  
 Śaka 1243, Vṛṣa Saṁvatsara, Āṣāḍha Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse, Sunday.  
 (Śaka Varṣa 1243 neya Viśu Saṁvatsarada Āṣāḍha Śuddha amāvase ādivara Sūrya grahaṇadandu...)
63. **Vijayanagara King Bukka II:** 4<sup>th</sup> Jul 707 CE (Saṅkrānti occurred on 23<sup>rd</sup> Jun 707 CE) Irregular. Possibly, the date was 5<sup>th</sup> Jun 1369 CE but Da-kṣiṇāyana Saṅkrānti occurred on 28<sup>th</sup> Jun 1369 CE. SII, XX, No. 229, pp. 278-279  
 Śaka 1290, Āṣāḍha (read as Vaiśākha?) bahula 30, Monday and Solar Eclipse. Da-kṣiṇāyana Saṅkrānti occurred prior to Solar eclipse.  
 (This inscription was found in Banavasi, Sirsi Taluk, Virabhadra Temple. Another Inscription of Bukka II also found in Banavasi, Srisi Taluk. Madhukeshvara Temple which was dated Śaka 1290, Āṣāḍha, Śuddha 1, Sunday. If Vaiśākha bahula 30 was Monday than Ashdha Śuddha 1 must be either Monday (a month of 28 days) or Tuesday (a month of 29 days) or Wednesday (a month of 30 days). It cannot be Sunday.)

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| 64. | <b>King Shingaya Nāyaka:</b><br>Śāka 1290, Śrāvaṇa Pratipadā,<br>Solar eclipse.   | 4 <sup>th</sup> Jul 707<br>CE ( <i>The<br/>eclipse ended<br/>at 10:39 hrs<br/>and Śrāvaṇa<br/>Pratipadā<br/>started at<br/>10:32 hrs.</i> ) | Irregular  | A Study of<br>Sanskrit<br>Inscriptions<br>in Andhara<br>Pradesh,<br>East<br>Godavari, 21 |
| 65. | <b>Vijayanagara King Harihara<br/>II and his son Virūpākṣa:</b><br>Śāka 1298, Anala Saṁvatsara,<br>Māgha Amāvāsyā, Monday,<br>Solar eclipse.  | 19 <sup>th</sup> Feb 714<br>CE, Monday  | Irregular  | EC, VIII,<br>Tirthahalli,<br>125   |
| 66. | <b>Vijayanagara King Harihara II:</b><br>Śāka 1307, Raktākṣi Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Śrāvaṇa Amāvāsyā,<br>Monday, Solar eclipse.   | 14 <sup>th</sup> Jul 725<br>CE  | Irregular  | EC, VIII,<br>Tirthahalli,<br>147   |
| 67. | <b>Vijayanagara King Harihara II:</b><br>Śāka 1312, Pramodyuta<br>Saṁvatsara, Mārgaśiṛṣa<br>Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse pre-<br>ceded by Vyatipāta Saṅkrānti<br>(Vṛṣchika Saṅkrānti)        | 27 <sup>th</sup> Oct<br>729 CE and<br>Vṛṣchika<br>Saṅkrānti<br>occurred on<br>23/24 Oct<br>729 CE (3<br>or 4 days<br>before)                | Irregular.<br><i>A solar<br/>eclipse<br/>occurred<br/>on 9<sup>th</sup> Oct<br/>1390 CE<br/>but it was<br/>Āśvina<br/>Amāvāsyā<br/>and Tulā<br/>Saṅkrānti<br/>occurred 11<br/>days before.</i> | EC, VII,<br>Shikarpur,<br>313  |
| 68. | <b>An Inscription of Sringeri:</b><br>Śāka 1324, Vikrama Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Phālguna Amāvāsyā,<br>Monday, Solar eclipse.<br>( <i>Śāka varṣa 1324 Vikrama<br/>Saṁvatsarada Phālguna-ba</i> | 1 <sup>st</sup> Apr 740<br>CE   | 15 <sup>th</sup> Mar<br>1401 CE  | EC, VI, Sri-<br>ngerī, 28  |

*hula-amāvāsyē Somavāra  
Sūrya-grahaṇa puṇya-kāla-  
da...)*

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|-----|--|--|--|----------------------------------|
| 69. | <b>Vijayanagara King Harihara II:</b><br>Śaka 1329 (1326??), Tāra-<br>na Saṁvatsara, Jyeṣṭha<br>Amāvāsyā, Thursday, Solar<br>eclipse.  | 25 <sup>th</sup> May 746<br>CE   | Irregular.   | EC, V,<br>Arkalgud,<br>52        |
| 70. | <b>An Inscription of Sringeri:<br/>(Chandrashekhara Bhārati)</b><br>Śaka 1331, Sarvadhāri Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Āśvina Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse.<br><i>(Śaka varṣa 1331 neya Sar-<br/>vadhāri Saṁvatsarada Āśvija<br/>ba 30 Śukravāra Sūrya-gra-<br/>haṇa-puṇya-kālada)</i> | 7 <sup>th</sup> Nov 747<br>CE  | 19 <sup>th</sup> Oct<br>1408 CE                                      | EC, VI, Sri-<br>ngeri, 25        |
| 71. | <b>Vijayanagara King Pratāpa<br/>Devarāya:</b><br>Śaka 1332, Vikṛta Saṁvatsara,<br>Chaitra Amāvāsyā, Solar<br>eclipse preceded by Meṣa<br>Saṅkrānti.   | 23 <sup>rd</sup> Mar 749<br>CE and Meṣa<br>Saṅkrānti<br>occurred on<br>20/21 <sup>st</sup> May<br>749 CE | Irregular.   | EC, IX,<br>Hoskote,<br>Supp. 34  |
| 72. | <b>Vijayanagara King Devarāya:</b><br>Śaka 1353, Virodhikṛt Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Solar eclipse.  | 25 <sup>th</sup> Aug 770<br>CE   | 19 <sup>th</sup> Aug<br>1430 CE<br>or 8 <sup>th</sup> Aug<br>1431 CE | EC, VIII,<br>Tirthahal-<br>li, 1 |
| 73. | <b>Vijayanagara King Devarāya:</b><br>Śaka 1357, Ānanda Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā,<br>Monday, Solar eclipse.   | 4 <sup>th</sup> May 775<br>CE  | 7 <sup>th</sup> Jun<br>1434 CE                                       | EC, VIII,<br>Sorab, 126          |
| 74. | <b>Vijayanagara King Devarāya<br/>II:</b><br>Śaka 1362, Pauṣa Amāvāsyā,<br>Solar eclipse.  | 21 <sup>st</sup> Feb 779<br>CE   | 23 <sup>rd</sup> Jan<br>1441 CE                                      | SII, XXVII,<br>No. 118           |

75. **Vijayanagara King Devarāya II:** 10<sup>th</sup> Feb 780 Irregular SII, XXVII,  
Śaka 1364, Māgha Amāvāsyā, CE No. 83  
Solar eclipse.

The following eight records of solar eclipses cannot be explained in the epoch of 583 BCE. Considering the minor scribal errors, five out of eight eclipses can be explained in the epoch of 583 BCE.

76. **Raṣṭrakūṭa Krishna I:** Irregular Irregular B I S M ,  
Śaka 680, Āśvayuja Amāvāsyā, (3<sup>rd</sup> Sep 99 CE VIII, pp.  
Solar eclipse. considering the Śaka year as 681) 166-167
77. **Hoysala King Viṣṇuvardhana:** Irregular. Irregular. EC, XII,  
Śaka 1055, Pramādi Saṁ- Probably, the The date Gubbi,  
vatsara, Puṣya Śuddha? Solar date was 4<sup>th</sup> was possi- 34  
eclipse and Saṅkramaṇa Jan 474 CE bly 27<sup>th</sup> Jan  
(Śaka varṣa 1055 neya considering 1134 CE  
*Pramādi Saṁvatsarada Puṣya the Śaka year but it was*  
*śuddha Ādivāra Sūrya grahaṇa as 1056. Māgha*  
*Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti Vyatipā- Amāvāsyā*  
*ta yoga...*)
78. **Hoysala King Viṣṇuvardhana:** Irregular. Irregular EC, VI,  
Śaka 1079, Iśvara Saṁvatsara, Probably, Tarikere,  
Māgha (Marga?) Śuddha daśa- 22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 19 & 59  
mi?, Solar eclipse, Sunday and 496 CE and  
Saṅkramaṇa. Vṛścika  
(Śaka Varṣa 1079 (1076?) Saṅkrānti.  
*neya Iśvara Saṁvatsarada (Considering*  
*Māgha Śuddha 10 Somavāra the scribal*  
*Uttarāyaṇa saṅkrānti sauryya error “Māgha”*  
*Grahaṇa vyatipāta andu...*) *for “Mārga”,*  
*the Solar*  
*eclipse*

- occurred on  
Kārttika  
Amāvāsyā i.e.  
22<sup>nd</sup> Oct 496  
CE, 10 days  
before Mār-  
gaśīrṣa Śuddha  
daśamī.)*
79. **Hoysala King Ballāla I:** Irregular Irregular EC, XIV,  
Śaka 1096, Durmukhi Saṁ- Yedatore,  
vatsara, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, 65  
Monday, Solar Eclipse.  
(Śaka varṣa 1096 neya  
Durmukhi Saṁvatsarada  
Bhādrapada māsada amāva-  
seya Sūrya  
grahaṇadalu...)
80. **Hoysala King Ballāla I:** Irregular. Prob- Irregular EC, VII,  
Śaka 1125, Dundubhi Saṁ- ably, the date Honnali,  
vatsara, Māgha (Mārga?) was 14<sup>th</sup> Dec 108  
Amāvāsyā, Monday, Solar  
Eclipse and Saṅkramaṇa. 540 CE.  
(Śaka varṣa 1125 neya Dun-  
dubhi saṁvatsarada Māghad  
amāvāsyē Somavāra vyatipāta  
saṅkramaṇa Sūrya-grahaṇa...)
81. **Hoysala King Someśvara:** Irregular. Prob- 1<sup>st</sup> Mar EC, IX,  
Śaka 1175, Paridhāvi Saṁ- ably, the date 1253 CE Banga-  
vatsara, Phālguna Amāvāsyā, was 19<sup>th</sup> Mar lore, 6  
Solar eclipse. 592 CE.  
(Śaka Varṣa 1175 neya  
Paridhāvi sam.. Phālgu-  
na-māsa-amāvāsyē Sūrya  
grahaṇa...)

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|-----|---|-----------|-----------|--|
| 82. | <b>Hoysala King Ballāla III:</b><br>Śāka 1248, Dundubhi Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Mārgaśirṣa Amāvāsyā,<br>Monday, Solar eclipse.<br>( <i>Śāka varṣa 1248 neya</i><br><i>Dundubhi Saṁvatsarada</i><br><i>Mārgaśirṣada ba 30 Somavāra</i><br><i>Sūrya grahaṇa...</i> )   | Irregular | Irregular | EC, IV,<br>Gundlu-<br>pet, 35 &<br>EC, III,<br>Pt. 3,<br>Gundlu-<br>pete, 41.      |
| 83  | <b>Hoysala King Ballāla III:</b><br>Śāka 1254, Āngirasa Saṁ-<br>vatsara, Prathama Chaitra<br>Amāvāsyā, Monday, Solar<br>eclipse, Pūrvabhādrapada<br>Nakṣatra.<br>( <i>Śāka varṣa 1254 neya</i><br><i>Āngirasa Saṁvatsarada</i><br><i>Prathama-Chaitra ba 30 so-</i><br><i>mavāra Pūrvabhādrapada Na-</i><br><i>kṣatradalli Sūrya grahaṇa...</i> ) | Irregular | Irregular | EC, III,<br>Pt. 3,<br>Nanja-<br>nagud,<br>138 &<br>EC, III,<br>Nanjan-<br>gud, 65. |



## Appendix II

### Inscriptions of the Gupta Dynasty

Inscriptions	Gupta era (334 BCE)	References
1. <b>Basarh clay seal Inscription of Ghaṭotkachagupta</b>	Not dated.	CII, III, No. 27
2. <b>Nalanda Plates of Samudragupta</b> <i>Sarīvat 5, Māgha di 2</i>	5 (330 BCE)	CII, III, No. 3
3. <b>Gaya Plates of Samudragupta</b> <i>Sarīvat 9, Vaiśākha di 10</i>	9 (325 BCE)	CII, III, No. 4
4. <b>Vidisa stone Inscriptions of Rāmagupta</b>	Not dated.	CII, III, No. 5
5. <b>Mathura Inscription of Chandragupta II</b> <i>Sarīvatsare ekaśaṣṭhe 60 1.... [pra] thame śukla-divase pañcamyām....</i>	61(273 BCE)	CII, III, No. 6
6. <b>Udayagiri cave Inscription of Chandragupta II</b> <i>Sarīvatsare 80 2 Āṣāḍha-māsa-śuklaikādaśyam....</i>	82 (252 BCE)	CII, III, No. 7
7. <b>Gadhwa Inscription of Chandragupta II</b>	88 (246 BCE)	CII, III, No. 8
8. <b>Sanchi Inscription of Chandragupta II</b> <i>Sarī 90 3 Bhādrapada di 4</i>	93 (241 BCE)	CII, III, No. 9
9. <b>Bilsad Inscription of Kumāragupta I</b> <i>Abhivardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-sarīvatsare ṣaṇṇavate....</i>	96 (238 BCE)	CII, III, No. 16

10. **Gadhwa Inscription of Kumāragupta I** 98 (236 BCE) CII, III, No. 17  
*Samvatsare 90 8*
11. **Mathura Inscription of Kumāragupta I** 107 (227 BCE) CII, III, No. 18  
*Rājye 100 7 [adhi]ka [Śrāva]ṇa-māsa  
.... 20*
12. **Dhanaidaha Inscription of Kumāragupta I** 113 (221 BCE) CII, III, No. 19  
*Samvatsara-śate trayodaśottare....*
13. **Tumain Inscription of Kumāragupta I** 116 (218 BCE) CII, III, No. 20  
*Sama-sate ṣoḍaśa-varṣa-yukte....*
14. **Karamdamda Inscription of Kumāragupta I** 117 (217 BCE) CII, III, No. 21  
*Vijaya-rājya-samvatsara-śate sap-  
ta-daśottare Kārttika-māsa-daśama di-  
vase....*
15. **Damodarpur Inscription of Kumāragupta I** 124 (210 BCE) CII, III, No. 22  
*Samvat 100 20 4 Phālguna di 7*
16. **Mathura Inscription of Kumāragupta I** 125 (209 BCE) CII, III, No. 23  
*Vijaya-rājya-samvat 100 20 5  
Āsvayuja-māse di 9....*
17. **Damodarpur Plates of Kumāragupta I** 128 (206 BCE) CII, III, No. 24  
*Sam 100 20 8 Vaiśākha di 10 3*
18. **Mankuwar Inscription of Kumāragupta I** 129 (205 BCE) CII, III, No. 25  
*Samvat 100 20 9.... Jyeṣṭha-māsa di 10 8*
19. **Junagadh Inscriptions of Skandagupta** 136 (198 BCE) CII, III, No. 28  
*Samvatsarāṇāmadhike śate tu trimśad-  
bhiranyairapi ṣaḍbhireva, rātrau dine 137 (197 BCE)  
and  
Prauṣṭhapādasya ṣaṣṭhe Gupta-prakāle 138 (196 BCE)  
gaṇanām vidhāya,  
Samvatsarāṇāmadhike śate tu  
trimśadbhiranyairapi Saptabhiścha ...  
Graiṣmasya māśasya tu pūrvapakṣe  
[pra]thame'hni, Varṣaśate'ṣṭatrimśe  
Guptānām kāle....*



20. **Kahaum Inscription of Skandagupta** 141(193 BCE) CII, III, No. 29  
*Varṣe trimśaddaśaikottara-śatatame  
Jyeṣṭha-māsi...*
21. **Supia Inscription of Skandagupta** 141 (193 BCE) CII, III, No. 32  
*Rājya-saṁvatsara-śate  
eka-chatvāriṁśottarake....*
22. **Indore Plates of Skandagupta** 146 (188 BCE) CII, III, No. 30  
*Vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śate ṣaṭ-chat-  
vāriṁśaduttara-tame Phālguna-māse....*
23. **Saranatha Inscription of  
Kumāragupta II** 154 (180 BCE) CII, III, No. 34  
*Varṣa-śate Guptānām  
sa-catuḥ-pañchāśaduttare.....  
māse Jyeṣṭhe dvitīyāyām....*
24. **Saranath Inscription of Budhagupta** 157 (177 BCE) CII, III, No. 36  
*Guptānām samatīkrānte sap-  
ta-pañchāśaduttare śate samānām.....  
Vaiśākha-māsa-saptamyām Mūle  
saṁpragate....*
25. **Varanasi Inscription of Budhagupta** 159 (175 BCE) CII, III, No. 37  
*Saṁvat 100 50 9 Mārgga di [20] 8*
26. **Damodar Plates of Budhagupta** 163 (171 BCE) CII, III, No. 38  
*Saṁ 100 60 3 Āṣāḍha di 10 3*
27. **Eran Inscription of Budhagupta** 165 (169 BCE) CII, III, No. 39  
*Śate pañca-ṣaṣṭyadhike varṣānām....  
Āṣāḍha-māse śukla-dvādaśyām  
suraguror-divase, Saṁ 100 60 5....*
28. **Shankarpur Inscription of  
Budhagupta** 168 (166 BCE) JESI, IV, pp. 62  
ff.  
*Saṁvatsara-śate ṣṭa-ṣaṣṭyuttare mahā-  
māgha-saṁvatsare Śrāvaṇa-māse pañ-  
cāmyām....*
29. **Damodarpur Plates of Viṣṇugupta** 224 (110 BCE) CII, III, No. 47  
*Saṁvat 200 20 4 Bhādra di 5*

**Inscriptions of Other Dynasties**

Inscriptions	Gupta era (334 BCE)	References
1. <b>Udayagiri cave Inscription</b> <i>Guptānvayānām nṛpa-sattamānām rājye..... ṣaḍbhir-yute varṣa-śate'tha māse, su-kārttike bahula-dine'tha pañcame....</i>	106 (228 BCE)	IA, XI, pp. 309 ff.
2. <b>Sultanpur Plates found Rajshahi district (Bangladesh)</b>	121 (213 BCE)	EI, XXXI, pp. 57 ff.
3. <b>Baigram Plates found in Bogra district (Bangladesh)</b>	128 (206 BCE)	EI, XXI, pp. 78 ff.
4. <b>Sanchi stone Inscription</b> <i>Samvat 100 30 1 Āśvayuja di 5</i>	131 (203 BCE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 173.
5. <b>Khoh Plates of Mahārāja Hastin</b> <i>Ṣhaṭpañchāśottare'bdaśate Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Mahā-vaiśākha-samvatsare Kārttika-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-tritīyāyām....</i>	156 (178 BCE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 174.
6. <b>Pali Plates of Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa</b> <i>Samvatsaraśate aṣṭa-pañchāśaduttare Jyeṣṭhamāse paurṇamāsyām....</i>	158 (176 BCE)	EI, II, pp. 363 ff.
7. <b>Paharpur Plates found in Rājshāhi district (Bangladesh)</b>	159 (175 BCE)	EI, XX, pp. 59 ff.
8. <b>Khoh Plates of Mahārāja Hastin</b> <i>Triṣaṣṭyuttare'bdaśate Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Mahā-āśvayuja-samvatsare Caitra-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-dvītiyāyām....</i>	163 (171 BCE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 175.
9. <b>Nandapur Copper Plate</b> <i>Sam 100 60 9 Vai śudi 8</i>	169 (165 BCE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 52-56.
10. <b>Bhamodra Mohota Plates of Mahārāja (Maitraka) Droṇasīmha</b>	183 (151 BCE)	EI, 16, pp. 17-19.

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| 11. | <b>Eran Inscription of Bhānugupta</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śate eka-navatyuttare Śrāvaṇa-bahula-pakṣa-saptamyām, Saṃvat 100 90 1 Śrāvaṇa ba di 7....</i>                  | 191 (143 BCE) | CII, III,<br>No. 43.                        |
| 12. | <b>Majhgawam Plates of Mahārāja Hastin</b><br><i>Eka-navatyuttare'bdaśate Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Mahā-chaitra-samvatsare Māgha-māsa-bahula-pakṣa-tritīyāyām....</i> | 191 (143 BCE) | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 176. |
| 13. | <b>Sohawal Plates of Mahārāja Sarvanātha</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śate eka-navatyuttare dvirāṣāḍha-māsa-divase daśame</i>   | 191 (143 BCE) | EI, 19, pp. 127 ff.                         |
| 14. | <b>Navagrama grant of Mahārāja Hastin</b><br><i>Aṣṭanavatyuttare'bdaśate Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Māhāśvayuja-samvatsare....</i>                                      | 198 (136 BCE) | EI, 21, pp. 124-126.                        |
| 15. | <b>Betul Plates of Mahārāja Saṃkśobha</b><br><i>Samvatsaraśate nava-navatyuttare Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Mahā-mārgaśirṣa-samvatsare Kārttika-māsa-daśamyām.....</i>  | 199 (135 BCE) | EI, 8, pp. 284-290.                         |
| 16. | <b>Grant of Dhruvasena I (from Pālitānā)</b><br><i>Sam 200 6 Āśvayuja śu 3</i>  | 206 (128 BCE) | EI, 17, pp. 108 ff.                         |
| 17. | <b>Ganeshgarh Grant of Dhruvasena I (from Pālitānā)</b><br><i>Samvat 200 7 Vaiśākha, ba 5</i>   | 207 (127 BCE) | EI, 17, pp.105-108.                         |
| 18. | <b>Khoh Grant of Mahārāja Saṃkśobha</b><br><i>Mahāśvayuja-samvatsare....</i>  | 209 (125 BCE) | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 177  |
| 19. | <b>Bhavnagar Grant of Dhruvasena I</b><br><i>Sam 200 10 Bhādrapada badi 9</i>   | 210 (124 BCE) | EI, XIX, pp. 125-127.                       |

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| 20. | <b>Amauna Plates of Mahārāja Nandana</b><br><i>Samvat 200 30 2 Mārgga di 20</i><br><i>Śūdrakarendrakśuṇaḥ....</i>  | 232 (102 BCE)          | EI, X, pp.<br>49-51.                                      |
| 21. | <b>Plates of Guhasena of Valabhi</b>   | 240 (94 BCE)           | IA, VII, pp.<br>67 ff.                                    |
| 22. | <b>Sumandala Plates of Pṛthivivigraha</b><br><i>Gupta-rājye Varṣa-śata-</i><br><i>dvaye pañchāśaduttare Kaliṅ-</i><br><i>ga-rāṣṭra-manuśāsati..... Māgha-</i><br><i>Kṛṣṇasyaikādaśyām uttarāyaṇe....</i> | 250 (84 BCE)           | EI, XXVIII,<br>pp. 81 ff.                                 |
| 23. | <b>Bantia Plates of Dharasena I</b><br><i>Samvat 254, Sūryoparāge, Vaiśākha</i><br><i>Amāvāsyā.</i>  | 254 (80 BCE)<br>(257?) | EI, XXI, pp.<br>179-181.                                  |
| 24. | <b>Arang Plates of Bhīmāsena II</b><br><i>Guptānām samvatsara-śate 200 80 2</i><br><i>Bhādra di 10 8</i>   | 282 (52 BCE)           | EI, IX, pp.<br>342-345.                                   |
| 25. | <b>Ganjam Plates of Śaśāṅkarāja</b><br><i>Gaṇptābde varṣa-śata-traye..... Sūryop-</i><br><i>arāge....</i>  | 300 (34 BCE)           | EI, VI,<br>pp.143-146.                                    |
| 26. | <b>Bhavnagar Plates of Dharasena II</b><br><i>Sam 300 4 Māgha śu 7</i>   | 304 (30 BCE)           | EI, appen-<br>dix (XIX<br>to XXIII),<br>1929, pp.<br>183. |
| 27. | <b>Botad Plates of Dhruvasena Bālāditya</b><br><i>Sam 300 10 Āśvayuja ba 10 5</i>  | 310 (24 BCE)           | IA, VI, pp.<br>13 ff.                                     |
| 28. | <b>Kaira Plates of Dharasena III</b><br><i>Sam 300 30 Dvi-mārgaśira śu 2</i>   | 330 (4 BCE)            | IA, XV, pp.<br>339 ff.                                    |
| 29. | <b>Wala Plates of Śilāditya III</b><br><i>Sam 300 40 3 dvi-āśāḍha ba</i>   | 343 (7 CE)             | EI, appen-<br>dix (XIX<br>to XXIII),<br>1929, pp.<br>185. |

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| 30. <b>Bhavnagar Plates of Śīlāditya IV</b>   | 372 (37 CE)                      | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 186. |
| 31. <b>Gondal Plates of Śīlāditya V</b>   | 403 (67 CE)                      | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 187. |
| 32. <b>Lunavada Plates of Śīlāditya VI</b>  | 441 (105 CE)                     | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 187. |
| 33. <b>Alina Plates of Śīlāditya VII</b>  | 447 (111 CE)                     | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 187. |
| 34. <b>Hilol Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkarāja</b><br><i>Sarivatsara-śata-catusthaye saptatyadhike.... Mārḡaśira-māsa-śuddha-saptamyām bhauma-dine....</i> | 470 (134 CE)                     | EI, XXXIV, pp. 213-218.                     |
| 35. <b>Tezpur Rock Inscription</b>  | 510 (174 CE)                     | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 188. |
| 36. <b>Six grants of Saindhavas</b>   | 513 to 596<br>(177 CE to 262 CE) | EI, XXVI, pp. 185-226.                      |

37. **Morbi Grant of Jāika II** 585 (250 CE) IA, II, pp. 258 ff.  
*Pañchāśītyā yute'tite samānām śa-  
ta-pañcake, Gaupte dadāvādau nṛpaḥ  
soparāge'rka maṇḍale, Saṁvat 585  
Phālguna śudi 5.....*
38. **A commentary by Śīlāchārya on Jain  
work "Āchārāṅgasūtra"** 772 (437 CE) IA, XV,  
pp.188.  
*Dvāsaptatyadhikeṣu hi śateṣu saptashu  
gateṣu Guptānām saṁvatsareṣu māsi  
cha Bhādrapade śukla-pañcamyām,  
Śīlāchāryeṇa kṛtā Gambhūtāyām sthit-  
ena ṭikāṣā.*



## Appendix III

### Inscriptions of Dated in Kṛta or Mālava-Gaṇa Era (719-718 BCE)

1.	Inscriptions	Kṛta or Mālava-Gaṇa era (719-718 BCE)	References
2.	<b>Nāndsā (Udaypur, Rājasthan) Pillar Inscription of Śaktiguṇaguru</b> <i>Kṛtayor-dvayor-varṣa-śatayor- dvyāśītyoḥ 200 80 2 Chaitra- paurṇamāsyām....</i>	282 (437 BCE)	IA, LVIII, pp. 53 ff.
3.	<b>Yūpa Inscription from Barnala(Jaipur)</b> <i>Kṛte hi 200 80 4 Chaitra-śukla-pakśasya pañcadaśī....</i>	284 (435 BCE)	EI, XXVI, pp. 118-123.
4.	<b>Kota (Rājasthan) Yūpa pillar Inscriptions (3 nos)</b> <i>Kṛte hi 200 90 5 Phālguna-śuklasya pañce di....</i>	295 (424 BCE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 42-52.
5.	<b>Yūpa Inscription from Barnala (Jaipur)</b> <i>Kṛte hi 300 30 5 Jaṣa (Jyeṣṭha)- śuddhasya pañcadaśī....</i>	335 (384 BCE)	EI, XXVI, pp. 118-123.
6.	<b>Mankanika Plates of Taralasvāmi (Kaṭachchuri Dynasty)</b>	346 (373 BCE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 160-165.
7.	<b>Abhona grant of Śaṅkaragaṇa (Kaṭachchuri dynasty)</b> <i>Samvatsara-śata-traye sapta- chatvāriṃśaduttarake Śrāvāṇa-śuddha-</i>	347 (372 BCE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 38-44.

- pañcadaśyām..... Saṁ 300 40 7 Śrāvaṇa śu 10 5....*
8. **Vadner grant of Buddharāja (Kaṭachchuri dynasty)** 360 (359 BCE) CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 47-51.  
*Saṁvatsara-śata-traye ṣaṣṭyadhike Bhādrapada-śuddha-trayodaśyām.... Saṁ 300 60 Bhādrapada śu 10 3....*
9. **Sarsavni Plates of Buddharāja (Kaṭachchuri dynasty)** 361 (358 BCE) CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 51-56.  
*Saṁvatsara-śata-traye eka-ṣaṣṭyadhike Kārttika-bahula-pañcadaśyām..... Saṁ 300 60 1 Kārttika ba 10 5....*
10. **Kaira Grant of Vijayarāja** 394 (325 BCE) IA, VII, pp. 241-217.  
*Mānavyasagotrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām Svāmi-Mahāsena-pādānudhyātānām.... Saṁvatsara-śatatrāye Catur-ṇṇavatyadhike Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām...., Saṁvatsara, 300 90 4, Vaiśākha śu 10 5.*
11. **Bijayagarh(Bharatpur, Rājasthan) Inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana** 428 (291 BCE)  
*Kṛteṣu caturṣu varṣa-śateṣv'aṣṭavimśeṣu 400 20 8 Phālguna bahulasya pañcadaśyām....*
12. **Mandasor (Gwalior) Inscription of Naravarman** 461 (258 BCE) IA, XLII, pp.161 ff. & EI, XII, pp. 320 ff.  
*Śri-Mālava-gaṇāmnāte praśaste Kṛta-saṁjñite, eka-ṣaṣṭyadhike prāpte samā-śata-catuṣṭaye, .... Dine Āśvayuja-śuklasya pañcamyām....*
13. **Bihar Kotra Inscription** 474 (245 BCE)
14. **Gangadhar(Jhalawar, Rājasthan) Inscription of Viśvarman** 480 (239 BCE) IA, XLII, pp. 161 ff.  
*Yāteṣu caturṣu Kṛteṣu śateṣu.... aśītyuttareṣu...., śukle trayodaśa-dine bhuvi Kārttikasya māsasya....*



15. **Nagari (Udaypur, Rājasthan Inscription** 481 (238 BCE) EI, appendix  
*Kṛteṣu caturṣu varṣa-śateṣv'-*  
*ekāśītyuttareṣvāyām Mālava-*  
*pūrvyāyām 400 80 1 Kārttika-śukla-*  
*pañcamyām....* (XIX to  
XXIII),  
1929, pp. 2.
16. **Mandasor Inscription of** 493 (226 BCE) IA, XV, pp.  
**Bandhuvarman** 196 ff.  
*Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā yāte śata-*  
*catuṣṭaye, tri-navatyadhike'bdānām*  
*ṛtau sevyā-ghana-svane, Sahasya-māsa*  
*śuklasya praśaste'hni trayodaśe .*
17. **Mandasor Inscription of Prabhākara** 524 (195 BCE) EI, XXVII,  
*Vikhyāpake Mālava-vaṃśa-kīrtteḥ,* pp. 12-18.  
*Śaradgaṇe pañcaśate vyatīte*  
*trighātītāṣṭābhnyadhike krameṇa.*
18. **Risthal Inscription of Prakāśadharman** 572 (147 BCE)  
*Dvābda-saptati-sama-samudayavatsu*  
*pūrṇeṣu pañcasu śateṣu vivatsarāṇām....*
19. **Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman** 589 (130 BCE) IA, XVIII,  
*Pañchāsu śateṣu śaradām* pp.220 ff.  
*yāteṣv'ekānavati-sahiteṣu, Mālava-*  
*gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt-kāla-jñānāya likhiteṣu.*
20. **Haraha Inscription of Suryavarman,** 611 (108 BCE) EI, XIV, pp.  
**the son of Iśānavarman** 115 ff.  
*ekadaśātirikteṣu ṣaṣṭsu sātītaividviṣi,*  
*Śateṣu śaradām patyau bhuvah*  
*Śrīśānavarmaṇi .*
21. **Indragarh Inscription of Rāṣtrakūṭa** 767 (48 CE) EI, XXXII,  
**king Nannappa, son of Bhamana** pp. 112-117.  
*Sapta-ṣaṣṭyadhike yāte varṣāṇām śata-*  
*saptake, Mālavānām narendrāṇām*  
*pṛthivyām viśhrutātmanām, Kāle*  
*śaradi samprāpte....*
22. **Kanaswa(Kota, Rājasthan) Inscription** 795 (76 CE) IA, XIX, pp.  
**of Śivagaṇa** 57 ff.  
*Samvatsara-śatair yātaiḥ sa-pañca-*  
*navatyagraiḥ saptatibhir Mālaveśānam*

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| 23. | <b>Gyārāspur Inscription</b><br><i>Mālava-kālašchchradām ṣaṭtrimśat-saṁyuteṣu atīteṣu, Navasu śateṣu....</i>   | 936 (217 CE)  | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 8.  |
| 24. | <b>Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of Harirāja</b><br><i>Samvat 1040 adyeha sīyadonyām Mahārājādhirāja Harirājadevena Vetravatyām snātvā rāhugraste divākare....</i> | 1040 (321 CE) | EI, XXXI, pp. 309 ff.                      |
| 25. | <b>Menalgarh Inscription of Chāhamānas</b><br><i>Mālaveśa-gata-vatsara-śataiḥ dvādaśaiśca ṣaḍviṁśa-pūrvakaiḥ.</i>  | 1226 (507 CE) | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 52. |

### Inscriptions of the Pratihāra Dynasty

Inscriptions	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1. <b>An Inscription of Pratihāra Vatsarāja</b> <i>Muni-śāsi-naga-saṁsthe yānti kāle Śakānām, Surabhicarama māse śukla-pakṣe daśamyām.</i>	717 (134 CE) Śaka era(583 BCE)	EI, XLI, pp. 49-57.
2. <b>Buchkala Inscription of Nāgabhaṭa II</b> <i>Samvatsara-śate 872 Chaitrasya sita-pakṣasya pañcamyām....</i>	872 ( 153 CE)	EI, IX, pp. 198-200.
3. <b>Amroha grant of Nāgabhaṭa II</b>	885 (166 BCE)	Dynastic list of copper Plates from 1969-70 to 1996-97, pp. 46.
4. <b>Gwalior Praśasti of Bhojadeva</b>	Not dated.	EI, XVIII, pp.99-114.

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| 5. | <b>Barah Plates of Bhojadeva</b><br><i>Śri-Kānyakubja-bhuktau.....</i><br><i>Samvat 893 Kārttika śudi 5....</i>  | 893 (174 BCE)   | EI, XIX, pp.<br>15-19.   |
| 6. | <b>Daulatpura Plates of Bhojadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 900 Phālguna śudi</i><br><i>10 3....</i>  | 900 (181 CE)  | EI, V, pp. 208 ff.       |
| 7. | <b>Deogarh pillar Inscription of Bhojadeva of Kanauj</b><br><i>Samvat 919 Āśvayuja-</i><br><i>śukla-pakṣa-caturdaśyām</i><br><i>Bṛhaspati-dinena Uttara-</i><br><i>bhādrapada-nakṣatre</i><br><i>Śaka-kālā`bda-sapta-śatāni</i><br><i>caturaśītyadhikāni 784</i>   | 919 (200-201 CE)<br>[Śaka 784]  | EI, IV, pp. 309-<br>310. |
| 8. | <b>Gwalior Inscription of the time of Bhoja</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śateṣu navasu</i><br><i>trayastrimśadadhikeṣu</i><br><i>Māgha-śukla-dvitīyāyām</i><br><i>Sam 933 Māgha śudi 2....</i>   | 933 (214 CE)  | EI, I, pp. 159-<br>162.  |
| 9. | <b>Ahar Inscription of the time of Bhoja</b><br><i>(Atītasamvat = elapsed year)</i><br><i>Sam 259 Mārgaśira vadi 10</i><br><i>Sam 258 Āṣāḍha vadi 10</i><br><i>Sam 298 Chaitra sita 8</i><br><i>Sam 943 Pauṣa vadi 13</i><br><i>Sam 280 Phālguna vadi 8</i><br><i>Sam 287 Mārgaśira vadi 11</i><br><i>Sam 296 Bhādrapada śudi 14</i><br><i>Sam 298 Jyeṣṭha śudi 13</i><br><i>Sam 261 Āṣāḍha vadi 3</i><br><i>Sam 298 Bhādrapada vadi 5</i> | 259 (202 CE)<br>258 (201 CE)<br>298 (241 CE)<br><br><i>Chaitrādi Vikrama</i><br><i>era (57 BCE)</i><br>943 (224 CE)<br><i>Karttikādi</i><br><i>Vikrama era (719-</i><br><i>718 BCE)</i><br>280 (223 CE)<br>287 (230 CE)<br>296 (239 CE)<br>298 (241 CE) | EI, XIX, pp.52-<br>62.   |

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|     |   | 261 (204 CE)                          |                      |
|     |   | 298 (241 CE)                          |                      |
|     |   | <i>Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)</i> |                      |
| 10. | <b>Peheva Inscription of Bhoja</b><br><i>Samvat 276 Vaisākha śudi 7</i>   | 276 (219 CE)                          | EI, I, pp.184-190.   |
|     |   | <i>Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)</i> |                      |
| 11. | <b>Dighwa-Dubauli Plates of Mahendrapāla</b><br><i>Savituh Kumbha Samkrāntau snātvā.....</i><br><i>Samvat 900 50 5 Māgha śudi 10</i>  | 955 (236 CE)                          | IA, XV, pp. 112 ff.  |
| 12. | <b>Junagarh Plates of Mahendrapāla</b>  | 956 (237 CE)                          | EI, IX, pp. 1-10.    |
| 13. | <b>Siyadoni Inscription (Mahendrapāla)</b><br><i>Sam 960 Śrāvaṇa</i><br><i>Sam 964 Mārgasīra Vadi 3</i>   | 960 (241 CE)<br>964 (245 CE)          | EI, I, pp. 162-179.  |
| 14. | <b>Copper Plate Inscription of Vināyakapāla</b><br><i>Mahendrapāladevaḥ tasya putraḥ Mahārāja Bhojadevaḥ tasya bhrātā Śri-Mahendrapāladeva-putrasya pādānudhyātaḥ Vināyakapāladevaḥ.....</i><br><i>Pratiṣṭhāna-bhuktau Vārāṇasī-viṣaye.....</i><br><i>Samvatsaro 900 80 8 Phālguna vadi 9....</i> | 988 (269 CE)                          | IA, XV, pp. 138-141. |
| 15. | <b>Partabgarh Inscription of Mahendrapāla II</b>  | 1003 (284 CE)                         | IA, XLV, pp. 122 ff. |

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| 16. | <b>Jhusi grant of Trilochanapāla</b><br><i>(Vijayapāla, Rājyapāla and Trilochanapāla)</i> | 1084 (365 CE) | IA, XVIII, pp. 33-35.    |
| 17. | <b>Kara Inscription of Yaśaḥpāla</b>  | 1093 (374 CE) | JRAS, 1927, pp. 694-695. |

### Inscriptions of the Paramāra Dynasty of Mālava

- | Inscriptions   | Karttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) | References                   |
|--|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. <b>Two Harsola Grants of Siyaka</b><br><i>Chandrārka-yoga-parvaṇi.....</i><br><i>Saṁvat 1005 Māgha vadi 30 budhe....</i>  | 1005 (286 CE)                        | CII, VII, pt. II, pp.1-8.    |
| 2. <b>Ahmedabad grant of Siyaka</b><br><i>Saṁ 1026 Aśvina vadi 15....</i>  | 1026 (307 CE)                        | CII, VII, pt. II, pp.8-10.   |
| 3. <b>Dharmapuri Grant of Vākpatirāja</b><br><i>Saṁ 1031 Bhādrapada śudi 14....</i>  | 1031 (312 CE)                        | CII, VII, pt. II, pp.10-14.  |
| 4. <b>Ujjain grant of Vākpatirāja</b><br><i>Ṣaṭ-trimśa-sāhaśraika-saṁvatsare'smin Kārttika-śuddha-paurṇamāsyām soma-grahaṇa-parvaṇi.....Saṁvat 1036 Chaitra vadi 9....</i> | 1036 (317 CE)                        | CII, VII, pt. II, pp.14-17.  |
| 5. <b>Gaonri grant 1 of Vākpatirāja</b><br><i>Aṣṭatrimśaduttara-sāhaśrika-saṁvatsare'smin Kārttikyām somagrahaṇa-parvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1038 dvirāśāḍha śudi 10....</i>       | 1038 (319 CE)                        | CII, VII, pt. II, pp.18-24,  |
| 6. <b>Gaonri grant 2 of Vākpatirāja</b><br><i>Trichatvāriṁśa-saṁvatsara-sahasre Māghe māsi Udagayana-parvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1043 Māgha vadi 13....</i>                        | 1043 (324 CE)                        | CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 24-27. |

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| 7.  | <b>Modasa grant of Bhojadeva</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śateṣu daśasu sap-<br/>ta-ṣaṣṭyadhikeṣu Jyeṣṭha-śukla-pa-<br/>kṣa-pratipadāyām.... samvat 1067<br/>Jyeṣṭha śudi 1 ravau....</i>                        | 1067 (348 CE)            | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 27-31. |
| 8.  | <b>Mahaudi grant of Bhojadeva</b><br><i>Chatus-saptatyadhika-daśa-śa-<br/>ta-samvatsare Śrāvaṇa-śudi-<br/>paurṇamāsyām gurau samjāta-so-<br/>magrahaṇa-parvaṇi.... Samvat 1074<br/>Aśvina śudi 5....</i> | 1074 (355 CE)            | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 31-35. |
| 9.  | <b>Betma grant of Bhojadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 1076 Bhādrapada śudi 15</i>   | 1076 (357 CE)            | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 35-38. |
| 10. | <b>Banswada grant of Bhojadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 1076 Māgha śudi 5</i>  | 1076 (357 CE)            | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 38-42. |
| 11. | <b>Ujjain grant of Bhojadeva</b><br><i>Atitāṣṭa-saptatyadhika-sāhaśri-<br/>ka-samvatsare Māgha-sita-<br/>tritiyāyām..... Samvat 1078 Chaitra<br/>śudi 14....</i>   | 1078 (359 CE)            | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 42-45. |
| 12. | <b>Depalpur grant of Bhojadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 1079 Chaitra śudi 14</i>   | 1079 (360 CE)            | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp.45-48.  |
| 13. | <b>Kalvan grant of the time of<br/>Bhojadeva</b><br><i>Chaitramāsāmāvāsyāyām Sūryagra-<br/>haṇe....</i>  | -                        | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp.54-58.  |
| 14. | <b>Tilakwada grant of the time of<br/>Bhojadeva?</b><br><i>Samvatsarair Vikramādityaiḥ<br/>śatairekādaśaistathā, tryuttara-<br/>ir-Mārgamāse'smin some somasya<br/>parvaṇi.</i>                          | 1103 (384 CE)            | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp.50-54.  |
| 15. | <b>Mandhata grant of Jayasimha</b><br><i>Samvat 1112 Āṣāḍha vadi 13</i>  | 1112 expired<br>(394 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp.61-64.  |
| 16. | <b>Udaypur Praśasti Inscription</b>  | Not dated.               | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp.75 ff.  |

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| 17. | <b>Inscription of Udayāditya</b>  | 1131 (412 CE)                                   | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 65-66.   |
| 18. | <b>Inscription of Udayāditya</b>  | 1140 (421 CE)                                   | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 67- 69.  |
| 19. | <b>Jhalrapatan Inscription of the time<br/>of Udayāditya</b><br><i>Samvat 1143 Vaiśākha śudi 10</i>   | 1143 (423 CE)                                   | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 69-71.   |
| 20. | <b>Amera Stone Inscription of<br/>Naravarman</b><br><i>Samvat 1151 Āṣāḍha śudi 7</i>  | 1151 (432 CE)                                   | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 98-101.  |
| 21. | <b>Dewas Grant of Naravarman</b><br><i>Dviṣaṅcāśadadhi-<br/>ka-śataikādaśa-samvatsare Bhādra-<br/>pada-śudi ekādaśyām....</i>   | 1152 (433 CE)                                   | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 102-105. |
| 22. | <b>Bhojpur Inscription of the time of<br/>Naravarman</b>  | 1157 (438 CE)                                   | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 105-106. |
| 23. | <b>Nagpur Museum Inscription of<br/>Naravarman</b>  | 1161 (442 CE)                                   | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 106-114. |
| 24. | <b>Kadambapadraka grant of<br/>Naravarman</b><br><i>Samvat 1154 Kārttika śudi 15.</i><br><i>Samvat 1159 Pauṣa śudi 15.</i><br><i>Samvat 1167 Māgha śudi 12.</i>   | 1154 (435 CE)<br>1159 (440 CE)<br>1167 (448 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 114-118. |
| 25. | <b>Ujjain Plates of Yaśovarman</b><br><i>Samvat 1192 Mārga (or Māgha)<br/>Vadi 3</i>  | 1192 (473 CE)                                   | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 126-118. |
| 26. | <b>Ujjain Inscription of Mahākumāra<br/>Lakṣmīvarman</b><br><i>Yaśovarmadevena Śri-Vikrama-<br/>kālātīta-samvatsaraika-<br/>navatyadhika-śataikādaśeṣu<br/>Kārttika śudi aṣṭamyām..... Sam-<br/>vatsara-śata-dvādaśakeṣu Śrāvāṇa<br/>śudi pañcadaśyām Somagra-<br/>haṇa-parvaṇi....</i> | 1191 (472 CE)<br>1200 (481 CE)                  | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 133-137. |

27. **Bhopal Inscription of Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman** -- CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 138-140.  
*Rāṣṭrakūṭa Vaddiga & Vijayasimha*
29. **Vidisa stone Inscription of Mahākumāra Trailokyavarman** 1216 (497 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 141-144.  
*Samvat 1216 Chaitra vadi 12*
30. **Bhopal grant of Mahākumāra Hariśchandra** 1214 (494-495 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 146-152.  
*Śrimad-Vikrama-kālātīta-caturdaśādhika-dvādaśa-śatāntaḥpāti-samvatsare Kārttika-śudi-paurṇamāsyām samjāta-Soma-grahaṇa-sarva-grāsa-parvaṇi....*
31. **Piplianagar grant of Mahākumāra Hariśchandra** 1235 (516 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 152-157.  
1236 (517 CE)  
*Śri-Vikrama-kālātīta 1235 pañca-trimśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarāntaḥpāti Pauṣa vadi amāvāsyāyām samjāta-surya-parvaṇi.... 1236 ṣaṭ-trimśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarāntaḥpāti Vaiśākha-māsi paurṇamāsyām....*
32. **Bhopal grant of Mahākumāra Udayavarman** 1256 (537 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 157-161.  
*Śri-Vikrama-kālātīta-ṣaṭ-pañcāśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsarāntaḥpāti anke 1256 Vaiśākha śudi 15 paurṇamāsyām tithau Viśākhā-nakṣatre Parighayoge ravidine Mahāvaiśākhyām parvaṇi....*
33. **Piplianagar grant of Arjunavarman** 1267 (548 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 162-166.  
*Sapta-ṣaṣṭyadhika-dvādaśa-śata-samvatsare phālgune 1267 śukla-daśamyām abhiṣeka-parvaṇi.... Samvat 1267 Phālguna śudi 10....*



34. **Sehore grant of Arjunavarman** 1270 (551 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 166-168.  
*Saptatyadhika-dvādaśa-śa-ta-saṁvatsare Vaiśākha-vadi amāvāsyāyām Sūryagrahaṇaparvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1270 Vaiśākha vadi 15 some....*
35. **Sehore grant of Arjunavarman** 1272 (553 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 168-171.  
*Dvisaptatyadhika-dvādaśa-śa-ta-saṁvatsare Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsyām Chandroparāga-parvaṇi..... Saṁ 1272 Bhādrapada śudi 15 budhe....*
36. **Harsauda Inscription of Devapāla** 1275 (556 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 171-175.  
*Saṁvat pañca-saptatyadhika-dvādaśa-śatāṅke 1275 Mārga-śudi 12 adhike pañcasaptatyā dvādaśābdaśate śake, vatsare Citrabhānau tu Mārgaśirṣe site dale, Pañcamyāntaka-saṁyoge nakśatre Viṣṇu-daivate , Yoge Harṣaṇasamjñe tu tithyārdhe dhātridaivate.*
37. **Mandhata grant of Devapāla** 1282 (563 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 175-185.  
*Dvyāśītyadhika-dvādaśa-śa-ta-saṁvatsare Bhādrapade māse paurṇamāsyām soma-parvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1282 varṣe Bhādra śudi 15 gurau....*
38. **Udaipur Inscription of the time of Devapāla** 1286 (567 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 185-187.  
 1289 (570 CE)  
*Saṁvat 1286 Kārttika śudi....*
39. **Rahatgarh Inscription of the time of Jayasīmhadeva** 1312 (593 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 190-194.  
*Saṁvat 1312 varṣe Bhādrapada śudi 7 some....*
40. **Modi stone Inscription of Jayavarman** 1314 (595 CE) CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 194-200.  
*Saṁvat 1314 Māgha vadi 1*

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| 41. | <b>Mandhata grant of Jayavarman</b><br><i>Saptadaśādhika-trayodaśa-śa-<br/>ta-saṁvatsare..... Saṁvat 1317</i><br><i>Āgrahāyaṇa-śukla-tritīyāyām tithau</i><br><i>ravivāsare pūrvāṣāḍha-nakśatre</i><br><i>śūlanāmni yoge..... Saṁvat 1317</i><br><i>Jyeṣṭha śudi 11 gurau....</i> | 1317 (598 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 200-206. |
| 42. | <b>Vidisha Inscription of Jayasimha</b>   | 1320 (601 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 206-207. |
| 43. | <b>Pathari Inscription of Jayasimha</b>   | 1326 (607 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 208-209. |
| 44. | <b>Mandhata grant of Jayavarman</b><br><i>Ekatriṁśadadhika-trayodaśa-śa-<br/>ta-sankhyānvite Pramāthināmni</i><br><i>saṁvatsare Bhādrapade māsi</i><br><i>śuklapakṣe saptamyām tithau</i><br><i>śukradine Maitre nakśatre....</i>   | 1331(612 CE)  | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 209-224. |

### Inscriptions of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati

- | Inscriptions   | Karttikādi<br>Vikrama era<br>(719-718 BCE) | References                        |
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| 1. <b>Varman Inscription of the time of Pūrṇapāla</b>  | 1099 (380 CE)                              | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 225-226. |
| 2. <b>Vasantgarh Inscription of the time of Pūrṇapāla and his son Śivapāla</b><br><i>Nava-navatirihāsīd Vikramāditya-kāle, Jagati daśa-śātānāmagra to yatra pūrṇā, Prabhavati Nabhamāse sthānake Citrabhānoḥ, Mṛgaśirasi śaśāṅke Kṛṣṇa-pakṣe navamyām.</i> | 1099 (380 CE)                              | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 226-232. |
| 3. <b>Bhadund Inscription of the time of Purnapala</b><br><i>Saṁvatsare 1102 Kārttika vadi pañcamyām....</i>   | 1102 (383 CE)                              | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 232-237. |

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| 4.  | <b>Kayadra Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa</b><br><i>Samvat 1220 Jyeṣṭha śudi 15</i><br><i>śanidine Somaparve....</i>   | 1220 (501 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 243-245. |
| 5.  | <b>Nana Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa</b>   | 1237 (518 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 245-247. |
| 6.  | <b>Ajhari Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa</b><br><i>Sam 1240 Vaiśākha śudi 3 some....</i>   | 1240 (521 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 249-250. |
| 7.  | <b>Mungthala Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa</b><br><i>Samvat 1245 Bhādrapada śudi 1</i><br><i>budhe....</i>  | 1245 (526 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 250-252. |
| 8.  | <b>Butri Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa</b><br><i>Samvat 1271 varṣe Āśvayuja śudi 4</i><br><i>some....</i>   | 1271 (552 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 256-257. |
| 9.  | <b>Kamtal Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa</b><br><i>Samvat 1274 Māgha-Phālgunay-</i><br><i>or-madhya Somagrahaṇa-parve....</i>  | 1274 (555 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 257-259. |
| 10. | <b>Dhanta Inscription of Somasiṃha</b>  | 1277 (558 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 262-264. |
| 11. | <b>Nana stone Inscription of Somasiṃha</b><br><i>Samvat 1290 varṣe Mārḡa vadi 15</i><br><i>some....</i>   | 1290 (571 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 264-266. |
| 12. | <b>Devkhetar Inscription of Somasiṃha</b>   | 1293 (574 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 266-267. |
| 13. | <b>Kalajara Inscription of Alhaṇadeva</b>   | 1300 (581 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 267-268. |
| 14. | <b>Girvad Inscription of Pratāpasimha</b><br><i>Samvat trayodaśasate tricā-</i><br><i>vāriṃśa-dākhyayā, khyāte</i><br><i>saṃvatsare śukla daśamyām</i><br><i>aśvinasya, Āgāmini catuś-chat-</i><br><i>vāriṃśadākhye'tha vatsare</i><br><i>Jyeṣṭhasya sitapañcamyām, śukre....</i> | 1344 (625 CE) | CII, VII, pt. II,<br>pp. 270-277. |

### Inscriptions of the Paramāras of Vagada

Inscriptions	Karttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1. <b>Arthuna Inscription of Chāmunḍarāja</b> <i>Samvat 1136 Phālguna śudi 7 śukre....</i>	1136 (417 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 286-296.
2. <b>Arthuna Inscription of Chāmunḍarāja</b>	1159 (440 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 302-304.
3. <b>Arthuna Inscription of Vijayarāja</b> <i>Vikramāṅkataḥ samvat 1165 Phālguna śudi 2 gurau dine....</i>	1165 (446 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 309-311.
4. <b>Arthuna Inscription of Vijayarāja</b> <i>Vikrama-Samvat 1166 Vaiśākha śudi 3....</i>	1166 (447 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 312-317.

### Inscriptions of Paramāras of Bhinmal

Inscriptions	Karttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1. <b>Ropi Inscription of Devarāja</b> <i>Samvat 1059 Māgha śudi 15.... Somagrahane....</i>	1059 (340 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 318-320.
2. <b>Bhinmal Inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja</b> <i>Samvat 1117 Māgha śudi 6 ravau....</i>	1117 (398 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 320-323.
3. <b>Kiradu Inscription of Someśvara</b> <i>Samvat 1218 Aśvina śudi 1 gurau....</i>	1218 (499 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 325-329.
4. <b>Bhinmal Inscription of Jayatsimha</b> <i>Samvat 1239 Aśvina vadi 10 budhe....</i>	1239 (520 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 329-331.

## Inscriptions of the Chaulukya Dynasty (Solanki)

	Inscriptions	Karttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1.	<b>A Grant of Mūlarāja I</b> <i>Sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1043 Māgha vadi 15 Ravau....</i>	1043 (324 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 191-193.
2.	<b>A Grant of Bhīmadeva I</b> <i>Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086 Kārttika śudi 15..... adya Kārttikī- parvaṇi....</i>	1086 (367 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 193-194.
3.	<b>Paliad Grant of Bhīmadeva I</b> <i>Vikrama-Saṁvat 1112 Chaitra śudi 15..... Soma-grahaṇa-par- vaṇi....</i>	1112 (393 CE)	EI, XXXIII, pp. 235-237.
4.	<b>A Grant of Bhīmadeva I</b>	1117 (398 CE)	
5.	<b>Palanpur Grant of Bhīmadeva I</b> <i>Vikrama-Saṁvat 1120 Pauṣa śudi 15..... adya Uttarāyaṇa-parvaṇi....</i>	1120 (401 CE)	EI, XXI, pp. 171-172.
6.	<b>Sunak Grant of Chaulukya Kaṇadeva</b> <i>Śri Vikrama-Saṁvat 1148 Vaiśākha śudi 15 Some..... adya Somagrahaṇa-parvaṇi....</i>	1148 (429 CE)	EI, I, pp. 316-318.
7.	<b>Talwara Inscription of the time of Siddharāja Jayasimha</b>	Not dated.	EI, appen- dix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 209.
8.	<b>Gala Inscription of Siddharāja Jayasimha</b>	1193 (474 CE)	EI, appen- dix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 37.
9.	<b>Ujjain Inscription of Siddharāja Jayasimha</b>	1195 (476 CE)	EI, appen- dix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 37.

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| 10. | <b>A Grant of Kumārapāla</b>   | 1199 (480 CE)                  | List of Cop-<br>per Plates<br>from 1969-<br>1997, No.<br>35, pp. 9.   |
| 11. | <b>Vādnagar Praśasti of the time of Kumārapāla</b><br><i>Samvat 1208 varṣe Aśvina śudi....<br/>Gurau.....<br/>Chaitra-māse śubhre pakṣe prati-<br/>pad guruvāsare, Nandāṣṭanṛpe<br/>1689 varṣe Praśastiḥ likitā punaḥ.</i>   | 1208 (489 CE)<br>1689 (970 CE) | EI, I, pp.<br>293-305.  |
| 12. | <b>Brahmanavada Grant of Mūlarāja II</b><br><i>Śrimad-Vikramādityotpādita-<br/>samvatsara-śateṣu dvādaśasu<br/>dvātrimśaduttareṣu Chaitra-mā-<br/>sa-śukla-pakṣa ekādaśyām<br/>somavare'trāṅkato'pi Samvat 1232<br/>Caitra śudi 11 some....</i>                              | 1232 (513 CE)                  | Important<br>Inscriptions<br>of Baroda<br>State, Vol I,<br>pp. 71-73. |
| 13. | <b>Kada-grama grant of Bhīmadeva II</b><br><i>Śrimad-Vikramādityotpādita-<br/>samvatsara-śateṣu dvādaśasu<br/>ṣaṭpañchāśaduttareṣu Bhādra-<br/>pada-kṛṣṇāmāvāsyāyām bhau-<br/>mavāre'trāṅkato'pi Samvat 1256<br/>Bhādrapada vadi 15 bhaume.....<br/>amāvāsyā-parvaṇi....</i> | 1256 (537 CE)                  | IA, XI, pp.<br>71-73.   |
| 14. | <b>A grant of Bhīmadeva II</b><br><i>Śrimad-Vikramādityotpādita-<br/>Samvatsara-śateṣu dvādaśasu<br/>tri-ṣaṣṭyuttareṣu Śrāvaṇa-māsa-<br/>śukla-pakṣa-dvitiyāyām Ra-<br/>vivāre'trāṅkato'pi Samvat 1263<br/>Śrāvaṇa śudi 2 ravau..... vyatipā-<br/>ta-parvaṇi....</i>         | 1263 (544 CE)                  | IA, VI, pp.<br>194-196.   |

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| 15. | <b>A grant of Bhīmadeva II</b><br><i>Samvat 93 Chaitra śudi 11 ravau.... Samkrānti-parvaṇi....</i><br>( <i>Siṃha Samvat 93 = Kārttikādi Vikrama 1263</i> )   | 1263 (544 CE)<br>[21 <sup>st</sup> Mar 544 CE] | IA, XVIII,<br>pp. 108-110. |
| 16. | <b>A grant of Bhīmadeva II</b><br><i>Śrimad-Vikrama-nṛpa-kālātīta-samvatsara-śateṣu dvādaśa-su ṣaṭ-ṣaṣṭyadhikeṣu laukika Mārge-māsasya śukla-pakṣa-caturdaśyām guru-dine atrāṅkata'pi Śri-Vikrama-Samvat 1266 varṣe Śri-Siṃha-samvat 96 varṣe laukika Mārge śu di 14 gurau....</i> | 1266 (547 CE)                                  | IA, XVIII,<br>pp. 110-116. |
| 17. | <b>A grant of Bhīmadeva II</b><br><i>Samvat 1283 varṣe Kārttika śudi 15 gurau....</i>  | 1283 (564 CE)                                  | IA, VI, pp.<br>199-200.    |
| 18. | <b>A grant of Bhīmadeva II</b><br><i>Samvat 1287 varṣe Āṣāḍha śudi 8 śukre....</i>   | 1287 (568 CE)                                  | IA, VI, pp.<br>201-203.    |
| 19. | <b>A grant of Bhīmadeva II</b><br><i>Samvat 1288 varṣe Bhādrapada śudi 1 some....</i>  | 1288 (569 CE)                                  | IA, VI, pp.<br>203-204.    |
| 20. | <b>A grant of Bhīmadeva II</b><br><i>Samvat 1295 varṣe Mārge śudi 14 gurau....</i>   | 1295 (576 CE)                                  | IA, VI, pp.<br>205-206.    |
| 21. | <b>A grant of Bhīmadeva II</b><br><i>Samvat 1296 varṣe Mārge vadi 14 ravau....</i>   | 1296 (577 CE)                                  | IA, VI, pp.<br>206-208.    |
| 22. | <b>A Grant of Jayantasimha</b><br><i>Gata-samvatsara-dvādaśa-varṣa-śateṣu aṣṭyuttareṣu Pauṣa-māse śukla-pakṣe tritīyāyām tithau bhaumavāre samjāta-uttaragata-Sūrya-samkramaṇa-parvaṇi ankatato'pi Samvat 1280 varṣe Pauṣa śudi 3 bhaume..... uttarāyaṇa-parvaṇi....</i>           | 1280 (561 CE)                                  | IA, VI, pp.<br>196-199.    |

22. **A Grant of Tribhuvanapāla** 1299 (580 CE) IA, VI, pp. 208-210.  
*Śrīmad-Vikramādityotpādita-Saṁvatsara-śateṣu dvādaśasu nava-ṇavatyuttareṣu Caitra-māsīya-śukla-ṣaṣṭhyām so-mavāre'trāṅkato'pi Saṁvat 1299 varṣe Chaitra śudi 6 some..... Phālgunamāsīya-amāvāsyaṁ samjata-Sūrya-grahaṇa-parvaṇi....*

### Viśaladeva Family of Chaulukyas

23. **A Grant of Viśaladeva** 1317 (598 CE) IA, VI, pp. 210-214.  
*Śrīmad-Vikrama-kālātīta-saptadaśādhika-trayodaśa-śatika-saṁvatsare laukika-Jyeṣṭha-māsasya Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa-caturthyām tithau gurau....*
24. **Kantela Inscription of Arjunadeva** 1320 (601 CE) MSQJ, Vol XIV, pp. 242-243.
25. **Kutch Inscription of Arjunadeva** 1328 (609 CE) MSQJ, Vol XIV, pp. 242-243.
26. **Girnar (Kathiawad) grant of Arjunadeva** 1330 (611 CE) MSQJ, Vol XIV, pp. 242-243.  
*Sam 1330 Vaiśākha śu 15 Śrīmad-Arjunadevarājye Surāṣṭrāyām tanniyukta Śri-Palhe.....*
27. **Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva** 1332 (613 CE) IA, XXI, pp. 276-277.  
*Samvat 1332 varṣe Mārga śudi 11 śanau....*
28. **Vanthali Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva** 1346 (627 CE) EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 89.  
*Samvat 1346 varṣe Vaiśākha vadi 6 some....*



29. **Anavada Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva** 1348 (629 CE) IA, XLI, p. 20-21.  
*Samvat 1348 varṣe Āṣāḍha śudi 13 ravau....*

### Inscriptions of the Viśvamalla Branch of Later Chaulukyās Dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)

30. **Veraval Inscription of Arjunadeva** 1320 (1263 CE) IA, XI, pp.242-245.
31. **Amaran Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva** 1333 (1276 CE) EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 84.
32. **Cintra Praśasti of Sāraṅgadeva** 1343 (1286 CE) EI, I, pp. 271-287.

### Inscriptions of the Chāhamāna Dynasty

	Inscriptions	Karttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1.	<b>Hansot Plates of Bhartṛvaddha</b> <i>Sūrya-grahaṇe..... Samvatsara-śatāṣṭake trayodaśādhike 800 10 3....</i>	813 (94 CE)	EI, XII, pp. 197-204.
2.	<b>Harṣa stone Inscription of the Chāhamāna Vigraharāja</b>	1013 (294 CE) 1030 (311 CE)	EI, II, pp. 116-130.
3.	<b>Bijolia rock Inscription</b> <i>Tritīyāyām tithau vāre gurau nakṣatre ca Hastake, Dhṛtināmani yoge ca karaṇe Taitile tathā, Samvat 1226 Phālguna vadi 3....</i>	1226 (507 CE)	EI, XXVI, pp. 84-112.

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| 4. | <b>Menalgarh Inscription of Chāhamāna Pr̥thvirāja</b><br><i>Mālaveśa-gata-vatsara-śataiḥ dvādaśaiścha ṣaḍviṃśa-pūrvakaiḥ.</i> | 1226 (507 CE) | EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 52. |
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### Inscriptions of the Chandrātreyas or Chandellas of Jejakabhukti

Inscriptions	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1. <b>Khajuraho Inscription of Harṣadeva</b>	Not dated.	CII, VII, pt. III, pp. 335-337.
2. <b>Khajuraho Inscription of Yaśovarman</b> <i>Saṁvatsara-daśa-śateṣu ekādaśādhikeṣu Saṁvat 1011....</i>	1011	Ibid. pp. 337-347.
3. <b>Khajuraho Inscription of Dhaṅgadeva</b> <i>Saṁvat 1011....</i>	1011	Ibid. pp. 347-348.
4. <b>Nanyaura Plates of Dhaṅgadeva</b> <i>Saṁvatsara-sahasre pañca-pañcāśa-dadhike Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām ravidine....</i>	1055	Ibid. pp. 349-353.
5. <b>Khajuraho Inscription of Dhaṅgadeva</b> <i>Saṁvat 1059 Śri-Kharjūravāhake Śri-Dhaṅgadeva-rājye....</i>	1059	Ibid. pp. 381-390.
6. <b>Kundesvara Plates of the time of Vidyādhara</b> <i>Saṁvatsara-sahasre ṣaṣṭyadhike Saṁvat 1060 Śrāvaṇi? [Phālguna?] amāvāsyāyām.... Sūryagrahaṇe....</i>	1060	Ibid. pp. 651-656.
7. <b>Nanyaura Plates of Devavarman</b> <i>Saṁvat 1107 Vaiśākhamāse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe tritīyāyām somadine....</i>	1107	Ibid. pp. 356-360.

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| 8.  | <b>Charkhari Plates of Devavarman</b><br><i>Sarṁvatsara-sahasraike aṣṭo-<br/>tara-śatādhike aṅkato'pi 1108 Mār-<br/>gaśirṣa-śudi 15 somadine....</i>               | 1108 | Ibid. pp.<br>360-364. |
| 9.  | <b>Darbat Santinatha image<br/>Inscription of Kirtivarman</b><br><i>Sarṁvat 1132</i>   | 1132 | Ibid. pp.<br>365-366. |
| 10. | <b>Kalanjar Inscription of the time of<br/>Kirtivarman</b><br><i>Sarṁvat 1147 Māghamāse śukla-<br/>pakṣe saptamyām Revatī-nakṣatre....</i>                         | 1147 | Ibid. pp.<br>367-370. |
| 11. | <b>Deogarh Inscription of the time of<br/>Kirtivarman</b><br><i>Sarṁvat 1154 Chaitra....</i>   | 1154 | Ibid. pp.<br>371-373. |
| 12. | <b>Khajuraho Inscription of<br/>Jayavarmadeva</b><br><i>Sarṁvat 1173 Vaiśākha śudi 3 śukre....</i>   | 1173 | Ibid. pp.<br>381-390. |
| 13. | <b>Kalanjar pillar Inscription of the<br/>time of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Sarṁ 1186....</i>   | 1186 | Ibid. pp.<br>391-392. |
| 14. | <b>Kalanjar rock Inscription of the<br/>time of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Sarṁvat 1187 Jyeṣṭha śudi 9....</i>   | 1187 | Ibid. pp.<br>392-393. |
| 15. | <b>Kalanjar rock Inscription of the<br/>time of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Sarṁvat 1188 Kārttika śudi 8<br/>śanau....</i>  | 1188 | Ibid. pp.<br>393-394. |
| 16. | <b>Augasi Plates of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Navatyadhika-śataikopeta-sahas-<br/>ra-tame sarṁvatsare Māghe māsi<br/>śukla-pakṣe pūrṇimāyām so-<br/>mavāre....</i>    | 1190 | Ibid. pp.<br>395-399. |
| 17. | <b>Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of<br/>Madanavarman</b><br><i>Dvi-navatyadhika-śatopeta-sahas-<br/>ra-tame sarṁvatsare Chaitre māsi<br/>kṛṣṇa-pakṣe pañcamyām....</i> | 1192 | Ibid. pp.<br>399-405. |

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| 18. | <b>Kalanjar rock Inscription of the time of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1192 Jyeṣṭha vadi 9 ravau....</i>  | 1192  | Ibid. pp. 405-406. |
| 19. | <b>Dhubela Museum Inscription of the time of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1203 Phā śudi 9 some....</i>  | 1203  | Ibid. pp. 629-630. |
| 20. | <b>Ajayagarh Inscription of the time of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1208 Mārga vadi 15 śanau....</i>   | 1208  | Ibid. pp. 406-408. |
| 21. | <b>Horniman museum image Inscription of the time of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1208 Vaiśākha vadi 5 gurau</i>   | 1208  | Ibid. pp. 409-410. |
| 22. | <b>Mahoba image Inscription of the time of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Saṁ 1211 Āṣāḍha śudi 3 śanau....</i>   | 1211  | Ibid. pp. 410-411. |
| 23. | <b>Khajuraho Inscription of the time of Madanavarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1215 Māgha śudi 5....</i>  | 1215  | Ibid. pp. 411-412. |
| 24. | <b>Semra Plates of Paramardideva</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1223 Vaiśākha śudi 7 guruvāre, Pūrvam Mahārājādhirāja-Śri-Madanavarmadevenāsmat-pitāmahena..... Saṁvat 1219 Māgha vadi 15 guruvāre....</i> | 1223  | Ibid. pp. 418-435. |
| 25. | <b>Mahoba Inscription of the time of Paramardideva</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1224 Āṣāḍha śudi 2 ravau....</i>   | 1224  | Ibid. pp. 435-436. |
| 26. | <b>Ajayagarh Inscription of the time of Paramardideva</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1227 Āṣāḍha śudi 2 ravau....</i>  | 1227  | Ibid. pp. 436-438. |
| 27. | <b>Ichchavar Plates of Paramardideva</b><br><i>Aṣṭāvimsatyadhika-śata-dvayope-ta-sahasratame saṁvatsare Śrāvaṇe māsi śukla-pakṣe pañcadaśyām..... rāhugraste niśākare</i>                    | 1228 (509-510 CE) 16 <sup>th</sup> Aug 509 CE or 5 <sup>th</sup> Aug 510 CE | Ibid. pp. 438-442. |

28. **Mahoba Plates of Paramardideva** 1230 Ibid. pp. 443-446.  
*Trimśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame saṁvatsare Māghe māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe caturthyām..... bhau-mavāre Makaragate savitari....*
29. **Pachchar Plates of Paramardideva** 1233 Ibid. pp. 446-451.  
*Trayas-trimśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame saṁvatsare Kārt-tike māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe'ṣṭamyām..... budhavāre....*
30. **Charkhari Plates of Paramardideva** 1236 Ibid. pp. 451-455.  
*Ṣaṭ-trimśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame saṁvatsare Chaitre māsi śukla-pakṣe sapṭamyām..... bhaumavāre....*
31. **Ahar statue Inscription of the time of Paramardideva** 1237 Ibid. pp. 455-457.  
*Saṁvat 1237 Mārgga śudi 3 śukre*
32. **Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of Paramardideva** 1239 Ibid. pp. 458-461.  
*Ekonachatvārimśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame saṁvatsare Phālgune māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe caturthyām..... bhaumavāre....*
33. **Kalanjar Inscription of the time of Paramardideva** 1240 Ibid. pp. 461-462.  
*Saṁvat 1240.... Vaiśākha śudi 14 gurau....*
34. **Mahoba Inscription of the time of Paramardideva** 1240 Ibid. pp. 462-467.  
*Saṁvat 1240 Āṣāḍha vadi 9 some....*
35. **Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Paramardideva** 1243 Ibid. pp. 468-469.  
*Saṁvat 1243..... śudi 11 budhe....*

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| 36. | <b>Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of Paramardideva</b><br><i>Sapta-chatvārimśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame saṁvatsare Phālgune māsi śukla-pakṣe caturdaśyām..... śanivāre....</i> | 1247         | Ibid. pp.<br>469-472. |
| 37. | <b>Batesvara Inscription of the time of Paramardideva</b><br><i>Pakṣa-mukhāditya-śaṅkhye Vikrama-vatsare Aśvine śukla-pañcamyām vāsare vāsareṣituḥ.</i>                            | 1252         | Ibid. pp.<br>473-478. |
| 38. | <b>Kalanjar Inscription of Paramardideva</b><br><i>Samvat 1258 or 1298 Kārttika śudi 10 some....</i>   | 1258<br>1298 | Ibid. pp.<br>478-482. |
| 39. | <b>Garra Plates of Trailokyavarman</b><br><i>Samvat 1261 Vaiśākha śudi 2 śukravāre</i>   | 1261         | Ibid. pp.<br>483-487. |
| 40. | <b>Sagar Plates of Trailokyavarman</b><br><i>Chatuḥ-ṣaṣṭyadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame saṁvatsare Bhādrapade māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe dvitīyāyām..... śukravāre....</i>                | 1264         | Ibid. pp.<br>487-490. |
| 41. | <b>Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Trailokyavarman</b><br><i>Samvat 1269 Phālguna vadi..... śanau....</i>  | 1269         | Ibid. pp.<br>630-631. |
| 42. | <b>Ramvan Museum Plates of Trailokyavarman</b><br><i>Samvat 1283 Chaitra śudi 11 budhavāre....</i>   | 1283         | Ibid. pp.<br>657-661. |
| 43. | <b>Charkhari Plates of Viravarman</b><br><i>Samvat 1311 Aśvina śudi 8 so-mavāre....</i>  | 1311         | Ibid. pp.<br>495-498. |

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| 44. | <b>Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Viravarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1317 Vaiśākha śudi 13 gurau....</i>             | 1317 | Ibid. pp. 498-502. |
| 45. | <b>Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Viravarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1325....</i>                                    | 1325 | Ibid. pp. 503-503. |
| 46. | <b>Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Viravarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1335 Chaitra śudi 13 some....</i>               | 1335 | Ibid. pp. 631-632. |
| 47. | <b>Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Viravarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1337 Māgha śudi 13 some....</i>                 | 1337 | Ibid. pp. 504-507. |
| 48. | <b>Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Bhojavarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1344 Vaiśākha vadi....</i>                     | 1344 | Ibid. pp. 633-634. |
| 49. | <b>Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Bhojavarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1345 Vaiśākhe māsi....</i>                     | 1345 | Ibid. pp. 510-515. |
| 50. | <b>Charkhari Plates of Hammiravarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1346 Bhādrapada vadi 12 ravau puṣya-nakṣatre....</i>         | 1346 | Ibid. pp. 521-525. |
| 51. | <b>Bamhni śati stone Inscription</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1365....</i>   | 1365 | Ibid. pp. 525-527. |
| 52. | <b>Panna stone pedestal Inscription</b><br><i>Saṁ 1366 Śrāvaṇa śudi 10 gurau....</i>                               | 1366 | Ibid. pp. 634-634. |
| 53. | <b>Ajaygarh Sati stone Inscription of the time of Hammiravarman</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1368 Śrāvaṇa śudi 6 budhe....</i> | 1368 | Ibid. pp. 527-528. |

### Inscriptions of the Kacchāpaghātas

Inscriptions	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1. <b>Dubkund Inscription of the time of Vikramasimha</b> <i>Samvat 1145 Bhādrapada śudi 3 some....</i>	1145	CII, VII, pt. III, pp. 525-535.

### Inscriptions of the Yajvapālas

Inscriptions	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1. <b>Bhimpur Inscription of the time of Asalladeva</b> <i>Nidhindvagnīndu-vatsare....</i>	1319	CII, VII, pt. III, pp. 561-568.
2. <b>Badodi Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva</b> <i>Samvat 1336 Mārgaśīrṣa vadi śukradine....</i>	1336	Ibid. pp. 572-577.
3. <b>Bangla Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva</b> <i>Samvat 1337 Chaitra śudi 7 śukre....</i>	1337	Ibid. pp. 577-585.
4. <b>Narwar Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva</b> <i>Samvat 1339 Pauṣa vadi 10 guruvāsare....</i>	1339	Ibid. pp. 586-591.
5. <b>Surwaya Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva</b> <i>Ekābdhi-rāma-rūpāñke Vikramāditya-vatsare Kārttike śukla-pañcamyām....</i>	1341	Ibid. pp. 591-594.



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| 6. | <b>Sesai Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva</b><br><i>Sarīvat 1341 Pauṣa....</i>                       | 1341 | Ibid. pp. 594-596. |
| 7. | <b>Surwaya Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati</b><br><i>Sarīvat 1350 Kārttika vadi 7 budhavāsare....</i> | 1350 | Ibid. pp. 596-599. |
| 8. | <b>Narwar Inscription of the time of Gaṇapatideva</b><br><i>Sarīvat 1355 Kārttika vadi 5 gurau....</i>    | 1355 | Ibid. pp. 600-603. |

#### Inscriptions Dated in Śri Harsha Era (457 BCE)

Inscriptions	Śri Harsha era (457 BCE)	References
1. <b>Banskhera grant of Śri Harsha</b> <i>Sarīvat 20 2 Kārttika vadi 1....</i>	22 (435 BCE)	EI, IV, pp. 208-211.
2. <b>Varanasi grant of Śri Harsha</b> <i>Sarīvat 20 3....</i>	23 (434 BCE)	EI, XLIII, pp. 40-51.
3. <b>Madhuban grant of Śri Harsha</b> <i>Sarīvat 20 5 Mārgaśīrṣa vadi 6....</i>	25 (432 BCE)	EI, I, pp. 67-75.
4. <b>Shahpur Inscription of Adityasena</b> <i>Sarīvat 60 6 Mārga śudi 7....</i>	66 (391 BCE)	Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puṣpabhūti and Yaśovarman of Kanauj, pp. 158-159.

#### Inscriptions of the Licchavi Dynasty of Nepal Dated in Śri Harsha Era

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| 5. | <b>Bungmati Inscription of Aṅśuvarman I</b><br><i>Sarīvat 20 9 Jyeṣṭha śukla daśamyām....</i> | 29 (428 BCE) | Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal, Vol I, pp. 70-71. |
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| 6.  | <b>Harigaon Inscription of Añśuvarman I</b><br><i>Sarīvat 30 Jyeṣṭha śukla ṣaṣṭhyām....</i>  | 30 (427 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 71-72. |
| 7.  | <b>Bhatuwal Inscription of Anshuvarman I</b><br><i>Sarīvat 31 Prathama Pauṣa.... pañcamyām....</i>   | 31 (426 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 73-74. |
| 8.  | <b>Inscription of Inayatol, Bhadgaon</b><br><i>Sarīvat 31 Dvītīya Pauṣa śuklāṣṭamyām....</i>   | 31 (426 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 75.    |
| 9.  | <b>Chāngūnārāyaṇa Inscription of Añśuvarman I</b><br><i>Ekatriṃśattame varṣe vart-tamāne svasamsthayā Māgha śuklatrayodaśyām Puṣyena savi-tur dīne....</i> | 31 (426 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 75.    |
| 10. | <b>Harigaon Inscription of Añśuvarman I</b><br><i>Sarīvat 30 2 Āṣāḍha śukla trayo-daśyām....</i>   | 32 (425 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 76-77. |
| 11. | <b>Sanga Inscription of Añśuvarman I</b><br><i>Sarīvat 30 2 Bhādrapada śukla 9</i>   | 32 (425 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 77-78. |
| 12. | <b>The Sundhara Inscription of Añśuvarman I</b><br><i>Sarīvat 30 4 Prathama Pauṣa śukla dvītīyāyām....</i>   | 34 (423 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 77-78. |
| 13. | <b>Kathmandu Inscription of Añśuvarman I</b><br><i>Sarīvat 30 6 Āṣāḍha śukla divā pañcamyām....</i>  | 36 (421 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 80-81. |

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| 14. | <b>Taukhel Inscription of Añśuvarman I</b><br><i>Samvat 37 Phālguna śukla divā pañcamyām....</i>                              | 37 (420 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 79-80.   |
| 15. | <b>Inscription at Paśupati temple</b><br><i>Samvat 30 9 Vaiśākha śukla divā daśamyām....</i><br>( <i>Yuvaṛāja Udayadeva</i> ) | 39 (418 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 82-83.   |
| 16. | <b>Chitlang stone Inscription of Udayadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 40.... Āṣāḍha śukla dvādaśyām....</i>                             | 40 (417 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 92-93.   |
| 17. | <b>Tavajhya Inscription of Dhruvadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 40 8 Kārttika śukla....</i>  | 48 (409 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 93-94.   |
| 18. | <b>Malitar Inscription of Dhruvadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 40 9 Māgha kṛṣṇa dvādaśyam....</i>                                      | 49 (408 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 95.      |
| 19. | <b>Balambu Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 50 5 Āśvayuja śukla pañcamyām....</i>                               | 55 (402 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 99-100.  |
| 20. | <b>Thankot Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 50 7.... divā dvitīyāyām....</i>                                    | 57 (400 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 103-105. |
| 21. | <b>Yangahiti Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 60 4 Phālguna śukla dvitīyāyām....</i>                            | 64 (393 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 106-108. |
| 22. | <b>Bhringaresvara temple Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva</b><br><i>Samvat 60 5 Phālguna śukla dvitīyāyām....</i>                | 65 (392 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 108-109. |

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| 23. | <b>Lunjhya(Patan Palace)<br/>Inscription of Narendradeva</b><br><i>Samvat 60 7 Pauṣa śukla pañ-<br/>camyām....</i>                     | 67 (390 BCE)   | Ibid. pp. 112-<br>114. |
| 24. | <b>Yangahiti Inscription of<br/>Narendradeva</b><br><i>Samvat 60 7 Bhādrapada śukla<br/>dviṭīyāyām....</i>                             | 67 (390 BCE)   | Ibid. pp. 114-<br>116. |
| 25. | <b>Deopatan Inscription of<br/>Narendradeva</b><br><i>Samvat 60 9 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa divā<br/>saptamyām....</i>                             | 69 (388 BCE)   | Ibid. pp. 116.         |
| 26. | <b>Kasaitol Inscription of<br/>Narendradeva</b><br><i>Samvat 70 1 Kārttika śukla<br/>dviṭīyāyām....</i>                                | 71 (386 BCE)   | Ibid. pp. 117-<br>118. |
| 27. | <b>Naksal road Inscription of<br/>Narendradeva</b><br><i>Samvat 70 8 Kārttika śukla na-<br/>vamyām pra yugādau....</i>                 | 78 (379 BCE)   | Ibid. pp. 118-<br>119. |
| 28. | <b>Gairidhara Inscription of<br/>Narendradeva</b><br><i>Samvat 80 3 Bhādrapada śukla<br/>ṣaṣṭhyām.... (Yūvarāja Skan-<br/>dadevaḥ)</i> | 83 (374 BCE)   | Ibid. pp. 119-<br>120. |
| 29. | <b>Anantaligesvara Inscription of<br/>Narendradeva</b><br><i>Samvat 80.... kṛṣṇa divā<br/>daśamyām....</i>                             | 80? (377 BCE?) | Ibid. pp. 121-<br>122. |
| 30. | <b>Chyasaltol Inscription of Naren-<br/>dradeva</b><br><i>Samvat 90 5 Pauṣa śukla divā<br/>daśamyām....<br/>(Yūvarāja Śauryadevaḥ)</i> | 95 (362 BCE)   | Ibid. pp. 124-<br>125. |

31. **Vajraghar Inscription of Narendradeva** 103 (354 BCE) Ibid. pp. 128-130.  
*Samvat 100 3 Jyeshtha sukla divā trayodaśyām.... (Yuvarāja Śri Śivadevaḥ)*
32. **Lagantol Inscription of Śivadeva** 119 (338 BCE) Ibid. pp. 132-133.  
*Samvat 100 10 9 Phālguna sukla daśamyām.... (Rājaputra Jayadevaḥ)*
33. **Sonaguthi Stone Inscription of Śivadeva** 125 (332 BCE) Ibid. pp. 133-134.  
*Samvat 100 20 5 Bhādrapada sukla pañcamyām.... (Rājaputra Jayadevaḥ)*
34. **Balambu Inscription of Śivadeva** 129? (328 BCE) Ibid. pp. 137-140.  
*Samvat 100.... 9 divā pañcamyām.... (Jayadevo Bhaṭṭārakaḥ)*
35. **Chyasaltol Inscription of Jayadeva** 137 (320 BCE) Ibid. pp.124-125.  
*Samvat 100 30 7 Jyeshtha sukla pañcamyām.... (Bhaṭṭāraka Śri Vijayadevaḥ)*
36. **Minanatha stone Inscription of Jayadeva** 148 (309 BCE) Ibid. pp. 142-144.  
*Samvat 100 40 8 Pauṣa sukla divā tritīyasyām.... (Yuvarāja Śri Vijayadevaḥ)*
37. **Paśupati Inscription of Jayadeva** 157 (300 BCE) Ibid. pp. 144-148.  
*Samvat 100 50 7 Kārttika sukla navamyām....*

### Inscriptions Dated in Kalachuri-Chedi Era (402 BCE)

Inscriptions	Kalachuri-Chedi era (402 BCE)	Ref.
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|----|--|----------------------------|--|
| 1. | <b>Bagh (Valkhā) hoard of Copper Plate Inscriptions (27 nos) discovered in 1982 and Eight inscriptions discovered earlier.</b> | 29 to 117<br>(374-286 BCE) | JESI, X, pp. 86 ff. & EI, XV, pp. 286-291. |
| 2. | <b>Barwani grant of Subandhu</b><br><i>Sam 100 60 7 Bhādrapade śudi sapta....</i>  | 167 (236 BCE)              | CII, IV, pt. I, pp.17-19.                  |
| 3. | <b>Pardi grant of Dāhrasena</b><br><i>Sam 200 7 Vaiśākha-śuddha-trayodaśyām 10 3....</i>                                       | 207 (196 BCE)              | Ibid. pp. 22-25.                           |
| 4. | <b>Surat grant of Vyāghrasena</b><br><i>Sam 200 40 1 Kārttika śu 10 5....</i>  | 241 (162 BCE)              | Ibid. pp. 25-29.                           |
| 5. | <b>Kanheri Plate of Traikuṭakas</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śata-dvaye pañcachatvāriṃśaduttare....</i>                                | 245 (158 BCE)              | Ibid. pp. 29-32.                           |
| 6. | <b>Sunao Kala Plates of Saṅgamasimha</b><br><i>Sam 200 90 2 Kārttika śu 10 5....</i>   | 292 (111 BCE)              | Ibid. pp. 33-37.                           |

### Inscriptions of Early Gurjaras

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|-----|--|--------------|--|
| 7.  | <b>Inscription of Jayabhaṭa I (Gurjara)</b>  | 355 (48 BCE) | New Indian Antiquary, III, 1940 pp. 248. |
| 8.  | <b>Kaira Plates of Dadda II (Gurjara)</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śata-traye aśītyadhike Kārttika-śuddha-pañcadaśyām.... Sam 300 80 Kārttika śu 10 5....</i>  | 380 (23 BCE) | CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 57-66.               |
| 9.  | <b>Kaira Plates of Dadda II (Gurjara)</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śata-traye Pañchāśītyadhike Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām.... Sam 300 80 5 Kārttika śu 10 5....</i> | 385 (18 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 67-72.                         |
| 10. | <b>Sankheda Plate of Raṅgraha (Gurjara)</b>  | 391 (12 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 72-75.                         |

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| 11. | <b>Sankheda grant of Dadda II (Gurjara)</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śata-traye<br/>dvinavatyadhike Vaiśākha-<br/>Paurṇamāsyām.... Sam 300 90 2<br/>Vaiśākha śu 10 5....</i>                                       | 392 (11 BCE) | Ibid. pp. 75-81.                                   |
| 12. | <b>Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Dadda II</b>   | 427 (24 CE)  | Dynastic List of Copper Plates, 1887-1969, pp. 79. |
| 13. | <b>Navasari grant of Jayabhaṭa II (Gurjara)</b><br><i>Chandroparāge.... Samvatsara-<br/>śata-catuşṭaye ṣaṭ-<br/>pañcāsaduttarake Māgha-śuddha-<br/>pañcadaśyām..... Sam 400 50 6<br/>Māgha śu 10 5....</i> | 456 (53 CE)  | CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 82-89.                         |
| 14. | <b>Anjaneri grant of Jayabhaṭa II (Gurjara)</b><br><i>Āśvayuja-bahulaikādaśyām<br/>Tulā-samkrānter.... Sam 400 60<br/>Āśvayuja ba 10 1....</i>   | 460 (57 CE)  | Ibid. pp. 90-96.                                   |
| 15. | <b>Kavi Plates of Jayabhaṭa III (Gurjara)</b><br><i>Āṣāḍha-śuddha-daśamyām<br/>Karkaṭaka-rāśau samkrānte<br/>ravau.... Sam 400 80 6 Āṣāḍha śu<br/>10 ādityavāre....</i>                                    | 486 (83 CE)  | Ibid. pp. 96-102.                                  |
| 16. | <b>Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Jayabhaṭa III (Gurjara)</b><br><i>Sam 400 80 6 Āśvayuja ba 10 5....</i>  | 486 (83 CE)  | Ibid. pp. 102-109.                                 |

### Inscriptions of the Sendrakas

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|-----|--|------------|--------------------|
| 17. | <b>Kasare Plates of Āllaśakti</b><br><i>Sam 400 4 Āṣāḍha ba amāvāsyā<br/>Sūrya-grahoparāge....</i> | 404 (1 CE) | Ibid. pp. 110-116. |
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| 18. | <b>Bagumra Plates of Āllaśakti</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śata-catuṣṭaye<br/>ṣaḍuttare Bhādrapada-śuddha-<br/>pañcadaśyām....</i>             | 406 (3 CE)                         | Ibid. pp. 117-<br>122.      |
| 19. | <b>Nagad Plates of Nikumbhāllaśakti</b><br><i>Pañcaśatike kāle sapta-<br/>saptatyadhike ānande'bde ...<br/>Māgha śuddha tritīye....</i> | Śaka 577 (6<br>BCE)<br>397 (6 BCE) | EI, XXVIII, pp.<br>195-205. |
| 20. | <b>Mundakhede Plates of Jayaśakti</b>   | Śaka 602 (19<br>CE)<br>422 (19 CE) | EI, XXVIII, pp.<br>198-199. |

### Inscriptions of the Early Chalukyas of Gujarat

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| 21. | <b>Mudgapadra Plates of Yuvarāja</b><br><i>Śryāśraya Śilāditya</i>  | 421 (18 CE) | EI, XXXIV, pp.<br>117-122.                               |
| 22. | <b>Navasari Plates of Yuvarāja</b><br><i>Śryāśraya Śilāditya<br/>Māgha-śuddha-trayodaśyām<br/>Samvatsara-śata-catuṣṭaye<br/>ekaviṁśatyadhike....</i>  | 421 (18 CE) | JBBRAS, XVI,<br>pp. 1-7 & EI,<br>VIII, pp. 229.          |
| 23. | <b>Nasik Plates of Dharāśraya<br/>Jayasimha</b><br><i>Caitra-māsa-śuddha-daśamyām<br/>viṣuve..... Saṁ 400 30 6 Chai śu<br/>10....</i>                 | 436 (33 CE) | CII, VI, pt. I,<br>No.28, Plate<br>XXI, pp. 127-<br>131. |
| 24. | <b>Surat Plates of Yuvarāja</b><br><b>Śryāśraya Śilāditya</b><br><i>Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsyām....,<br/>Samvatsara 400 40 3, Śrāvaṇa śu<br/>di 10 5....</i> | 443 (40 CE) | Ibid. No.29,<br>Plate XXII, pp.<br>132-137.              |
| 25. | <b>Navasari Plates of Avanijanāśraya<br/>Pulakeśirāja</b><br><i>Samvatsara-śata 400 90 Kārttika-<br/>śuddha 10 5....</i>                              | 490 (87 CE) | Ibid. No.30,<br>Plate XXIII,<br>pp. 137-145.             |
| 26. | <b>Anjaneri Plates of Bhogaśakti</b><br><i>Samvatsara-catuṣṭaye<br/>ekaṣaṣṭyadhike....</i>  | 461 (58 CE) | Ibid. pp. 146-<br>158.                                   |



## Inscriptions of the Kalachuris or Chedis of Tripuri

	Inscriptions	Kalachuri-Chedi era (402 BCE)	References
1.	<b>Karitalai Inscription of Lakṣmaṇarāja I</b> <i>Samvat 593 Śrī-Lakṣmaṇadeve rājani....</i>	593 (190 CE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 178-182.
2.	<b>Bandhogarh Inscription of Yuvarājadeva I</b>	Not dated.	Ibid. pp. 183-185.
3.	<b>Karitalai Inscription of Lakṣmaṇarāja II</b>	Not dated.	Ibid. pp. 186-195.
4.	<b>Chandrehe Inscription of Prabodhaśiva</b> <i>Samvat 724 Phālguna śu di 5....</i>	724 (321 CE)	Ibid. pp. 198-204.
5.	<b>Bilhari Inscription of Yuvarājadeva II</b>	Not dated.	Ibid. pp. 204-224.
6.	<b>Gurgi Inscription of Kokalladeva II</b>	Not dated.	Ibid. pp. 224-233.
7.	<b>Makundpur Inscription of Gāṅgeyadeva</b> <i>Samvat 772 Kārttika śu di 12 budhadine....</i>	772 (369 CE)	Ibid. pp. 234-235.
8.	<b>Banaras Plates of Karṇa</b> <i>Samvat 793 Phālguna vadi 9 some....</i>	793 (390 CE)	Ibid. pp. 236-250.
9.	<b>Rewa Inscription of Karṇa</b> <i>.... Mahāmaṅgala-samvatsare , 800.</i>	800 (397 CE)	Ibid. pp. 263-275.
10.	<b>Goharwa Plates of Karṇa</b> <i>Śrīmat-Karṇaparakāṣe vyava-haraṇe saptama-samvatsare Kārttike māsi śukla-pakṣa-Kārttika-pauṇamāsyam tithau gurudine....</i>	810 (407 CE)	Ibid. pp. 252-263.

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| 11. | <b>Saranath Inscription of Karṇa</b><br><i>Samvatsare, 10, Āśvina śudi 15</i><br><i>ravau....</i>   | 810 (407 CE) | Ibid. pp. 275-278.               |
| 12. | <b>Rewa Inscription of Karṇa</b><br><i>Samvatsare 812 Sri-</i><br><i>mat-Karṇaprakaśa-vyava-</i><br><i>haraṇaya navama-samvatsare</i><br><i>Māgha śudi 10 gurau....</i> | 812 (409 CE) | Ibid. pp. 278-284.               |
| 13. | <b>Khairha Plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa</b><br><i>Samvat 823 Phālguna-māsi</i><br><i>śukla-pakṣe caturddāśyām ravau</i><br><i>saṁkrāntau....</i>                                | 823 (420 CE) | Ibid. pp. 289-299.               |
| 14. | <b>Jabalpur Plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa</b>  | Not dated.   | Ibid. pp. 299-305.               |
| 15. | <b>Jabalpur Plate of Yaśaḥkarṇa</b><br><i>Samvat 529 Māghe māsi kṛṣṇa-pa-</i><br><i>kṣe daśamyām somadine ut-</i><br><i>tarāyaṇa-saṁkrāntau....</i>                     | 529 (472 CE) | CII, IV, pt. II,<br>pp. 633-636. |
| 16. | <b>Tewar Inscription of Gayākarṇa</b><br><i>Navaśata-yugalābdādihikyage</i><br><i>Chedi-diṣṭe Janapadamavatīmam</i><br><i>Śri-Gayākarṇadeve....</i>                     | 902 (499 CE) | CII, IV, pt. I,<br>pp. 305-309.  |
| 17. | <b>Bhera-Ghat Inscription of</b><br><b>Narasimha</b><br><i>Samvat 907 Mārgga śudi 11</i><br><i>ravau....</i>  | 907 (504 CE) | Ibid. pp. 312-321.               |
| 18. | <b>Lal Pahad Inscription of</b><br><b>Narasimha</b><br><i>Samvat 909 Śrāvaṇa śudi 5 bud-</i><br><i>he....</i>   | 909 (506 CE) | Ibid. pp. 321-322.               |
| 19. | <b>Jabalpur Plates of Jayasimha</b><br><i>Samvat 918 Āśvina śudi</i><br><i>paurṇamāsyām tithau śanidine</i><br><i>tripuryām Somagrahaṇe....</i>                         | 918 (515 CE) | Ibid. pp. 324-331.               |
| 20. | <b>Jabalpur Inscription of Jayasimha</b><br><i>Samvat ṣaḍvīmśatyut-</i><br><i>tara-navaśataṅke'pi 926....</i>   | 926 (523 CE) | Ibid. pp. 331-339.               |

21.	<b>Rewa Plates of Jayasimha</b> <i>Samvat 926....</i>	926 (523 CE)	Ibid. pp. 340-344.
22.	<b>Tewar Inscription of Jayasimha</b> <i>Samvat 928 Śrāvaṇa śudi 6 ravau Haste....</i>	928 (525 CE)	Ibid. pp. 344-346.
23.	<b>Kumbhi Plates of Vijayasimha</b> <i>Samvat 932..... yugāda....</i>	932 (529 CE)	CII, IV, pt. II, pp. 645-652.
24.	<b>Rewa Inscription of Vijayasimha</b> <i>Catvāriṃśatyadhikebde caturbhirnavame śate śukre sāhasamallāṅke nabhasye prathame dine Samvat 944 Bhādrapada śudi 1 śukre....</i>	944 (541 CE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 346-358.
25.	<b>Rewa Plate of Vijayasimha</b> <i>Samvat 1253 Mārgaśira-māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe saptamyām tithau śukradine....</i>	1253 (534 CE)	Ibid. pp. 358-363.
26.	<b>Rewa Inscription of Vijayasimha</b> <i>Samvat 96x [960]....</i>	96x [960] (557 CE)	Ibid. pp. 363-367.
27.	<b>Dhureti Plates of Trailokyamalla</b> <i>Samvat 963 Jyeṣṭha śudi 7 some....</i>	963 (560 CE)	Ibid. pp. 369-374

### Inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur or South Kosala

	<b>Inscriptions</b>	<b>Kalachuri-Chedi era (402 BCE)</b>	<b>References</b>
1.	<b>Raipur Plate of Prithvideva I</b> <i>Samvat 821 Māgha vadi 8 ravau....</i>	821 (418 CE)	CII, IV, pt. II, pp. 398-401.
2.	<b>Amoda Plates of Prithvideva I</b> <i>Chediśasya Sam 831....</i>	831 (428 CE)	Ibid. pp. 401-409.
3.	<b>Ratanpur Inscription of Jājalladeva I</b> <i>Samvat 866 Mārga śudi 9 ravau....</i>	866 (463 CE)	Ibid. pp. 409-417.

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| 4.  | <b>Sheorinarayan Plates of Ratnadeva II</b><br><i>Samvat 878 Bhādra śu di 5 ravau....</i>  | 878 (475 CE)   | Ibid. pp. 419-423. |
| 5.  | <b>Sarkho Plates of Ratnadeva II</b><br><i>Tenāśītyadhikāṣṭa-vatsara-<br/>sate jāte dine Gīḥpate, Kārt-<br/>tikiyāmatha Rohiṇībha-samaye<br/>ratreścha yāma-traye, Śrimad-<br/>Ratnanareśvarasya sadasi jyotir<br/>vidāmagrataḥ,<br/>Sarvagrāsamanuṣṇagaḥ prava-<br/>datā tirṇṇa pratijñānādī.</i> | 880 (477 CE)   | Ibid. pp. 423-429. |
| 6.  | <b>Paragaon Plates of Ratnadeva II</b><br><i>Rāhugraste Kārttike māsi<br/>bhānau..... Kalachuri-sam-<br/>vatsare 885 Āśvina śudi 1<br/>budhe....</i>   | 885 (482 CE)   | Ibid. pp. 622-626. |
| 7.  | <b>Daikoni Plates of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Rāhugraste rajani tilake Kārttike<br/>pañcadaśyām..... Samvat 890<br/>Mārga vadi 11 ravau....</i>  | 890 (487 CE)   | Ibid. pp. 443-446. |
| 8.  | <b>Ratanpur Inscription of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Samvat 1207....</i>  | 1207 (488 CE)<br><i>Kārttikādi Vikra-<br/>ma era<br/>(719-718 BCE)</i> | Ibid. pp. 483-490. |
| 9.  | <b>Kugda Inscription of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Kalachuri-samvatsare 893....</i>  | 893 (490 CE)   | Ibid. pp. 446-449. |
| 10. | <b>Rajim Inscription of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Kalachuri-samvatsare 896<br/>Māghe māsi śukla-pakṣe<br/>rathāṣṭamyām budhadine....</i>  | 896 (493 CE)   | Ibid. pp. 450-457. |

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| 11. | <b>Bilaigarh Plates of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi..... Saṁvat 896....</i> | 896 (493 CE) | Ibid. pp. 458-462. |
| 12. | <b>Paragaon Plates of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Saṁvat 897 Phālguna śudi 15 budhavāre....</i> | 897 (494 CE) | Ibid. pp. 626-631. |
| 13. | <b>Koni Inscription of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Rāhumukhasthe bhānau..... Saṁvat 900....</i> | 900 (497 CE) | Ibid. pp. 463-473. |
| 14. | <b>Amoda Plates of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Saṁvat 900....</i>                               | 900 (497 CE) | Ibid. pp. 474-478. |
| 15. | <b>Amoda Plates of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Saṁvat 905 Āśvina śudi 6 bhau-me....</i>         | 905 (502 CE) | Ibid. pp. 491-495. |
| 16. | <b>Ratanpur Inscription of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Kalachuri-saṁvatsare 910....</i>         | 910 (507 CE) | Ibid. pp. 495-501. |
| 17. | <b>Ratanpur Inscription of Prithvideva II</b><br><i>Saṁvat 915....</i>                       | 915 (512 CE) | Ibid. pp. 501-511. |
| 18. | <b>Mallar Inscription of Jājalladeva II</b><br><i>Saṁvat 919....</i>                         | 919 (516 CE) | Ibid. pp. 512-518. |
| 19. | <b>Sheonarayan Inscription of Jājalladeva II</b><br><i>Chedi-Saṁvat 919....</i>              | 919 (516 CE) | Ibid. pp. 519-527. |
| 20. | <b>Amoda Plates of Jājalladeva II</b><br><i>Saṁvat 919</i>                                   | 919 (516 CE) | Ibid. pp. 528-533. |
| 21. | <b>Kharod Inscription of Ratnadeva III</b><br><i>Chedi-Saṁvat 933</i>                        | 933 (530 CE) | Ibid. pp. 533-543. |

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| 22. | <b>Pendrabandh Plates of Pratapamalla</b><br><i>Saṁvat 965..... Māgha śudi 10 maṅgaladine....</i>               | 965 (562 CE)   | Ibid. pp. 543-549. |
| 23. | <b>Bhilaigarh Plates of Pratāpamalla</b><br><i>Saṁvat 969....</i>   | 969 (566 CE)   | Ibid. pp. 549-554. |
| 24. | <b>Ratanpur Inscription of Vāhara</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1552....</i>   | 1552 (833 CE)<br><i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i> | Ibid. pp. 554-557. |
| 25. | <b>Kosgain Inscription of Vāhara</b><br><i>Saṁvat 1570 Vikrama-nā-ma-saṁvatsare.... Āśvina vadi 13 some....</i> | 1570 (851 CE)<br><i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i> | Ibid. pp. 563-518. |

