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X.

THE NATIONS OF INDIA AT THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE PANDAVAS AND KAURAVAS.

By F. E. PARGITER.

THIS paper explains how the nations and tribes of India were arrayed in the great war of the Pāṇḍavas against the Kauravas, and the annexed map illustrates the position by exhibiting the names of the countries and peoples in different colours, those supporting the Pāṇḍavas being printed in blue ink, and the Kauravas and their allies in red, while those which were neutral and all collateral details are printed in black ink. It has been prepared at Dr. Grierson's suggestion in order to ascertain whether the division has any ethnographical significance with reference to his researches into the languages of India.

It is based entirely on the Mahābhārata. All the data adduced are taken from that work, and I have not gone outside of it, even to the Hari-Vaṁśa, to supplement or modify what the Mahābhārata itself says. To enter into questions of criticism of that encyclopædia is no part of the present discussion. The aim is a much humbler one; it is to let the book speak for itself, and to put together all that it says about the formation of the two hostile

confederacies. The story, with its interspersed explanations and allusions, is taken just as it stands, and the incidents narrated (excluding, of course, the miraculous) are treated as if real. It is only in this way that, in the first instance at least, one can attempt to estimate whether the account of the great battle and of the nations engaged in it yields any information about the ethnographical divisions of ancient India. The edition of the *Mahābhārata* used is the Calcutta edition of 1834.

The Pāṇḍavas had delivered Virāṭa, king of Matsya, from the combined cattle-lifting raid of the Kauravas, led by Duryodhana, and the Trigartas, led by Suśarman, and Virāṭa, in gratitude, bestowed his daughter Uttarā on Arjuna's son Abhimanyu.¹ The nuptials were solemnised at his capital Upaplavya, and in response to invitations there came the following kings and princes:—Kṛṣṇa with the Daśārhas from Ānarta, the king of Kāśī and the king of Śivi, who were very friendly to the Pāṇḍavas, Drupada Yajñasena, Śikhaṇḍin, and Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna of Pañcāla; and also others apparently who are not named definitely.² As the period of the Pāṇḍavas' exile had come to an end, the occasion was deemed a fitting one for them to demand that they should be restored to their former position, and negotiations were opened.³

Kṛṣṇa and his attendant princes were closely allied to the Pāṇḍavas by consanguinity, marriage, and friendship, for he and they were first cousins,⁴ Arjuna had married his sister Subhadṛā,⁵ and he and Arjuna were like brothers. Kṛṣṇa and his kinsmen, however, did not then wholly commit themselves to the support of the Pāṇḍavas, and returned home after the marriage.⁶ Drupada proposed that the Pāṇḍavas, while demanding their kingdom or at

¹ iv, 2313–47.

² iv, 2348–76.

³ v, 24, etc.

⁴ Their mother Pr̥thā Kuntī was his father Vasudeva's sister.

⁵ i, Subhadṛā-haraṇa-p.

⁶ v, 100.

least five villages, should send messengers to all the kings to solicit their aid, so as to forestall Duryodhana, according to the maxim that right-minded persons respond to the request of those who first importune them.¹ That was done,² but Duryodhana, who kept himself informed of their proceedings by means of spies, sent out appeals also immediately afterwards.³

The support of Kṛṣṇa and his kinsmen princes was a matter of great importance to each party, and Duryodhana and Arjuna each hastened to Dvārakā to solicit their help.⁴ Kṛṣṇa took a middle course. He joined the Pāṇḍavas as a non-combatant ally, and sent a large body of warlike cowherds called Nārāyaṇas to fight for Duryodhana.⁵ The Yādavas and their tribes (or families), the Bhojas, Andhakas (or Andhas), Vṛṣṇis, Sātvatas, Mādhavas, Daśārhas, Āhukas, and Kukuras, were not altogether at one in their sympathies. Most of them naturally sided with Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, and thus Yuyudhāna, Cekitāna, and other princes actively joined the Pāṇḍavas; but Kṛtavarman joined Duryodhana,⁶ though no definite reason is apparent why he took that course in opposition to the rest of the Yādavas. It may, however, be noted that, while all these princes are called Vṛṣṇi, Sātvata, etc., Kṛtavarman alone among them is called a Bhoja.⁷ As a Bhoja, therefore, he would have approximated to the other Bhojas, who dwelt on the east of the Sahya mountains, and so had connections with Vidarbha and Māhiṣmatī. The other princes all lived apparently on the west side of those mountains; Kṛṣṇa's capital was Dvārakā, and Yuyudhāna lived in Ānarta.⁸

In reply to the messages for aid, kings hastened in from all quarters. Śalya, king of Madra, set out to join the

¹ v, 70-89.² v, 129.³ v, 104, 132.⁴ v, 133-4.⁵ v, 144-52; vii, 3255; viii, 1077.⁶ v, 570, 586-7, 2233-4; ix, 1969-84.⁷ v, 5737; viii, 1070, 4065; ix, 1623.⁸ ix, 947.

Pāṇḍavas, the two youngest of whom were his sister's sons¹; but Duryodhana interposed before he reached them and won him over by lavish hospitality and earnest entreaty.² The other kings took sides definitely. The leading kings are named, and each came with an akṣauhiṇī of troops. Seven ranged themselves on the Pāṇḍavas' side, and ten on the Kauravas' side; thus the Pāṇḍavas had seven akṣauhiṇīs, and the Kauravas had with their own army eleven akṣauhiṇīs.³ It is important to note their names, because it seems to be implied that their troops comprised all the miscellaneous races and tribes which are mentioned in the course of the long battle. No fresh combatants appear to have come in afterwards except Rākṣasas and Nāgas. Each of the leading kings must therefore have brought not only his own soldiers but also contingents summoned from surrounding tribes which acknowledged his overlordship. This is stated expressly with reference to certain of the kings, such as Yuyudhāna, Drupada, Virāṭa, Bhagadatta, and Sudakṣiṇa, in the following list; and it would seem from such statements, not only that the kings brought contingents from subordinate tribes, but also that some of them, such as Yuyudhāna and Drupada, had bodies of mercenaries. The leading kings on each side then were these.

Two lists are given of those on the Pāṇḍavas' side,⁴ and they name—(1) Yuyudhāna Sātyaki⁵ of the Sātvas, with an army of soldiers, many of whom were from various countries; (2) Cekitāna⁶; (3) Dhr̥ṣṭaketu, king of Cedi⁷;

¹ vi, 3681; i, 3816; v, 199.

² v, 172-90; ix, 310-11.

³ An akṣauhiṇī is stated to comprise 21,870 chariots, 21,870 elephants, 65,610 cavalry, and 109,350 foot-soldiers (i, 293-8). These are impossible numbers, even including camp-followers. Another reckoning is given in v, 5264-7, where it is stated that the term akṣauhiṇī was commonly used as more or less synonymous with the names for smaller bodies of troops.

⁴ v, 570-83 and 2233-54.

⁵ He was a Vṛṣṇi, v, 2006, 7645.

⁶ He was of the Vṛṣṇis, vi, 3715; and of the Sātvas, vi, 3718-20.

⁷ Son of Śiśupāla, v, 5900.

(4) Jayatsena, or rather Sahadeva,¹ son of Jarāsandha, king of Magadha; (5) Drupada, king of Pañcāla, whose army comprised soldiers from various countries, with all his princes and sons; (6) Virāṭa, king of Matsya, who brought mountain (pārvatiya) chiefs in his train; and (7) either the king of Pāṇḍya with troops of various kinds from the sea-coast countries, or five Kaikeya brother-princes,² of whom Vṛhatkṣattrā was chief³ (for there is a difference between the two lists).

On the Kauravas' side were⁴—(1) Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotiṣa, with Cīnas and Kirātas in his force; (2) Bhūriśravas, son of Somadatta⁵; (3) Śalya, king of Madra; (4) Kṛtavarman Hārdikya with Bhojas, Andhas, and Kukuras⁶; (5) Jayadratha⁷ and other kings of Sindhu and Sauvira; (6) Sudakṣiṇa, king of Kāmboja,⁸ with an army containing Yavanas and Śakas; (7) Nila, king of Māhiṣmatī,⁹ with troops called Nilāyudhas from Dakṣiṇāpatha; (8) and (9) the two kings of Avanti, Vinda and Anuvinda,¹⁰ each with an akṣauhiṇī; and (10) five brother-princes of the Kaikeyas, of whom Vinda was chief.¹¹

¹ Jayatsena is named expressly, v, 577; but he is placed on the Kauravas' side, v, 2503, vi, 623, and was killed on that side by Abhimanyu, viii, 120. Jayatsena, therefore, in the first passage would seem to be an error for Sahadeva, see p. 316 below.

² Pāṇḍya is mentioned in v, 578–9, and the Kaikeya princes in v, 2240. Both were on the Pāṇḍavas' side and are often mentioned. The former was a reigning king, and the latter were princes ousted from their kingdom, see p. 317 below; yet the Kaikeya prince is said to have led an akṣauhiṇī, vi, 3066. ³ vii, 972–3, 3971, 5021.

⁴ v, 583–95, with 2242–54; vi, 622–4 are corrupt.

⁵ v, 5742; vi, 3730–4.

⁶ He was a Bhoja, v, 2252, 5737; vii, 4429; and a Sātвата, vii, 3253.

⁷ He was son of Vṛddhakṣattrā, king of Sindhu, vii, 6258–63; and was more especially king of Sindhu, v, 2186; vii, 6265–6.

⁸ i, 6995; v, 5274–5.

⁹ v, 5751.

¹⁰ vi, 3651; vii, 3682–94. They must be distinguished from two of the Kaikeya princes of the same names who were on the same side. The two Avanti kings were killed by Arjuna, vii, 3682–94. The two Kaikeya princes were killed by Sātयaki, viii, 507, 521–2.

¹¹ v, 594; viii, 492. See last note.

Reasons are given why these various kings took one side or the other, and those which influenced some to side with the Pāṇḍavas may be considered first.

Drupada, king of Pāñcāla, was father of Draupadi, and so the Pāṇḍavas' father-in-law. He was therefore deeply interested, and brought with him his ten sons, including Śikhaṇḍin,¹ and all the Pāñcāla princes who were headed by Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna.² They belonged to two families called the Sṛñjayas³ and Somakas,⁴ which are often mentioned in the course of the battle. Virāṭa, king of Matsya, was, as already mentioned, bound to the Pāṇḍavas by gratitude and intermarriage. Kṛṣṇa was, as already mentioned, attached to the Pāṇḍavas by consanguinity, marriage, and close friendship, yet both parties had been his friends;⁵ and though he did not take an active part in the fighting he warmly supported the Pāṇḍavas' cause, and advised and encouraged them to the utmost. His kinsmen Yuyudhāna Sātyaki⁶ and Cekitāna⁷ were not constrained by any connection with Duryodhāna, and joined the Pāṇḍavas with all their forces. But his brother Balarāma, feeling the difficulty of his position more acutely than Kṛṣṇa, refused to take any part in the contest and withdrew altogether.⁸ With the other Yādavas there came to the Pāṇḍavas' aid Purujit Kuntibhoja, who was king of Kuntirāṣṭra,⁹ for he was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa's father, Vasudeva, and had adopted as his daughter Vasudeva's sister Kuntī, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas.¹⁰

A brief account of political events that are mentioned will explain much of the reasons that influenced other kings. Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, had established

¹ v, 5100, 7397-7407, 7494-5.

² i, 7174; v, 5100, 5152, 5324, 7598. Draupadi's brother, v, 2891.

³ v, 64, 90. ⁴ i, 7174; v, 661-2. ⁵ v, 92, 140-1, 158, 5342.

⁶ ii, 125; v, 668, 5101, 5882, 7645. ⁷ v, 5101; vi, 3715.

⁸ v, 5347-9, 5387; ix, 1969-84. Both Bhīma and Duryodhana had been his pupils in the art of arms, v, 5346-7.

⁹ v, 5163, 5922; vi, 834, 1740. ¹⁰ i, 4382-3.

a supremacy over the kings in Eastern India, Madhyadeśa, and Central India, and his special adherents were Śiśupāla, king of Cedi, Vakra, king of Karūṣa, the kings of Vāṅga and Puṇḍra (or Pauṇḍra).¹ Karna, king of Aṅga, was his ally, for he had given Karna that kingdom,² and Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotiṣa, was subservient to him.³ Bhīsmaka, king of the Bhojas in Bhojakata and called king of Dākṣiṇātya, submitted to Jarāsandha, and separated from his kinsmen, viz., the other tribes of the Bhojas.⁴ The Kurus under Bhīṣma were Jarāsandha's allies, and the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis were brought into subjection by skilful policy.⁵ Purujit Kuntibhoja, the Pāṇḍavas' maternal grand-uncle, maintained some independence in the west of the Dekhan.⁶ Only eighteen families of Bhojas, who were settled in the neighbourhood of Mathurā, under Kṛṣṇa's leading stood out against Jarāsandha's ascendancy.⁷ These political developments unsettled many tribes and nations in Madhyadeśa, and some of them are said to have shifted their position westwards.⁸ In the turmoil Kṛṣṇa found full scope for his genius. Kaṁsa, who was of the Bhoja race,⁹ married two daughters of Jarāsandha and became his vassal¹⁰; and strengthened by the alliance established himself in Mathurā¹¹ and tyrannized over all his kinsmen. Kṛṣṇa, forming a small combination, killed Kaṁsa,¹² and placed Kaṁsa's father Ugrasena on the throne at Mathurā¹³; and this deed provoked Jarāsandha's persistent hostility against him.¹⁴ Jarāsandha took up arms against him, but was foiled for a time. Afterwards, however, Kṛṣṇa and his adherents fled in fear to the extreme west and established themselves at Dvārakā.¹⁵

¹ ii, 571-84.² iii, 15052; xii, 134-5.³ ii, 579-80.⁴ ii, 585-8, 1115-16; v, 5350-1.⁵ v, 2054-6.⁶ ii, 580-1.⁷ ii, 589.⁸ ii, 590-3.⁹ vii, 388.¹⁰ vii, 387.¹¹ xii, 12954.¹² ii, 594-8; vi, 2609.¹³ v, 1885.¹⁴ ii, 761.¹⁵ ii, 599-625, 631-2.

When the Pāṇḍavas began their reign and aimed at independence and supremacy, they had to reckon first with Jarāsandha,¹ and Bhīma with Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa killed him.² They installed his son Sahadeva³ in the kingdom of Magadha, and Sahadeva made friendship with Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.⁴ The confederacy then fell to pieces. The Āṅgas, Vāṅgas, Puṇḍras, and other nations in Eastern India stood apart under the hegemony of Karna, king of Āṅga,⁵ and Bhagadatta became independent in Prāgiyotiṣa. The Cedis and Kārūṣas formed a separate group under the leadership of Śiśupāla, king of Cedi; and Bhīsmaka regained his independence, and became friendly to the Pāṇḍavas.⁶ The most formidable king then was Śiśupāla, and Kṛṣṇa killed him.⁷ Śiśupāla's son Dhr̥ṣṭaketu became king of Cedi,⁸ and he and the Kārūṣa kings followed Kṛṣṇa's lead; and there was moreover a bond of consanguinity, for Śiśupāla's mother was sister to Kṛṣṇa's father and the Pāṇḍavas' mother Kuntī.⁹ The Cedis and Kārūṣas therefore sided with the Pāṇḍavas in the great war.¹⁰ Bhīsmaka's son Rukmin, whose sister Kṛṣṇa had married,¹¹ offered his support first to the Pāṇḍavas and afterwards to the Kauravas, but not being appreciated by either at his own estimation withdrew from the contest.¹²

In Magadha itself Jarāsandha's fall produced dissension, and Sahadeva, though placed on the throne, did not apparently acquire more than the western part of the kingdom; for two other kings of Magadha are mentioned, Daṇḍadhāra and Daṇḍa,¹³ who reigned in Jarāsandha's

¹ ii, 625-33.

² ii, 929-30.

³ ii, 594-5, 884, 962; v, 2325; xiv, 2436-44.

⁴ ii, 962-6.

⁵ ii, 1527.

⁶ ii, 1166-7.

⁷ ii, 1584; v, 669-71.

⁸ v, 5900.

⁹ ii, 1508; v, 5900. Nakula also married Dhr̥ṣṭaketu's sister, i, 3831; iii, 898.

¹⁰ v, 669.

¹¹ v, 1881, 5360.

¹² v, 5366-87. He ruled over Bhojas and Āhukas, two tribes of the Yādavas, v, 5350-1, 5366.

¹³ ii, 1090-1; viii, 688-704.

capital, Girivraja¹ (which was in the eastern part of the country), and are distinguished from Jarāsandha's son.² Sahadeva had a brother, Jayatsena or Jayasena,³ who seems to have possessed some sovereignty. Sahadeva sided with his friends Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas,⁴ and the two other kings, Daṇḍadhāra and Daṇḍa, naturally took the opposite course.⁵ So also did another Māgadha prince named Jalasandha,⁶ and Jayatsena seems to have done the same.⁷

Similar reasons are apparent why the five Kaikeya princes and the Pāṇḍya king joined the Pāṇḍavas. The former had been ousted from the Kaikeyas,⁸ for there was a contest between two families of royal cousins, each consisting of five brothers.⁹ They had been worsted, and were therefore in a position similar to that of the Pāṇḍavas. They were also friends of the Pāṇḍavas.¹⁰ The victorious princes were close neighbours of the Sindhus, Sauvīras, and Madras, and would naturally have gone with them in supporting the Kauravas¹¹; the ousted princes would naturally have sympathized with the Pāṇḍavas, and have joined them in the hope of regaining their own kingdom.

As regards the Pāṇḍya king Sārāṅgadhvaja, there appears to have been some connection between his royal house and Mathurā, and it is said he made friendship with Kṛṣṇa,¹² and was a devoted admirer of the Pāṇḍavas.¹³

¹ viii, 696; and ii, 627–8, 809–10, 1091.

² ii, 1090–2.

³ v, 2014; viii, 120.

⁴ v, 2014, 5325.

⁵ v, 5764.

⁶ v, 2504, 5793, where read Māgadha for Mādhava; vii, 4573–92.

⁷ v, 2503; viii, 120, where he is said to have been killed by Abhimanyu. Both Sahadeva and Jayatsena are mentioned in v, 2014. Jayatsena is named in v, 577, 2014 as having joined the Pāṇḍavas, but this seems erroneous. The point, however, is not important; what is important is that the Māgadhas were divided; the western took the Pāṇḍavas' side and the eastern the Kauravas' side. See p. 313, note 1.

⁸ Or Kekaya, vi, 3501–3.

⁹ v, 664, 2248; viii, 168–9.

¹⁰ iii, 462.

¹¹ See p. 319.

¹² vii, 1016–20.

¹³ v, 667, 5918.

Turning now to the leading kings who joined the Kauravas, the foregoing explanations show in part why those of them who lived in Eastern and Central India were hostile to the Pāṇḍavas and Kṛṣṇa; and further reasons are found as follows.

Karṇa was an intimate friend of Duryodhana and one of his most trusted advisers;¹ in fact, it was his ill advice and that of Śakuni, king of Gāndhāra, that forced on the great contest.² He was also a determined rival in arms of Arjuna.³ He therefore led his own Aṅga troops⁴ to Duryodhana's aid, and brought in the kindred nations of Eastern India, namely, the Vāṅgas,⁵ and also the Kalingas under their king Śrutāyudha.⁶

Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotiṣa, is said to have cherished the kindest feelings towards the Pāṇḍavas⁷; yet he may afterwards have been induced by his friendship for Jarāsandha to entertain resentment against them and Kṛṣṇa, and so to join the Kauravas. It is stated, moreover (though in fabulous form), that there had been hostilities between Kṛṣṇa and Prāgjyotiṣa.⁸

Much of the strength of the Kauravas lay in the assistance which they received from the north-western countries. Jayadratha, king of Sindhu and Sauvira,⁹ had married Dhṛtarāṣṭra's daughter,¹⁰ and had been defeated by the Pāṇḍavas in his attempt to carry off Draupadi.¹¹ He had, therefore, the strongest reasons for supporting

¹ iii, 17169; vi, 1620; viii, 1275, 1732.

² v, 631-8, 2303, 2414-16, 5409-10.

³ iii, 17171-2.

⁴ viii, 863, 877-81. They are also said to have been led by some of their own mlecha kings (vii, 1142-5; viii, 877-80), who would have been Karṇa's vassals.

⁵ vi, 4102; viii, 863; yet Candrasena, son of Samudrasena, is named on the Pāṇḍavas' side (v, 5911; vii, 1007); and they appear to have been kings of Vahga (ii, 1097-8; vii, 1007).

⁶ ii, 121; vi, 623, 657.

⁷ ii, 580.

⁸ ii, 1567-8; iii, 488; v, 1887-92; xii, 12954-6.

⁹ iii, 15618, 15635.

¹⁰ i, 2744-5.

¹¹ iii, Draupadi-haraṇa-p.

Duryodhana and opposing the Pāṇḍavas. He is said to have had the leadership of ten nations.¹ He would probably have summoned them to accompany him, and it is mentioned he had kings with him.² They are not specified, but, besides the Sindhus and Sauvīras, it appears that among them were the kings of Gāndhāra,³ Trigarta,⁴ Kulinda,⁵ and Śivi,⁶ and probably also Ambaṣṭha, none of whom are said to have brought in separate akṣauhiṇīs or armies to Duryodhana's help. Some of these kings had besides personal reasons swaying them in the same direction. They will be noticed in order further on.

Śakuni Saubala, king of Gāndhāra, was uncle of Duryodhana and other sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, for his sister Gāndhārī was their mother.⁷ He was also one of Duryodhana's most intimate advisers, and was his evil genius.⁸ He beat Yudhiṣṭhira in the gambling match.⁹ With him came his son Ulūka.¹⁰ As he was a practised and unscrupulous gamester, the names of Kitava, Kaitava, and Kaitavya were given to him and his son,¹¹ and were also apparently applied to their followers.¹² Śakunas were no doubt his followers.¹³

Suśarman, king of Trigarta, had been, as already mentioned, an ally of Duryodhana in the raid on Matsya, and had been beaten by the Pāṇḍavas. He was, therefore, a bitter foe to them, and his nobles banded themselves under an oath to slay the Pāṇḍavas.¹⁴

Śalya, king of Madra, joined the Kauravas in the way already described. That explanation is rather a lame one; but, if he was one of the kings who looked up to Jayadratha, he may have yielded to Duryodhana's solicitation out of policy.

¹ viii, 100-1.

² See p. 313.

³ iii, 15595-6.

⁴ iii, 15593-4.

⁵ iii, 15594.

⁶ iii, 15612-21.

⁷ vi, 748, 1731-2, 3729.

⁸ ii, 1718-23, 1762-5, 2510-13; v, 2303.

⁹ ii, 2051, etc., 2513.

¹⁰ vi, 3166; ix, 1528-33.

¹¹ v, 5412.

¹² vi, 689, 4808, 5648; vii, 184.

¹³ vii, 802.

¹⁴ vii, 683-700.

The other leading kings from the north-west were Sudakṣiṇa, king of Kāmboja, and the Kaikeya princes. The case of the latter has been explained already. No reason is given why Sudakṣiṇa joined the Kauravas. He does not appear to have had any personal feelings one way or the other; hence it seems probable that he followed Jayadratha's initiative.

Duryodhana obtained great assistance also from the kings of Central India, namely, Kṛtavarman, Nila, and the two kings of Avanti. Kṛtavarman's conduct has been referred to already, but there appear to be no particular reasons why he and they took Duryodhana's part.¹ One possible motive may be conjectured. The Yādavas with their tribes had settled in Western India, and were pushing their way east and south into Central and Southern India. They must have been troublesome and dangerous neighbours, and Nila at Māhiṣmati and the two kings of Avanti may naturally have opposed the Pāṇḍavas backed by Kṛṣṇa; but this does not explain Kṛtavarman's partisanship, more than suggested above (p. 311).

Only one leading king from Madhyadeśa supported the Kauravas, namely, Bhūriśravas, but it is difficult to make out his position. He was son of Somadatta,² who was son of Vāhlika,³ who was son of Pratīpa,⁴ brother of Śāntanu⁵ and uncle of Bhīṣma.⁶ All these, therefore, were Kauravas,⁷ and Vāhlika and Somadatta are said to have been alive at the time of the great war,⁸ though it seems an impossibility. Vāhlika is said to have resigned the kingdom of the Kurus to his younger brother Śāntanu and to have gone to his maternal uncle's family, where he inherited a very prosperous kingdom.⁹ Now his

¹ It is said Nila had had hostilities with Sahadeva, v, 5752.

² v, 5742; vi, 3730-4. ³ v, 2206, 3402; vii, 6931-2.

⁴ v, 693; vii, 6934. ⁵ i, 3797-8; v, 5055. ⁶ i, 3800, 4425.

⁷ vii, 6006-7, 7230; viii, 106. ⁸ v, 693-4; vii, 6929-34.

⁹ v, 5053-68. Was this an instance of succession through the mother?

If so, the story shows both forms of succession existing side by side.

mother was a Śaivya princess,¹ and he would, therefore, presumably have become king of Śivi; but there appear to be no indications connecting him with the Śivis. Other kings of Śivi are mentioned: thus a king Śivi or Śaivya is referred to on the Pāṇḍavas' side,² and Govāsana Śaivya is named on the Kauravas' side.³ There was also a people called Vāhlikas or Vāhlikas, as will be noticed further on. The similarity of name is very striking, yet similarity in names is common in the Mahābhārata,⁴ and much stress cannot be laid on it so as to prove that king Vāhlika was king of the Vāhlika race. Bhūriśravas' younger brother Śāla dwelt among the Vāhlikas⁵; yet a Vāhlika king or Vāhlika is said to have attended Draupadī's svayamvara.⁶ This could hardly have been Vāhlika himself, for he was a very old man then, and if it was not he, then the Vāhlika king was some one else. Further remarks will be offered about the Vāhlikas, and it seems on the whole that the Vāhlikas were different from king Vāhlika and his grandson Bhūriśravas. Wherever Bhūriśravas' kingdom may have been, he might, as of Kaurava lineage, naturally take Duryodhana's part;⁷ and throughout the negotiations that preceded the battle Vāhlika, Somadatta, and Bhūriśravas are represented as closely connected with the Kaurava Court.

Besides the foregoing leading kings, many other kings and princes and many other peoples are mentioned in the course of hostilities as fighting on one side or the other. It is necessary to examine these particulars in order to complete the list of countries and peoples which were arrayed on each side. This, however, is not always easy,

¹ i, 3797. ² v, 5707; vi, 834, 2079, 2088; vii, 6698. ³ vi, 655.

⁴ E.g. two princes named Vinda and Anuvinda, both among the Avantis and the Kaikeyas; see p. 313.

⁵ vi, 750; vii, 5997, 6002.

⁶ i, 7001.

⁷ See also v, 4350.

because verbal errors have crept into the text as regards both the names of kings and the names of people. Sometimes two kings had the same name or names almost alike ; moreover, different peoples had names which might easily be confused. Instances of this will be mentioned in what follows.

The other kings, princes, and people on the Pāṇḍavas' side may be taken first. We may put aside such warriors as Amitaujas,¹ Jayanta,² Kṣatradeva,³ Kṣattradharman,⁴ Satyajit,⁵ Yudhāmanyu and Uttamauijas,⁶ Suśarman or rather, apparently, Sudhanvan,⁷ all of whom were Pāñcāla princes attending on Drupada and Dhṛṣṭadyumna ; Śātānika,⁸ Madirākṣa,⁹ Śaṅkha,¹⁰ and Sūryadatta,¹¹ who were Virāṭa's relatives ; Anādhṛṣṭi,¹² who appears to have been a Yādava ; and other royal relatives of the leading kings. Certain other kings are mentioned of whom it is difficult to assert anything precise, such as Dr̥ḥhadhanvan,¹³ who was a Paurava, and brought the Pauravas¹⁴ ; Rocamāna¹⁵ (or rather two kings of this name¹⁶) ; Satyadhṛti Saucitti¹⁷ ; Senāvindu Krodhahanṭṛ¹⁸ and Śrenimat,¹⁹ who were of Kuru lineage ; and Citrāyudha.²⁰ There remain certain kings who had well-known territories.

Thus, on the Pāṇḍavas' side were Abhibhū,²¹ king of Kāśi,²² and his son²³ ; Vasudāna, king of Pāṃsurāṣṭra²⁴ ;

¹ v, 5903.

² v, 5903.

³ v, 5902, 7646 ; vii, 955, 974.

⁴ vi, 4152 ; vii, 953-4.

⁵ v, 5903, 5916.

⁶ v, 7624, 7638 ; vi, 714, 835.

⁷ v, 5163 ; vi, 5555 ; vii, 1002.

⁸ iv, 1011 ; vi, 5541.

⁹ iv, 1012 ; v, 2237.

¹⁰ iv, 1015 ; v, 2237 ; vi, 2010.

¹¹ v, 1014 ; v, 2237.

¹² v, 5164.

¹³ i, 6995 ; v, 5919.

¹⁴ vi, 2081, 2415.

¹⁵ v, 5921.

¹⁶ viii, 170. One was a Pāñcāla, viii, 2736 ; and the other apparently a Cedi, viii, 2740.

¹⁷ v, 5910, 7649 ; vi, 4151 ; vii, 990.

¹⁸ v, 5912 ; viii, 182.

¹⁹ v, 5161, 5919, 7650 ; vii, 990.

²⁰ v, 5909 ; vii, 1003.

²¹ v, 2007 ; vi, 2117 ; vii, 3528.

²² Kāśi-rāja, vi, 834 ; Kāśika, v, 5906-7 ; Kāśya, v, 5915, 7650 ; vi, 846, 4151 ; vii, 976. This is sometimes confused with Kāñcya.

²³ v, 7650 ; vi, 4151 ; vii, 990. ²⁴ ii, 1884-5 ; v, 5161, 5919 ; vii, 990.

Citrasena, king of Abhisāra¹; and some Śaivya prince² whose position is not clear. No explanations appear to be given as to the motives that swayed these kings, yet something may be suggested by way of conjecture. The king of Kāśī was Jarāsandha's nearest neighbour and must have felt the full power of his arm, and it is possible he may have made his choice out of gratitude to his deliverers, Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas, for it is said that Babhru (Abhibhū?), king of Kāśī, formed a close friendship with Kṛṣṇa.³ And Bhīma besides had married a Kāśī princess.⁴

In this connection notice must be taken of the Kosalas. They are mentioned as fighting both on the Pāṇḍavas' side⁵ and also on the opposite side.⁶ Vṛhadbala or Vṛhadratha is named as king of Kosala at this time,⁷ but the Solar dynasty plays a small part in this great contest, and would seem to have suffered an eclipse during this period. This would have been probably caused by Jarāsandha's supremacy. His power would have borne most hardly on the eastern part of Kosala, and it is said that the Eastern Kosalas abandoned their own territory through fear of him, and migrated southward.⁸ Eastern Kosalas, moreover, are mentioned in the Southern region, and a Kosala king is referred to in conjunction with a king dwelling on the Venṇā (Wainganga).⁹ May we not attribute the growth of Mahākosala or Dakṣinakosala to such causes? And I would further suggest that the connection between the two Kosalas began from Rāma's time, for Rāma spent ten years of his exile at a hermitage, which seems (from such indications as exist) to have been situated somewhere in Chattisgarh.¹⁰ Kāśī plays a more important part than Kosala in the Mahābhārata, and

¹ viii, 526-7, 540-1.² See p. 327 below.³ v, 806-7.⁴ i, 3829.⁵ vii, 877, 1004, 5069; viii, 459.⁶ viii, 864.⁷ See p. 326 below.⁸ ii, 590-2.⁹ ii, 1117.¹⁰ Rāmāy., Araṇ.-k., xv, 5-28, ed. Gorr.

would seem to have regained considerable influence after Jarāsandha's downfall, so that it may have acquired supremacy over Eastern Kosala, and it is worthy of notice that where Kosalas are mentioned as fighting on the Pāṇḍavas' side they are sometimes joined with the Kāśīs. The king of Kosala went with the Kauravas,¹ but a body of Kosalas, probably from the eastern portion of the country, came to the Pāṇḍavas' help, and probably also did so in connection with the king of Kāśī. They were led by a chief of their own.²

A large number of miscellaneous races are also mentioned on the Pāṇḍavas' side, and, as no special allusion is made to their kings or chiefs, it would seem that, as already noticed, they consisted merely of contingents summoned to attend their overlords. If so, their appearance at the battle would not have any ethnological significance. They are the following:—

The Prabhadrakas. This word means 'very handsome.' It is used generally by itself³ or in apposition to Pāñcālas,⁴ but once with Kekayas⁵ and once with Kāmbojas⁶; and once again it is used with the word 'youths.'⁷ It seems to mean a band of youthful nobles; and where used by itself appears to refer to the Pāñcālas especially.

Paṭaccaras.⁸ They were connected with the Matsyas,⁹ and so would have followed the Matsyas' lead in joining the Pāṇḍavas. The Matsya king is said to have brought mountain chiefs in his train¹⁰; they must have come from the northern part of the Pāripātra Mountains (the Aravalli Hills), and such the Paṭaccaras may have been.

Daśārṇas.¹¹ They are also mentioned as being on the Kauravas' side,¹² but that is probably erroneous, because

¹ See p. 326 below. ² vii, 1004. ³ v, 7635; vi, 5190; vii, 1026.

⁴ v, 2264, 5153, 5895; vi, 2416. ⁵ vi, 2022.

⁶ vii, 992. ⁷ v, 1842. ⁸ vi, 2081.

⁹ ii, 590-1, 1108; iv, 11-12. ¹⁰ See p. 313.

¹¹ v, 4749. ¹² vi, 2102; viii, 864.

their king is said to have been on the Pāṇḍavas' side,¹ and it would have been natural for him to take that course. Drupada's son Śikhāṇḍin married the daughter of the Daśārṇa king,² and the Daśārṇas would probably have acknowledged the king of Cedi as their suzerain, and joined his army.

Drāviḍas,³ Colas,⁴ Keralas,⁵ and Kāñeyas (or people of Kāñci)⁶ are also mentioned, and the first and last of these are also mentioned on the opposite side.⁷ None of these names are of real significance, because they probably represent mere contingents of troops drawn from such peoples, and any such contingents may have been comprised either in the Pāṇḍya king's army or in that of king Nila, or even in both.

Śālveyas also were on the Pāṇḍavas' side.⁸ They were apparently different from the Śālvas (who will be noticed among the Kauravas' allies), and had been allies of the Matsyas⁹; thus they might naturally follow the Matsyas' lead.

A number of petty tribes are also mentioned on the Pāṇḍavas' side, namely, Nākulas,¹⁰ Laḍakas and Maḍakas,¹¹ Huṇḍas,¹² Śaravas,¹³ Tittiras,¹⁴ Tumbumas,¹⁵ Vāhikas,¹⁶ and Taṅgaṇas¹⁷; while others are mentioned on both sides, namely, Dāserakas,¹⁸ Kirātas,¹⁹ Kulindas,²⁰ Niṣādas,²¹ and Kuṇḍivīṣas²² or Kaunḍivṛṣas.²³ The Taṅgaṇas and Vāhikas came from the outer northern frontiers of India. The

¹ vi, 2080, 4271-6.

² v, 7418-20.

³ viii, 454, 2304.

⁴ viii, 455; vi, 2084, where Coḍhras should probably be Colas.

⁵ viii, 455.

⁶ viii, 459; but probably Kāsīs or Kāśyas should be read here.

⁷ v, 5510, 5555.

⁸ v, 2138, 5652.

⁹ iv, 972.

¹⁰ vi, 2084.

¹¹ vi, 2083.

¹² vi, 2081.

¹³ vi, 2084.

¹⁴ vi, 2084.

¹⁵ vi, 2084.

¹⁶ vi, 2084.

¹⁷ vi, 2083.

¹⁸ vi, 2080; and 2409, 5483. ¹⁹ vi, 2080; and v, 584, 7609; vi, 753.

²⁰ viii, 4308, etc.; and 4328.

²¹ vi, 2081; viii, 2304; and vi, 2239-49, 5484; viii, 779.

²² vi, 2083.

²³ vi, 2410.

Kulindas and Kirāṭas occupied the southern slopes of the Himālayas, the former from about Kulu eastward to Nepal, and the latter from there to the extreme east. All these tribes may have furnished bands which followed Drupada or the Kaikeya princes to the Pāṇḍavas' side, or bands which attended the kings of Trigarta and Prāgjyotiṣa on the other side. Tumbumas and Niṣādas probably came from the Vindhya Mountains, and may have accompanied the Kārūṣas or the Avantis. The rest of these petty tribes cannot be localized except conjecturally, but may well have owned some allegiance to one or other of the leading kings, and so have been summoned to attend. None of them, however, are of importance in this inquiry.

We may next consider the other kings and peoples on the Kauravas' side. Here also we may put aside Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Kṛpa, Aśvatthāman, and others, who were Dhṛtarāṣṭra's grand-uncle and ministers, and all his sons.

From Eastern India came the Kalingas, who are often mentioned,¹ under their king Śrutāyudha, who has been referred to already. The Vaṅgas² also accompanied Karna, and with them went also contingents from the Pauṇḍras (or Puṇḍras),³ Tāmraliptakas,⁴ Utkalas,⁵ Muṇḍas,⁶ and Maladas.⁷ The Eastern Māgadhas have been mentioned above. All these may be included under the term Prācyas,⁸ which appears to be used in its general meaning.⁹

From Madhyadeśa came the Kosalas¹⁰ under their king Vṛhadbala¹¹ or Vṛhadratha,¹² as mentioned above,¹³ and with them were probably associated some Videhas¹⁴ and Vṛkas.¹⁵

The Vatsas must also be included among the Kauravas' allies. They are mentioned, though Matsyas are more often

¹ vi, 662, 668, 670, 2230-4, 2249-50, 2409, 3132, 5483; viii, 864, 882.

² See p. 318 above. ³ vii, 802; viii, 863. ⁴ viii, 863, 882.

⁵ viii, 882. ⁶ vi, 2410. ⁷ vii, 183.

⁸ v, 5510, 5555; vi, 664, 689, 2141, 2584, 2646; viii, 863.

⁹ viii, 138. See p. 330, note 7.

¹⁰ viii, 864; vi, 3855.

¹¹ v, 5765; vi, 1683-4, 3534, 3855, 5325.

¹² v, 7612.

¹³ See p. 323.

¹⁴ vi, 5483.

¹⁵ vi, 2106.

named.¹ Matsya is probably a mistake, because the Matsyas with their king Virāṭa were deeply pledged to the Pāṇḍavas' support as explained above.² The name Vatsa should no doubt be read in all these passages, and as it is also written Vatsya and Vātsya³ the confusion would be easy. The Vatsas⁴ and Vatsabhūmi are correctly mentioned⁵; they were an important nation, and their king attended Draupadi's svayamvara.⁶

The Śūrasenas are a people often named on the Kauravas' side.⁷ They were closely connected with Mathurā, and both Kāṁsa, who reigned in Mathurā, and his younger brother Sunāman, who was king of Śūrasena, were killed by Kṛṣṇa.⁸ The Śūrasenas, therefore, had strong grounds for opposing Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas.⁹

From the north-west came Ambaṣṭhas, Śivis, Vaśātis, and Vāhlikas. The Ambaṣṭhas¹⁰ were under their king Śrutāyus,¹¹ and the Śivis¹² under their king Govāsana Śaivya.¹³ Govāsana had married his daughter to Yudhiṣṭhira,¹⁴ and might have been expected to support him; indeed, a Śaivya prince is often referred to on the Pāṇḍavas' side.¹⁵ But the Śivis are always mentioned on the Kauravas' side, and it is difficult to account for that prince on the opposite side. It would seem that the Śivis and Ambaṣṭhas were dominated by Jayadratha and his confederate kings, and followed his lead.¹⁶ With the Śivis

¹ v, 5510, 5555; vi, 688, 752, 2405.

² Conversely, Vatsas are mentioned on the Pāṇḍavas' side erroneously for Matsyas, vi, 2084.

³ vii, 396; xiii, 1951.

⁴ ii, 1084; vi, 2084; viii, 237; xiii, 1946.

⁵ iii, 15245; v, 7351.

⁶ i, 7002.

⁷ vi, 688, 2097, 3294, 5485; vii, 183, 799.

⁸ vii, 387-9.

⁹ The Hari-Vaṁśa gives fuller particulars.

¹⁰ vi, 688, 750, 2584, 4340, 5485.

¹¹ vi, 2584, 2647; viii, 107.

¹² v, 7609; vi, 688, 2104, 4809, 5485, 5648; viii, 1077.

¹³ vi, 655, 4501; vii, 1789-91, 3528, 3552.

¹⁴ i, 3828.

¹⁵ v, 5707; vi, 834, 2088, 2079, 2117; vii, 1008, 6698.

¹⁶ iii, 15581-7, 15602-5.

are almost always associated the *Vaśātis*,¹ and the two appear to have been two tribes composing one kingdom.

The *Vāhlikas* or *Vāhlikas* are often mentioned.² Their position has been already discussed in part, and on the whole it would seem that they were different from king *Vāhlika*, who was a *Kaurava*.³ In addition to what has been said above, it may be noticed that they were closely related to the *Madras*, so that the two seem to have almost formed one nation.⁴ Being so closely connected with the *Madras*, they would naturally have accompanied the *Madras* to help the *Kauravas*.

Pañcanadas ⁵ would have formed a local contingent from the junction of the five rivers of the *Panjab*, and would have been included among or have gone with the *Sindhus* and *Sauvīras*.

Belonging to the same group of nations, no doubt, were the *Abhiśāhas* or *Abhiśāhas*.⁶ They are generally linked with *Śūrasenas*, *Śivis*, and *Vaśātis*, and probably came from the eastern border of the *Panjab*. They were distinct from the *Abhisāras*, who sided with the *Pāṇḍavas* as has been noticed. So also the *Vāradhānas* or rather *Vāṭadhānas*.⁷

From the near west came the *Śālvas*.⁸ Their king had been a friend or even brother of *Śiśupāla*, king of *Cedi*, and took up arms against *Kṛṣṇa* on *Śiśupāla*'s death.⁹ There was bitter hostility between them, and *Kṛṣṇa* killed him.¹⁰ It was natural, therefore, that the *Śālvas* should go against him and the *Pāṇḍavas*, and under their king *Ugrakarman* they attended the *Kaikeya* princes.¹¹

¹ v, 7609 ; vi, 688, 2104, 2584, 4809, 5485, 5648.

² v, 2289, 7607 ; vi, 1707, 3293, 5484 ; vii, 973, 4818 ; viii, 779.

³ See p. 321 above ; but compare v, 2289 ; vi, 3533, 4666.

⁴ i, 2696, 4426-7. ⁵ vi, 750, 2406.

⁶ vi, 688, 5485, 5648 ; vii, 3254, 3339, 7207 ; viii, 127.

⁷ vi, 2405.

⁸ v, 5510 ; vi, 688, 752, 3169, 5485, 5649 ; viii, 1077.

⁹ iii, 615-18, 637. ¹⁰ iii, 619-889. ¹¹ v, 2249 ; viii, 131.

From the south-west of Madhyadeśa came the Mālavas. They are mentioned sometimes simply as such,¹ and sometimes as "Western and Northern Mālavas."² Kṣudrakas are also named,³ and sometimes both are referred to together as Kṣudraka-mālavas⁴; but Kṣudraka-mālavas were apparently distinct from Mālavas, for both are named in one passage.⁵ It is difficult to distinguish them further. They and also the Śālvas attended the Kaikeya princes.⁶

From the south came the Andhras or Andhrakas,⁷ and also the Andhakas.⁸ Andhas are mentioned,⁹ but this name is probably a mistake for Andhras or for Andhakas. These would go respectively with the Kukkuras¹⁰ or Kukuras.¹¹ The Andhakas and Kukuras with the Bhojas, Vṛṣṇis, etc., were Yādava tribes, and might have been in Kṛtavarma's army.¹² The Andhras and Kukkuras were Dravidian tribes in Central India, and might have been among the Dākṣiṇātyas¹³ whom Nila, king of Māhiṣmatī, brought.

There were besides the Niṣadhas,¹⁴ Vidarbhas,¹⁵ Traipuras,¹⁶ Kuntalas,¹⁷ and Mekalas,¹⁸ all of which may have accompanied the two Avanti kings and Nila. All would be included within the general designation of Dākṣiṇātyas, which are also named separately.¹⁹ The Niṣadhas were not under any king apparently. The Kuntalas may have come from two places, for there were two countries of this name; one was apparently the region between Bellary and Belgaum, and the other near Chunar, south of Benares.

¹ vi, 3852; viii, 137.

² vi, 4808, 5484, 5648; vii, 183.

³ viii, 137.

⁴ vi, 2106, 2584, 2646, 3853.

⁵ vi, 3852-3.

⁶ v, 2249.

⁷ ii, 1175; iii, 12839; vii, 122; viii, 779.

⁸ ii, 767; iii, 15654; iv, 2360; v, 1885, 3043.

⁹ v, 586; read Andhakas.

¹⁰ ii, 1872; vi, 2097.

¹¹ ii, 767; v, 586; xii, 8457.

¹² He had Bhojas, viii, 780.

¹³ viii, 780.

¹⁴ vii, 1437; viii, 864, 882.

¹⁵ vi, 2103.

¹⁶ vi, 3855.

¹⁷ vi, 2102; viii, 779.

¹⁸ viii, 864, 882; and vi, 2103, 3855 (where the reading is Melakas).

¹⁹ v, 5510, 7608; vi, 3852; viii, 863.

These latter Kuntalas and the Mekalas would have gone with the Andhras.

There remain a number of petty tribes which came from all quarters to the Kauravas, and they may be considered according to their grouping.

Pāradas¹ and Praticyas² would have come from the western confines of the Panjab, and the Varvaras from there or from the north. From the eastern limits of the Panjab round to Malwa were scattered the aboriginal tribes of Śūdras³ and Ābhīras,⁴ and they would have attended Jayadratha and the king of Śālva. Praticya is used in a general sense.⁵

Prācyas are mentioned generally,⁶ and appear to have included all tribes that came from Eastern India. The name is used in a general sense.⁷

From the slopes and valleys of the Himālayas came the Pulindas,⁸ Hamsapadas,⁹ Karnaṇprāvaraṇas,¹⁰ and Vikarṇas.¹¹ All these would have been comprised within the term Udicyas, which is also used in a general sense.¹²

Other insignificant tribes named on the Kauravas' side were Aśvātakas,¹³ Cicchilas,¹⁴ Cūlikas,¹⁵ Recakas,¹⁶ Vikuñjas,¹⁷ Nandas and Upanandakas,¹⁸ Maṇibhadrakas,¹⁹ Simhalas,²⁰ Vāmana-kosalas,²¹ Veṇikas,²² Māvelakas or Māvelvakas,²³ Tuṇḍikeras,²⁴ and Lalitthas.²⁵ The first three may have

¹ vi, 3853.

² v, 5510, 5555, 7608; vi, 689.

³ vii, 183, 798.

⁴ vii, 798.

⁵ v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.

⁶ viii, 138. See p. 326, note 8.

⁷ v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.

⁸ v, 5510, 5555; vi, 3853; viii, 779.

⁹ vii, 798.

¹⁰ vi, 2103.

¹¹ vi, 2105.

¹² v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 138, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.

¹³ vi, 2105.

¹⁴ vi, 3855.

¹⁵ vi, 3297.

¹⁶ vi, 2097.

¹⁷ vi, 2410.

¹⁸ vi, 2098.

¹⁹ vi, 2099.

²⁰ vii, 798.

²¹ vi, 2105.

²² vi, 2097.

²³ vii, 692; viii, 138; they may perhaps be connected with Māvella (i, 2364; ii, 1272).

²⁴ vii, 691; viii, 138.

²⁵ vii, 692; viii, 137.

come from the northern region, and the last four probably from the neighbourhood of the Vindhya Mountains and the Wainganga. The Vāmana-kosalas may perhaps mean the people of Dakṣiṇa-kosala, but there are no indications regarding the rest. All those from the south would be included within the general description Dākṣiṇātya.¹

From beyond the Himālayas came contingents of Yavanas,² Śakas,³ Khasas,⁴ Tuṣāras,⁵ and Daradas.⁶ None of these appear to have been under kings of their own. The first two accompanied the king of Kāmboja as already mentioned,⁷ and the three others no doubt attended him or the king of Gāndhāra. All these also might be included under the general designation of Udīcyas.⁸

The only tribes remaining to be noticed are Rākṣasas and Nāgas, and also certain Piśācas, which no doubt accompanied the former. Rākṣasas were arrayed on both sides.

On the Pāṇḍavas' side was Ghaṭotkaca, a Rākṣasa king,⁹ who is said to have been the son of Bhīma by the Rākṣasa princess Hiḍimbā.¹⁰ Her brother Hiḍimba¹¹ lived in the forest in the north of Pāñcāla,¹² and was killed by Bhīma.¹³ Irāvata, a Nāga king,¹⁴ also came to the Pāṇḍavas. He is said to have been the son of Arjuna by a Nāga princess.¹⁵ Certain Piśācas are mentioned on this side.¹⁶

On the Kauravas' side were Alambuṣa, a Rākṣasa king,¹⁷ and his kinsman Alāyudha.¹⁸ Alambuṣa was brother of

¹ v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.

² v, 590, 7609; vi, 753, 2097, 3856; vii, 798.

³ v, 590, 5510; vi, 753, 2408, 5649.

⁴ v, 5510, 5555; vii, 4847; viii, 779.

⁵ vi, 3297.

⁶ vi, 2106, 5484; vii, 799; yet some are mentioned erroneously on the Pāṇḍavas' side (vi, 2083, where Dāradas should probably be Drāviḍas).

⁷ See p. 313 above.

⁸ v, 890, 7608-9; viii, 138, 3511, 3524; ix, 28.

⁹ vi, 2863-9, 3663-70. ¹⁰ i, 6071-80. ¹¹ i, 5940, 5962.

¹² i, 5874-93, 5927. ¹³ i, 6036-8. ¹⁴ vi, 1737-9, 3288, 3557, 3661.

¹⁵ vi, 3977-80. ¹⁶ vi, 2083.

¹⁷ v, 5802; vi, 1711-13; vii, 7848-81.

¹⁸ vii, 8004-10.

Vaka, whom Bhīma killed near Ehacakrā,¹ and son of Jata, whom also Bhīma killed in the Himālayas, north of Pañcāla and Kosala.² He is also called a descendant of Rṣyaśṛṅga,³ and if that person be the same as the Rṣyaśṛṅga who lived in the territory of Lomapāda, king of Aṅga,⁴ Alambuṣa probably came from the forests bordering the River Kauśiki and Nepal.⁵ He had, therefore, a double blood-feud with the Pāṇḍavas, and naturally sided with the Kauravas. Piśācas are also mentioned on the Kauravas' side.⁶

In locating the various nations and races in the accompanying map, I have adhered to the views which I ventured to express in my translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, except in a few cases where further consideration has led me to modify them.

We may sum up these results in the following way, leaving out of account all the insignificant tribes which merely furnished contingents to the larger kingdoms, that were near them and that claimed some overlordship over them.

On the Pāṇḍavas' side were these:—

From *Madhyadeśa*—Pāñcālas (with Rākṣasas or forest tribes from their north), Matsyas, Cedis, Kārūṣas, Daśārṇas, Kāśis, Eastern Kosalas, and Western Māgadhas, with various tribes dwelling in or near the Vindhya Mountains and Aravalli Hills.

From the *West*—all the Yādavas from Gujarat and from the territory east of Gujarat.

From the *North-West*—some Kaikeyas and Abhisāras.

From the *South*—the Pāṇḍyas, with contingents from the Dravidian races in the Karnatic.

¹ vii, 4065-76 ; i, 6104, 6206, 6291-5. ² vii, 7855-8 ; iii, 11519-22.

³ vi, 4552, 4570-5, 4584-5.

⁴ iii, 9990-10094.

⁵ Modern belief, as Dr. Grierson tells me, places Rṣyaśṛṅga at Singar, in the south-east of the Gaya district, but I know of no authority for it.

⁶ vi, 3854.

On the Kauravas' side were these :—

From the *East*—the Eastern Māgadhas, Videhas, Prāgyotiṣas (with Cinas and Kirātas); Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras, Utkalas, Mekalas, Kalingas, and Andhras, with contingents from all the tribes bordering on them.

From *Madhyadeśa*—Śūrasenas, Vatsas, and Kosalas.

From the *North-West*—Sindhus, Sauviras, Madras, Vāhlikas, Kaikeyas, Gāndhāras, Kāmbojas, Trigartas, Ambaṣṭhas, and Śivis, with contingents from the tribes all around them.

From the *North*—hill tribes from all along the Himālayas, except from the north of Pāñcāla.

From the *West*—Śālvas and Mālavas.

From *Central India*—the Yādavas from the country south and south-east of Baroda, Avantis, Māhiṣmakas, Vidarbhas, Niṣadhas, and Kuntalas, and contingents from the races bordering them in the Dekhan.

We may summarize these conclusions further by confining our attention to the leading nations. Those on the Pāṇḍavas side were the Pāñcālas, Matsyas, Cedis, Kārūṣas, Kāśis, and Western Māgadhas from Madhyadeśa ; all the Yādavas from Gujarat and the country east of it ; and the Pāṇḍyas. On the Kauravas' side were all the nations from North and South-Eastern Behar, all Bengal and West Assam, and all the region south of Bengal as far as the River Godāvarī ; the Śūrasenas, Vatsas, and Kosalas in Madhyadeśa ; all the nations in the north and north-west with the Śālvas and Mālavas : and the Avantis and all the nations of Central India.

Stating these conclusions more generally still, we may say that the Pāṇḍavas' cause combined the Pāñcālas and all the kingdoms of South Madhyadeśa (except the Śūrasenas and Vatsas) together with the Yādavas of Gujarat against the rest of Northern, Central, and Eastern India. Now the Yādavas of Gujarat are said to have been

an offshoot from those who dwelt in the country near Mathurā¹; and the division of the contending parties may be broadly said to be South Madhyadeśa and Pāñcāla against the rest of India. This is a striking generalization, and it may not be without some significance, although reasons have been given why almost every individual nation made its particular choice of sides. But the ethnological value of this general statement is diminished by three factors: first, the nations arranged on either side were certainly not all of the same stock; secondly, it must be remembered that it was kings which brought their armies of subjects, and there are indications that kings were not always of the same race as the majority of their subjects, but that they belonged sometimes to dynasties which had conquered the countries and established themselves in the sovereignty; and thirdly, a powerful king commandeered contingents from neighbouring kingdoms and tribes which acknowledged his overlordship.

Instances of the last factor have been noticed in dealing with the smaller nations and tribes. As an instance of the first factor it is stated in genealogical chapters that the Kārūṣas (to whatever race their king may have belonged) were of very different stock from their allied nations of Madhyadeśa. And on the Kauravas' side it is certain that the nations of Bengal and Orissa were considered to be mlecchas, and were therefore wholly different from their allies of Madhyadeśa and the north-west. As an instance of the second factor we may note that Kṛṣṇa and the tribes of Bhojas, Vṛṣṇis, Śātvasas, etc., had established themselves in Gujarat only a short time before the war,² so that Yuyudhāna and Cekitāna must have brought alien subjects in their armies, and something of this kind is distinctly stated about the former's troops.³ Similarly, on the Kauravas' side it is clear that Karna,

¹ ii, 589-616.² ii, 589-616.³ See p. 312.

though king of Aṅga, was not an Aṅga,¹ and yet, as Aṅga had the hegemony of the kindred nations of Vaṅgas, Kalingas, Puṇḍras, etc., he brought all those alien nations to join in a war which did not concern them in the least.

One further instance may be cited here as asserting a connection between several of the kingdoms that supported the Pāṇḍavas. Vasu, who was a Paurava, conquered Cedi and reigned over it, and also subdued the neighbouring countries. He had five sons and established them as separate rulers in those countries, and two of them founded the dynasties of Cedi and Magadha.² By a fable, which is full of absurdities and chronological inconsistencies, it is further alleged that another son, whose sister was Satyavati, the grandmother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, established a dynasty in Matsya.³

The way in which each side marshalled its forces may be noticed. The Pāṇḍavas' centre was Upaplavya, the capital of Matsya,⁴ and the Kauravas' centre was their own capital, Hastināpura. The hosts that assembled on the Kauravas' side are said to have been so vast that they could not concentrate at Hastināpura, and they stretched in a curve from the southern portion of the Panjab round the north of Kurukṣetra to the north of Pañcāla.⁵ The Pāṇḍavas' allies concentrated in and around Matsya.⁶ The remarks made about each nation and an inspection of the blue and red tracts in the map will readily show how each probably reached its position in these two conformations. When the negotiations failed the Pāṇḍavas marched north, driving in Duryodhana's outposts, and took up a position on the west of Kurukṣetra.⁷ The

¹ Jarāsandha gave Karna the kingdom of Aṅga, see p. 315; and, whatever we may think of Karna's alleged parentage, it is certain that he is always treated as being of the same *stock* as the other actors. He had mleccha kings under him in Aṅga, see p. 318, note 4.

² i, 2334-65. ³ i, 2371-2419, 3801-16. ⁴ v, 101, 196, 685, 5157-8.

⁵ v, 596-601. ⁶ v, 2241, 4956, 5147-51. ⁷ v, 5165-6, 5174-7; vi, 645.

Kaurava hosts closed in around the east of that region,¹ and the battle was fought on the plain of Kurukṣetra.²

Some concluding remarks may be permitted by way of comment on the great war. The nations in and around the Panjab formed a very strong portion of the Kaurava confederacy, and the great battle by destroying their monarchs and armies would have seriously weakened their strength and gravely imperilled their stability. Now it is worthy of notice that the introductory part of the *Mahābhārata* describes how Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit was killed by the Nāga Takṣaka who reigned at Takṣaśilā in the Panjab, and how Parikṣit's son Janamejaya vanquished Takṣaka and Takṣaśilā. This is narrated in ridiculously fabulous form, yet there is one feature noteworthy in it, namely, that the Panjab kingdoms, which constituted so strong a bulwark in the great war, have all disappeared; the Nāga Takṣaka reigned over the Panjab, and came into direct conflict with Arjuna's grandson and great-grandson who reigned on the Jumna. If one may hazard a conjecture on such a flimsy story, it is that the Nāgas must have risen to power during the interval of weakness which followed the great battle and have conquered the kingdoms of the Panjab.

¹ v, 5310-11, 5407, 7613; vi, 645.

² vi, 3.