THE

FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

(FROM HINDU SOURCES)

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT

OF

HINDU LEARNING AND CULTURE IN THE SERVICE OF HUMANITY.



"श्वरं सर्वेषां राश्चां श्रेष्ठ्यं मित्र छां परमतांगच्छे यं सामाज्यं गौज्यं खाराज्यं पारमेश्वर्यं राज्यं माचाराज्यं चाधिपत्यं चारं अमनपर्यायीखां सार्वभीमः सार्वायुष चानादापराई।त् शिच्ये समुद्रपर्यनाया एकराडिति।"

-Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, [VIII. i. 39.]

["It is my desire to attain to superiority, preminence and overlordship among all kings, to acquire n all-embracing authority by achieving all forms and egrees of sovereignty, to achieve the conquest of both pace and time and be the sole monarch of the earth up of the seas."]

["And this is the chiefest conquest in the opinion of lis Sacred Majesty—the Conquest of Dharma—and this onquest, again, has been won by His Sacred Majesty oth in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring alms as far as six hundred leagues—where the Greek ing Antiochos dwells, and north of that Antiochos o where dwell the four great kings severally named tolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander; and in the buth (the realms of the) Cholas, and Pāndyas, with eylon likewise—and here, too, in the King's dominions, mong the Yonas and Kāmbojas, among the Nābha-ntis of Nābhaka, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, nong the Āndhras and Pulindas."]

PREFACE

This brochure is based on an article which I contributed to the Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine in January, 1909. In its present form it was delivered as an address to the Calcutta University Institute in March last under the presidency of Sir Gooroodass Banerji, Kt., M.A., D.L., Ph.D., Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University; and it was reproduced in the pages of The Modern Review for April. It is now published with several additions and alterations.

In this work I have not dwelt upon the important evidence of the fundamental unity of India furnished by the social and religious institutions of the country, but have confined my attention mainly to its geographical basis. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Brajendranath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., King George V. Professor of Philosophy of the Calcutta University, for many valuable suggestions I received from him.

Mr. Nundolal Dey, M.A., B.L., the author of "A Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India," has also laid me under great obligation by preparing for the book a Map of Ancient India. My thanks are also due to the Hon. Pandit Madanmohon Malaviya for kindly revising the proofs.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to the Hon. Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar for the generous support he has accorded to me in the preparation of this work.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

BERHAMPORE (BENGAL), August, 1913.

INTRODUCTION

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI MR. honoured me by asking me to write an introduction to his interesting book. To those who follow the work of the band of Indian historical students who are struggling, with no great measure of encouragement, to found a school native to the soil and inspired by Indian tradition, Mr. Mookerji's books need no introduction, especially since he published his History of Indian Shipping. In this little book he attempts to lay the only foundation upon which an Indian Historical School can rest. If India is a mere geographical expression, a mere collection of separate peoples, traditions, and tongues existing side by side but with no sense of nationhood in common,

Indian history cannot be the record of an evolution of a civilization—it can be nothing more than an account of raids, conflicts, relations of conquerors and conquered. That this is the common view is only too true; that a superficial view of India lends all its weight to that view is only too apparent; that it is the view of many of the present governors is proclaimed without secrecy from Ceylon to Afghanistan.

Those who read this book will find that there is another view, and that the Hindu, at any rate, from his traditions and his religion, regards India not only as a political unit naturally the subject of one sovereignty—whoever holds that sovereignty, whether British, Mohammedan, or Hindu—but as the outward embodiment, as the temple—nay, even as the goddess mother—of his spiritual culture. India and Hinduism are organically related as body and soul. Nationality is at best a difficult thing to define, to test and

establish. The barren controversies on the subject to which the demands of Ireland for Home Rule have led, prove that. But the Aryan settled it decisively so far as India and himself are concerned. He made India the symbol of his culture; he filled it with his soul. In his consciousness it was his greater self. How he did it Mr. Mookerji shows in his interesting chapters.

Mr. Mookerji writes only of history, but it is a history which we read with political thoughts in our mind. It is this history quickened into life which is giving us our Indian political problems. What share has the Mohammedan in it? Perhaps much greater than we think. The Pax Britannica does not merely shelter weak men; it is also a shade under which liberal political ideas take root and flourish. And nationalism cannot be dissociated from liberal political ideas. To amplify and discuss this would be out of place here, and Mr. Mookerji

would not wish me to use the privileges of an introduction to widen until it passes into current political controversy the historical field of his study. But these thoughts have been in my mind as they will no doubt be in that of everyone who reads this book, and I have been anxious to indicate that in my opinion, at any rate, the unity of India will not remain exclusively a Hindu conception, although its origin may be in Hindu culture.

Many people imagine that this Indian nationhood is only a disturbing element in politics. But that is a mistake. It is a reviving influence on culture. Indeed, in some respects, its political expressions are its crudest and most ill-formed embodiments. We have it best—if, as yet, in no very great volume—in art and literature. In art, as in education, we have been proclaiming, in our vanity, that India had to learn the Western tone and touch, with the result that Indian art

has been debased and every spontaneous thought crushed out of it. But life returned through the nationalist revival. Nothing has ever struck me with more force than the contrast between the ugly daubs which compose an art exhibition in India held under Western auspices and the product of Western "inspiration" on the one hand, and the beautiful harmonies of form and colour which the Indian Art Society brings together on the other. And it is interesting to note how in this art the spirit of India is not merely Hindu. Mr. Tagore's great painting "The Death of Shah Jehan," is as essentially Persian as his "Spirit of India" is Hindu. Moreover, in literature, are we not at present in the midst of a "Gitanjali" puja-all unconscious that it is the refined expression of Indian nationalism? Finally, there are the students of intellectual culture with whom Mr. Mookerji himself co-operates, gathering together the scattered records

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of Indian achievement so that they may be known and due homage paid to the people who accomplished them. Thus India awakes anew to a sense of independence and self-respect, and only by such an awakening can she contribute her share to the culture of the world.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.



THE ARGUMENT

- I. The primary factor of Nationality is the possession of a common country—a common fatherland is preliminary to all national development—the formation of an Indian nation must wait on the realisation by the Indians of the whole of India as their common mother country, claiming their loyalty and service.
- II. But is India a single country? Difference of opinion among European and Anglo-Indian scholars.
- III. The geographical unity of India is easily missed in her immensity and variety—an account of India's vastness and variety—the variety only contributes to her wealth and strength and economic self-sufficiency.

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- IV. To superficial observation the whole is lost in the parts—the fundamental unity of India is, however, acknowledged by many competent authorities.
- V. But this unity is generally traced to the influence of British rule in India—it has really a long history, and has been an element in the historic consciousness of the Hindus from a remote age—the oldest expression of this unity was the name Bhāratavarṣa, which the ancient Hindus applied to India—the full significance of the name indicating the Aryanisation of India.
- VI.-VII. Further expressions of the old Hindu consciousness of Indian geographical unity in the Vedic and subsequent literature—the river-hymn of the 'Rig-Veda' and its epic adaptation with expanding geographical horizon—other later hymns which have passed into national daily prayers—their effects on popular consciousness in awakening it to a sense of the individuality and sacredness of the whole of India from end to end.

- VIII. The feeling for the fatherland finds frequent expression in Sanskrit literature.
- IX. A permanent and characteristically Indian expression of this feeling is in the network of shrines and sacred places by which the country has been covered—the institution of pilgrimage as an expression of love for the motherland, of appreciation of Art and Nature—pilgrimage as a means of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the country in olden times before the era of modern travelling facilities—the lists of Hindu holy places in Sanskrit literature show complete familiarity with every part of India.
 - X. Corresponding to the Hindu expression of love for the motherland is the Buddhist expression of the feeling in the multitude of monuments with which it beautified the whole country—enumeration of these monuments showing the vast area unified by a common impulse.

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- XI. The geographical knowledge of the whole of India and, consequently, the perception of its unity was itself the development of centuries.
- XII. History of the development of this knowledge—the geographical horizon in the Vedic age—the extension of the limits of Vedic India in the 'Aitareya Brāhmana.'
- XIII. Probable period of the colonisation of Southern India—evidences from Panini and oldest Pali texts—the geographical horizon between the Vedic and early Buddhist periods.
- XIV. The whole of India was known at least as early as the fourth century B.C.—the evidence of Kātyāyana—Greek evidence—the geographical data in the 'Arthaśāstra' of Kautilya—the geography of the Asoka Edicts.
- XV. The geography of Patañjali (150 B.C.)—of the Rāmāyana—and of the Mahābhārata.

- XVI. The geography of the Purāṇas—of the Bṛihatsanhitā of Varāhamihira, showing an intimate knowledge of all parts of India.
- **XVII.** The geography of Kālidāsa—end of the account of the development of Indian geographical knowledge.
- XVIII. The sense of the unity of the whole country was promoted, not only by religion as shown above, but also by politics—rulers of India who established their sway over the whole country, and consequently contemplated and used it as a unit—the oldest of them is generally thought to be Chandragupta.
- XIX. But the institution of paramount sovereignty was much older than Chandragupta—it was a familiar political idea of the ancient Hindus—evidence on the subject—the terms for a paramount sovereign in Vedic literature.
- XX. The 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa' and 'Sukranīti' on the grades of kingly power—the Vedic terms for overlordship.

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- XXI. Further Vedic evidence—the ceremonies specifically fixed for the coronations of emperors—significance of the details and procedure of the Vājapeya.
- **XXII.** Significance of the details of the $R\bar{a}jas\bar{u}ya$.
- XXIII. Significance of the imperial inaugurations as described in the 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.'
- XXIV. The ideal of Hindu kingship was nothing short of universal sovereignty, which meant at the least sovereignty of the whole of India "up to the seas"—the consciousness of the territorial synthesis leads to the political synthesis, and is itself strengthened by the latter.
- XXV. Ideals of an all-India overlordship are, however, preserved in Sanskrit literature, along with their concrete embodiments—lists of such paramount kings—in the 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa'—in the 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa'—in the 'Śankhāyana Sutra.'

- XXVI. The lists of such kings in the Purānas—in the Mahābhārata—the Artha-sāstra on the conception of an all-India overlord.
- **XXVII.** The conquests of the Pāndavas leading to the establishment of their paramount sorereignty under Yudhisthira—the resulting political unification of India
- XXVIII. Popularisation of the idea of an all-India sovereignty through the story of Yudhisthira—the current Hindu political notion of a Chakravarttī Rāja has shaped early Buddhist speculation about the true position and work of the Buddha—the Buddha was the spiritual sovereign who ruled supreme over the empire of righteousness in the hearts of men.
- XXIX. Thus the sovereignty of Chandragupta Maurya was only a further stage in the development of an old institution—the idea became a common topic of discussion in the works on Hindu Polity—treatment of the

problem, "How can a king become a king of kings?" in our Niti-Śāstras—the conception of the balance of power in a political system or sphere described therein.

XXX. The evidence of Inscriptions as to the strength and popularity of the ideal of a paramount sovereignty governing the whole of India.

XXXI. Another conclusive evidence bearing on the popular realisation of Indian unity is the Indian colonisations resulting in the development of a Greater India across the seas.

XXXII. Besides the historical factor, there are physical factors in constant operation which establish the geographical unity of India—comparison of the barriers which separate its internal parts from those that separate it from the surrounding external countries—the effects of the monsoons in creating uniform physical conditions.

XXXIII. The destiny and message of India.

THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

(from Hindu Sources)

T

There are various elements necessary in the making of a nation such as a common language, a common religion, a common government and a common culture and social economy, but perhaps the most fundamental and indispensable factor is the possession of a common country, a fixed, definite abode. Even nationality has a material physical basis without which it can hardly manifest and assert itself as a real existence and factor in the political world. History shows no authentic record of nomadic peoples

developing to any great extent in civilisation until and unless they bound themselves to a fixed habitation and rid themselves of their migratory instincts and habits. The Hebrew people, in spite of the political training they received from Moses, could not achieve much progress until Joshua settled them in Palestine. So also what the historians call the Dark Age of Europe is but the period of unrest and transition when the barbarians left their old homes, overran and disorganised the Roman Empire, but were themselves without any fixed local habitation. "The Atherians under Themistocles saved the State of Athens on their ships, because after the victory they again took possession of their city; but the Teutones and Cimbri perished, because they left their old homes and failed to conquer a new one."

The spirit, according to Hindu philosophy, clothes itself in the body in and through which it works; it needs a

vehicle, an instrument, a physical framework whereby it expresses and outshapes itself in the external world of matter. And it seems that the same principle applies in respect of the spirit of nationality. The primary requisite for the birth and growth of a nation is the certainty, fixity and permanence of place, and when that is assured the other formative forces will appear and make themselves felt in due course. A common fatherland is preliminary to all national development: round that living nucleus will naturally gather all those feelings, associations, traditions, and other elements which go to make up a people's language and literature, religion and culture, and thereby establish its separate existence and individuality, demanding its preservation and independent development as a valuable cultural unit. The unifying influence of a common country, of common natural surroundings is indeed irresistible, and the assertion may be safely made that it will

be effectively operative against other disintegrating, disruptive forces and tendencies such as differences in manners and customs, language and religion.

The formation of a composite, federal Indian nation is one of the most interesting of modern political possibilities because of the great and unusual difficulties surrounding that movement. But the very first step towards the solution of those difficulties is clearly the cognisance of the fundamental fact that the diverse races and peoples making up the vast mass of Indian humanity cannot be welded together into a living nation, a puissant political force, unless in the first place they can understand and feel that they have a common country to love and to serve, that they all belong to one motherland, that they are all children of the same soil. Without this expanded geographical consciousness in the people the cherished dreams of the impatient political idealist about an Indian nation

in the making will ever be remote from realisation.

H

But unfortunately it has become by no means easy to think of India as a single country. No picture of India is now more familiar to the Indian mind than that which represents it to be a continent, or a collection of many countries rather than one country. For this is the picture that is drawn in most of the standard works on Indian Geography taught in our schools. An English author of a geography for Indian schools introduces his book with the following remarks: "India is commonly thought of and spoken of as a single country. But this is not true . . . India is rather a collection of countries." According to Sir John Strachey, the great Anglo-Indian authority, "this is the first and most essential thing to learn about India—that

there is not and never was an India or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political " But Anglo-Indian opinion itself is however by no means unanimous on this point. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the well-known authority on early Indian History, has delivered himself in a quite different strain: "India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such is rightly designated by one name." Equally positive and emphatic are the following words of Chisholm, one of the best known authorities on Geography: "There is no part of the world better marked out by Nature as a region by itself than India, exclusive of Burma. It is a region indeed full of contrasts in physical features and in climate, - but the features that divide it as a whole from surrounding regions are too clear to be overlooked."

III

The fact is that the geographical unity of India is apt to be lost sight of in her immensity and variety. It is difficult to imagine the vast territory that stretches from North to South over a distance exceeding 2,000 miles and from East to West over a distance of more than 1,900 miles as one continuous territory. The total area included within its limits is about two-thirds of that of the continent of Europe. It is nearly fourteen times as large as Great Britain and over ten times the size of the entire British Isles. It is more than six times the area of either France or Germany. This immensity of her geographical extension has naturally induced those physical conditions which have made of India pre-eminently the land of varieties, 'the

epitome of the world.' It is the land, primarily, of as many latitudes as altitudes. The temperature ranges from the singularly dry and bracing cold of the Himalayas culminating in eternal snows to the humid, tropical heat of the Konkan and Coromandel coast. The surface rises from the sea-level to heights above the limits of vegetation, above cloud and rain and storm, merged in eternal sunshine. Its climates vary, on the one hand, from torrid and tropical to arctic and polar including between the extremes various shades of the mean or temperate, and, on the other, from almost absolute aridity to a maximum of humidity. The rainfall ranges from 460 inches at Cherrapoonjee to less than even 3 inches in Upper Sind. This amazing variety of latitudes and altitudes, temperature and moisture, produces a corresponding variety in flora and fauna. The range of climatic zones determines that of Botanical as well as Zoological

zones. Thus, according to Sir J. D. Hooker,1 the flora of India is more varied than that of any other country of equal area in the eastern hemisphere, if not in the globe. As regards the richness of the Indian fauna, the following testimony of Mr. Blandford 2 is sufficient: "Animal life is not only abundant in British India, but it is remarkably varied. The number of kinds of animals inhabiting India and its dependencies is very large, far surpassing, for instance, that of the species found in the whole of Europe, although the superficial area of Europe exceeds that of the Indian Empire by about one-half." This extraordinary richness and variety of the flora and fauna of India necessarily imply a corresponding richness and variety in her vegetable and animal products, endowing her with a degree of economic self-sufficiency which falls to

¹ Imperial Gazetteer, new ed., Vol. I., p. 157.

² Ibid, p. 213.

the lot of but few countries in the world. As Mr. Lilly puts it, the products of India 'include everything needed for the service of man.' But scarcely less than this physical variety is the human variety which India presents with her teeming millions. They absorb so much as a fifth of the whole human race, including races and peoples belonging to all stages and states of social evolution and civilisation with languages, manners and customs, cults and cultures of the most diverse kinds. There are in India no less than seven main physical types of races introducing varieties of physical form in the population; no less than fourteen separate peoples or nationalities with their own languages and literature; no less than 150 different tongues producing a veritable Babel of languages¹; and, finally, nearly

¹ According to Dr. Cust, "no less than 539 languages and dialects, cultivated and uncultivated, in the whole of India and its bordering regions."

all the world-religions, each claiming more than a million of worshippers. India is verily a museum of cults and customs, creeds and cultures, faiths and tongues, racial types and social systems.

IV

Superficial observers are therefore liable to be bewildered by this astonishing variety in Indian life and geography. They lack that power of perception which dives beneath appearances and externals and sees into the life of things. They thus fail to discover the One in the Many, the Individual in the Aggregate, the Simple in the Composite. With them, the whole is lost in the parts, nay, the parts are greater than the whole, as in the old adage of blind men 'seeing' the

elephant. The fact is that an exclusive dependence upon mere sense-impressions, mere sense-contact with external phenomena, cannot carry us very far: for the senses cannot take us beyond the apparent and the objective. What is needed is the superior interpreting, integrating, synthetising power of the mind that instead of being over-powered by the multitude of details will master them and rise above them to a vision of the whole.

A keen, penetrating insight can hardly fail to recognise that beneath all this manifold variety there is a fundamental unity; that this diversity itself, far from being a source of weakness, is a fertile source of strength and wealth. As Sir Herbert Risley has truly observed: "Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion which strikes the observer in India there can still be discerned, as Mr. Yusuf Ali has pointed out, a certain

underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." The last Indian Census Commissioner, Mr. E. A. Gait, I.c.s., has also recorded the same conclusion: "The people of India as a whole can be distinguished from those of Europe by certain broad characteristics." While, according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith, speaking from his long and first-hand experience of India, the civilisation of India "has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world; while they are

¹ One aspect of this unity has been thus explained by Monier Williams (Hinduism, page 13): "India, though it has, as we have seen, more than 500 spoken dialects, has only one sacred language and only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank, and creed. That language is Sanskrit, and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the Veda or 'knowledge' in its widest sense; the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law and mythology; the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs, and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed a fourth metaphor) the only quarry whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas."

common to the whole country or rather continent in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human social and intellectual development."

V

It is generally recognised and admitted on all hands that this Indian unity is largely, if not solely, the creation of the British rule, a by-product of the Pax Britannica, the inevitable outcome of a centralised administration which controls the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. What is not generally known and recognised, however, is that the idea of this fundamental unity is much older than British rule, that it is not a recent growth or discovery but has a history running back to a remote antiquity. There are many proofs to show that the great founders

of Indian religion, culture and civilisation were themselves fully conscious of the geographical unity of their vast mother country and sought in various ways to impress it on the popular consciousness.

The first expression they appear to have given to this sense of unity was their description of the entire country by the single name of Bhāratavarsa, which is the old indigenous classic name by which India was known to the Hindus. For the name India was given to the country by foreigners. The river Sindhu by which the country was first known to

¹ India was originally called Jambudvīpa. This name was in use even in the time of Asoka who, in Buddhist works, is often styled as the king of Jambudvīpa. Some of the Pāla kings also style themselves as Kings of Jambudvīpa in their inscriptions. While the name Jambudvīpa has a geographical reference, the name Bhāratavarṣa has a political reference conveying the idea that the whole of India was governed by a single king (see the Purāṇas for the etymological significance of the word). Though Jambudvīpa and Bhāratavarṣa were no doubt names applied to the region conquered or colonised by the Aryans, yet subsequent additions by conquest were also known by those general names, as accretions to the main land are known by the name of the latter.

outsiders was changed into Hindu by the Persians, and Indos by the Greeks, dropping the hard aspirate. The name Bhāratavarsa is not a mere geographical expression like the term India, having only a physical reference. It has a deep, historical significance symbolising a fundamental unity which was certainly perceived and understood by those who invented the name. It is a well-known doctrine of logic that when a common name is applied to different things, it is because of some principle of unity which connects them to a system in spite of the differences. It was hence a consciousness of unity that really made the Risis of old to apply a single, individualising, appellation to a vast stretch of territory with parts divided by endless varieties and peopled by many races speaking many dialects, professing many faiths, owning many cultures. Bhāratavarsa is derived from Bharata as Rome is derived from Romulus. Bharata is a great hero

of Indian history and tradition, just as Romulus is of Roman. The Rig-Veda 1 first mentions him as the leader of a powerful Aryan tribe that played its full part in the original struggles and conflicts by which Aryan polity and culture were being shaped into proper form in the dawn of Indian history. The Aitareya Brāhmana² refers to his coronation ceremony and subsequent career of conquests leading to his overlordship which is duly solemnised by the performance of the usual Aswamedha sacrifice. This story is also followed up by the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, which applies to him the epithets Adhirāt and Samrāt, i.e., king of kings, and describes his subjugation of a number of races, tribes and kingdoms such as the Kirātas, the Hūnas, the Yavanas, the

¹ III. 33.

² Panjikā VIII.: "एतेन इवा ऐन्द्रेन सहाभिषेकेन दीर्धतमा मामतेय: दीयानां भरतं अभिषिषेच। तस्नात् उदीयानाः भरतः समनां सर्व्यतः प्रथिवीं जयन् परीया-याश्रेरूचमेधीश्रीजे दत्यादि।"

Paundras and the like, and his ultimate renunciation of the world as an unreality in essence. Bharata, therefore, stood before the multitudinous peoples inhabiting the country that was called after him as the embodiment, the representative, of the dominant Aryan power which was fast accomplishing its work of colonising the whole country and bringing its different parts under the unifying discipline of a common culture and civilisation. Bhāratavarsa is therefore another name for Aryanised India, the congenial fertile soil where Aryan culture planted itself and attained its fruition, the chosen abode which the pioneers of human civilisation adopted as the scene of their labours for the proper expression of their particular And Bharata was held up as a convenient symbol, a comprehensible token of this early renaissance, of the conquest of a new thought and a new faith finding expression through their appropriate literature, disciplines and

institutions, social, economic and political, of the accomplishment of a new cultural unity imposed upon and pervading a rich, manifold variety, round which were gathered, as in a system of federation, different creeds, cults and cultures with liberty to each to preserve its own special features and genius and contribute its own quota to enrich the central culture.¹

As pointed out by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., in his suggestive brochure on the Pedagogy of the Hindus, this synthetic and complex Indian culture was the result of the Indian system of education which adapted itself to national requirements in all ages, and he argues: "How otherwise can we account for the rise of the numerous Puranas, Sanhitas, and Tantras adapted to the needs of the people in different ages and provinces? . . . It was because of their mastery over the principles of Psychology and Sociology that the leaders of the community never neglected the superstitions, the mechanical rites and ceremonies, the diverse practices and usages and various religious customs and mythological notions obtaining in the country, but rather promoted the growth and development of a varied eschatology, a varied mythology and a varied religious system according to the varied geographical and historical condition of the people."

The idea of § V. is very well developed in Mr. B. C. Pal's The Soul of India.

VI

But besides this proof of a common name, there are other proofs to show that the fact of this fundamental unity of India was fully grasped by the popular mind in ancient times. Even such an old book as the Rig-Veda, one of the oldest literary records of humanity, reveals conscious and fervent attempts made by the Risis, those profoundly wise organisers of Hindu polity and culture, to visualise the unity of their mother country, nay, to transfigure the mother earth into a living deity and enshrine her in the loving heart of the worshipper. This is best illustrated by the famous river-hymn of the Rig-Veda where the various rivers of the Punjab, the perennial streams of plenty and good to which the country owes so much, which were at once the highways of commerce and culture alike, are deified by a grateful imagination and receive the nation's worship and homage. As the mind of the devotee contemplates in love and reverence those formative, beneficent agencies of nature contributing from time eternal to the making of his country, it naturally traverses the entire area of his native land and grasps an image of the whole as a visible unit and form. Certainly a better and simpler, a more convenient and significant formula could not be invented for the perception of the fatherland as one indivisible unit than the following prayer of the sloka in the aforesaid hymn:—

द्सं भे मङ्गे यसुने सरस्ति

ग्रातुदि स्तोमं सचता परण्या।

श्रासिक्या मरदृषे वितस्ययाजीकीथे

ग्रासुन्द्वा सुषोमया॥

1

[O ye Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvati, Šatadru, and Paruṣni, receive ye my prayers! O ye Marutbṛidhā, joined by the Asikni, Vitastā, and Ārjikiyā joined by the Susomā, hear ye my prayers!}

¹ Sutudri = the Sutlej; $Parus\bar{n}i$ = the Ravi; Asikni = the Chenab; $Marudbridh\bar{a}$ = the combined course of the Akesines and Hydaspes (Roth); $Vitast\bar{a}$ = Gr. Hydaspes = Jheelum; $Arj\bar{\imath}k\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}$ = the Vipas (according to Yāska) = the Bias; $Susom\bar{a}$ = the Indus (Yāska). See Map.

It calls up at once in the mind's eye a picture of the whole of Vedic India, and fulfils in a remarkable way the poet's purpose behind it of awakening the people's consciousness to the fundamental unity of their country. Nay, it does more: it elevates and refines patriotism itself into religion. To think of the mother country, to adore her as the visible giver of all good, becomes a religious duty; the fatherland is allotted its rightful place in the nation's daily prayers. The riverhymn of the Rig-Veda therefore presents the first national conception of Indian unity, such as it was. It was necessarily conditioned by the geographical horizon

The *Epic* counterpart of the Vedic description of the Punjab is the following couplet of the *Mahābhārata*, Karṇa-parva, chapter 44:—

श्रतद्वय विषाशा च त्वतीयेरावती तथा। चन्द्रभागा वितसा च मिन्धः षष्ठा विस्तिरेः॥

¹ The epithet Sapta-sindhu, the land of seven rivers, is applied to the whole of Vedic India in Rig. VIII., 24, 27, and is thus another expression of its geographical unity.

attained in that age which seems to have been confined by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south, and the valley of the Jumna and the Ganges in the east. These limits practically include the whole of Northern India, the geographical unity of which was also recognised and suitably expressed in the designation of the entire territory by the common name of $Ary\bar{a}varta$ in Vedic literature. Manu defines $Ary\bar{a}varta$ as follows:—

चासमुद्रामु वै पूर्व्वादासमुद्रामु पश्चिमात्। तथोरेवानारं गिर्व्वोरार्व्यावर्त्ते विदुर्वुधाः ॥—II. 21.

Medhātithi has the following commentary on the above: "पर्व्यतयोचिंमविद्वन्थयोर्थ-दन्तरं सध्यं सः आर्थावर्त्तो देशो वृष्ठेः शिष्टे रूचते।"

This explanation is quite in accord with that given by Amarakosa, viz.:—

''आर्यावर्त्तः पुरूष्ट्रीमः मधं विन्धह्तमास्योः।'' So that Aryāvarta corresponds to the

territory between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas.¹

VII

With the gradual extension of Aryan colonisation of India beyond the limits of the old Aryāvarta so as to embrace the whole of Dakshināpatha or Southern India, the old Vedic formula for the conception of Indian unity was supplemented by other appropriate formulae to give fitting expression to an expanding geographical consciousness. Thus the following Pauranic prayer is but an adaptation of the aforesaid river-hymn of the Rig-Veda to a new environment, to an expanded geographical horizon which embraced the whole of India within its limits:—

¹ The Vasistha Dharma Sūtra [i. 9], in accord with Mānava Dharma Sūtra, also defines Aryāvarta as the region between the Vindhya and the Himalaya, and these two ranges also seem to be the boundaries of the Aryan world in the Kausūtaki Upanisad [ii. 13]. The Bāla-rāmāyana of the poet Rajasekhara speaks of the river Narmadā as "the dividing line of Aryāvarta and Dakṣināpatha."

गङ्गे च यमुने चैं व गोदावरि सरस्रति । नर्मादे सिन्धुकावेरि जलेस्मिन् सन्निधं कुर \parallel^1

[O ye Gangā, Yamunā, Godavari, Sarasvati, Narmadā, Sindhu and Cauvery, come ye and enter into this water of my offering!]

This holy text for the sacrificial purification of water is daily repeated by millions of devout Hindus all over the continent during their baths and worships and cannot fail to lift them for the time being above the narrow cares, anxieties, and interests of domestic life to a higher, wider plane of thought, on which they feel something of the great "touch of nature which makes the whole world kin "and realise the vital, fundamental unity or kinship which binds them to a common fatherland, as members of the same nationfamily. The same ennobling, elevating effect is produced on the national consciousness by the following popular

¹ We may compare in this connexion the mention of the Sapta-Gangā or the seven Gangās in Śiva-purāṇa [II. xiii.], viz., Gangā, Godāvarī, Kāveri, Tāmraparṇī, Sindhu, Sarayu and Revā.

Pauranic couplet, in which the whole of India is represented as the land of seven mountains, those chosen seats of contemplation and peace:—

महेन्द्रो सल्यः सन्धः ग्राज्ञिमानृचपर्व्यतः। विन्धास पारियातस्य सप्तेते कुल्पर्व्यताः॥

Equally efficacious is the following text in enfranchising the mind from the limitations of a narrow, provincial, parochial outlook and opening it to a vision of the whole country of which all parts are equally sacred and entitled to homage:—

अयोध्या मथुरा माथा काभी काञ्ची अवन्तिका। पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तेता मोचदायिकाः॥

¹ It also occurs in the Mahābhārata, Bhīşmaparva, ch. 9.

^{*} Mahendra = the Mahendra Mali hills in Ganjam and the Eastern Ghats where Parasurāma retired after his defeat by Rāma; Malaya = the southern part of the Western Ghats; Sahya = the northern part of the Western Ghats; Riksa = the eastern part of the Vindhyas, the mountains of Gondwana; Pāripātra or Pāriyātra = the western part of the Vindhyas, including the Aravalis. See Map.

³ The seven sacred places named are: Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā or Hardwar, Kāśī or Benares, Kāñchī or Conjeeveram, Avanti or Ujjani, and Dvārāvatī or Dwarka in Guzerat.

Here India is represented as the land of seven principal sacred places which it is incumbent on every devotee to visit, and which cover between them practically the entire area of the country. It is also to be noted that the four most meritorious pilgrimages in India were placed by Sankarāchārya in the four extreme points of the country, so that the entire country may be known by the people and the whole area held sacred. Sankarāchārva also established four maths or monasteries in the four corners of India, viz., Jyotirmath in the north, Sāradā-math in the west, Sringeri-math in the south, and Govardhana-math in the east. These were, as it were, the pillars of Sankara's religious victory (दिग्बिजय), the capitals of his spiritual empire exercising its sway over the whole of India. The four traditional tirthas are similarly Svetagangā

¹ These sacred places are Badari-Kedarnath in the north, Rāmesvara in the south, Dvārakā in the west and Jagannath in the cast.

in the east, Dhanustīrtha in the south, Gomatikunda in the west and Taptakunda in the north. There are similarly four traditional tanks (भरोबर), viz., Pampā. Vindu, Nārāyana and Mānasa in the south, east, west and north respectively. There are, lastly, four popularly known Ksetras, e.g., Mukti, Varāha, Harihara and Kuru. There are again recognised three principal temples for the worship of the sun in the east, north and west, viz., Konaraka (in Orissa), Multan [Brahmapurāna, I. 140, etc.], and Suryapura or Surat [J.A.S.B., I. 387]. There are also similarly distinguished eight Vināyaka (Ganeśa) tirthas, viz., Moresvara, Ballāla, Lenādri, Siddhatek, Ojhar, Sthevara or Meura, Rānjanagrāma and Mahada.

The following passage, dear to every devout Hindu, enumerates the various places of Śaiva worship scattered throughout the whole of India:—

मोराष्ट्रे मोमनायच श्रीमें ले मिलकार्जुनं। जजियां महाकालं चोंकारममरेखरे॥ केदारं चिमवत् पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीसग्रद्भरम्। वाराणस्याच विश्वेगं व्यक्तकं गीतमीतटे ॥ वेद्यनाथं चिताभूमी नागेगं द्वारकावने। सेतुवन्धे च रामेगं घुग्नोग्रच ग्रिवालये॥ रतानि च्योतिर्धिन्नानि सायं प्रातः पठेन्नरः। सप्तजनाकृतं पापं सार्णेन विनग्रति॥

A similar passage enumerates the principal sacred places consecrated to Viṣṇu which are daily repeated by millions of Hindus all over India.²

¹ The places may be thus identified: Saurastra = Gujrat; Śrī-śaila = the Palni hills in Madura; Ujjain; Amaresvara near Maṇḍalesvara and ancient Māhismati; the Himalayas (Kedāranath); Dākinī (unknown); Benares; Gumti or Godavari; Chitābhāmi = Baidyanath; Setubandha or Rāmesvara; Śivālaya (unknown).

2 नारायणं बद्याखे निमिशे हरिमययम्। शालयामं हरिचेत्रे अयोधायां रघूत्तमस्॥४॥ मथुरायां वालक्षणं मायायां मधुद्धदनम्। काम्यांतु भोगशयनमवन्त्यामवनीपतिम्॥५॥ द्वारवत्यां यादवेन्द्रं वजे गोपीजनप्रियम्। दृन्दाचने नन्दस्नुं गोविन्दं कालियद्धदे॥६॥ गोवर्धने गोपवेषं भवष्नं भक्तवत्यसम्। रोमन्यपर्वते शीरिं हरिद्वारे जगत्यतिम्॥७॥ प्रयागे माध्वंचेव गयायांतु गदाधरम्।

And in the story of Sati, the perfect wife, who can miss the significance of the fifty-two places in which fragments of the smitten body fell? "And one finger fell in Calcutta, and that is still the Kālighāt. And the tongue fell at Kangra (Jwālāmukhi) in the North Panjab and appears

गङ्गासागरभे विक्षं चित्रकूटेतु राधवम् ॥ ८॥ नन्दियामे राचसञ्चं प्रभासे विश्वक्षिणम्। श्रीक्रमें क्रममचलं नीलाड़ी पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥ ९॥ सिंहाचले महासिंहं गदिनं तुलसीवने। घतग्री से पापहरं येतादी सिंहरू पिणम् ॥ १०॥ योगानन्दं धर्मपुरी काकुलेलास्त्रनायकम्। श्रहोवले गारड़ादी हिरणासुरमर्नम् ॥११॥ विष्ठलं पांड्रंगेतु वेङ्गठाद्री रमासखम्। नारायणं याद्वादी नुसिंहं घटिकाचले ॥१२॥ वरदं वारणगिरौ का इयां कमल लोचनम्। यथोक्तकारिणं चैव परमेशपुरात्रयम् ॥ १३॥ पाखवानां तथा दूतं चिविक्रममयोद्गतम्। कामासिक्यां नृसिंचंच तथाष्टमुज्यसंज्ञकम् ॥ १४ ॥ मेघाकारं ग्राभाकारं ग्रेषाकारंतु ग्रोभनम्। चन्तरा शितिक खस्य कामकोव्यां ग्रामप्रदम्॥ १५॥ कालमेघं खगारूढं कोटिस्ट्रयंसमप्रमम्।

to this day, as licking tongues of fire, from underneath the ground. And the left hand fell at Benares which is for ever Annapūrnā, the Giver-of-Bread." All the above passages, with their remarkable hold

 1 The $Dev\bar{\imath}\text{-}g\bar{\imath}t\bar{a}$ (eighth chapter) enumerates the various places throughout India sacred to the $Dev\bar{\imath}$ or Durgã.

दियं दीपप्रकाशंच देवानामधिपं मुने ॥ १६॥ प्रवालवर्णे दीपाभं का च्यामष्टादशस्थितम । श्रीम्ध्रमरससीरे भानं विजयराघवम ॥१०॥ वीचार खेम डापु खे ग्रयानं वीरराधवम्। तोतादी तुरू भयनं गजाति घूं गज खले ॥ १८॥ महाबिलंबिलपुरे भिक्तिसारे जगत्पितम ! मसावरा हं श्रीम को मसीन्द्रे पद्म लोचनम ॥१८॥ श्रीरक्केत जगवायं श्रीधामेजानकीप्रियम्। सारचेचे सारनाथं खखने हरचापहम् ॥ २०॥ श्रीनिवासस्य ले पूर्ण सुवर्णसर्णमन्दिरे। व्याघ्रपुर्या महाविष् भिक्तास्थानेतुभिक्तिदम् ॥ २१॥ श्वेतन्द्रदे शान्तमृतिमिष्ठपुर्या सुरिष्रयम्। भगां खंभगवस्थाने वैक्कप्डाखेत साधवस् ॥ २२॥ पुरुषोक्तमे भक्तमखं चक्रतीर्थं सुदर्भनम्। क्रुभकोणे चक्रपाणि भृतस्थाने तु शार्क्षिण्॥ २३॥ कपिखले गजार्तिम्नं गोविन्दं चित्रकृटके।

on the heart of the people as texts of their daily prayers, give expression to a feeling for the fatherland, an absorbing passion for place which is hardly surpassed anywhere in the world, while a negative proof of the same emotion shows itself in the fact that all the holy and sacred places of the Indian lie within the limits

यनुत्तमं चीत्तमायां श्रेताद्रो पद्मलीचनेम्॥ २४॥
पार्थस्थले परबद्धा क्रय्णकोत्यां मधुद्धिषम्।
नन्दपुर्या महानन्दं वृद्धपुर्या वृष्ठात्रयम्॥ २५॥
श्रमश्रं सङ्गमयाने प्रर्णे प्ररणं महत्।
दिचिणदारकायांतु गोपालं जगतां पितिम्॥ २६॥
सिंहचेत्रे महासिंहं मझारिं मणिमण्डपे।
निविडे निविडाकारं धानुष्को जगदीश्वरम्॥ २०॥
मौक्ररे कालनेधंतु मधुरायांतु सुन्दरम्।
वृष्ठभाद्रो महापुष्णे परमसामिसं ज्ञकम्॥ २८॥
श्रीमद्वरगुणे नाथं कुरुकायांरमास्यक्।
गोष्ठीपुरे गोष्ठीपतिं प्रयानं दर्भसं सरे॥ २८॥
धन्ती मङ्गलके प्रीरं वलाद्यं धमरस्यले।
कुरङ्गतु तथा पूर्णे कृष्णमेकं वव्स्यले॥ ३०॥
स्वातं जुद्दनयातु पद्मनाममनन्तके।
एतानि विष्णो:स्थानानि पूर्जितानि महात्मिः॥ २१॥

of India and not one of them in some far off Palestine.

VIII

This intense passion for fatherland, indeed, utters itself throughout Sanskrit literature. We select some of these references at random. The Atharva Veda, for instance, sings the praises of the mother country as the land of the brave and the pious, of heroism and enterprise, of commerce and trade, of science and art, of virtue and greatness, of countless medicinal herbs and plants; the land, girt by the sea and fertilised by the sacred rivers like the Indus, and rich in grain and foodstuffs; the land where our forefathers lived and worked, where the Asuras succumbed to the might of the

¹ Av. XII. 2-" नानावीर्या खोषधीर्या विभित्ते . . . "

 $^{^{\}circ}$ Av. XII. 3—"यस्यां समुद्र जन सिन्धुरापो यस्यामत्रं क्रष्टयः सम्बभूत्ः।"

Devas; ¹ the land which boasts of the highest mountain and the most beautiful forest; ² the land of sacrificial rites and sacred pleasures, of valour and renown, of patriotism and self-sacrifice, of virtue and kindness. ³ There are passages also in other Sanskrit works which refer to India as the chosen land, ⁴ a veritable

Av. XII. 1. 41-

"यस्यां गायनि नृत्यन्ति भूम्यां मर्त्यायेखवाः। युद्धाने यस्यामात्रन्दो यस्यां वदति दुन्द्भिः॥"

⁴ Manu, II. 17—''तं देविनिक्तितदेशं ब्रह्मावर्त्ते प्रचचते।'' Viṣṇu Purāṇa, II. iii. 24:—

> गायनि देवाः किस गीतकानि धन्यास् ते भारतभूमिमागे। स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात्॥

¹ Av. XII. 5—''यसां पूर्वे पूर्वजना विचित्रिरे यसां देवा असुरानभवर्त्तयन्।''

 $^{^2}$ Av. XII. 11—''गिरयसे पर्वता हिमवनोश्रः ते प्रिविक्योनससु $_1$ ''

³ Av. XII. 1. 22—''भूम्यां देवेस्थो ददति यज्ञं इयमरं-कतम।"

heaven on earth, culminating in the great national utterance

" जननी जन्मभूमिय सर्गादिष गरीयसी" ('mother and motherland are higher than heaven itself').

IX

The same feeling for the fatherland has again spread over the whole continent a

[Thus do the gods sing the glories of Bhāratavarsa: "More fortunate than we are they who are born in that land wherein lies the veritable road to heaven and salvation."]

Śrīmadbhāgavata, v. xix. 20, 27.

श्रहो वतेषां किमकारि शोभनम्
प्रमन्न एषां सिद्धत स्वयंहरिः ।
यैर्जन ल्रें नृषुभारताजिरे
मुकुन्दमेवीपयिकं स्पृहाहि नः ॥ १०॥
* * *
यदाय नः स्क्रीमुखावशेषितं
सिष्टस्य स्त्रास्य क्षतस्य शोभनम् ।
तेनाजनाभे स्पृतिमञ्जन्य नः स्थाद्वर्षे हरिर्यद् भजतां शं तनोति ॥ १६॥

network of shrines and sacred places which constitutes one of the distinguishing and differentiating features of India. For it goes without saying that the institution of pilgrimage is entirely an expression of love for the motherland, one of the modes of worship of the country which strengthens the religious sentiment and expands the geographical consciousness. Behind the religious merit and sanctity of pilgrimage there lies the admiration of place, of art, even of geographical significance. Benares in the North and Conjeeveram in the South are loved and visited because they are cathedral cities, rich in architecture, in treasure and in the associations of saints and scholars. We also feel that Jagannāth owes its position in no small degree to the sheer beauty of the sea and also perhaps to the cosmopolitanism of the place as the port through which long flowed the eastern trade. Allahabad, the Tirtharāja Prayāga, the prince of holy places,

inevitably rose at the confluence of two mighty rivers mingling their waters. The perennial beauty of the Himalayas has captivated the national imagination and has made them the refuge of holy men, drawing unending streams of pilgrims. Indeed, the Hindu's pilgrimages are always to the glacier-clad mountain, the palm-clad sea-shore or ocean-isle, or the almost impenetrable depths of hill and jungle, where the tread of the generations of Man has scarcely been heard, and Nature left free to exercise her healing and healthful influence. Thus the Indian treats the beauty of place in a peculiar way, foreign to the West: his method of appreciating and celebrating it is quite different. A spot of beauty is no place for social enjoyment or self-indulgence; it is the place for self-restraint, for solitary meditation which leads the mind from nature up for Nature's God. Had Niagara been situated on the Ganges, how different would have been its valuation

by humanity! Instead of occasional picnics and railway pleasure-trips, the perennial pilgrimage of worshipping crowds. Instead of parks, asramas. Instead of hotels, temples. Instead of ostentatious excess, simple austerity. Instead of the desire to harness its mighty forces to the chariot of human utility, an absorbing subjectivity, a complete detachment from the body and the outward world to feed the life of the spirit!

Thus the institution of pilgrimage is undeniably a most powerful instrument for developing the geographical sense in the people which enables them to think and feel that India is not a mere congeries of geographical fragments, but a single, though immense, organism, filled with the tide of one strong pulsating life from end to end. The visit to holy places as an imperative religious duty has made wide travelling a national habit

¹ Cf. Sister Nivedita's "The Web of Indian Life," p. 241.

in India in all ages of life, with young and old alike, and travelling in ages preceding the era of steam and mechanical transport could not but promote a deep knowledge of the tracts traversed which is easily escaped by modern globe-trotters. It was this supremely Indian institution in fact which served in the past in place of the modern railway and facilities for travel to promote popular movements from place to place and intercommunication between parts producing a perception of the whole. It allowed no parochial, provincial sense to grow up which might interfere with the growth of the idea of the geographical unity of the mighty motherland; allowed no sense of physical comforts to stand in the way of the sacred duty of intimately knowing one's mother country; and softened the severities of old-world travelling by breaking the pilgrim's route by a holy halting place at short intervals.

It is difficult indeed to count up the

innumerable sacred spots which an overflowing religious feeling has planted throughout India. One of the best lists¹ of these is to be found in the Vanaparva

¹ The Garuḍa-purāṇa preserves some authentic lists of the Hindu holy places all over India. The following passage in the sixty-sixth chapter distinguishes the principal sacred places thus:—

शालप्रामोद्वारकाच नेमिपं पुष्करं गया। वाराणसी प्रयागच कुरुचेचच प्रकरं॥ गङ्गा च नर्मादा गोदा चन्द्रभागा सरस्वती। श्रीचेचच महाकालस्वीर्थान्येतानि शङ्कर॥ सर्व पापदराखेव भृत्तिसृत्तिप्रदानिनै।

But perhaps the best and a most exhaustive enumeration of holy places occurs in the eighty-first chapter, which passes in review the whole continent from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin in the following couplets:—

सर्वतीर्थानि वच्यामि गङ्गानीर्थोत्तमोत्तमा । सर्वत सुलभागङ्गा चिषु खानेषु दुर्लभा ॥ हरिद्वारे प्रयोगेच गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे । प्रयागं परमं नीर्थं मृतानां भुक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥ सेवनान् क्रनिपष्डानां पापभिन् कामदं गृष्णम् । वाराणसी परं नीर्थं विश्वेशो यत्रकेशवः ॥ कुरुचेत्रं परं नीर्थं दानायर्भुक्तिमुक्तिदम् । प्रभाषं परमं नीर्थं सोमनाथोस्ति यचच ॥ हारकाच पुरी रया भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायिका । of the Mahābhārata where two descriptions are given of the principal holy places, one by Nārada and the other by Dhaumya. Other such lists are to

प्राची सरस्ती पुष्पा सप्तसारस्तां परं॥ वेदारं सर्वपापञ्चं शसालयाम उत्तमस । नरनारायणं तीर्थं मृत्तीय वद्रिकात्रमम्॥ खते द्वीपं पुरी काथा नैकिषं पुष्कारं परम यायोध्या चार्धतीर्थन् चित्रक्रट्य गोमतीम् ॥ वैनायकं महातीर्थं रामगिर्यायमं परस्। काचीपुरी तुङ्गभद्रा यीशीलं मेत्वस्रमम्॥ रासे चरंपरं तोर्थं कार्तिकेयं तथोत्तमम्। भग्तुङंकामतीर्थेचामरकण्डकंतथा॥ ज्ञायिन्यां महाकालः कुलके त्रीधरोद्धरिः। कुजामकं महातीर्थं कालमिपंच कामदम्॥ महाजेशीच कावेरी चन्द्रभागा विपाशया। एकामञ्चतया तीर्थं ब्रह्मेग्रं देवकीटकम्॥ मशुराच पुरी राया शोष थैव महानद:। जम्बुसरो महातीर्थं तानि तीर्थानि विहिच॥ स्दर्थः भिवो गणो देवी हरिर्यवच निष्ठति। रतपुचतथायेषु स्नानदानं जपसपः॥ पूजात्रादं पिष्डदानं सर्वभवतिचाचयम्। शालयामं सर्वदं स्थात तीर्थं पद्भपतः परम्॥

be found in the various accounts of what are known as the Pīṭha-sthānas. The popularly known number, 52, is given by Tantra Chuḍāmani. According to Devī-

कोकामुखद्य वाराचं भाण्डीरं खामिमंज्ञकम्। मोह्दर्षेमहाविष्ण्मन्दारे मध्सदनः॥ कामकृपं महातीर्थं कामाख्या यत्र तिष्ठति । पुण्डवर्द्धनकं तीर्थं कार्तिकेय यय ययच ॥ बिरजन्त महातीर्थं तीर्थं श्रीपुर्पोत्तमम । मरेन्द्रपर्वतसीर्थं कावेरीच नदीपरा॥ गोदावरी महातीर्थ पर्याक्यो वरदा तथा। विन्धः पापचरं तीर्थं नर्मादाभेद उत्तमः॥ गोकर्षं परमं तीर्थं तीर्थं मादियातीपुरी। कालञ्जरं महातार्थे ग्राक्रतीर्थमन्त्रमम्॥ कतमोचं मुिताद इ मई धारीच द खने। विरजं सर्वदं तीर्थं खर्णाचं तीर्थनुत्तमग्। निस्तीर्थं मक्तिद्य काटितीर्थं फलप्रदम्। ना मुख्यस महातीर्थ गीवईनमतः परम्॥ क्रयणवेणी भीमरेका गण्डकी यालिरावती। तीर्थं विन्दमरः पुष्यं विष्णुपादोदकं परम्॥ त्रीरङ्ग इरे खीर्ध तापीत्रेष्ठा महानदो। मुप्तगोदावरं तीर्थं तीर्थं कोणगिरिः परम ॥ महालुक्षीर्थव देवी प्रणीता पर्मा नदी।

Bhāgavata, the number is 108 [7-30]. The Kubjikātantra also enumerates the various Siddhapithas throughout India. The Śiva-Charita distinguishes the Mahāpīṭhas numbering 51 from the minor Upa-pīṭhas numbering 26. A reference to these holy places is also contained in the Kālika-purāna (chh. 18, 50, 61).

X

Along with this system and network of Hindu holy places should also be considered the multitude of monuments with which Buddhism and Jainism—ultimately and essentially but phases of Hindu thought—have adorned the land and influenced the geographical consciousness of large numbers of people

मचाद्री देवदेवेश एकवीरः सुरेयरी॥ गद्गादारे कुशावर्ते विश्वके नीलपर्वते। स्नाला कनखले तीर्थे स भवेद्र प्रवर्भवे॥

under their direct sway. "Historically, both Buddhism and Jainism, may be regarded as offshoots or sects of Hinduism." Buddhism in fact is the name given to Hinduism of the first few centuries of the Christian era, when precipitated in a foreign consciousness. Its special and most noteworthy contribution was a vast imperial organisation, highly centralised, coherent in all its parts, full of the geographical consciousness, uttering itself in similar architectural forms in the east and west of India. passionately eager to unify and elevate the people and to adorn the land. India became a self-contained, self-conscious unit, in full and living communication both by land and sea with China and Japan, Syria and Egypt, sending abroad ambassadors, merchants and missionaries with messages, commodities and ideas.

What the idea of pilgrimage is to the

¹ See V. A. Smith's "A History of Fine Art in India," etc., introduction.

Hindu mind, the worship of relics is to the Buddhist. The former realised itself in the planting of holy places, the latter in the erection of monuments beautifying the land. The Buddhist veneration of relics led to the construction of multitudes of domed cupolas (stupas, dagobās) for the safe custody of the relics, surrounded with accessory structures upon which were lavished all the resources of art; while the necessities of monastic life led to the erection of vihāras and chaityas, monasteries and churches, both rock-cut and structural. The Pillars (lats) at Delhi, Tirhut, Sankisa, Sanchi, etc.; the chaitya-caves and viharus at Bihar, Nasik, Ajanta, Elura, Karle, Kanheri, Bhaja, Bedsa, Dhamnar, Udaigiri, Bagh, etc.; stupas of Manikyala, Sarnath, Sanchi and Amaravati; the gateways and stone railings at Barahat (Bharhut), Mathura, Gaya, Sanchi and Amaravati; and lastly, the numerous Gandhara monasteries — all these, con-

sidering their widely-separated locations, point to the extensive area which was unified by a common artistic impulse, a single religious idea.

XI

We have now seen how the idea of the essential unity of the Indian world underlying its truly continental vastness and variety has seized the national consciousness and become one of its natural, integral contents. It is also clear that this particular consciousness could not be a sudden growth but required time for its development. Its evolution must naturally correspond at every stage to the evolution of geographical knowledge in the Indian mind. The perception of India as a single country must wait on an intimate geographical knowledge of the whole of India previously obtained.

It is therefore necessary to trace the development of this geographical knowledge and mark out its successive stages.

IIX

It goes without saying that in the Vedic age the geographical horizon embraced only a part of India. The extent and limits of Vedic India may be inferred from the river-hymn and other geographical data in the Rig-Veda. Mention is made therein of some twenty-five streams, all but two or three of which belong to the Indus river system. The word Sapta-Sindhavah is once used to indicate Aryan India, the land of seven rivers, which are generally understood to mean the five rivers of the Punjab, together with the Indus and the Kabul, for which the Sarasvati was afterwards substituted. The easterly limit of the

Aryan home is indicated by the reference in one or two places to the rivers Jamunā and Ganges. Thus the widest geographical extent of Vedic India was the country bounded "by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus and the sea in the south, and the valley of the Yamuna and the Ganges in the east." The country beyond the Vindhya range and the Narmadā river, which are not mentioned in the Rig-Veda, was not known to the Vedic Aryans.

Later Vedic literature does not show any knowledge of Southern India. The passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa [vii. 18], in which Visvāmitra refers to the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas as living on the borders of the Aryan settlements, only demonstrates that the Āryas were at that time acquainted with the whole country to the north of the

¹ Max Muller in *India*: what can it teach us? pp. 168, 174.

Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

XIII

The examination of the available evidence shows that the colonisation of Southern India did not accomplish itself till the seventh century B.C. Pāṇini, who "must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still," mentions many places and rivers which mostly belong to the Panjab and Afghanistan. The most southerly places mentioned by him are Kachehha [IV. 2, 133], Avanti [IV. 1, 176], Kosala [IV. 1, 171], Karusa [IV. 1, 178], and Kalinga [IV. 1, 178].

The contemporary Pali literature points to the same conclusion. In one of the oldest Pali texts [the Sutta-Nipāta, 976) occurs the expression Dakkhinā-

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his Early History of the Deccan.

² Eastern portion of Shahabad district in Behar.

patha,1 which does not mean the whole of modern Dekkan, but only a remote settlement on the upper Godāvari. The expression does not occur in any one of the four Nikāyas. It occurs again in the later text [Vin. 1, 195, 196; 2, 298], but only to mean the same district near the Godāvari and in conjunction with Avanti. The Nikāyas refer to sea-voyages out of sight of land [see my History of Indian Shipping, Part I., ch. III.] and to Kalinga and Dantapura near the coast, while the Vinaya to Bharukaccha [3, 38] and the Udāna to Supparaka [1, 10]. The approximate geographical extent of the most ancient Buddhism (i.e., about the time of Buddha) is stated inter alia in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, "where are named the

¹ Dakṣināpatha, lit., 'the path or road of the south; the southern road' was the technical expression for Southern India. The analogous expression for Northern India was Uttarapatha, lit., 'the path or road of the north, the northern road' which was of constant use, e.g., in connection with Harṣavardhana of Kanouj, who is called 'समर्संस्तासकलोत्तरप्थेश्वर्यो-स्पेबर्बन,' the warlike lord of all the region of the North.

following chief towns as the dwellingplaces of many nobles, Brahmans and Vaisyas converted to Buddhism, viz., Champā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambī and Maga-Baranasi, comprising between them the kingdoms of Kāsi-Kosala and Magadha, together with the territories now known as Oudh and Bihar. The same geographical extent may be inferred from the distribution of Buddha's relics among eight places as mentioned in the Mahāparinibbana Sutta [S. B. E., Vol. XI., pp. 129 ff.], which are: Rājagaha, Vesālī, Kapilavathu, Allakappa, Rāmagāma, Vethadīpa, Pāvā, and Kusinārā, besides the shrines erected by Drona the Brahmin and the Moriyas of Pippalivana. The extent of the whole of old Buddhist India may be similarly inferred from passages in some Pāli books [e.g., Anguttara, 1. 213; 4. 252, 256, 260; Vinaya Texts, 2. 146, which enumerates the sixteen principal political divisions of the country as follows: (1) Anga, (2) Ma-

gadhā, (3) Kāsī, (4) Kosalā, (5) Vajjī, (6) Mallā, (7) Cetī, (8) Vamsā, (9) Kurū, (10) Pañchālā, (11) Macchā, (12) Sūrasenā, (13) Assakā, (14) Avantī, (15) Gandhārā, and (16) Kambojā. Another similar list, indicating a slightly wider geographical extent, is to be found in the Govinda Sutta, 36 [Dīgha-Nikāya, XIX. 36], where the following seven provinces are distributed by the Brahman Govinda among King Renu and six other Ksatriya princes, viz., (1) Kalinga, with its capital Dantapura; (2) Assaka, with its capital Potana; (3) Avanti, with its capital Māhismatī; (4) Sovira, with its capital Roruka; (5) Videha, with its capital Mithilā; (6) Anga, with its capital Champā; (7) Kāsi, with its capital Bārānasi.

The Lalita-Vistara [ch. III.] also mentions the existence of sixteen great States in the different countries of "Jambudvīpa," and also names the following places and dynasties in connection with a discussion of their fitness as the birthplace of the

Buddha, viz., (1) the Vaideha dynasty of Magadha; (2) the Kosala dynasty; (3) the Vańsarāja dynasty, of which the Tibetan name is Vadsa, with its capital Kauśambi; (4) the city state of Vaiśalī; (5) the *Pradyotana* dynasty which ruled in $Ujjayin\bar{i}$; in the Chinese version it is called Mavanti, apparently a corruption of Avanti; (6) the city of Mathurā, where ruled the race of King Kańsa; (7) the city of Hastinapura of the Pandavas; (8) the city of Mithilā; (9) the country of the Sakyas with its capital Kapilavāstu, which was finally chosen as the fit birthplace for the Buddha. surveyed all the Ksatriya royal dynasties in the continent named Jambu and found all of them tainted except the Sakya race, which was devoid of all defect."

Again, in the tenth chapter of the same work where the Bodhisattva names the 64 kinds of writing there is a reference to the following places and tribes: (1) Anga, (2) Vanga, (3) Magadha, (4) the

country of Śakāri, (5) Brahmavalli, (5) Dravida, (7) Dakṣiṇa, (8) Ugra, (9) Darada, (10) Khāsaya, (11) Chīna, (12) the country of Huna.

All the above references, Sanskrit as well as Pali, show that the geographical horizon of the Indians between the Vedic and early Buddhist periods did not embrace Southern India and Ceylon, the knowledge and colonisation of which belonged to a later period.

XIV

Southern India first floats into the Indian geographical horizon at least as early as the fourth century B.C. If the whole of India was unknown to Pāṇini, it was well-known to his commentator Kātyāyana, whom both popular tradition and modern scholarship assign to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas. Kātyāyana's reference to the derivatives

Pāṇḍyas, Cholas and Māhiṣmat, supplements in reality both the grammar and geography of Pāṇini.

There is also Greek evidence to show that the Indians had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of India in the time of Alexander's invasion. According to Strabo [Geographia, ii. 1, 6], Alexander "caused the whole country to be described by men well acquainted with it." This account was afterwards lent to Patrokles, the satrap under Seleukus Nikator and Antiochus Soter, and was accepted as true by Eratosthenes and Strabo who on the basis of that account have given certain distances and dimensions about India which approximate to their modern measurements.

We also know from history how wide and deep was the geographical knowledge of the whole of India under the Maurya Emperor. Thus the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, which is generally attributed to Chānakya, the minister of Chandra-

gupta, shows a good knowledge of the economic products of the various parts of India including the south. The traderoutes of India are divided broadly into two classes: 1 (1) the Northern, i.e., those leading to the Himalayas and called Haimavatah; (2) the Southern called Daksināpathah. Of these the former are noted for their access to such commodities as elephants, horses, perfumes, skins, silver and gold, while the latter convey such valuable things as conchshells, diamond, precious stones, pearls and gold, of which the Tamil land is the famous and fertile source. Commercially the latter are therefore held to be more important than the former. Southern India is also recognised to be abounding in mines. Some of the rivers of Southern

^{1 &}quot;हैमवतो दिचिणापथाच्छेयान् हस्त्यश्वगन्धदनाजिन-रूषसुवर्णपणास्मारवत्तरा द्त्याचार्थाः।

नेति कोटिन्यः---कम्बलाजिनाश्वपणवर्जाः ग्रङ्खवन्त्रमणि-मुक्तास्मुवर्णपणाश्वप्रभूततराः दत्तिणापथे।

दिचिणापथेशीप वज्ञखिनः..." Bk. VII. ch. 12.

India and of Ceylon are mentioned as sources of pearls, e.g., Tāmraparnīka, Kula, Chūrna; and also some mountains, e.g., Pāndyavātaka, Mahendra. In the extreme north, some Himalayan villages are mentioned as the source of skins, e.g., Visī, Mahāvisī, Aroha, Bahlava and also Nepal as sources of blankets. Kāmbhoja (Afghanistan, the Kaofu of Hiuen Tsang), Sindhu (Sindh) and Āratta (Panjab, lit. land of the kingless) are also mentioned as sources of the supply of horses. Among eastern countries are mentioned Vanga, Paundra, Suvarna-Kudyaka (probably Kāmarūpa, as suggested by the commentator), Magadha, Kāśī and Kalinga, which were noted even in those early days for their cotton and silk fabrics. Anga, Karūsa, Prāchya and Kalinga are also mentioned as sources of the supply of elephants. Mādura in the south, Aparanta on the west, Mahisa in the Deccan are also mentioned for their cotton fabrics. Surāstra is also mentioned

for its supply of elephants and Sauvira for horses. Lastly, some countries outside India are also mentioned with which she had trade across the seas (Pārasamudraka), e.g., Svarṇabhūmi noted for its perfumes, China for its silks (Chīnapaṭṭāh) and Arabia (Vanāyu) for its horses.¹

The Edicts of Asoka also supply convincing evidence that the whole of India was known in his days. The southern independent kingdoms, such as the Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra, are mentioned, together with the Andhras and Pulindas. There are also mentioned the border nations on the north-west, west and the Deccan such as the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandharas, Rashtrikas, Pitenikas (probably connected with Paithan), Nabhatas. The conversion of Ceylon by Mahendra may also be taken to be a historical fact, supported as it is by both northern and southern tradition.

Thus by the time of the Maurya

¹ See Arthaśāstra, pp. 50, 75-81. Mysore Ed.

Empire the knowledge of all parts of India was a common possession, a content of the popular geographical consciousness. And we accordingly find the contemporary and subsequent literature replete with geographical details.

XV

Patañjali (150 B.c.) shows considerable advance upon Kātyāyana and has intimate knowledge of the south. Besides mentioning Māhiṣmatī [Mahābhaṣya on Pān. III. 1, 26], Vaidarbha [IV. 1, 4], Kānchipura [IV. 2, 2] and Kerala or Malabar [IV. 1, 175] he notices some lingual usages in the south [I. 1, 19].

It is difficult to ascertain the precise chronological value of the great epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata as we have them now. Popular Hindu belief assigns

¹ यसि च लोके सरमी शव्दस्य प्रवृत्तिः दिचिणापथे हि महानि सर्गांसि सरस्य दृत्युचते

to the Rāmāyana 1 an earlier date and is supported by the fact that it shows a much less knowledge of Southern India than the Mahābhārata. Among the places lying to the south are mentioned Utkala, Kalinga, Dasārna [Bhilsa], Avanti and Vidarbha, which do not carry us very far beyond the line of the Vindhyas. Between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pandyas and Keralas the Rāmāyana mentions no other place but Dandakāranya. This state of geographical knowledge carries us back to the days of later Vedic literature before the 7th century B.C. Sugriva's descriptions, however, of places and peoples in the Kiskindhā Kāṇḍa [Sargas 40-43] exhibit broadly the conception of India as a whole which is distinguished from parts forming what may be termed Greater India, as also from surrounding countries and nations.

¹ The Arthasastra refers to the story of the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata thus: "मानात् रावणः परदारान-प्रयक्त दुर्योधनो राज्यादंग्रं च।" [Mysore ed., p. 11.]

That a Mahābhārata existed before Pānini is proved by his allusions to Vāsudeva, Arjuna and Yudhisthira. The geographical horizon of the Epic as we have it now is indicated in the passage, among others, where Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pandyas, Dravidas, Udras, Keralas and Andhras [Sabhāp. ch. 31]. It is also indicated in the passage [Bhīsmap. ch. 9], which enumerates the seven principal mountains of India and also by the list of some 200 rivers given in the tenth chapter of Bhismaparva, where are mentioned the southerly rivers, Mahānadī, Godāvarī, Kriṣṇā and Kāverī, Narmadā, Krisnavēnī, Vēna, Tunga-Vēna. Bhīsmaparva, chapter IX., mentions 157 peoples belonging to Northern India and 50 peoples belonging to the south of the Narmadā. The Vanaparva, as has been already stated, affords interesting geographical data in the lists of holy places it gives. The holy places in the south

mentioned are the Godāvarī, Vēna, Payoṣṇī, the Agastya-tīrtha and the Varuṇa-tīrtha, the Tāmraparṇī and Gokarṇa-tīrtha, the Kavērī and the Kanyā-tīrtha (probably Kanyā Kumāri, Cape Comorin). The itinerary of the Pāṇḍavas is also similarly interesting. It refers to such places as the Vaitaraṇī in Kaliṅga, the Mahēndra mountain where lived Paraśurāma, and the Pāṇḍya country whence they reached Surpāraka.

Besides this intimate knowledge of the parts, the Mahābhārata presents a conception of the whole of India as a geographical unit in the famous passage in the Bhīsmaparva where the shape of India is described as an equilateral triangle, divided into four smaller equal triangles, the apex of which is Cape Comorin and the base formed by the line of the Himalaya mountains. As remarked by Cunningham [Ancient Geography of India, p. 5], "the shape corresponds very well with the general form

of the country, if we extend the limits of India to Ghazni on the north-west and fix the other two points of the triangle at Cape Comorin and Sadiya in Assam."

XVI

The geographical knowledge of the Mahābhārata is followed up by all the Purāṇas, which are well-known for their detailed information regarding the places and peoples of India. They also present the conception of India as a geographical unit in their description of the country as made up of nine divisions, viz., Indra, Kasērumat, Tāmraparṇa, Gabhastimat, Kumarikā, Nāga, Saumya, Varuna, Gāndharva, which agree with those of the famous astronomer Bhāskarāchārya [Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, ch. III., 41].

Varāhamihira [Vṛihat - Sanhitā, ch. XIV.], however, gives a different list of the Nine Divisions which deserves a

more than passing notice for the wealth of topographical details it presents. It may be given as follows:—

- I. Central Division: Tribes—Kurus, Pañchālas, Pāṇḍus, Sūrasenas, Vatsas, etc. Towns—Mathurā, Sāketa. Rivers—Yamunā and Sarasvatī.
- II. Eastern Division: Tribes—Ambasthas, Kauśalakas, Pauņdras, Prāgjyotisas, Tāmraliptikas and Utkalas. Countries—Kośala, Mithilā, Kāśī, Magadha, Puṇḍra, Tāmalipti, Samatata, Udra, etc.
- III. South eastern Division: Tribes
 Chedikas, Dasārņas, Nisādas, etc.
 Countries Aṅga (Chedi), Upavaṅga,
 Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Andhra, Vidarbha, etc.
 Mountains—the Vindyas.
- IV. South Division: Tribes—Ābhiras, Āvantakas, Cheryas, Kairalakas, etc., mariners (बार्चर), etc. Countries—Avanti's beryl-mines (Vaidūrya), Bhārukachchha, Chitrakūṭa, places for obtaining conch-shells, Kāñchī, Laṅkā, southern ocean, places for obtaining pearls, Siṅhala,

Talikata, Vellura, Chera, Chola, Kachchha, Karnāṭa, Kerala, Konkana, etc. Forests—Dandakavana. Mountains—Dardura, Kusuma, Mahendra, Malaya, Malindya, Riṣyamūka, Sūrpa, etc. Rivers—Kavērī, Kriṣṇā, Tāmraparnī and Vēnā.

V. South-west Division: Tribes—Ābhiras, Aravas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Mākaras, Pahlavas, Sindhus, Sauviras, Sudras, Yavanas, etc. Countries—Mahārṇava, Ānarta, Drāviḍa, Kambhōja, Pārasava, Surāstra, etc.

VI. Western Division: Tribes—Aparāntakas, Haihayas, Mlechchhas, Śakas, Vaiśyas, etc.

VII. North - west Division: includes Hārahauras, Stri-rājya, and the river Venumatī.

VIII. Northern Division: Tribes—Huṇas, Kaikayas, Udīchyas, etc. Towns—Puṣkalāvatī, Takṣaśilā. Countries—Gāndhāra, Uttarakuru. Mountains—Dhanuṣmat, Himavat, Kailāsa, etc. River—Yamunā.

IX. North - east Division: includes Kāśmīra.

XVII

We may conclude the above account of the development of Indian geographical knowledge by a reference to the geography of Kālidāsa. In the conquests of Raghu are mentioned (in the east), the Suhmas, the Vangas, the river Kapiśā, the Utkalas, the Kalingas with the mountain Mahendra; in the south, the river Kāverī and, beyond it, the Pāndyas with their pearls produced at the mouth of the Tamraparni, the mountains Malaya and Dardura, and, crossing them, the Keralas; on the west, crossing the Muralā river, Aparānta between the Sahya range and the sea, the Pārasikas; in the north, the Yavanas, the Hūnas, the Kambojas, the Kirātas and other hilly tribes near the Kailāsa mountain; Prāgiyotisa in the extreme east. In the Meghadūta

the places mentioned on the route of the cloud messenger from Rāmagiri to Alakā are the following: Sātpura hills, Mālava, the Revā (Narmadā), Vindhya range, Dasārṇa, capital Vidiśā, Ujjayinī on the Śiprā, river Gandhavatī, Gambhīrā, Devagiri, Charmaṇvatī, Daśapura, Kurukṣetra, the Sarasvatī, the Kankhala hill near the Ganges, the source of the Ganges, Mount Kailāsa, Mānasa lake and Alakā.

XVIII

We have now seen how the Indians in ancient times before the era of steam and mechanical locomotion possessed a thorough knowledge of the different parts, tribes and races of India welded together into a whole which was so essential to their realisation of the idea of the geographical unity of their vast country. We have also seen that it was not a mere intellectual conception or an abstract

idea but a vivid realisation through the heart; not the happy hit of a momentary inspiration but the settled habit of national thought induced by religious texts and daily prayers.

But along with the influence of religion as explained above, there was also the influence of politics in producing this popular consciousness of Indian geographical unity. History records the names of many Indian rulers who succeeded in realising their ambition of establishing a suzerainty over the whole of India which was accordingly thought of and used as a unit, as the common field of national activity. Such a ruler in older days was Harsavardhana, who reigned from 606 to 648 A.D. over an empire that embraced the whole of the basin of the Ganges (including Nepal) from the Himālayas to the Narmada, besides Malwa, Guirat and Surāstra, and won for itself recognition as a paramount power in the land. Such a ruler, too,

in yet older days was Samudra Gupta in the fourth century, A.D., who carried his victorious arms from the Ganges to the border of the Tamil country and thus achieved the political unification of a large part of India with an alliance extending from the Oxus to Ceylon. Such a ruler again in the past before the Christian era was Asoka the Great, one of the most illustrious in the illustrious roll of Indian Emperors, whose empire extended over the entire territory stretching from Afghanistan to Mysore, being "far more extensive than British India of to-day, including Burma" (V. A. Smith's Asoka, p. 81), and became a self-conscious political power with active international relations. And such a ruler was also Chandragupta, wrongly supposed to be the first historical paramount Sovereign of India, under whom also India realised herself as a political unit as she was already by nature a geographical unit.

XIX

It is a mistake to suppose that Chandragupta was the first to introduce to Indian politics this conception of a single power dominating the whole country, for the idea was certainly much older than Chandragupta and was handed down from remote antiquity. The conception of a Chakravarti Raja or suzerain receiving the tribute and allegiance of subordinate kings has been one of the most familiar political notions of the ancient Hindus. Vedic literature furnishes a crop of terms for a paramount sovereign. These are:—

(1) Adhirāja, which occurs fairly often throughout the early literature to denote overlord among kings or princes. Thus it is found in the *Ḥig-Veda*, X. 128, 9; Atharvaveda, VI. 98, 1 and IX. 10, 24;

Taittiriya Sańhitā, II. 4, 14, 2; Maitrāyani Sańhitā, IV. 12, 3; Kātḥaka Sańhitā, VIII. 17; Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, III. 1, 2, 9 (adhirājan); Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V, 4, 2, 2; Nirukta, VIII. 2.

- (2) Rājādhirāja, King of Kings, which is found in the later Taittiriya Āranyaka, I. 31, 6.
- (3) Samrāj, which is used to mean superior ruler, sovereign, expressing a greater degree of power than king. occurs in the Rig-Veda, III. 55, 7; 56, 5; IV. 21, 1; VI. 27, 8; VIII. 19, 32; also in the Vājasaneyī Sanhitā, V. 32; XIII. 35; XX, 5, etc.; also in the Satapatha Brāhmana, V. 1, 1, 13 [cf. XII. 8, 3, 4; XIV. 1, 3, 8], where the Samrāj is asserted to have a higher authority and rank than a king, and to have become one by the sacrifice of the Vājapeya. The epithet is also applied to Janaka of Videha in Satapatha Brāhamna, XI. 3, 2, 1. 6; 2, 2, 3; and in Brihadāranyaka Upanisad, IV. 1, 1; 3, 1. It is applied in the

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 14, 2, 3, as the title of the Eastern kings, the kings of the Prāchyas (suggestive of Magadhan imperialism). The title for the Southerners, the kings of the people called Sattvats, is Bhoja; that for the Western kings, the kings of the peoples called Nīchyas and Apāchyas, is Svarāt; that for the kings of the North, beyond the Himalayas, viz., the countries Uttara Kuru and Uttara-Madra, is Virāt; and that for the kings of the middle country, viz., of the Kuru-Pañchālas and Usinaras, is simply Rāja.¹

तस्मादेतस्यां दिचिणस्यां दिश्चिये के च सलतां राजानी भीज्यायैव ते जमिषिचन्ते।

तसादेतस्यां प्रतीचां दिशिए थे के च नीचानां राजानी येऽ पाचानां स्वाराज्यायैव ते ऋभिपिचन्ते।

तसादेतस्थामुदोच्यां दिशि ये के च परेण सिमवनं जनपदा उत्तरकुरव उत्तरमदा इति वैराज्यायैव ते ऽभि-षिच्यने।

तस्त्रादस्यां भुवायां मध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिशि ये के च

^{1 &}quot; साम्राज्याय तासादेतस्थां प्राच्यां दिशि ये के च प्राच्यानां राज्यानः साम्राज्यायैव ते श्मिषिचनो ।

(4) Ekarāja: meaning "sole ruler," "monarch." It is used metaphorically in the Rig-Veda, VIII. 37, 3, but in the literal sense in the Attareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII. 15, as well as in the Atharvaveda, III. 1, 4, 1.

According to Sukranīti [I. 183-187, ed. Oppert], the generic term Nṛipati (नृपित) embraces the following classes of kings arranged in an ascending scale of income and power, viz., Sāmanta (पामन), Māṇ-

कुरपञ्चालानां राजानः सवशोशीनराषां राज्यायैव तेऽभि-षिचने राजेत्येनानभिषिक्तानाचचते॥"

^{1 &}quot;एकराखस्य भुवनस्य राजिस सचीपत इन्द्र विश्वाभि-रूतिभिः।"

² "... प्रथियै समुद्र पर्यान्ताया एकराड़िति।"

^{3 &}quot;चा लागन् राष्ट्रं सच वर्षकी दिचि प्राङ् विशापितिरेकराट्लं विराज," which is thus paraphrased by Sūyana:
हे राजन् लां राष्ट्रं श्रनुभिराक्रानां सकीयं राज्यं पुनरागमत
तत्तस्लं वर्षमा वलेन सच उदिचि उदितः प्रह्यातो भव।
स्वनन्तरं प्राक् पूर्वं विशां प्रज्ञानां स्वांमां पितः पालकः
सन् रकराट निःसपलो मुखो राजा भूला लं विराज
विशेषेण दीष्यस्थ॥

dalika (माण्डलिक), Rājā (राजा), Mahārāja (मदाराजा), Samrāț (मधाट्), Virāţ (विराट्), and Sārvabhauma (मार्च्योम).

XX

Along with these terms for the suzerain there were also corresponding terms to indicate paramount power, sovereignty or overlordship. Thus the term $R\bar{a}jya$ is the general word denoting "sovereign power." It occurs in Atharvaveda, III. 4, 2; IV. 8, 1; XI. 6, 15; XII. 3, 31; XVIII. 4, 31. It also occurs in Taittiriya Sahhitā, II. 1, 3, 4; 6, 6, 5; VII. 5, 8, 3, etc.; in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 23, etc., and Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, I. 4, 5. In some places the word Svārājya, 1

[ा] Might it not refer to republics or free states such, for instance, as those of the Licchavis, the Sakyas, the Mallas of Kusinara which were themselves also called by the name of Rājya (राज्य) with their Presidents called Rājā (राजा)? Thus according to the Arthasastra [xi. i, 160–161] the title $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ applies to the heads of the common-

"uncontrolled dominion," is opposed to Rājya: e.g., Kāthaka Sanhitā, XIV. 5; Maitrāyaṇi Sanhitā, I. 11, 5 (cf. Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, I. 3, 2, 2). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa [VIII. 12, 4, 5, etc.] gives a whole series of terms to indicate various shades and degrees of sovereignty, viz.:—Rājya, Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pāramasthya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatya, Svāvaśya. The term Ādhipatya also occurs in Panchavinsa Brāhmaṇa, XV. 3, 35, and in Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, V. 2, 6.1

wealths of Lichchhivika, Vrijika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, Pānchāla, etc. ("लिच्चिविकटीजक-मञ्जक-मदक-कुकुर-कुर-पाचालाद्यो राजग्रब्दोपजीविनः।")

What lends colour to the supposition is the reference in the Aitareya Brāhmana to the kings of the Western peoples who were called Svarāt as distinguished from the Eastern kings known as the Samrāts. For the free states and clans of ancient India, see Rhys David's Buddhist India, p. 174.

¹ Among other terms preserved in Sanskrit literature to indicate paramount sovereignty are:—Sārvabhauma (मार्चभोम), Rājarāja (राजराज), Visvarāt (चिश्वराट्), Chakravarttī (चक्रवर्ती), etc.

XXI

Next there were the well-known ceremonies in connection with the coronations of emperors. These were generally the Vājapeya and the Rājasūya, the accounts of which as preserved in Vedic literature demonstrate how firmly the conception of an Ekarāt (one-sovereign) India seized the popular mind. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa [V. 1, 1, 13] and also Kātyāyana Śrauta Sutra [XV. 1, 1, 2], the Vājapeya is the superior sacrifice because it bestows on the sacrificer paramount sovereignty (Sāmrājya), while the Rājasūya merely confers royal dignity (Rājya). In the words of the above-

¹ An interesting and informing article on "Rituals at Hindu Coronation: its Constitutional Aspects," by Mr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal, B.A. (Oxon), Bar.-at-Law, appeared in the *Modern Review* for January, 1912.

mentioned verse of the Śatapatha Brāhmana, "by offering the Rajasūya he becomes king, and by the Vajapeya (he becomes) emperor (Samrāj); and the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher; a king might indeed wish to become emperor, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher; but the emperors would not wish to become kings, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher."1 According, however, to other authorities, the Vajapeya is the preliminary ceremony performed by a king who is elected paramount sovereign by a number of petty rājās, this sacrifice being followed in due course by the installation and consecration ceremony, the Rajasuya. Thus, as laid down in Asvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra [IX. 9, 19], "after performing the

^{1 &}quot;राजा वै राजसूथेने द्वाभविति। सम्राङ्वाजपेथेनावरं हि राज्यं परं साम्राज्यं कामथेत वै राजा सम्राङ्भिवतुमवरं हि राज्यं परं साम्राज्यमः।"

Vājapeva a king may perform the Rājasūya." With this rule would seem to accord the relative values assigned to the two ceremonies in the Taittiriya Sanhitā [V. 6, 2, 1] and the Taittiriya Brāhmana [II. 7, 6, 1], according to which the Vājapeya is a Samrātsavā or consecration to the dignity of a paramount sovereign, while the Rājasūya is called a "Varunasavā," i.e., according to Sāyana, a consecration to the universal sway wielded by Varuna (cf. Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XV. 13, 4: "for it is Varuna whom they consecrate"). In much the same sense also we have doubtless to understand the rule in which Latyayana defines the object of the Vājapeya [VIII. 11, 1], viz., "Whomsoever the Brahmans and kings (or nobles) may place at their head, let him perform the Vājapeya." 1 Among the rites peculiar to the Vajapeya, the most

^{1 &}quot; यं ब्राह्मणा राजानस पुरस्तुवीरन् उ वाजपेयेन थजेत।"

interesting is the chariot race, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which the sacrifice derives its name. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer (the king-elect) and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother Earth, followed by the seating on the throne, the symbol of sovereignty, "for he gains a seat above others" [Śatapatha Brāhmana, V. 2, 1, 24]. The ascent to the throne as a symbol of kingship is also mentioned in the Atharvaveda [III. 1, 4, 2], where the throne is most felicitously described as the highest point in the body politic ("rāstrasya kakudi śrayasva"). The sacrificer is then duly proclaimed King 1: "All ruler is he. N. N.! All ruler is he, N. N.!" [Śatapatha Brāhmana, V. 2, 2, 15]. And also in the following

^{1 &}quot; समाडयमसी समाडयमसाविति निवेदितमे वैनमेतित् सन्तम ।"

words 1: "Thine is this state, thou art the ruler, the ruling lord—thou art firm and steadfast—to thee the state is given for agriculture, for well-being, for wealth, for prosperity, *i.e.*, for the welfare of the people, the common weal "[ibid. V. 2, 1, 25].

XXII

The Rājasūya, or inauguration of a king, was a more complex ceremony, which consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances spread over a period of upwards of two years. It is referred to in the Atharvaveda [IV. 8, 1; XI. 7, 7] and later literature such as Taittiriya Sanhitā [V. 6, 2, 1], Aitareya

1 "द्यं ते राड़िति राज्यमेवासिन्नेतद् द्धात्ययैनमासा-द्यति यनासि यमन द्रित यनारमेवैनमेतद् यमन मासां प्रजानां करोति भ्रुवोऽसि धरुण द्रित भ्रुवमेवैनमेतद् घरुणमिस्मंक्षोके करोति क्षये ला चेमाय ला र्यो ला पोषाय लेति साधवे लेत्येवैतदाइ।" Brāhmaṇa [V. 1, 1, 12], etc. The rite is described at great length in the Sutras, but its main features are clearly outlined in the Brāhmanas, especially in the Śatapatha, and also in Maitrāyaṇī Sańhitā [IV. 3, 1, etc.], Taittiriya Sańhitā [I. 8, 1, 1, etc.], while the verses used in the ceremony are preserved in the Sańhitās of the Yajurveda, e.g., Taittiriya Sańhitā [I. 8], Kāthaka Sańhitā [XV.], Maitrāyaṇī Sańhitā [II. 6], and Vājasaneyī Sańhitā [X.].

One of the most interesting features of the Rājasūya is the ceremony of the Ratnahavīńsi or jewel offerings. The recipients of these offerings, the ratninah, were all the essential officers of the state representing its principal departments: they are, metaphorically, the "jewels" in the crown of sovereignty. They are mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa [V. 3, 1, 3, etc.] in the following order: (1) Commander-in-chief (senanī); (2) the king's court chaplain (ytīfta); (3) the queen (मिक्सो); (4) the court-minstrel and

chronicler (स्त); (5) the head of the village community (यामणी); (6) the chamberlain (चन्); (7) the head of the treasury (संयह्रीह), which is explained by Sāyana as धनसंप्रहर्का को शाध्यत्त ; (8) the collector of taxes and revenue (भागद्रध); (9) the superintendent of dicing (अज्ञावापा); (10) the superintendent of games and forests (गो-निकर्त्तन), who, according to Sāyana, was the constant companion of the king in the chase; and (11) the courier (पालागल). There is another list given in the Taittiriya Sanhitā [I. 8, 9, 1, etc.] and Brāhmana [I. 7, 3, 1, etc.] which omits Go-nikartana and the courier and includes Rājanya. Likewise the Maitrāyanī Sairhitā [II. 6, 5; IV. 3, 8] mentions Rājan, Vaisyagrāmanī and Takṣa-ratha-kārau,¹

¹ The Ratha-kāra, chariot-maker, is mentioned in the Atharvaveda [iii. 5, 6] as one of those who are to be subjects to the king, and seems to be regarded generally as a representative of the industrial population. He is also referred to in the Yajurveda Sańhitās [e.g., Kā-thak, xvii. 13; Maitrāyanī, ii. 9, 5; Vājasaneyī, xvii. 17; xxx. 6] and in the Brahmanas [e.g., Taittiriya, i. 1, 4, 8; iii. 4, 2, 1; Śatapatha, xiii. 4, 2, 17], and in all these passages he seems to be of a formed caste.

i.e., the carpenter and chariot-maker (probably the representatives of industry). The Kāthaka Sanhitā [XVI. 4] also gives the same list, but substitutes Go-vyacha and omits Takṣa-ratha-kārau.

These lists were a development out of the simpler list given in the Atharvaveda [III. 5, 7] of the Rāja-kartris or Rāja-krits who, not themselves kings, aided in the consecration of the king. These were the Sūta, charioteer, the grāmanī, the village chief, and the people.1 The word Rāja-kartā in the Aitareya Brāhmana [VIII. 17, 5] is explained by the commentator to mean the king's father, brother, etc. It is, however, apparent from these lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function. The relation of jewels to the sovereign's

¹ Cf. Atharvaveda [iii. 1, 4, 2] :--

लां विशो राज्याय = "the people elect you to rulership." In Taittiriya Sanhitā [ii. 3, 1, 3] the Viś clearly means the people.

crown must also be implied to be the relation subsisting between the king on the one hand and the state functionaries and other popular representatives on the other. Each is necessary for the other.

The next interesting feature in the Rājasūya was the Abhisechanīyam, the consecration ceremony. It begins with the offerings to the Divine Quickeners, viz., Savitā Satyaprasava for righteous energy, Agni Grihapati for householders' prosperity, Soma Vanaspati for growth of trees (flora or agriculture), Brihaspati Vāk for power of speech, Indra for lordship, governing capacity, Rudra for cattle, Mitra for truth, and Varuna Dharmapati for protection of the law, since "that truly is the supreme state when one is lord of the law." Then follow the preparation of the consecration water, made up of no less than seventeen kinds (including the waters of dew, pond and sea); the sprinkling by a Brahman, a kinsman of the king-elect, a Ksatriya

nobleman (rājanya) and a Vaisya; the investing of the king with the consecration garments and with bow and arrows, three in number, as emblem of sovereignty, so as "to make all the quarters safe from arrows for him"; the announcements of the kingship to all classes of people, the Brahmans and Ksatriyas, priesthood and nobility, and even animate and inanimate nature; the ascending of the quarters, East, South, West, North and upper region, so that "he is high above everything here and everything here is below him"; the anointing with the following significant formula1: "Quicken him, O Gods, to be unrivalled for great chiefdom, for great lordship, for the government of the people whose king he is—this man, O ye

¹ असपलं सुवह्रसितीमं देवा अभाव्यं सुवद्धसित्येवैतदा सम्वतं चवाय महते च्येष्ठायेति नाच तिरोह्तिसेवास्ति महते जानराच्यायेति महते जानानां राज्यायेत्येवैतदा हेन्द्र-स्थेन्द्रियायेति वीर्यायेत्येवैतदा ह यदा हेन्द्रस्थेन्द्रियायेति ! [Śatapatha, v. 4, 2, 3.]

(Bharatāh in the Taittiriya Sanhitā), is your king . . . ! "

XXIII

Besides the Vājapeya and the Rājasūya, we find two other forms of the inauguration of great kings described in the Aitareya Brāhmana. They are called Punaravisekha and Aindra-mahābhisekha. The object of these special consecrations is thus described:—The priest who wishes that his Ksatriya king-elect should achieve all kinds of conquest, should know (by governing) all peoples, should attain to a position of leadership, precedence and superiority among kings, should secure sovereignty, a dominion of righteousness, absolute independence, highest distinction as a ruler, fulfilment of highest desires, the widest empire and highest authority, that he might be a universal overlord, with his powers reaching everywhere up to the limits of the sea, the sole master of his vast

dominion—such a priest should inaugurate the Kshatriya with Indra's great inauguration ceremony, demanding from him a promise on oath that he will lose everything, even the accumulated fruits of his good deeds, all he has, even his life, if he attempts violation of right and truth.¹

XXIV

The elaboration of the rituals connected with these imperial inaugurations,² which

- 1 चार्स सर्वेषां राज्ञां श्रेष्ठ्यमतिष्ठां परमतां गच्छीं साम्राज्यं भौज्यं खाराज्यं वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्यं राज्यं साहाराज्यं च्याधि-पत्यमदं समन्तपर्यायीस्यां सार्वभौनः सार्वायुष चान्तादा-पराद्वीत् पृथियौ समुद्रपर्यानाया एकराष्ट्रित ।
- ² Along with the ceremonies of the Vājapeya, Rājasūya, and Asvamedha should also be noticed the institution of Digvijaya, which was inseparable from the conception of a paramount sovereign in the popular Hindu mind. Sanskrit literature, epic, pauranic or classical, is full of references to this institution, and the more prominent examples of Digvijaya are those of Satrughna, Arjuna (see Jaimini Bhārata), Raghu (see Raghuvańsa), Pushpamitra (see Mālavikāgnimitra), Samudra Gupta, Harsavardhana, Gautamiputra Śatakarni, Pulakesi II., Lalitāditya of Kashmir (see Rāja-Tarangini), etc.

it is unnecessary to follow in greater detail for our present purpose, indicates without doubt the nature of the political environment in which it was developed, the height of the ideal which kingship in India had realised in practice. The geography of India has indeed partially influenced her history: her vast expanse had practically no limits in the eyes of the early settlers and colonisers; she was a world unto herself. An infinite stretch of territory produced a psychology, a philosophy that was easily dominated by a sense of the infinite and eternal. The Hindu Risi would recognise no limits to the development of his finite self. The Hindu king would also set no bounds to his political ambition. It was nothing short of universal sovereignty, which was reduced by the actualities of the objective environment into the sovereignty of the whole of India "up to the limits of

¹ For a similar sentiment, cf. Sister Niveditā's *The Web of Indian Life*, p. 143.

the ocean." The highest class in the hierarchy of Hindu kings was made up of those who were Asamudraksitīsa ("चामसुद्रचितीश"). As the Aitareya Brāhmana puts it: "Monarchy at its highest should have an empire extending right up to natural boundaries, it should be territorially all-embracing, up to the very ends uninterrupted, and should constitute and establish one state and administration in the land up to the seas" (VIII. 4, 1). Thus it was again his religion which put before the Hindu king the ideal of making the area of authority co-extensive with that of territory. The territorial synthesis leads the way to the political synthesis and is in turn emphasised by it.

XXV

Side by side with these ideals and conceptions of an all-India overlordship, the books also preserve for us traditional

lists of kings who are said to have succeeded in realising them in life—giving another proof that at least the conception of India, both as a political and geographical unit, was not foreign to Hindu consciousness. Such a list is to be found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa [VIII. 14, 4; 19, 2] and mentions the following great kings, each of whom achieved the singular distinction of "subjugating the whole country up to its farthest limits in every direction":—

- (1) Janamejaya Pārikṣita with his priest Tura Kāvaṣeya.
- (2) Śāryāta Mānava with his priest Chyavana Bhārgava.
- (3) Śatānīka Sātrájita with his priest Somaśusmā Vājaratnāyana.
- (4) Āmbāṣtḥya with his priests Parvata and Nārada.

¹ A comparative study of these lists in Sanskrit Literature will, however, tend to establish the historicity of these Indian great kings who preceded Chandragupta Maurya, the so-called *first* paramount sovereign of India. This should prove a very fruitful line of investigation.

- (5) Yudhāńśrausti Augrasenya with the priests Parvata and Nārada.
- (6) Visvakarmā Bhauvana with his priest Kaśyapa.
- (7) Sudās Paijavana with his priest Vasistha.
- (8) Marutta Āvikṣita with his priest Sańvarta.
- (9) Anga Vairochana with his priest Udamaya Ātreya. He is said to have made to his priests gifts of innumerable cows, 80,000 white horses, 10,000 elephants, etc.
- (10) Bharata Dausmanti with his priest Dīrghatamā Māmateya. He is also said to have given away (i) innumerable elephants of black colour with white tusks and golden trappings in the country of Masñāra; (ii) innumerable cows to 1000 Brahmins of the country named Sāchīguna. He is also said to have kept 78 horses in a place on the Yamunā, and 55 in the place named Vṛitraghṇa on the Ganges for purposes of his horse-sacrifices,

and thus subdued the enemy's power. As the heavens are inaccessible to human hands, so was the height of Bharata's achievements to all classes of men—viz., the Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and Nisādas (Sāyana). It was this Bharata after whom Bhāratavarṣa was named as mentioned above.

- (11) Durmukha Pāňchāla with his priest Brihaduktha.
- (12) Atyarāti Jānantapi with his priest Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya. This king was afterwards deprived of his power for his breach of faith with his priest and was killed by his enemy Śaivya Śuṣmiṇa. The land of Uttarakuru is also referred to as unconquerable in the story.

Besides the list of great kings in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa there is another list to be found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa [XIII. 5, 4] of kings who performed the horse-sacrifice and were therefore recognised as paramount sovereigns. For the Asvamedha, as is well known, involved

an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without courting humiliation. The ruling of the $\bar{A}pastamba$ Śrauta Sūtra [XX. 1, 1] on the point may be quoted: "A king governing the whole land [Śarvabhauma पार्वभोम] may perform the Asvamedhá." The

1 "राजा सार्व्यभौमो अमेधेन यजेत।"

The Asyamedha sacrifice was performed in the following manner:-"A horse of a particular colour was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies and was then turned loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative, followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph with all the vanguished Rajas in his train; but if he failed he was disgraced, and his pretensions ridiculed. After his successful return, a great festival was held at which the horse was sacrificed [Dowson, Classical Dict.]." In the Asvamedha of Yudhisthira the horse is guarded in its year's roaming by Arjuna, who first presses eastwards towards the sea, then turning southwards along the eastern shore as far as the extreme point of the peninsula, turns northwards on the homeward way, passing along the western coast.

list of these Asvamedhins is given as follows:—

- Janamejaya Pāriksita with his Risi Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka.
 - 2. Bhimasena
 - 3. Ugrasena the Pāriksitas.
 - 4. Śrutasena
 - 5. Para Ātnāra, the Kausalya king.
 - 6. Purukutsa, the Aikṣāka king.
- 7. Marutta Aviksita, the Āyogava king.
- 8. Kraivya, the Pāñchāla king ("the Pāñchāla overlord of the Krivis").

The historical list of Asvamedhins includes the following names: (1) Pushyamitra [see Mālavikāgnimitra Act V.]; (2) Samudragupta [see Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II., L. 5; Bilsad Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta, L. 2, &c.]; (3) Kumāragupta I. and (4) Adityasena [see V. A. Smith's Early History of India, p. 295]. On some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudragupta, there occurs the legend asvamedha-parākramah (अअमेप-पराजम) "he who has displayed prowess by a horse-sacrifice." [See J. A. S. B. Volume LIII., Part I., p. 175 ff, and Pl. ii., No. 9; and Arch. Sur. West. Ind., Vol. II., p. 37f., and Pl. vii., No. 4.] Pulakesi I., the Chalukyan King, is also said to have performed a great Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice. [See Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan, p. 37.]

- 9. Dhvasan Dvaitavana, the king of the Matsyas.
- 10. Bharata Dauhsanti ("who attained that wide sway which now belongs to the Bharatas"). He is said to have bound 78 steeds on the Yamunā and 55 near the Gangā and conquered the whole earth (cf. Aitareya Br. above).
 - 11. Rișava Yājñātura.
 - 12. Sātrāsāha, the Pāñchāla king.
 - 13. Śatānīka Sātrājita.

The Śankhāyana Śrauta Sutra [XVI. 9] also preserves a similar list of Asvamedhins, which includes the following kings:—

Pāriksitas.

- 1. Janamejaya
- 2. Ugrasena
- 3. Bhīmasena
- 4. Śrutasena
- 5. Risava Yājnātura.
- 6. Vaideha Alhāra.
- 7. Marutta Āviksita.

XXVI

These lists of great kings preserved in Vedic literature are also supplemented by other lists in the Puranas and other works. The Kūrma Purāna [XX. 31] mentions King Vasumanā; the Padma Purāna mentions King Dilīpa and his predecessors Manu, Sagara, Marutta and Yayāti [IV. 110-118]; while the Agni Purāna [ch. 219, 50-51] mentions Prithu, Dilīpa, Bharata, Valī, Malla, Kakustha, Yuvanāsva, Jayadratha, Māndhātā, Muchukunda, Pururayāh, The Brahma Purāna mentions Pururavāh, who is called Prithivipati 1 (प्रियवीपति), Bhima, called Rājarāt,2 Yayāti,3 who subdued the earth up to the seas, Kārtavīrya-Arjuna.4 who is called Samrātchakravarttī. Brahmanda Purāna mentions Prithu.5 The Mārkandeya mentions Pururavāh 6

¹ X. 9. ² X. 13. ³ XII. 18.

⁴ XIII. 174. ⁵ LXIX. 1, 2, 3. ⁶ CXI. 13.

as Chakravarttī and Marutta.¹ The Śiva Purāņa mentions Chitraratha,2 Prithu 3 as Chakravarttī, and Hariśchandra 4 as The Linga Purana mentions Samrāt. Yayāti, Kārtavīrya-Arjuna, Śaśavinda, and Uśanā.8 The Skanda-Purāna mentions Kārtavīrya⁹ as Samrāt Chakravarttī. The Bhagavata Purana mentions Mandhātā 10 and Sagara 11 as Chakravarttī and Muchukunda 12 as Akhandabhūmipa. The Devīpurāna uses the word Ekarāt 13 in respect of a Daitya named Ghora. The Visnu-purāna mentions Sagara,14 Chandra,15 Bharata,16 Mahāpadma Nanda,17 and Chandragupta. 18 The Vāyu mentions Sagara, 19 Kārtavīrya-Arjuna 20 and Uśanā. 21 The Matsya mentions Pururavāh 22 and Puru,23 the son of Yayāti.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 65, 66.
<sup>1</sup> CXXXII, 3, 4.
                           <sup>2</sup> XXIV. 34, 35.
                                                      6 LXVIII.
                           <sup>5</sup> LXVI.
4 LXI. 21.
<sup>7</sup> LXVIII.
                  <sup>8</sup> Ibid. <sup>9</sup> Pravāsa-khanda, XX. 11, 12.
                                                       12 X. li. 14.
10 IX, vi. 34.
                            11 Ibid. 4.
<sup>18</sup> II. 39.
                            <sup>14</sup> III. iv. 17.
                                                       15 VI. iv. 6.
                            17 XXIV. iv. 5.
                                                      18 XXIV. iv. 7.
16 XIX. iv. 2.
19 LXXXVIII. 144.
                                                      20 XCIV, 9.
<sup>21</sup> XCV. 23.
                            <sup>22</sup> XXIV. 11.
                                                      <sup>23</sup> XXXIV. 25.
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The Mahābhārata in many places refers to the great Indian kings of old. A complete enumeration of them is contained in the Santiparva [ch. XXIX.], where the following kings are named:—

- 1. Marutta, son of Aviksita.
- 2. Suhotra, son of Atithi.
- 3. Brihadratha, the King of the Angas.
- 4. Śivi, the son of Uśinara, "who swayed the whole earth as one sways the leathern shield, and the wheels of whose victorious chariot rolled unopposed over the whole earth, who brought the whole earth under one authority," 1 etc.
- 5. Bharata, the son of Dusmanta and Sakuntalā, who, as stated above

1 य इमां प्रथिवीं सर्व्यां चर्मावत् समवेष्टयत् । मह्ता रथवोषेण प्रथिवीमनुनादयन् । एकच्छवां महीं चक्रे जैविणैकरथेन यः॥ in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, sacrificed three hundred horses on the banks of the Yamunā, twenty on the Sarasvatī, and fourteen on the Gangā.¹

- 6. Rāma, son of Daśaratha.
- 7. Bhagiratha of Iksāku dynasty.
- 8. Dilīpa.
- 9. Māndhātā, son of Yuvanāśva, who subdued the whole earth and vanquished the following kings, viz., Angāra, Marutta, Asita, Gaya and Brihadratha, the King of the Angas,² and on whose wide empire "the sun never sets."
 - 10. Yayāti, son of Nahūsa, who con-

¹ थो वद्धा विश्रतं चाश्वान् देवेश्यो यमुनामनु सरस्वतीं विश्रति च लङ्गामनु चतुर्द्शः॥

[46]

² तिमिमं प्रथिवी सर्वी एकाझासमपदात । यश्वाङ्गारस्तु नृपतिं मक्त्तमसितं गयम् । अङ्गं वृद्धद्यवद्ये मान्याता समरेऽजयत् ॥

यच ऋर्यं उदेतिसा यच च प्रतितिष्ठति । सर्वे तद्यीवनायसा सान्यातुः चेचमुचते ॥

[87, 88, 90]

quered the whole earth up to the seas and performed a hundred Vājapeyas.¹

- 11. Ambarīṣa, the son of Nābhāga, the king of innumerable kings.²
 - 12. Śaśavindu, the son of Chitraratha.
 - 13. Gaya, the son of Amurtharayas.
 - 14. Rantideva, son of Saukriti.
- 15. Sagara of Ikṣāku dynasty, whose sway extended over the whole earth.³
 - 16. Prithu, the son of Vena.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya also gives expression to the conception of an all-India overlord and a list of kings who

1 य इसां प्रथिवीं कत्सां विजित्य पर मागराम्।
* * *

यभजत् प्रथिवीं कत्सां ययातिनी छवाताजः॥ [94, 97]

² यः सन्नसं सन्नसाणां राज्ञामयुत्रयः जिनाम्।

श्रतं राजसच्चाणि श्रतं राजश्रतानि च सर्वेऽश्वमेधेरीजानासेऽन्वयुई चिणायनम् ॥ [101, 103]

³ एकच्छ्**चा मद्दी यस्य प्रतापादभवत् पुरा**। [182]

realised that ideal. The paramount sovereign is called chāturantorājā (चातुरनो राजा) [Mysore edition, p. 11], i.e., whose dominion extends up to the farthest limits in the four quarters of the country; he is also represented as governing the whole country with none to dispute his right (" अनन्यां प्रथिवीं भुंत्ते") [ibid.]. His dominion (chakravarti kṣetram चन्नवर्त्तिचेत्रम्) is specially defined as the country between the Himalayas and the ocean, which is an evident reference to Chandragupta's sovereignty िचिनवत् ममुद्रान्तरं चक्रवर्त्तिचेचं (Mysore ed., p. 33)]. There is a list of kings which includes the following names: (1) Dandyakya-Bhoja, (2) Vaideha-karāla, (3) Janamejaya, (4) Tālajangha, (5) Aila, (6) Ajavindu-Sauvira, (7) Rāvaṇa, (8) Duryodhana, (9) Dambodbhava, (10) Haihaya-Arjuna, (11) Vātāpi. These kings all failed to be great because of their want of self-control and subjection of the senses. Among the successful

great kings are named Ambarīṣa and Nābhāga [see pp. 11, 12, Mysore ed.].

XXVII

Following this long line of great Indian kings we come across the illustrious name of Yudhisthira, who proclaimed his overlordship and paramount-power before the Imperial Durbar at Indraprastha, to which were invited kings from the remotest parts of India and beyond to render him homage and realise the unity of that vast empire into which were federated their smaller kingdoms. For the Mahābhārata preserves for us a picture of India that was divided politically into innumerable small states, kingdoms and republics, whose mutual jealousies and animosities afterwards culminated in the Great War of the Mahäbhārata. It was left to the superior power of Yudhisthira to arrest these disruptive tendencies for a time by the evolution of a peaceful confederation

in which every state was kept in its proper sphere and orbit to promote the larger life of the whole. That this task of political reconstruction was not an easy one, that the ancient Śāstric ideal of kingship of bringing the whole country "up to the sea" under the yoke of a common authority was difficult to achieve was thus recognised by Yudhisthira [Sabhā parva, XV. 2]: "There are kings everywhere living independently, doing what they like, but they have not attained to the rank of emperor, for that appellation is difficult to obtain." 1 The situation was indeed full of difficulties. There were powerful kings on every side aiming at overlordship. To the north there was Hastināpura, the capital of the Kurus. To the east Mathurā was held by a powerful sovereign. To the south the King of Mālava was a standing menace,

[&]quot;ग्रहे ग्रहे हि राजानः सस्य सस्य प्रियंकराः।
न च साम्राज्यसाप्तासे सम्राट्शव्यो हि क्टच्ल्रभाक्॥"

and to the west there was the principality of Virāṭa equally ambitious. There were other mighty kings in different parts of India, but the most powerful of them was Jarāsandha, King of Magadha, who aspired to suzerainty. His subjugation was the first achievement of the Pandus in their career of an all-India conquest, and four grand military expeditions were then organised, one to proceed to each quarter of India. Arjuna assumed the command of the northern advance, and to his might fell victims the Kulindas, the Kālakutas, the Avarthas, the Śvākala-dvipis; Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotisa; the Himalayan chiefs such as those of Uluka, Modapura, Vainadeva, Sudāman, Susankula, Devaprastha, etc.; also the Kirātas and the Arjuna then turned towards the west through Kashmir to Balkh and, on his way back, through Kamboja, Darada, etc. Across the Himalayas were encountered the kings of Kimpilla-varsa and Hālaka near Mānasa lake and, lastly,

Uttarakuru. The second expedition was led by Bhima towards the east, subduing Drupada, Daśārna, the Pulindas, Chedi, Kosala, Ayodhyā, Uttara Kosala, Urulla and the Terai; then Kasi, the Matsyas, the Maladas, Madadhāras, the Vatsabhumiyas, the Bhangas, the Santakas and Varmakas, and several Kirāta and other races. Mithila courted alliance and Magadha paid tribute. Then the country of Karna (Bhagalpur) was subdued and subsequently the petty chiefs of Vanga. The southern advance was under Sahadeva, who similarly marched victorious through many petty kingdoms and, crossing the Narmada, passed through Kiskindhā, Mahismati to Southern India, securing the allegiance of Dravida, Sarabhipattanam, Tāmra island, Timingila (the country of the whale), Kalinga, Andhra, Udra, Kerala, Tālavana, Ceylon and other places. On his way home, he passed along the western coast through Surat to Guzrat, and finally

returned home, laden with wealth and presents. Nakula, leading the western expedition, passed through Rohitaka and thence Southern Rajputana to Mahettha, Sivi, Trigarta, Ambastha, Mālava, Pañchkaiphatas, Mādhyamaka, Vatadhāna; thence he turned towards Puṣkara and, through the Abhira country, marched on to the Punjab and encountered in the north-west the Pallavas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas and the Śakas, from all of whom he obtained valuable presents and acknowledgment of allegiance.

Thus the whole of India for the time resounded with the din of the conquering marches of the Pāṇḍavas asserting the authority of a superior power; the whole country was united in submission to a sovereign claiming its homage and alliance. India once again was imagined and used as a political unit; the different parts were integrated into a federal whole: the separated lives

of the provinces were united in a common life.

XXVIII

The story of Yudhisthira known to every Hindu has accordingly immensely popularised the old Vedic conception of an all-India sovereignty of which Yudhisthira was such a prominent embodiment. The idea became one of the current political notions of the ancient Hindus, not a subject of thought but an integral part of thought. It lost none of its strength in later times. It had sufficient vitality to stamp its impress on the earliest Buddhist thought. We are generally familiar with the influences of Hinduism on Buddhism; we know how Buddhism is rooted deep in the religious speculation of the Hindus. But we do not know that some of the fundamental religious conceptions of the Buddhists were inspired by Hindu political thought as distinguished from Hindu religious thought.

For the early Buddhist ideas of the Buddha were dominated by the then prevailing Hindu ideal of the chakravarti Rājā to which the Buddha was always thought and described to conform. The Hindu ideal was understood by the Buddhists and explained in the early Suttas to be that of "a King of Kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, invincible, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures." ¹

The first of these treasures was the treasure of the wheel which is represented to roll onwards, like the sun in old Vedic poetry, to the very extremities of the world conquering and to conquer.² The

¹ Mahā-Sudassana Sutta in S. B. E., Vol. xi., p. 248.

² Cf. Rig-veda [vii. 32, 20]: "The much-lauded Indra I incline by means of the song as a cartwright bends the rim of a wheel made of good wood"; and also [i. 32, 35] "the lightning in his hand rules over all men as the rim of a wheel embraces the spokes." In the Sutta the wheel is represented to have rolled towards the East, South, West and North followed by the Emperor to whom "all rival kings became subject."

second treasure of the King of Kings is the white elephant which can carry its master across the broad earth to its very ocean boundary like the Airavata of Indra, "the personification of the great white, fertilising rain-cloud so rapid in its passage before the winds of the monsoon over the vault of heaven." The third treasure was the treasure of the horse, probably also derived from the Vedic "charger-King whose name was thundercloud." The fourth was the treasure of the gem called the Veluriya (from which the word beryl is probably derived), "the splendour of which spread round about a league every side," like the jewel of lightning with which Indra in the Vedas slays the demon of darkness. Fifthly, the King of Kings is the possessor of a pearl among women; and the two last treasures are a treasurer and an adviser, faithful servants, like the pearl among women, of the king of kings.

Such a king of kings the early Bud-

dhists saw in Buddha who became the ruler of a supernatural world,¹ an empire of truth; whose wheel was the wheel of the Dharma which the King of Righteousness himself had set rolling onwards, that wheel which will roll over all the world, unchecked in its course; whose Prime Minister was his chief disciple Śariputta; and whose teaching, like rain cloud, rained down the ambrosia of bliss, fertilising right desires, extinguishing the fires of lust, hatred and ignorance.

Thus the old Hindu conception of a paramount overlordship having reference to an actual empire was seized by early Buddhist thought to describe its achievement which resulted in the foundation of an ideal empire, the empire of righteousness in the hearts of men. The Hindu Chakravarttī was he who made

¹ Cf. Selasutta in Suttanipāta [III. 7, 7]: "A King am I, Sela, the King Supreme Of Righteousness. The royal chariot wheel In righteousness do I set rolling on—that wheel that no one can turn back again."

the wheels of his chariot roll unopposed over all the world; the wheel was the symbol of his power. But Buddha was a different kind of Chakravarttī: he who set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness. His wheel was the symbol not of power but of Dharma. His work is accordingly described as Dhamma chakkappavattana, which is the name given to the famous Sutta in which is embodied the very essence of Buddha's teachings.¹

XXIX

It is thus abundantly clear that in the days of ancient Buddhism the whole of India was comprehended as a single territory to be brought within the scope of one all-embracing authority though the conception was expanded and idealised by Buddhist religious fervour. And

¹ See Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lecture*, pp. 129 and 4, *Buddhism*, pp. 45, 46, 220, and S. B. E., Vol. XI.

Chandra Gupta was thus not the first to conceive and realise the ideal of paramount sovereignty, but only came into the possession of a rich inheritance which his genius utilised and improved to the fullest extent. His success naturally contributed a good deal to the strength and popularity of the ideal he represented and realised. The problem "How can a king become a king of kings?" soon became a favourite familiar topic of discussion in the ancient schools of political thought. It gave rise to much scientific, systematic speculation, which was embodied in the theory of the Mandala or Circle of Kings as outlined in the works on Nīti-Śāstra. We find expositions of this theory both in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya and the Nīti-Sāra of Kāmandaka in which there are also references to earlier authorities. The theory postulates the natural inevitable desire of small kings to become great and finds in that instinct the regulative principle or law

which rules the political world in almost the same sense as gravitation rules the physical; which determines the evolution of states and the growth of empires and establishes a stable equilibrium and a balance of power.

The whole country is conceived of as a political circle (मण्डल) at the centre of which is the head (मण्डलाधिम), who is technically called Vijigīsu (विजिमीप), the would-be conqueror, who is to emerge as the paramount power dominating the system, who "shines in his sphere like the full moon." The normal political circle is that formed by twelve kings, including the central victorious king or sovereign, round whom are ranged, both in the front and rear, nine subordinate kings in varying degrees of friendliness and hostility, and two neutral kings (called

रथी विराजते राजा विग्राहे मखले चरन् रोचते सर्वभूतेभ्यः ग्रागीवाखण्डमण्डलः।

¹ Kamandaki, VIII. 2, 3.

² सर्वें हो कप्रतीतं तु स्फुटं द्वादशराज्यकम्—[Ibid. 41.]

सध्यम and उदामीन). This confederation of twelve kingdoms connected with one another by all possible kinds of political relationship is regarded as an approximation to the actual state of things, a map of the actual political situation, showing also its possible developments due to all conceivable changes of attitude of the component units. Thus the variations of the normal political system have been noticed by the ancient authors of polity. Kautilya mentions a confederation or circle of three kings who may constitute a "sphere of influence"; Maya 2 of four kings (चतुष्कमण्डल); Pulomā 3 of six kings; Brihaspati of eighteen kings; and Visalāksa 5 of fifty-four kings, and so forth. Thus the central monarch will find his sphere of action embracing both friendly and hostile kingdoms,6 but if he is self-

^{1 &}quot; विजिगीपूर्मिनं मिनमिनं वाश्स्य प्रकातयः तिसः।" [Arthasāstra, VI. ii. 17.]

² Kāmandaki, VIII. 20.

³ Ibid. 71. ⁴ Ibid. 26. ⁵ Ibid. 28.

⁶ Ibid. 21: " आकी ए मण्डलं सर्व्व मिनैररिभिरेव च।"

possessed, strong in all the elements of sovereignty, he is bound to achieve preeminence and attain to suzerainty (" एके बर्ध ")¹ by his superior policy and statecraft, which by a proper manipulation of the various political forces can easily render his own position invincible, supreme and paramount.²

¹ Arthasāstra, V., vi., 14, 15. The "elements of sovereignty" are "खास्रात्यजनपद्दुर्गको सद्खिमचाणि," i.e., the king, the minister, the country (which by the way should have capital cities both in the centre and the extremities of the kingdom—" सधे चाने च स्थानवान"), the fort, the treasury, the army, and the ally.

² Cf. Kāmandaki, VIII. 83:

इति स राजा नयवर्त्तना वजन् समुद्यमी मण्डलग्राहिकाचरन्। विराजते साधु विग्राह्मण्डलः ग्ररक्णिव प्रतिनन्दयन् प्रजाः॥

Also Arthaśāstra, VI. i. 17:

" खात्मवांस्त्तत्त्वयदेशोशीप युक्तः प्रक्तति-सम्पद्।। नयजः प्रथिवीं कत्सां जयत्येव न हीयते॥" Again [VI. ii. 17]:

नेमिमेकानारान् राज्ञः काला चाननारानरान् नामिमात्सानमायच्चेत् नेता प्रकातिमाखले ॥ ("The leader of the confederation or circle of states

XXX

But the ideal of a paramount sovereign dominating the whole of India, besides expressing itself in literature, utters itself in no uncertain tones through some of the early Indian epigraphic records. Thus the term Mahārāja (अवस्था), lit., a great king, was used as one of the titles of paramount sovereignty by Kaniska, Huviska, and Vāsudeva, who, there is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 39, and 83. It is also used, in conjunction with the higher title of Rājātirāja, "superior king of kings," by the same three kings in their inscriptions

will make himself the nave of a wheel, of which the rim or circumference will be formed by the combination of friendly chiefs (lit., those kings who are separated from the central king by another king) and the spokes by the inimically inclined chiefs and will thus control the whole system.")

¹ Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., p. 31, Pl. XIII., No. 4; p. 32, Pl. XIV., No. 9; and p. 34, Pl. XV., No. 16.

of the years 11, 47, and 87.1 In still earlier days the same title Mahārāja, in conjunction sometimes with the title Rājātirāja, and sometimes with Rājarāja (राजराज), "king of kings" (the two together being equivalent to the Greek basileus basileon), was used on the bilingual coins of Hemokadphises² (in conjunction with Rājātirāja) and of Azes³ (in conjunction with Rājarāja). It was also used by itself to represent the Greek basileus on the coins of Hermaeus. The title Rājādhirāja occurs by itself on some of the coins of Maues 4 and in conjunction with the title Mahārājā on some of the coins of Azes,5 while Rājātirāja occurs in the same sense but coupled with Mahārāja in the Mathura inscription of Huviska 6

¹ Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., p. 33, Pl. XIV., No. 12 and p. 35, Pl. XV., No. 18.

² Gardner and Poole's *Catalogue* of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 124 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 73 ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17.

⁵ Ibid., p. 85 ff., Nos. 138, 140, and 157.

⁶ Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., p. 33, No. 12, and Pl. XIV.

of the year 47 and of Vāsudeva¹ of the year 87.

In the inscriptions of the Guptas the following titles are used to indicate supreme paramount sovereignty, viz., Mahārājādhirāja (महाराजाधिराज), Parameśvara (परमेश्वर), Paramabhattāraka (परमगद्दारक), Rājādhirāja (राजाधिराज) and Chakravartin (पलवर्षिन). Thus the Allahabad posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta refers to him as "the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Samudragupta," and to his "conquest of the whole world." It also refers to him as "the son of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta I." and "the Mahādevi Kumāradevi," and

Mahadevi was a technical title of the wives of paramount sovereigns along with Paramabhattārikā and Rājūī [cf. Mandar Hill Inscriptions of Ādityasena, Nos. 44 and 45 and Deo. Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II., No. 46 in Corpus. Ins. Ind., Vol. III.].

[ं] Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., p. 35, No. 18, and Pl. XV.

""... महाराजाधिराजनी-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुचस्य-महादेखांकुमार-दयां - उत्पन्नस्य-महाराजाधिराज-त्री-समुद्रगुप्तस्थसर्व्यथिवो - विजय - जनितोद्य - याप्त - निखिसावणीतस्म ..."

also to Chandragupta II. as Paramabhattāraka.¹ The Eran stone inscription of Samudragupta compares him with the great ancient monarchs Prithu and Rāghava,² and refers to his subjugation of "the whole tribe of kings upon the earth." §

The Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to him as Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. The Mathurā stone inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to both Samudragupta and Chandragupta I. as Mahārājādhirāja, and to himself as the exterminator of all kings, who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world and whose fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans, and who was the restorer of the

¹ L. 33 of the inscription.

² L. 8—"न्पत्यः प्रथ्-राघवाद्याः..."

³ L. 11-" पार्थिव-गणसाकलः प्रथियां..."

⁴ L. 1, 2,—

[&]quot;सर्व्याजोच्चेनुः प्रथियामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुद्धिस-स्त्रिसा-स्वादित-यम्मो ..." L.5—"चन्नभेधाचर्नुं..."

asvamedha-sacrifice that had been long in abeyance. The Sanchi stone inscription of Chandragupta II. also refers to him as Mahārājādhirāja, who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles.1 Another Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to the purchasemoney of his prowess which bought the earth and made slaves of all kings,2 and uses the epithet Rājādhirāja. The Gadhwa stone inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to him as Mahārājādhirāja.3

Kumaragupta is referred to as Mahārājadhirāja in the two Gadhwa stone inscriptions 4; also in the Bilsad stone pillar inscription,5 which applies the epithet to his ancestors Chandragupta II.,6 Samudragupta, and Chandragupta I.,

¹ L. 4---"... चनेक-समरावाप्त-विजय-यग्रस्-पताकाः..." ² L. 2— " विक्रम-चावक्रय-क्रीड़ादास्य-न्यक्मृत-पार्थिवा . . . " ³ L. 1 and L. 10.

⁴ L. 1 in both the inscriptions. ⁵ L. 5. ⁷ L. 4. 6 L. 6.

and makes a special reference to Samudragupta as the restorer of Asvamedha sacrifice. The Mankuwur stone image inscription of Kumāragupta, however, refers to him only as a Mahārāja, which was then a subordinate feudatory title, either by a mistake or because of the reduction of Kumāragupta to feudal rank by the Pusyamitras and the Hunas. The Mandasor stone inscription also refers to Kumāragupta as reigning over the whole earth.

Skandagupta is called Mahārājādhirāja in the Bihar stone inscription,³ which repeats the usual ancestral references and exploits. The Bhitari stone pillar inscription refers to him as the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Guptas,⁴ who by his conquests "subju-

¹ L. 2—"... असमेधा हर्नु:..."

^{2 &}quot; प्रथिवीं प्रशासनि "-L. 13.

⁸ L. 22.

⁴ L. 7—"...गुप्तवंशीकवीरः..."

gated the earth," and repeats the ancestral exploits. The Junagadh rock inscription calls him Rājarājādhirāj,2 who "made subject to himself the whole earth bounded by the waters of the four oceans," 3 who "destroyed the height of the pride of his enemies and appointed protectors in all the countries; 4 who is the banner of his lineage, the lord of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings," 5 etc. The Kahaum stone pillar inscription refers to him as the lord of a hundred kings, "whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (in the act of performing

¹ L. 14—"... यो वाज्ञभ्यामवर्णी विजित्य..."

² L. 2.

³ "...चतुरुद्धिजलानं-स्कीत-पर्यन्तदेशं श्रवनीम-वनतारिर्याः..."

⁴ L. 6—''... एवं स जिला प्रथिवीं समग्रां-भग्नाग्रद्पीन्-द्विषतस्-क्रला-सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोगृन..."

⁶ L. 24—" दप्तारिदर्पप्रणुदः ष्टष्ट्रियः - खवं सकेतोः -सकलावनी-पतेः—राजाधिराच्याङ्गत-पुष्णकर्माणः…."

obeisance) of the heads of those hundred kings." The *Indor copper-plate inscription* of Skandagupta applies to him the titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja, and speaks of his "augmenting victorious reign." ²

The Meherauli posthumous iron pillar inscription of Chandra refers to him as having attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world and "the breezes of his prowess by which the southern ocean is even still perfumed," who crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Vāhlikas.³

The Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Yasordharman describes him as a paramount sovereign holding sway over a large

¹ L. 1—" यस्रोपस्थानभूभिर्नृपतिश्रतश्रिरः पातवाता-वधूत..." L. 3—चितिपश्रतपतेः..."

 $^{^2}$ L. 3—"... परमभद्दारक - महाराजाधिराज - श्री- स्क्रान्यगुप्तस्थाभि - वर्ष्ट्रमाण - विजयराज्य..."

³ L. 2—"तीर्जा मप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जितावा ह्नितायसादाप्यधिवास्त्रते जल्जिधिवीर्थानिर्लर्देचिणः।" L. 5—"... रेकाधिराज्यं चितो...।"

part of India from the river Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the mountain Mahendra. He is described as falling but little short of Manu and Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātri, the great kings of old, in whom the title of "universal sovereign" shines most.¹

Another Mandasor stone inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana applies to him the titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramesvara, and refers to his subjection of many mighty kings of the east and north.²

The long Alina copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII. applies the epithets Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Chakravartin to Dharasena IV. and the first three epithets to

¹ L. 3—''... स त्रेथो-धाम्ति-सम्राडिति मनु-भर-तालकामान्धात्वकचे कल्याणे हेम्ति भाखन्-मणिरिव सुतरां भाजते यव ग्रब्दः।"

² L.6—"...प्राचो नृपान् सुवृहतास वज्जनुदीचाः साम्ना युधा च वश्गान् प्रविधाय येन नामापरं जगति कान्तमदो दुरापंराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर इत्युदूड्ड्म्।"

Śilādityadeva III., Śilādityadeva IV., Śilādityadeva V., Śilādityadeva VI., and Śilādityadeva VII.

The Mandar Hill rock inscription of Adityasena applies to him the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

The Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivita-Gupta II. uses the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramesvara in respect of Devaguptadeva, Visnuguptadeva and Jivitaguptadeva II.

The Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsavardhana applies the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja to Prabhākaravardhana, Rajyavardhana II., and Harsavardhana.

The copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta discovered at Gayā repeats the paramount title Mahārājādhirāja and the achievements of Samudragupta and his ancestors.

Some of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India con-

tain references to titles of paramount sovereignty used by some successful kings. In the longest of the four inscriptions at Nasik of Gotamiputra 1 Śātakarni and Pulumāyi, Gotamiputra is spoken of as "king of kings," whose exploits rivalled those of Rāma, Kesava, Arjūna, Bhimasena: whose prowess was equal to that of Nābhāga, Nahūsa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarīsa. The inscriptions of Pulakeśi II. (A.D. 611-634) show his assumption of the imperial title Paramesvara, lord paramount. Dantidurga, the Rāshtrakuta monarch who overthrew the Chalukyas, and his son Krisnarāja is spoken of in their copper-plate grants as having become paramount sovereigns. Their successor, Govinda III., is also made out by his Baroda copper-plate grant to have been a paramount king making and unmaking subordinate kings.

Some of the Bengal Pāla kings also

Arch, Sur. W. Ind., No. 26.

used paramount titles of sovereignty as shown by their inscriptions. Thus a Nalanda inscription refers to Gopāla as Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhiraja Parameśvara. Another of Buddha Gayā speaks of "Paramabhattāraka — Śrimān Mahipāla Deva." In a copper-plate inscription at Monghyr Gopāla is called "king of the world" and "likened unto Prithu, Sagara and others."

XXXI

Thus early Hindu history unmistakably shows that the political consciousness of the people had from very early times grasped the whole of India as a unit, and assimilated the entire area as the theatre of its activities. But the tide of life that was pulsating through India from end to

¹ Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., pp. 114, 120, 122. There are many other Pāla and other inscriptions in which there is a reference to paramount sovereignty or mention of paramount titles. It is needless for our purposes to refer to them all.

end, unifying and integrating its parts and varieties into one mighty organism, came inevitably in course of time to overflow its original geographical limits and spread itself over other lands. Indeed, there can hardly be a more convincing proof of the reality and strength of Indian unity than the story of Indian colonising activity and the gradual development of a Greater India across the seas. This is not the proper place 1 and occasion for the unfolding of that interesting history in all its details which is still one of the unillumined chapters of Indian history, and I content myself with stating here only the general conclusions and facts that stand out clear and definite. India for centuries sent out streams of colonists and emigrants to countries in the Far East, including Pegu, Siam, and Cambodia on the mainland. and to Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo

¹ The writer has under preparation a work on Greater India. See chapters in his History of Indian Shipping, etc. (Longmans, London), apposite to the subject.

among the islands of the Malay Archipelago, and "the reality of the debt due to India by those distant lands is attested abundantly by material remains, by the existence to this day of both the Buddhist and Brahmanical religions in the island of Bali to the east of Java, by Chinese history and by numerous traditions preserved in India, Pegu, Siam and the Archipelago." This colonising activity resulted in the practical Indianisation of the countries touched by it—the transplantation, and in some cases reproduction, of Indian art, institutions and even

¹ V. A. Smith's A History of Fine Art, etc., p. 259.

² In Java the forms of art are thoroughly Indian in subject and style (see V. A. Smith's A History of Fine Art, etc., pp. 259 and ff.). Of the monument of Borobudur, presenting no less than 2,000 bas-reliefs, the best reliefs, numbering more than 200, are arranged in two series, of which the upper presents in easily recognisable stone pictures the life of Buddha as told in the ancient Sanskrit work Lalita Vistara, while the lower has been proved to be an illustration of scenes from the Divyā-vadāna and other Buddhist romances, including some of the Jātakas. As regards other monuments, the following remarks of Mr. Sewell may be quoted: "Brambanam and Chandisewa are to all external

geographical names.¹ It is well known that some of the triumphs and master-pieces of India Art exist outside India in those countries which came within her

¹ According to Fergusson, the name Cambodia was given to a portion of Cochin-China by immigrants from Kamboja, i.e., from the Kabul valley. Among other geographical names introduced into Java and Cambodia may be mentioned Gandhara, Taxila, Hastinagara or Hastinapura, Rumadesa (apparently the South Punjab), Ayodhya (the capital of Siam), and Intha-patha-puri (Indraprastha), the later capital of Cambodia.

appearances purely Brahmanical, though we learn on examination that Brahma, Visnu and Siva were there held to be Bodhisattvas and not gods. And this is the case everywhere in Eastern Java, the temples being mostly Hindu in type (though always with a difference), and having statues adapted generally from Brahmanical originals."

The ruins at Angkor-Wat in Cambodia are also distinctively of ancient Indian origin.

Siamese annals date from a.D. 685, the colonisation from India of Burma, Pegu, Siam and Cambodia. In Cambodia, however, the earliest recorded Indian ruler was Srutavarman in the middle of the fifth century, followed by Bhavavarman, who founded many temples in honour of Indian deities, especially Siva, at which daily readings of the epics and Puranas were held. Indian influence was at its height in Cambodia in the sixth century [Kern quoted by V. A. Smith, A History of Fine Art, etc., p. 261]. Traditions of the migrations from India to Indo-China date them from a much earlier

influence, while the ideas and institutions travelled with the spread of Buddhism,

The earliest is the mythic account of the conversion of Indo-China to Buddhism before the time Probably the eastward colonisation was of Asoka. originally begun by the Dravidians in the pre-Christian era and continued in subsequent periods. Next, a migration in the first century A.D. of Yavanas or Śakas from Tamluk or Ratnāvati on the Hugli is in agreement with the large number of Indian place-names recorded by Ptolemy (A.D. 160) [see Hunter's Orissa, I. 310]. Of this migration Hiuen Tsang's name, Yavana (Yen-mo-na), for Cambodia, may be a trace [Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsang, xxxii]. A Saka invasion further explains Pausanias' (A.D. 170) name Sakaea for Cochin-China, and his description of the people as Skythians mixed with Indians. [Quoted in Bunbury's Ancient Geography, ii. 659. Bunbury suggests that Pausanias may have gained his information from Marcus Aurelius' (A.D. 166) ambassador to China. There were fresh migrations during the fifth and sixth centuries, while among the deciphered Cambodian inscriptions there is evidence pointing to a Brahman dynasty, whose local initial date is in the early years of the seventh century, and one of whose kings, Somasarman (A.D. 610), is recorded to have held daily Mahabharata readings in the temples [Barth in Jour. Asiatique, ser. vi, tom. xix, p. 150, and ibid. x, 57, quoted in Bombay Gazetteer, vol. i, part i].

From Java the Hindus colonised Banjor Massin in Borneo, which was probably the most eastern of Hindu settlements [J. R. A. S. iv, 185]. Temples of superior workmanship with Hindu figures also occur at Waahoo, 400 miles from the coast [Dalton's Diaks of Bourneo, Jour. Asiatique (N.S.), vii, 153].

which in its Mahayanist form and development was accepted by Tibet, Nepal and China with the neighbouring countries, as also parts of Farther India and Java, and in its Hīnayāna form gained, besides the countries of Farther India and Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia. This propagation of Indian thought and institutions was undoubtedly the work of countless colonists and missionaries. carried on through centuries, whose zeal must have been fed by a rich and stable national self-consciousness developed on a common soil and country. The colonising movement was (and always is) but the crest of a wave of popular enthusiasm for the country created and sustained by the realisation of its individuality and sacredness, a profound appreciation of all that it stands for, its ideals and institutions.

IIXXX

We have now seen how in the past both religion and political experience contributed to the growth of a geographical sense in the people and to the perception of the fundamental unity of India behind her continental vastness and variety. The whole of the country was thus easily and naturally grasped by the national thought as a geographical unit whose strength and fervour triumphed over the physical difficulties of pre-mechanical ages in the way of having an intimate knowledge of the different parts which were welded into a whole. It was in a real sense the conquest of matter by mind; the subjection of the physical to the spiritual. India as a whole was realised as the mighty motherland by the popular mind in every part of India in spite of an unfavouring natural environment.

In modern times, the age of the improvement of transport, when the whole world has, so to say, been made smaller in size and is being centralised by railways, telegraphs and electrical machinery, when the ocean itself has been converted from a barrier into a broad highway of international intercourse, we can more easily and naturally realise the geographical unity of the whole of India. And besides, is not this unity apparent on the map? That country is geographically one of which the barriers separating its parts are less obstructive than those which isolate the area as a whole from surrounding regions. It is quite evident, and he who runs may read it, that India pre-eminently satisfies this test of unity. The great barrier of the north formed by the Himalayas, which may be easily rendered impregnable, effectually isolates the country from the rest of Asia, giving protection to it along a frontier of 2,000 miles, while towards the south the advantages of an insular position are secured by the sea. Thus sea-girt and mountainguarded India is indisputably a geographical unit.

As regards any insurmountable internal barriers, we hardly come across one. The Himalayas overlook the great plain, the Indo-Gangetic depression which covers an area larger than France, Germany and Austria put together, and supports more than one-half of the total population of India. This is the region of which Sir Richard Strachey has said: "It is no exaggeration to say that it is possible to go from the Bay of Bengal up the Ganges through the Panjab and down the Indus again to the sea over a distance of 2,000 miles and more without finding a pebble, however small." The whole region is of one uniform level, one continuous stretch of land uninterrupted by any barrier, covered with a network of rivers, railways and canals, where one sees only "unbroken continents of wheat, millet and

Indian corn, endless seas of rice and limitless prairies of sugar-cane and indigo," an evidence of agricultural wealth oppressive almost in its monotony. Nor is the Vindhya or Satpura range any serious barrier obstructing communication between northern and southern Scarcely rising more than 4,000 feet above sea-level, both the ranges are now pierced by road and railway, and did not even in the earlier ages seriously interfere with the spread of Indo-Aryan civilisation, the diffusion of Hindu culture and learning to the parts of India lying to their south which are, equally with the north, the great stronghold of Hinduism.

Lastly, among other natural features which distinguish India from other countries may be mentioned the seasonal winds or monsoons which have stamped on the whole country a unique aspect. They have created those hydrographical conditions which have made of India pre-eminently the land of agriculture and

one of the best-watered regions of the world. The census reports show that about 73 per cent. of the total population of India is dependent on agriculture for livelihood. While it may also be ascertained from statistics that, out of a total of 226 million acres annually sown in British India, only 44 million acres lack the natural water-supply and have to be artificially irrigated by the contrivances of man. So that fully 80 per cent. of the total area sown is naturally irrigated by the rivers of India pouring down in their bounty the streams of plenty. There also stands out, as the result of the operation of physical causes, the broad fundamental and distinguishing fact that Indian civilisation has developed and rests mainly on a rice-basis and the national diet is practically vegetarian.

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XXXIII

Thus has India been helped both by nature and nurture, by her geographical conditions and historic experience, by her religious ideas and political ideals, to realise herself as a unit, to perceive, preserve and promote her individuality in fulfilment of her heaven-appointed mission in the culture-history of the world. Indian thought occupies a distinct place in the evolution of human thought; Indian life has its distinctive part to play in the history of humanity. Human culture would be incomplete and poor without its Indian contribution. The world is in need of India, a living, rejuvenated India—of the strength of her message, her cult, her faith. For what does India represent? "Not Universal Empire of the type attempted by the Eternal City, not Universal Spiritual Dominion like the Mother of all the

Churches." India's gift to the world has been the fair fabric of an Empire, a Nationality, founded on the basis of Universal Peace (Ahinsā, परिषा), peace between man and man, and between man and every sentient creature; a fabric that was alas! ruthlessly shattered by the shock and collision of historic forces. For the Prime Maker of all history has perhaps ordained that the world should pass through the process of a painful historic development from the brute to the man.

Standing alone now in the background of historic nationalities and teeming millions, India calls us to the Cult of the Spirit, calls the mighty nations of the earth to lay down their pride and hate, their sceptres and swords, and, with redemptive humility, love and sacrifice, to fight in union the forces of rebarbarisation

¹ E.g., the famous edicts of Asoka fully set forth the principles of Ahińsā and wide catholicity on which his great Empire was governed.

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that are fast turning whole continents into armed hostile camps. It is in that Indian Cult of the Spirit that Nations, like Individuals, will find their rest and peace and realise the democratic dreams of a World Federation or a Parliament of Man.¹

¹ This section is adapted from Dr. Brajendranath Seal's address to the First Universal Races Congress, London.



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