CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOLUME III
(Revised)

INSRIPTIONS
OF THE
EARLY GUPTA KINGS
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOLUME III

INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
EARLY GUPTA KINGS

REVISED BY
DEVADATTA RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR

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&
GOVIND SWAMIRAO GAI

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PRINTED AT SREE SARASWATI PRESS LTD., CALCUTTA
Dedicated to the Memory
of
Professor D. R. Bhandarkar
by
The Editors
SIR John Faithfull Fleet was appointed as Epigraphist to the Government of India from 1883 to 1886 for the purpose of preparing the volume on the Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and the volume prepared by him was published in 1888 as volume III of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum series. The question of bringing out a revised edition of this volume was first mooted in January 1928 by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, then Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in Calcutta University and an eminent Sanskritist and epigraphist, to Sir John Marshall, the then Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, who readily approved the proposal in principle. The actual proposals for the same were, however, sent by Dr. Bhandarkar in November 1928 to Mr. Blackiston, the then Officiating Director General. After prolonged correspondence in the matter and some interruption, Mr. Blackiston informed Dr. Bhandarkar in January 1935 that the Government of India had sanctioned the proposal for the revised edition of the Gupta Inscriptions and has also decided to entrust the work to him.

When Fleet published his volume in 1888, he wrote in his Preface that he intended to bring out a second part of the volume containing the Historical chapters but also expressed his fears that his official duties in the Revenue Department would not enable him to do so. His fears were, unfortunately, proved true and the Historical chapters were never written by him. So it was left to Dr. Bhandarkar to write these Historical chapters in his revised edition of the volume. Dr. Bhandarkar started the work in right earnest by preparing the list of inscriptions to be included in the revised edition, by collecting the required impressions of inscriptions through the Archaeological Survey of India and other sources, by studying and preparing notes, etc. After working for a few years, he had to face a number of difficulties in his work including the second world war during which period all the impressions collected by him were removed to a place of safety with the result that the work did not make much progress. After the end of the war, when he was nearing 70 years, he resumed his work actively and concentrated his attention to edit the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas first and also to write the connected Historical chapters as part one of the revised volume. But the illness in his family as well as his own illness prevented him from devoting his entire attention to this work. However, by the end of 1949, he had prepared the rough draft of the volume and he wanted to revise this draft, dress-up and prepare the press-copy by re-typing the entire matter under his personal supervision. But the advancing age and illness prevented him from doing so and, alas!, he passed away in May 1950 without completing the task which was very dear to him and on which he had worked for many years. But before his death, in March 1950, he had sent the manuscript of his draft-copy to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the then Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund, for dressing up and preparing the press-copy of the volume. Dr. Chhabra had earlier met Dr. Bhandarkar on a few occasions and had discussed with him about the publication of this volume.

After the death of Dr. Bhandarkar, the task of finalising and preparing the press-copy of the revised edition was entrusted to Dr. Chhabra who, however, thought of bringing the volume up-to-date by incorporating all the latest views and discussions of several scholars relating to Gupta history and also by including the later discoveries of the Gupta inscriptions in it. He worked for some time in sorting out the materials received from Dr. Bhandarkar,
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PREFACE.

preparing notes, references, etc. but his work was also interrupted due to several reasons like his transfers from Ootacamund to Delhi first as Deputy Director General of Archaeology and again as Joint Director General of Archaeology from which post he retired in 1965 and joined the Panjab University, Chandigarh, as Professor of Ancient Indian Culture and Archaeology. Ater his assignment at Chandigarh was over and after he came to settle down at Ootacamund, Dr. Chhabra resumed his work on the revision of the Gupta volume in 1972. In the meanwhile, the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India was shifted from Ootacamund to Mysore in June 1966 when Dr. G. S. Gai was its Head as Government Epigraphist for India (which designation has been subsequently changed as Chief Epigraphist). So Dr. Chhabra was required to visit Mysore from Ootacamund in connection with his work on Gupta volume.

In order to expedite this work, Dr. Chhabra suggested, in 1975, to Shri M. N. Deshpande, the then Director General of Archaeology, to associate Dr. Gai as Co-Editor to which the Director General readily agreed. Dr. Gai also retired from service in March 1976 but as he settled down in Mysore only where the Office of the Chief Epigraphist is located, he could take up and concentrate on this work earnestly. He worked continuously for over eight months and filled up the references, gaps, etc. in Dr. Bhandarkar’s draft, dressed up and prepared the press-copy by re-arranging and getting the entire matter re-typed under his personal supervision. Dr. Gai also edited and included in the volume four newly discovered inscriptions of the rulers of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, viz. Nos. 5, 23, 32 and 37.

It will be noticed that Dr. Bhandarkar has largely followed Fleet in the introductory portion of each inscription and also in giving the texts of the inscriptions, though he has given his own readings and interpretations wherever he differed from Fleet. But he has thoroughly revised the translations of the texts. And the Historical chapters written by him and forming his original contribution undoubtedly bear the stamp of his great scholarship and erudition. The editors have restricted their comments to the barest minimum in order to retain and make available Dr. Bhandarkar’s views and comments on various topics in their original to the scholars. The work of consolidation of the different and latest views and comments of various scholars on many topics has not been attempted here, as originally intended, and has been left to a future date.

The manuscript of the press-copy was sent to the Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd., Calcutta, towards the end of 1976 but, due to some unavoidable difficulties in the press, the printing of the volume was delayed. And, at last, after a chequered career extending over a period of about fifty years (thirty years after the death of Dr. Bhandarkar), this long awaited revised volume of the Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings has now been printed and placed in the hands of the scholars. There is a saying in Sanskrit—śrēṣṭhāśi bahu vighāṇāni which means “there are many obstacles in good undertaking” which fits very well in the case of this volume. And, as a token of our great regard for that veteran scholar Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who toiled hard in the preparation of this volume till the end of his life, we dedicate this revised volume to his revered memory.

We are grateful to Shri M. N. Deshpande, former Director General of Archaeology, for seeing that suitable accommodation and other necessary facilities were provided in the office of the Chief Epigraphist to Dr. Gai which enabled him to carry on the work relating to this volume and also for arranging for its publication in the Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd., Calcutta. We are also thankful to the present Director General of Archaeology, Shri B. K. Thapar, for evincing keen interest in the expeditious printing of the volume. Our thanks are also due to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Superintending Epigraphist, who rendered much assistance to Dr. Gai in the initial stages and to Dr. S. S. Iyer, Senior Epigraphical Assistant, who has
taken great pains in preparing the Index to the volume in a short time. We would also like to express our appreciation and thanks to the authorities of the Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd., Calcutta, for their kind co-operation and neat and efficient printing of the volume.

Mysore
18th October, 1980

B. CH. CHHABRA
G. S. GAI
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ABBREVIATION

A.B.O.R.I. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
A.S.W.I. Archaeological Survey of Western India
B.C. Bombay Gazetteer
B.O.R.I. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
C.A.S.I.R. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports
C.I.I. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
E.H.I. Vincent Smith, Early History of India
Eph.Ind. Epigraphia Indica
G.O.S. Gaekwad Oriental Series
I.C. Indian Culture
I.H.Q. Indian Historical Quarterly
J.A.H.R.S. Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
J.A.I.H. Journal of Ancient Indian History
J.A.S.B. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.A.S.B. (N.S.) Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)
J.B.A.S. Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society
J.B.B.R.A.S. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.B.O.R.S. Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J.B.R.S. Journal of Bihar Research Society
J.G.J.R.I. Journal of the Ganganath Jhia Research Institute
J.I.H. Journal of Indian History
J.N.S. Journal of the Numismatic Society
J.N.S.I. Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
J.P.A.S.B. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.O.R. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
J.R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.U.P.H.S. Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society
M.A.S.I. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
N.I.A. New Indian Antiquary
P.I.H.C. Proceedings of Indian History Congress
P.R.A.S., N.C. Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle
P.R.A.S., W.C. Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle
P.T.S. Pali Text Society
S.B.E. Sacred Books of the East
Sel. Ins. D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions
Z.D.M.G. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Page 25, line 24. — For Pārbatī Read Pārvatī.
,, 28, f.n. 1, line 1. — For septs Read sects.
,, 39, line 34. — For Rahtore Read Rathore.
,, 53, line 33. — For Western Read Western.
,, 74, line 9. — For Risidatta Read Riśidatta.
,, 98, f.n. 7, line 2. — For Mahāpratihāra Read Mahāpratihāra.
,, 99, line 32. — For Pratihāra(rā)kshi Read Pratihāra(rā)kshi.
,, 187, line 7. — For Byānā Read Bayānā.
,, 189, line 30. — For exactly Read exactly.
,, 189, lines 44-45. — For inscription Read inscription.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Page 264, f.n. 4. — For mēghē pravṛtī Read mēghē pravṛtī
,, 270, line 36. — For Inscription Read Inscription.
,, 297, line 45. — For Prausṭhapada Read Prausṭhapada
,, 317, line 28. — For 1943-44\(^1\) Read 1943-44\(^a\).
,, 340, line 20. — For Āṣvyā Read Āṣvāyā.
,, 347, f.n. 1. — For Pleidaes Read Pleiades.
INTRODUCTION

POLITICAL HISTORY

Preliminary

It is well-known that prior to the rise of the Guptas, the Kusānas exercised sovereignty over North India. For a long time the coins and inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors had been found at Mathura and the adjoining districts. And it was thought by scholars that the Kusāna power had not spread far to the east of that place. In the winter of 1904-05, however, during the course of excavations carried on by F. O. Oerthl at Sarnath near Varanasi, a considerable number of epigraphs came to light along with a wealth of other archaeological material. Two of these have been incised on a colossal standing Boddhissattva statue and one on a stone umbrella originally placed over the image. They are dated in the third year of Kanishka and say that the image and umbrella were the gift of the Bhikshu Bala, with whom, inter alia, were associated Mahākṣatrapa Kharapallāna and Kṣatrapa Vanashpāra. This shows that the dominions of Kanishka extended so far eastward as to include Varanasi at least. As Vanasipīra was a mere Kṣatrapa, he must have been in charge of Varanasi and the surrounding district. The jurisdiction of Kharapallāna, who was a Mahākṣatrapa, must have been of a wider extent and certainly included the Varanasi District, but where his headquarters exactly were we do not know. What, however, cannot be incontestably proved by inscriptions may be proved almost conclusively through numismatic finds. There is a class of copper coins termed “Puri Kusāna”, which were so called by the late A. F. R. Hoernle, because the earliest known specimens that he examined came from a site from the Puri District. They are, however, found from Singhbhum to Ganjam. They are generally uninscribed, and seem to have been issued in the 4th or 5th century A.D. “All numismatists acknowledge that they exhibit a reminiscence of the characteristic Kusāna type.” For a long time it was a mystery how the Kusāna coinage exercised influence on this class of coins, because no Kusāna coins had actually been found in that region or in Bengal. Not long ago, however, a hoard of coins was discovered in the erstwhile Mayurbhanj State, Orissa, containing 282 copper coins, of which 170 were Puri Kusānas and 112 Imperial Great Kusānas of Kanishka and Huvishka. And, further, R. D. Banerji informs us that the coinage, both gold and copper, of the Later Great Kusānas is still extremely abundant in the markets of Pata and Gaya, showing that Bihar, too, was under the domination of the Later Great Kusānas. In Bengal also three coins have subsequently come to light, one from Malda and two from Mahasthan in Bogra District.

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1 The exact name of the race to which Kanishka and his successors belonged was for long not known. The discovery of the Māṭ inscription which is in Brāhmi and presents the Sanskrit form Kusāna-patrō, ‘R. JSL, 1911-12, Pt. II, p. 124) now leaves no doubt as to Kusāna being the correct name of this race. This name has therefore been adopted throughout this book. In JIR, 1894, pp. 79 ff. and pp. 754 ff., Baron A. von Stael-Holstein ingeniously seeks to show that this name was Kusha or Kusā, and not Kusāna. But his view has been strongly dissented from by scholars like J. F. Fleet (ibid., pp. 369 ff., pp. 1000 ff.), J. Allan (ibid., pp. 403 ff.) and others.


3 R. D. Banerji, however, surmises that Kharapallāna was in charge of North-eastern India, and Vanashpāra, of Magadha (The Age of the Imperial Guptas, Benares, 1933, p. 2). As Vanashpāra was the smaller officer and is associated with the benefaction, presumably he was in charge of the Varanasi District.

4 P. J. S. B., 1895, pp. 61 ff. Rapson’s Indian Coins, pp. 13-14, § 74.

5 Smith’s Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. 1, p. 65. For a better account of this type of coins, see Sushil K. Bose’s A Fresh Hoard of so-called Puri Kusāna Coins (IC, Vol. III, pp. 727 and ff.).


7 The Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 2. The statement was confirmed later by the excavations of Spooner at Pata, as we shall presently see.
Two of these, again, belong to Vāsudēva, and one is a Later Great Kushāña. This last is a coin of the third century A.D. and seems to have been issued from some part of Eastern Bengal. It thus appears that when the tide of Kushāña conquest broke in upon North India, it did not stop till it swept off Bihar, Bengal and Orissa also.

The Imperial Great Kushāṇas must have ruled over Āryāvarta and East India for a century or so, that is, up till c. 230 A.D. They were succeeded by the Later Great Kushāṇas, whose power, however, was considerably weakened, with the result that many of the provinces in Central and East India became more or less independent of the Kushāṇa family. The western part of Āryāvarta was held by rulers of the Nāga race. As we shall see subsequently, three Nāga houses had risen to prominence about this time, with capitals situated at Mathurā, Padvāvati and Dhārā. The central part was ruled over by the Bhāraśivas, who are known only from the copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. According to them, the Bhāraśivas performed ten Āśamēdhas. And they are said to have obtained possession of the Bhāgirathī through their valour and were anointed to sovereignty with her holy waters. As there is such a site as Āśamēdhā at Varanasi and as the river Gaṅgā is considered to be particularly holy at this place, it is difficult not to agree with the late K. P. Jayaswal in saying that it was the Varanasi province which was occupied by the Bhāraśivas. Years ago George Bühler identified the Bhāraśivas with Bhār Rājpūt, who are found chiefly in Eastern Oudh and the Basti District in the U.P. Only one prince is known to us of this race, namely Bhavanāga, from the Vākāṭaka records. It is true that this name ends in nāga; but it is not quite safe merely on this ground to assert that the Bhāraśivas were Nāgas, especially as the Bhārs are not known to be a branch of the Nāgas. The eastern part, consisting principally of Bihar, seems at this time to have owned the sway of the Lichchhavīs, who, as we shall presently see, ruled at Pāṭaliputra. Such was the political condition of North India when the Guptas came to power. The Purāṇas are by no means our safe guide for this period. They make no mention of the Kushāṇa dynasty, or, for the matter of that, any one of its celebrated monarchs such as Kanishka, Huvisaka and Vāsudēva. There is no mention, again, of the Bhāraśivas or of the Lichchhavīs, whose existence, nay, importance, at this epoch is attested by epigraphic records. The Purānic accounts present but a jumbled mass of dynastic names and regnal years, the confusion of which no scholar has yet been able satisfactorily to reduce to order.

**Chandragupta I**

The first king of the Gupta dynasty who raised himself to eminence is Chandragupta I. This may be seen from the fact that he is the first of the Gupta family who has been styled Mahārājādhīrāja, his father and grandfather, Ghaṭotkacha and Gupta, being called simply Mahārāja. The former of these titles at this time denoted an overlord, and the latter, a feudatory chieftain. In the Allahabad pillar inscription (No. 1 below), the actual name given of Chandragupta's grandfather is Śrīgupta. But Fleet has adduced cogent reasons to show that here śrī is an honorific prefix and does not form an integral part of the name. His real name is thus, according to this record, not Śrīgupta, but Gupta. To supplement Fleet's arguments, John

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5. K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS.*, Vol. XIX, p. 8. In the Chaulukya line of Aṇṭahilapāṭaka, we have not one, but two, kings, Kumārapāṇa and Ajayapāṇa, whose names end in -pāla. But we cannot on that evidence assert that they were Pālas. As a matter of fact, we know that they were Śoḷaṅkis.
Allan has quoted examples of the use of ‘Gupta’ as a proper name.1 Gupta was thus the name of the father of the celebrated Buddhist saint, Upagupta. Rapson, again, has published a seal with the legend Gautasya (=Guttaṣa) in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit, standing, of course, for the Sanskrit Guptasya.2 Similarly, Hoernle possessed a clay seal reading Śrī-Guptasya and belonging apparently to the third century A.D. Basak is of opinion that not the first, but the second, of these seals belongs to Gupta, the grandfather of Chandragupta.3 Allan points out that I-Tseng, the Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in the seventh century A.D., speaks of a ‘great king’ (mahārāja), Śrī-Gupta, who built a temple near Mrigasikhāvana for the benefit of Chinese pilgrims and who lived some five hundred years before his own time of pilgrimage in India. This statement of I-Tseng has already been noted by Fleet, who, however, rejects the identification of this Śrī-Gupta with our Gupta, first because the former’s name is Śrīgupta, and not Gupta, and secondly because I-Tseng’s date would place him about 175 A.D. which is too early. “It is not, however, necessary,” says Allan by way of reply, “to regard the śrī here as an integral part of the name (śrīyā guptaḥ); it is frequently used as an honorific by the Chinese writers.” He, however, admits that the chronological difficulty is more serious, but argues that the chronological part of I-Tseng’s statement is vague and may not be taken too literally. He further argues that “it is unlikely that we should have two different rulers in the same territory of the same name within so brief a period.”4 “But have we not,” asks H. C. Raychaudhuri pertinently, “two Chandra Guptas and two Kumāra Guptas within brief periods?”5 There is thus no good reason to identify Śrī-Gupta of I-Tseng who lived about 175 A.D. with Chandragupta’s grandfather who flourished a century later. It is again very doubtful whether Gupta with which the Gupta lineage begins can really be the proper name of any prince of this dynasty. For his son is Ghaṭotkacha, his son Chandra, and his son Samudra. As these are genuine proper names, they can be joined to their dynastic names so as to form the complete names, Ghaṭotkachagupta, Chandragupta, and Samudragupta. If Gupta, the name of the first prince of this family, is a proper name, we ought for the same reason to call him Gupagupta, which, however, sounds fanciful to a degree. Besides, we have in this connection to note what the Poona Plates of Prabhāvatigupta7 have to say on this point. Prabhāvatigupta, as we shall see later on, was a daughter of Chandragupta II and grand-daughter of Samudragupta. She was thus not far removed from the latter. And yet, her record, while describing her pedigree, distinctly says that the first king of the Guptas is, not Gupta, but the Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha. The exact wording of the inscription is: aśīd=Gupt-ādīrāja Mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭotkachales (lines 1-2), which can mean only “there was the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ghaṭotkacha, the first king among the Guptas.” No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Ghaṭotkacha being really the first ruler of this dynasty. And it appears that Gupta has been mentioned at all, because it is customary to introduce an illustrious personage by specifying details about the two generations preceding him. Chandragupta was the first independent king of the Gupta family. His father’s and grand-father’s names had thus to be specified. His father’s name was well-known, namely, Ghaṭotkacha. But the latter’s father’s name, it seems, was not so. He was practically a nonentity. At any rate, it served no useful purpose to reveal his name, and so he has been mentioned by his family name, Gupta, and the title Mahārāja was appended to it, it seems, by way of courtesy.

3 The History of North-eastern India, etc., p. 5.
5 Ibid.
That Gupta as a family name was current before 300 A.D. is known to everybody who is conversant with epigraphy. Thus the Ichchhāwar Buddhist statuette inscription speaks of the gift of Mahādevī, queen (rājñī) of Hariṛṣa, sprung from the Gupta race. In still earlier times the Gupta figured as prominently as any Brāhmaṇa gōtra, as we have pointed out elsewhere. The celebrated Bhārhatū tōrana inscription records that it was erected by Vāṭisiputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gauptiputra Aṅgāradyut (Gōtiṣṭha Āgaraja), and grandson of the king (rājan) Gārgiputra Viśvadeva, while the Śūṅgas were wielding sway. As Viśvadeva is here called a rājan, there can be no doubt that his son and grandson pertained to a ruling family. Further, it is worthy of note that whereas Viśvadeva and Dhanabhūti are styled Gārgiputra and Vāṭisiputra respectively, showing that their mothers belonged to these Vedic gōtras, Aṅgāradyut alone is styled Gōtiṣṭha (Gauptiputra) showing that his mother belonged to the Gupta clan which was anything but a Vedic gōtra. As a Gupta lady could be married into a ruling family, it is no wonder if matrimonial relations prevailed between the Guptas and the nobility. Thus a Kārle cave inscription informs us that the column in front of the cave was set up by one Agimtra (Agnimitra) who was not only a Mahārāṣṭra but also a Gōtiṣṭha. Here also Lüders has rightly taken Gōtiṣṭha to mean 'son of a Gaupti'. And the appellation Mahārāṣṭra is a title found borne about this time by some feudal chiefs. The conclusion is irresistible that Gupta, though it was not a Brāhmaṇa gōtra, denoted a clan of high dignity, which could enter into matrimonial alliances with the ruling classes and the nobility. But this is not all, because Gupta is a name which is found among lower classes also. Thus an inscription¹ of Sānci Stūpa No. 1 speaks of the royal scribe (rāja-lipikāra) Subāhita as Gōtiṣṭha (=Gauptiputra), “son of a Gōti (i.e. of a mother of the Gupta family).” Similarly an inscription on a Lucknow Provincial Museum sculpture speaks of one Utara (Uttara), son of a Gōti (Gaupti), as Sōvanita, ‘goldsmith’. Thus, like the Āhīras and the Gurjaras, the Guptas seem to have originally been a tribe which was merged into the Hindu population leaving a trace of its name in the various castes into which it was lost.

It is not very difficult to surmise how Chandragupta rose to power. It was doubtless through his marriage with the Lichchhavi princess, Mahādevī Kumārádevī. Their son, Samudragupta, in his Allahabad pillar inscription, calls himself with pride Lichchhavi-dauhītra, “the daughter’s son of the Lichchhavi (King).” The same epithet has been applied to him by his successors in their records. The union of Chandragupta with the Lichchhavi clan was thus considered to be an event of great importance by the members of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The same conclusion is pointed to by a series of coins,² on the obverse of which are the figures of Chandragupta and his queen Kumārádevī, known by the names appearing on them, and on the reverse the legend Lichchhavayaḥ, ‘the Lichchhavis’. As mention is made of the Lichchhavis on the reverse, the inference is obvious that they were subordinate to both Chandragupta and Kumārádevī. And as Kumāradēvi was a Lichchhavi princess, it was through her that he became a ruler of the Lichchhavis, or, rather, a joint ruler of the Lichchhavi territory. It seems that the father of Kumāradēvi was the last male chief of the Lichchhavi clan in East India and that Kumāradēvi was his only child, and when he died, Kumāradēvi succeeded him to the kingdom of the Lichchhavis, in which function she was naturally associated with her husband. The series of coins referred to above has been described

¹ Lüders’ List, No. 11.
² Ibid., No. 687.
³ Ibid., No. 1096.
⁴ Ibid., No. 271.
by Allan as memorial medals struck by Samudragupta in honour of his parents,¹ but without any cogent grounds. His contention is that Samudragupta’s Standard Type of Coins is a very close, almost slavish, imitation of those of the Later Great Kushāṇas. In fact, there is no other type of Gupta coins, which comes so close to this prototype. On the other hand, the Chandragupta-Kumāradēvi Type is one step further removed from the Kushāṇa prototype. Again, Allan maintains that there is no evidence that Kushāṇa coins circulated in the Gupta territory about this time. In fact, he says that they belong to the north-west part of India, and are rarely found outside the Panjāb. We have therefore to place the origin of the Gupta coinage at a period when the Guptas came into contact with the Later Great Kushāṇas. This was not possible before the time of Samudragupta, because it was he who first came in touch with them, or with the Shāhi-Shāhānushāhis as they have been described in his Allahabad inscription. The Chandragupta-Kumāradēvi coins cannot thus be attributed to Chandragupta I, as has been done by V. A. Smith and others, but must be considered to have been issued by Samudragupta in commemoration of his parents and his Lichchhavi descent. This is no doubt what Allan wrote in 1914. We are not sure, however, whether he still clings to the view in the light of the knowledge we possess at present. We have already stated on the authority of R. D. Banerji that the gold and copper coins of the Later Great Kushāṇas are to this day abundant in the markets of Patna and Gaya and that subsequently a hoard of coins came to light in the erstwhile Mayurbhanj State containing 170 Puri Kushāṇas and 112 Imperial Great Kushāṇas. If this is not considered sufficient evidence, we may turn to the account given by D. B. Spooner of his own excavations at Basāṛh in the A. R. ASI, 1913-14. On page 122 thereof, while speaking of clearly legible coin of Kadphises picked up in these excavations, Spooner says: “Coins of Kadphises II have certainly been found as far east as Banaras, but I am under the impression that no coin apart from the present specimen, is known from a site so far east as Vaiśāli. The point, however, is of no particular importance, as the difference between Banaras and Vaiśāli is inconsiderable, and the Honourable Mr. Burn whom I have consulted, tells me he seems to remember having heard of specimens recovered even at Patna.” And on the same page in a footnote he gives us the following further and more important information: “Since writing the above, I have found large numbers of Kushana coins, copper and gold (2 specimens), at Pāṭaliputra.” No detailed report of this find has been published, so far as we know. But under the heading “Mr. Tata’s Excavations at Pataliputra”, Spooner has given a brief account of it in the Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1913-14, p. 71.² From it, it appears that he found there a hoard of Kushāṇa copper coins fiftytwo in number. And he remarks further: “This is presumably the largest find of Kushana coins at so easterly a point as Patna. They have not yet been cleaned, however, and cannot individually be assigned as yet. Coins of Kadphises II, of Kanishka and Huvishka appear to be among the lot, but very few are now distinguishable. The majority are not in good condition.” This leaves not even the shadow of a doubt as to Kushāṇa coins having been prevalent just in that province of Bihar where the Imperial Gupta power sprang into existence. No historian or even numismatist will now subscribe to the view that Gupta coinage originated with Samudragupta and at a time when he came into contact with the Later Great Kushāṇas in East Panjāb, because no Kushāṇa coins ever circulated in East India when Chandragupta rose to power. It is safer and more natural to say that the Gupta coins were first issued by Chandragupta and Kumāradēvi themselves³ and that, as the figures of both

² Our attention to this was first drawn by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit of the Archaeological Department.
occur on the obverse, they must be taken to be joint rulers and further that, as the Lichchhavis are mentioned on the reverse, it was their territory that both ruled over, to begin with. It is true that when we, for the first time, hear of the Lichchhavis, that is, in the time of the Buddha from the scriptures of both Northern and Southern Buddhists, they were a tribal oligarchy, with their capital at Vaiśāli (= Bāsrū). But instances are not unknown of tribes changing their forms of constitution, oligarchic becoming monarchical and monarchical oligarchic. And that, as a matter of fact the Lichchhavis, who were originally an oligarchy in the time of the Buddha, became later a monarchical tribe, is evident to any scholar who studies the Nepāl inscriptions published by Bhagwanlal Indrajī. When the Lichchhavi father-in-law of Chandragupta lived, the Lichchhavis must have ceased to be oligarchic and assumed a monarchical constitution.

And as Kumāradēvi apparently was his only child, she naturally succeeded him to his kingdom and administered it along with her husband. But where could the capital of this Lichchhavi kingdom have been? The Allahabad inscription speaks of Samudragupta as amusing himself at a place called Pushpa, that is, Pushapura, which can be no other than Pāṭaliputra. And the presumption is that the capital of his father Chandragupta, and, previous to him, of his Lichchhavi father-in-law also must have been Pushapura. And it may reasonably be asked whether there is any evidence in support of it. As was first pointed out by Bühler, "Dr. Bhagwanlal's Nepal inscription No. XV informs us that the Lichchhavis ruled before the conquest of Nepal, and possibly also after that event, at Pushapura or Pāṭaliputra, the ancient capital of India north of the Ganges." No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Chandragupta having formed a marriage alliance of extreme political importance which enabled him to push his fortune and attain to the proud and coveted position of a Mahārājādhīrāja. Evidently his son and successors had good reasons to remember it.

It must not, however, be supposed that the rule of Chandragupta did not extend beyond Bihar or that he struck only one type of coins, namely, that commemorating his union with the Lichchhavis. The Lichchhavi territory was no doubt his matrimonial acquisition. But it seems exceedingly improbable that his sway was confined only to that small region. This is unmistakably controverted by the title of Mahārājādhīrāja which is coupled with his name and which indicates his imperial rank. Surely with the help and prowess of the Lichchhavis he must have extended the bounds of the Lichchhavi territory which he had acquired through marriage. In this connection may be quoted the well-known Puranic verse defining the Gupta dominions which Allan has rightly taken as referring to his reign:

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anu Gaṅgāṅi Prayāgaṁ cha Sākētaṁ Magadhāṁs=tathā\;
ēḷāṁ=janapadāṁ sarvāṁ bhāṣhtyante Gupta-vanśājāṁ \\|;
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It must be confessed that these lines have been badly composed, because Prayāga and Sākēta are towns and not countries (janapadāṁ) as no doubt follows from the wording ēḷāṁ=janapadāṁ sarvāṁ. Besides, Sākēta is not situated on the Ganges. The meaning of the verse, however, is clear enough. It means that kings of the Gupta family will enjoy all territories

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 178;
5 Vienna Ori. *Jour.*, Vol. V, p. 226. Following Fleet, V. A. Smith at first thought that Chandragupta's alliance was with the Lichchhavi family of Nepal (*JRAS.*, 1889, p. 55); but afterwards agreed with Bühler in that this royal family was that of Pāṭaliputra (*ibid.* 1893, p. 81).
6 *Car. Coins Gupta Dyn.*, Intro., p. xix
along the Ganges and that their might will spread not only over the Magadha country but also beyond as far as Prayāga and Sākēta. Magadha here denotes the Lichchhavi territory with Pātaliputra as its capital. So the Gupta dominions herein described extended as far westward as Prayāga (Allahabad), and even Sākēta (Ayodhya), that is, much beyond Magadha. This description of the extent of the Gupta territory cannot possibly fit his son, Samudragupta, because his kingdom, as we shall see shortly, had spread over a much wider area, and was practically co-extensive with the whole of Āryāvarta, excluding only West Panjab, Sind, and some parts of Rajputana. Chandragupta thus seems to have obtained East India through his marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis and to have uprooted the Bhāraśivas of Varanasi and annexed their territory to his own dominions.

Allan aptly remarks about Chandragupta I that “it is unlikely that, as he was a mahārājādhirāja, he was content to issue a ‘joint’ coinage throughout his reign” especially as it extended over “a comparatively long period.”¹ In this connection we have to bear in mind that there were two Chandraguptas of this imperial dynasty and that it is not at all improbable that coins that were really issued by Chandragupta I have been foisted upon his grandson who was his namesake. We may thus select for our consideration what is called the Chhattara Type of Chandragupta II. This is the type to which V. A. Smith has given the name ‘Umbrella’. But “it seems better,” says Allan, “to retain the Indian term, as it has the technical meaning of a symbol of royal power.”² On the obverse, the king stands sacrificing at an altar with his right hand, his left leaning on a sword hilt. Behind him is a boy or dwarf attendant who holds a chhattara over him.³ If any king of the Imperial Gupta dynasty had the first claim to issue this coinage, it was Chandragupta I, as he was the first ruler of this family who made himself a mahārājādhirāja with whose rank alone the chhattara symbol agrees best.⁴ Secondly, it is worthy of note that this coin type was not struck by any other Gupta sovereign. The only Gupta sovereign that was therefore pre-eminently fitted to issue the Chhattara Type must be Chandragupta I. Thirdly, we have to bear in mind that this Type presents “a number of varieties” which suits excellently for the long reign of Chandragupta I. All evidence thus points to this sovereign being responsible for the striking of this Chhattara Type. We have again to note that there is one coin type which is common to all kings of this imperial dynasty, namely, the Archer Type. We find it issued not only by Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, but also by the successors of Skandagupta with the solitary exception of Prakāśāditya.⁵ It is inconceivable that it was not struck by Chandragupta I, although he was a mahārājādhirāja. The natural conclusion is that some of the specimens of this type that have so long been attributed to Chandragupta II must now be attributed to Chandragupta I, especially as Allan tells us that the “Archer coins of Chandragupta are by far the commonest of the whole series, and a considerable number of varieties may be distinguished.”⁶ We shall therefore not be far from right if we say that Chandragupta I struck coins not only of the Chandragupta-Kumāradēvi Type but also of the Chhattara and Archer Types. The last two types give him the title of Ikkrama and Ikkramāditya. This does not run counter to any established conclusions, because this title was not the monopoly of Chandragupta II, and we know

² Ibid., p. lxxx.
⁴ This line of argument was first advanced by Krishnaswami Aiyangar, though with some difference, in his Studies in Gupta History (JH.), Vol. VI. University supplement, p. 12.
⁵ Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty. Intro., p. iii.
⁶ Ibid., p. lxxviii.
Skandagupta and Purugupta also style themselves Tikramāditya and Vikrama on their coins respectively.2

Samudragupta

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son, Samudragupta. In the Allahabad pillar inscription there is a stanza which refers to this succession. Once when the Durbar was being held, the father seeking for real worth, called the son to him in the open assembly, and, having embraced him with his hair standing on end, addressed the words: “do protect the whole earth,” with the consequence that the other princely claimants cast jealous looks of disappointment though the courtiers themselves breathed cheerfully. Fleet takes this verse “to indicate that Chandragupta I specially selected Samudragupta, from among several brothers, to conquer the land and to succeed him on the throne.”3 What Fleet apparently means is that Chandragupta selected Samudragupta to succeed him to the throne forthwith. The words in question are denuded of all meaning, if we suppose that Samudragupta was appointed merely as heir-apparent. It, therefore, seems that after leading a hard and strenuous life, during which he raised himself to the rank of Mahārājādhīrāja, Chandragupta abdicated the throne4 after formally appointing Samudragupta as his successor. It thus appears that Samudragupta was not the only son of Chandragupta, or even the eldest amongst them, and that he was so chosen for his valour, tact, and other extraordinary powers.

If Samudragupta was thus selected as immediate successor to the empire, to the exclusion of other princes of equal birth, it must have naturally created jealousy amongst them and consequently incited some of the frontier kings also to challenge his accession, at such a supremely psychological moment. This, in fact, follows from stanza 7 of the Allahabad inscription. In this verse there is a clear mention of Achyuta and Nāgasēna, and along with them has been associated in one compound word (in line 13) a third prince whose name is lost. The initial letter of his name, however, has been preserved, and is ga. In this connection it is worthy of note that the names of Nāgasēna and Achyuta have been mentioned also in line 21 of this record and in this order in the list of the Āryāvarta rulers destroyed by Samudragupta. And it is further worthy of note that continguously with, and immediately preceding, Nāgasēna, occurs the name of Ganaṇapatināga, which doubtless begins with the letter ga. The conclusion is almost irresistible that the name of the third prince mentioned along with Achyuta and Nāgasēna in verse 7 (line 13) in the same compound word, must be restored to Ganaṇapati or some such word. And, as has been pointed out below, where the text of the inscription has been set forth, it can be easily and safely restored to Ganaṇa which is synonymous with Ganaṇapati. We have thus three princes, namely, Achyuta, Nāgasēna and Ganaṇapati mentioned together in one Sanskrit compound. And we are further told that through the prowess of his arm which was at once overflowing and impetuous, Samudragupta, singly (ēkēna) and in a moment (kṣanāt), uprooted the three kings just mentioned. Here the words

1 Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, Intr., p. cxii.
2 It is worthy of note that in the Gupta inscriptions Ghaṭātka has been called Mahārāja, but Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, etc., have been styled Mahārājadīrāja. In the Vākāṭaka plates, however, whereas the Poona plates designate Ghaṭātka and Chandragupta I, Mahārāja, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, Mahārājadīrāja, the Riddapur plates call Chandragupta II alone as Mahārājadīrāja and the rest simply Mahārāja. It seems that the Vākāṭaka court writers were not great sticklers in regard to the royal formulary.
4 The idea of a king entrusting the royal insignia to one of his sons and betaking himself to a forest like Vānaprastha has been repeatedly expressed by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa (I. 8; III. 70; XIX. 1).


\textit{ekēna} and \textit{kšaṇāt} leave no doubt as to this Gupta monarch having met the three foes at one and the same time and on one and the same battle-field. Evidently, Achyuta, Nāgasēnā and Gaṇapatināgā had formed a coalition to put down Samudragupta, apparently at a time when there were jealousy and dissatisfaction created amongst his brothers and half-brothers at his being promoted to the throne by his father. But Samudragupta broke it down by killing them in a well-pitched battle. It was not, however, a three-membered confederacy. There was a fourth prince also who had joined the coalition. He has no doubt been mentioned in the same stanza, but in the next line (line 14). His name is not given, and he is spoken of merely as “a scion of the Kōta family”. And Samudragupta, we are told, caused him to be captured through his forces while he himself was sporting at a place called Pushpa, that is, at Paṭaliputra. What this means is that after exterminating the three princes mentioned above, Samudragupta returned to Paṭaliputra, convinced that he had practically finished the game and won it, but sent part of his army in pursuit of the fourth prince. This last foe was finally made a captive and brought to Paṭaliputra where the monarch had been amusing himself as before.

We thus see that a hostile confederacy had been organised against Samudragupta, apparently when he ascended the throne. His first act, therefore, that turned the scales of political fortune in his favour, was the battle he forthwith gave to the three of the four princes that had formed the coalition. The most important personality of the group is Gaṇapati or Gaṇendra whose coins have been found at Narwar, Gohad, Doab, and Besnagar in Central India. There is a poetic work entitled \textit{Bhāvaśataka}, or rather \textit{Nāgarājaśata} which was printed long ago in Kāvyamāla, part iv, pp. 37-52. Verse 2 thereof runs as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
Nāgarājaśataṁ granthah Nāgarājēna tarvatā
akārī Gajavaktra-sūrya-Nāgarājō girām guruh
\end{verbatim}

In the printed text the second half of the \textit{Aṃuṣṭubh śloka} has \textit{Gajavaktra} which does not yield good sense, but, in a Mithilā manuscript, which the late K. P. Jayaswal was so fortunate as to secure, it is \textit{Gajavaktra} which is obviously the correct reading and becomes identical with the name of (king) Gaṇapati mentioned in verse 80 of that work. What we thus learn from verse 2 is that the work in question, namely \textit{Nāgarājaśata}, was composed by Nāgarāja, who thereby rendered Gajavaktra Nāgarāja, the venerable personage of his praise. Evidently two Nāgarājas are here referred to—one the poet and panegyrist and the other the king who is the subject of the praise. The first is Nāgarāja by proper name. The second is Nāgarāja by epithet, meaning ‘the king of the Nāga clan’, his proper name apparently being Gajavaktra, that is Gaṇapati. At the end of the book has been given very briefly the family history of the poet Nāgarāja. There was one Vidyādharā, who belonged to the Karpāṭi gōtra. His son was Jālapa, the most praiseworthy of the Tāka family. From him sprang up Nāgarāja, the ornament of the Tāka race. Further information about the king is also supplied by two verses in

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2 \textit{Hist. of India 150 A. D. to 250 A. D.}, pp. 38 ff. See in this connection also the views of Dāsarathā Sharma expressed in his article: The \textit{Nāgarāja of the Bhāvaśataka} published in \textit{JIH.}, Vol. XIII, pt. 3, pp. 303-03. So far as we could see, both of them were unable to distinguish between the two Nāgarājaś, causing some confusion in their thought.

3 Tāk is the same as Tāka, which, as an ethnic designation, is used in connection with the name of certain persons in the \textit{Rājatarangini}, vii, 329, 1001, 1064 and 1207. In the time of Hīnac Tsiang, the Tāka kingdom was well-known and was situated somewhere between the Chenab and Ravi (Stein's translation of Kālhaṇa's \textit{Rājatarangini}, Vol. I, p. 205, note 150). \textit{CASIR.}, Vol. II, pp. 8-10.
this work. Verse 80 tells us that all the lords of the Nāgas looked up to Gaṇapati, being afraid of the Mauryas, presumably the Mauryas. As he has again been called Dhārādaśa in verse 62, it appears that his capital was Dhārā,1 apparently modern Dhar, headquarters of the Dhar District, Madhya Pradesh.

The second prince of the confederacy quelled by Samudragupta is Nāgasēna. In this connection Hall2 was the first to draw our attention to a passage in the Harshacharita of Bāna, which says that there was one Nāgasēna in Padmāvatī belonging to the Nāga house, whose fall was caused by the disclosure of his policy by a sārikā bird.3 This is just what Bāna has actually told us. And the commentator Saṅkarārya further informs us that this Nāgasēna took counsel, in the presence of a sārikā bird, to restrain one of his ministers who had possessed himself of one-half of the kingdom but that the minister having come to know about it in confidence from the bird managed to kill the king with a club (daṇḍa). It is no doubt possible to argue that as this Nāgasēna was killed at Padmāvatī on account of some political intrigue, he cannot be identical with Nāgasēna who met with his end on a battlefield.4 There is nothing, however, in the statement of Bāna or his commentator to show that he was murdered in the palace. And the battle in which Samudragupta confronted the confederated kings may have taken place at or near Padmāvatī itself, and the Gupta king may have been here joined by the minister of Nāgasēna who perhaps killed his own master and thus helped the Gupta ruler to get rid of his one enemy. Padmāvatī has been satisfactorily identified with Pawāyā5 in the Gwalior territory by M. B. Garde, the Archaeological Superintendent of the former Gwalior State.

The third member of the confederacy against Samudragupta was Achyutanandin. Some copper and bronze coins, bearing the syllables achya and found in the site of Ahichhatra (Ramnagar, Bareilly District, Uttar Pradesh), were years ago attributed by V. A. Smith and Rayson to this Achyuta.6 In their general character they resemble the coins of the Nāga kings found in Central India, and it is possible that Achyuta may himself have been a Nāga, but belonging apparently to the Nāga house of Ahichhatra. Formerly the compound Achyutanandin was divided into two parts, each part denoting a separate prince (Achyuta and Nandin) destroyed by Samudragupta. It is, however, much better, like Gaṇapatināga, to take Achyutanandin as one name. The Purāṇas7 represent Bhātānandin, Śīsūnandin and Yaśōnandin as ruling over Vidiśā after the Śūngas. The second component of these names is -nandin, and, so far as we can judge, they seem to have pertained to the Nāga clan. This strengthens the conclusion that Achyutanandin is one name and that he was in all likelihood a member of the Nāga race. The fourth ruler who had joined the coalition, as we have seen, belonged to the Kōta family. Smith tells us that “the rude copper coins with Śiva and bull on the obverse, and the monogram reading Kōta—are common in the Delhi Bazar and in the Eastern Panjab. They are copied obviously from the money of Vāsudēva Kushāņa, and some of the reverse devices may be an echo of the Sassanian type.”8 Rayson, however, was the first to connect the Kōta coins with

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1 Dhārā has been very well known ever since the ascendency of the Paramās. But even before the rise of the Paramāra power, Iivaravarm, a Maukharī king, who ruled in circa 550 A.D. is known from a Jaumāpur stone inscription to have repelled the attack of a prince of Dhārā. Situated not far from the Vindhyas; CHI., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 229-30.
3 For the text of and commentary on this work, see Harshacharita 'Bo. Sk. and Ph. Series', pp. 267-68. See also translation by Covell and Thomas, p. 192, where Nāgasēna is said to be an “heir to the Nāga house”, which, however, is not warranted by the text.
7 Parrey, Dyn. Kaśi Age, pp. 49 and 72-73. Compare also the variants of these names given in the foot-note.
the Ḫāta-kula of our epigraph.\(^1\) The Kōtas may thus be placed in some region where North-Eastern Rajputana and Eastern Panjab meet.

It will thus be seen that the confederacy that sprang up against Samudragupta soon after his accession to the throne consisted of four members, three of whom belonged to the Nāga race and one to the Kōta clan. At the head of this coalition was Gaṇapati, who was a Tāka Nāga by extraction and who ruled over Dhārā. Where the battle actually took place is not known with any certainty. Probably it came off in the vicinity of Pāmadāvatī, the capital town of Nāgasēna, himself a Nāga and one of the confederate princes. It seems that the fourth ruler, a Kōta by clan, was not allowed to meet the Nāga kings, as perhaps their armies reinforced by the troops of the Kōta king would have proved too formidable a combination for Samudragupta to encounter and vanquish. Like a clever tactician Samudragupta therefore seems to have given battle to the Nāga rulers before the Kōta could join them, and not only worsted but actually killed them in the fight. The game was thus practically over, and Samudragupta returned triumphant to Pāṭaliputra, taking care, however, to see that the fourth member of the confederacy was not allowed to remain free and unpunished. He therefore sent some forces in pursuit of him. The Kōta king was before long captured and presumably taken in chains to Pāṭaliputra where Samudragupta had already plunged himself into his usual round of pleasures and amusements. That the formation of this confederacy\(^2\) was a great menace to the Gupta power and that its destruction was consequently regarded as the greatest of Samudragupta’s military feats is inferred from the fact that this achievement alone has been described in the verse portion with which the Allahabad pillar inscription begins although the Nāga princes of this coalition have again been mentioned in the prose portion of the same record enumerating the list of the Āryāvarta rulers whom this Gupta sovereign exterminated.

Two records are known of Samudragupta, one engraved on the Aśokān pillar, now standing in the Allahabad fort, and, the other, on a stone originally found at Ėraṇ in the Sagar District, Madhya Pradesh. The latter is not only a fragment but a small inscription and tells us hardly anything about him. The former, on the other hand, is a very long record, and although the upper part of it has suffered very much, partly from the peeling off of the stone surface in several places and partly from the mediaeval inscriptions indiscriminately engraved on and between the original lines, nothing of historical importance has been obliterated. Practically speaking, it is our only and most important source of information for Samudragupta, and, for the matter of that, for the political condition of India in the fourth century A.D. The inscription is a historical composition of the Praśasti or panegyric type setting forth not only the mighty monarch’s military achievements but also his personal accomplishments. It calls itself a kāvyā or poetic composition, and was drawn up by Harishēṇa, son of Dhruvabhūti. Harishēṇa was doubtless an officer of high position, as he bears the threefold designation, Sāndhivigrhaḥika, Kumārānāyaḥ and Mahādāṇḍanāyaka. His father also was a man of no mean rank, because he, too, was a Mahādāṇḍanāyaka. As Harishēṇa was a Sāndhivigrhaḥika or Minister of Peace and War, he must have come into intimate contact with Samudragupta. It is, therefore, no wonder if he has described himself as “the slave of the very same venerable Bhaṭṭāraka, whose mind has expanded through the favour of staying near (him).” Harishēṇa also calls

\(^1\) JRAS., 1898, p. 430.

\(^2\) Krishnawami Aiyangar is the first to suspect the formation of this confederacy against Samudragupta. He says: “The achievement of Samudragupta against Ačhyuta, Nāgasēna and the ruler of the Kōta family in Push paddura may have been an attack by these monarchs in combination against the capital Patna” (Studies in Gupta History, JHI., Vol. VI, University Supplement, p. 27; also p. 37). K. P. Jayaswal has taken up the idea and in his own way developed it by saying that Samudragupta confronted the Nāga rulers at Kauśāmbī, while another Gupta army laid siege to Push paddura and captured Kōta’s descendant who “was the ruler of Pāṭaliputra at the time” (History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., pp. 132-33).
himself Khādyatapāıkika which shows that he was a native of Khādyatapāk. It may be observed that the Allahabad pillar inscription is not a posthumous record as supposed by Fleet. For this rather egregious conclusion he relies upon lines 29-30 where the king’s fame is described as itas—tridaipati-bhavana-gaman-avāpta-lalita-sukha-vieharanā, which he renders by “(has departed) hence (and now) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (his) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods.” The most serious fault in this translation is the word “(his)” which Fleet has imported into it, but, which is not warranted by the passage quoted above. The person that went to the abode of Indra is not he, that is, Samudragupta, but his kirti or Fame which is invariably personified as a female in Sanskrit poetry. And Sanskrit poets are always in the habit of describing the Fame of their hero king as first pervading the whole earth and, when she finds it impossible to spread any further on the earth, as thereafter ascending to heaven. But this does not mean at all that their hero king is defunct. And, further, if Samudragupta had really been deceased when this record was put up, Harishēṇa would certainly have mentioned the name of the monarch who was then ruling, especially as he speaks of his mind having been expanded in consequence of his always staying near the Bhaṭṭāraka, who cannot but stand for the ruling monarch. These reasons make it abundantly clear that the Allahabad pillar inscription is not a posthumous record, composed at the bidding of Samudragupta’s successor, but a contemporary epigraph, containing an account of his reign and achievements.

The Allahabad pillar inscription is historically a most important document, because it throws light not only on the expeditions of conquest undertaken by Samudragupta but also upon the historical geography of the period, and, above all, the system of political organisation that had developed in India at that time. Let us, in the first place, see what it tells us about the Guptan monarch, his military achievements and his personal accomplishments. It covers thirty-two lines and a half, consisting of eight verses at the beginning (lines 1-16), a long prose passage (lines 17-30), a concluding verse (lines 30-31), a subscription of the author (lines 31-32) in which he specifies details about himself (and these we have already considered), and lastly a postscript (line 33) added by the officer of Samudragupta who saw to the engraving of this prākasti on the Aṣokan column. The first part of the epigraph which consists of eight verses occupying the first sixteen lines of it is badly preserved. It tells us something of his character and accomplishments, and, above all, the unique military glory he attained by putting down the Confederacy of Four by a coup de main, killing three and fettering one member thereof. As three of the princes that formed this Confederacy have been mentioned again in the prose passage of the record where the list of the Āryavarta rulers destroyed by him is given and as nevertheless all the members of the Confederacy have been thought fit to be mentioned in the verse portion of the inscription which again does not speak of any other of his conquests, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this military achievement of Samudragupta was then considered to be of supreme importance. This matter, however, we have already dealt with in extenso.

The next passage which is in prose describes the many and manifold conquests achieved by Samudragupta in the different parts of India. It begins with the kings of Dakshināpatha whom he captured but released. Not only their names but also those of their kingdoms have been specified. They are as follows: (1) Mahendra of Kōśala, (2) Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, (3) Maṇṭarāja of Kurāla, (4) Mahendragiri of Pishṭapura, (5) Śvāmidatta of Kōṭūra, (6) Damana of Ėranḍapalla, (7) Vīshnugōpa of Kāṇcī, (8) Nilaśāla of Avamukta, (9) Hastivarman of Vēṅgī, (10) Ugrasēṇa of Pālakka, (11) Kubēra of Dévarāshīra, and (12) Dhanan-

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1 [See note under this word in text line 32 in No. 1 below.—Ed.]
2 [Cf. IHQ., Vol. xxiv, pp. 104-13.—Ed.]
jaya of Kusthalapura. Before we make an attempt to identify these rulers or locate their territories, we have to bear in mind the fact that they were all kings of Dakshināpatha, that is, of India to the south of the Narmadā. No ruler, whose kingdom was to the north of the Narmadā, could here be described as a king of Dakshināpatha and could not thus have been mentioned in this list.

Let us now see, very briefly, what is known about these kings and kingdoms of South India. The first is Mahendra of Kōsala. This Kōsala must be Dakshiṇa (or South) Kōsala, or Mahākōsala as it is also called. “Mahā-Kōsala” says Cunningham “comprised the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānadi and its tributaries, from the source of the Narbada at Amarkantak, on the north, to the source of the Mahānadi itself, near Kānker, on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Gangā, on the west, to the Hasda and Jonk rivers on the east. But these limits have often been extended, so as to embrace the hilly districts of Mandala and Bālāghat, on the west up to the banks of the Wen-Gangā, and the middle valley of the Mahānadi, on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonpur.”¹ In other words, it comprises the greater portions of the modern districts of Raipur and Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh and of such former native states of Orissa as Sonpur and Patna. The country of Kōsala is intimately associated with the Ikshvākus. Thus the Rāmāyaṇa speaks of Kōsala with its capital Ayōḍhya, where reigned Daśaratha and his son Rāma who belonged to the Ikshvāku race. In the time of the Buddha, the boundaries of Kōsala had extended. It had then become co-extensive with practically the eastern half of Uttar Pradesh and was ruled over by Pasenadi (Praśnaṇīt) and his son Viḍūḍabha, both scions of the Ikshvāku family. Their capital, however, was not Ayōḍhya, but Śrāvasti.² When we, therefore, hear of Kōsala being situated in Dakshināpatha, the question naturally arises whether the Ikshvākus had proceeded southward and established their kingdom there also. Fortunately, both tradition and epigraphy support the conclusion. The two well-known provinces of Dakshināpatha were Mālaka and Āsmana. According to the Purāṇas, they were so called after two Ikshvāku rulers, son and father, of these names. This clearly shows that according to tradition South India was being colonised long ago by scions of the Ikshvāku race. We have epigraphic evidence also consisting of records found at two Buddhist Stūpas, one at Jagavayapēṭa in the Krishna District and the other at Nāgarjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. They speak of three Ikshvāku Mahārājas, namely, Vāśishtiputra Chāṁtumāla (I), his son Mādhariṣuputra Viṟăpurushadatta, and the latter’s son Vāśishtiputra Ehuvaḷa Chāṁtumāla (II).³ And further what we have to note is that the first of them is eulogised for having celebrated Agnihōtra, Agnīshtōma, Vājāpēya, and, above all, Aśvamēḍha. The last of these sacrifices is particularly important, as it shows that he was a very powerful ruler. This indicates that the Krishna and Guntur Districts where their monuments have been found were but a tiny part of the mighty kingdom, which was held by these Ikshvākus and which must have embraced Kōsala, which, as its very name indicates, was prīma facie the Ikshvāku country of Dakshināpatha. But which was the capital town of this Ikshvāku kingdom—the Southern Kōsala? In this connection we have to note that the Sonepur Plates of Mahābhavagupta II-Janamejaya speak of a place called Kōsala.⁴ Kōsala cannot but mean ‘the city of Ayōḍhya’, the capital of North Kōsala. It is therefore clear enough that Southern Kōsala also had Kōsala as its capital. Where could it be? It seems tempting to iden-

¹ Casir., Vol. XVII, p. 68.
³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 3-4; see also the various transcripts, pp. 16 ff.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 251, line 13. This Kōsala is more centrally situated than Ayōḍhya six miles from the capital of the former Nilgiri State in Orissa (Nagendranath Vasu’s The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj, Vol. I, pp. 87 ff.).
tify it with Kōsali found in the former Patna State, Orissa. Now, Burgess expressed the opinion that the Ḫajgayya-pēṭa inscriptions "belong to about the third or fourth century A.D., but are possibly earlier." Vogel, while editing them, placed the reign of King Purisadata in the third century of our era, and "before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Veṅgi." And perhaps we shall not be far from right if we suppose that hardly two generations separated the Ikṣvāku ruler, Chāntamūla II, from Samudragupta. We may, therefore, take it that these Ikṣvākus had carved a powerful kingdom for themselves in the south, that their principal territory was Dakshīṇa Kōsala, but that their might had spread as far south as the Telugu country, and that chronologically they were not much anterior to the Guptas. We may, therefore, safely take it that, in all likelihood, Mahēndra, king of Kōsala, who is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription was a member of the Ikṣvāku family and was most probably a son or grandson of Chāntamūla II. What the capital of Kōsala was in the time of Samudragupta we do not know. But about the eighth century A.D. it was certainly Śrīpura, modern Sirpur, because it was from this place that Tivaradēva (c. 800 A.D.), who styled himself 'Supreme Lord of Kōsala', issued two charters. Possibly Śrīpura was the capital of Kōsala even in the time of the Ikṣvākus.

The second king of Dakšināpatha that has been mentioned in our inscription is Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntara. It no doubt seems tempting to identify this Vyāghrarāja with the ruler of that name who is mentioned in the Nāchnē-ki-talāi and Gaṇj inscriptions as a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Prithivishēna, and to say that his principality consisted of portions of the erstwhile Jaso and Ajaigarh States of Bundelkhand. According to Dubreuil, however, the Nāchnē-ki-talāi epigraph belongs rather to the fifth than to the fourth century A.D. The late V. S. Sukthankar, who edited the second record, assigns it to about the seventh century. The late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit agrees with Dubreuil. R. D. Banerji, however, strongly dissents from their view, and maintains the identification of Vyāghrarāja of the Allahabad inscription with Vyāghradēva of the Bundelkhand epigraphs. Notwithstanding the criticism of such an authority on palaeography as R. D. Banerji, we feel inclined to ascribe the latter records to the fifth or even the sixth, but not to the fourth century A.D. The overlord of Vyāghradēva is thus Prithivishēna II, and not Prithivishēna I of the Vākāṭaka line. Besides, the former Jaso and Ajaigarh States, which are supposed to comprise the chieftainship of Vyāghradēva, are situated to the north, rather than to the south, of the Narmadā. His principality could thus scarcely be taken as forming part of Dakšināpatha. Though Vyāghrarāja cannot be identified, the province over which he ruled can be located with some degree of probability. We have here to distinguish Mahākāntara from Sāra-Īśavika-tāiya referred to later in the record (line 21). This latter, as we shall soon see, corresponds to the forests spread over Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. Mahākāntara, therefore, in all likelihood, denotes the forests ranging between Kōsala and Kalinīga. It no doubt denotes the area of Viśakhapattanam and Ganjam, which in a copper plate grant of Narasimhadēva II is called dakṣiṇa-jhāda-khaṇḍa. Jhāda-khaṇḍa in Oriya signifies 'a forest region', and the Northern Jhāda-khaṇḍa probably denoted the forest range which separates Bihar from Bengal. This easily explains...
how Samudragupta after passing through Mahākāntāra proceeded immediately southwards to defeat the rulers of Kurāla and Pishṭapura.

The third prince vanquished by Samudragupta in South India was Manṭarāja of Kurāla. The correction of Kaurāḷaka into Kaurāḷaka proposed by Fleet is too egregious to carry conviction, because it involves corrections in two syllables of a name which consists of three. Manṭarāja has therefore to be taken as a king, not of Kērala, but of Kurāḷa or Kōrāḷa. Dubreuil thinks the latter to be the correct form of the name, but he makes no attempt to identify it. Barnett, however, identifies it with Kōrāḍa, and Aiyangar with Kurtha, the Railway junction Khurda, perhaps the same as Khurda on the South-Eastern Railway from Cuttack to Madras. Kielhorn, on the other hand, taking Kurāḷa as the correct form, identifies it with Kunāla, mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription, as having been reduced by Pulakēśīn II of the Chalukya family. And both have been identified by him with the well-known Kollēru (Collair) lake between the Godavari and the Krishna rivers. Dubreuil, however, sees no reason “why Kurāḷa should be identified with Kunāla.” The only argument he urges in support of his position is that “the names themselves do not resemble each other.” But this is just what they do, the three names Kunāla, Kurāḷa and Kollēru corresponding so closely in sound. Kielhorn himself has asked us to compare āḷāna = āṇāla, Achalapura = Alachapura, and kariṇī = kanērā. And we may also note that l and n are interchangeable in Pāli and the Prakrits. No philological scruples can thus upset the equation Kunāla = Kurāḷa = Kuḷāra = Kollēru. And we have further to note that after conquering Kōsala, whereas Pulakēśīn subjugates Kalinga, Pishṭapura and Kunāla from north to south, Samudragupta subjugates Kurāḷa, Pishṭapura and Kōṭṭūra from south to north.

The fourth king of Dakṣiṇāpatha that we have to consider is Mahēndragiri of Pishṭapura. Pishṭapura is the same as the fortress of that name captured by the Chalukya king Pulakēśīn II, and is the modern Pithāpuram in the East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh. Fleet admits that it is natural to divide the text in such a manner as to give us the names Mahēndragiri of Pishṭapura and Śvāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra. But girī or gīr, he says, is a denominational suffix attached to the names of Gōśāvis and cannot be accepted as a suitable termination for a king’s name. He has, therefore, divided the text into most embarrassing names, and has been followed by other scholars, setting at naught both grammar and common sense. This textual question has been treated at length elsewhere by us, and here we simply consider whether Mahēndragiri is an unsuitable name for a king as Fleet has thought it to be. In the first place, it is not clear why girī is taken by Fleet as a suffix of an individual name. He should have taken Mahēndragiri as one name denoting the mountain Mahēndra which is looked upon as an object of sanctity, especially in the Telugu country. And if the names of the sacred rivers have been adopted as individual names among Hindu females, the names of the sacred mountains have similarly been adopted among Hindu males. Thus mountain names like Himādri, Hēmādri and Śeṣhādri are found used as proper names not only in modern but also in ancient India. If Śeṣhādri (Vēṅkaṭa-giri) is a sacred mountain in the Tamil, Mahēndragiri is so in the Telugu country. And if Śeṣhādri can be the name of an individual, there is

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5 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI. p. 3 and p. 6, line 13.
7 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI. p. 3 and note 3.
no reason why Mahendragiri should not similarly be taken to be so. Unfortunately, however, this Mahendragiri of Pishapatra has not been identified.

After Mahendragiri of Pishapatra comes Svamidatta of Kotthura. Fleet rightly says that Kotthura is a very common Dravidian place name. He, however, identifies Kotthura of the inscription with Kotthur in the Pollachi subdivision of the Coimbatore District, at the foot of one of the passes in the Anaimalai Hills. Smith agrees with him and gives us further information that "the beryl mines of Padiyur, which were famous in the Roman world at the beginning of the Christian era, were probably included within the limits of this kingdom." This Kotthur, however, is too far south to be a likely identification. Dubreuil's suggestion is more probable. He identifies it with Kothonoor in the Ganjam District. We do not, however, know who its ruler, Svamidatta, was. Then comes Damana of Erandapalla. Fleet identifies Erandapalla with Erandol, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Khandesh District, Maharashtra. According to Dubreuil, it is the same as Erandapali mentioned in the Siddhantam plates of the Ganga king Devendravarman. Both the grantee and the writer of this charter, we are told, hailed from this town which therefore seems to be of some importance. Erandapali was thus not far from Chicacole (Srikakulam) in the former Ganjam District, but now in Andhra Pradesh.

After subjugating the Kosala kingdom which most probably included the Kalinga and the Telugu territory, Samudragupta proceeded very much down to the south and defeated Vishnugopa of Kanchi. Kanchi is undoubtedly the modern Conjeeveram (Kanchipuram) in the Chingleput District, Tamil Nadu. And Vishnugopa seems to be identical with the earliest Pallava king of that name, for whom Dubreuil has assigned the period 325-350 A.D. The next ruler of Dakshinapatha mentioned is Nilaraja of Avamukta. Nothing is known about him and his territory. Thereafter has been mentioned Hastivarman of Vengi. "Vengi was a country on the east coast, of which the original boundaries appear to have been, towards the west, the Eastern Ghauts, and, on the north and south, the rivers Godavari and Krishna; an indication of the position of its original capital is probably preserved in the name of Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, a village in the Ellore taluka of the Godavari District." As regards Hastivarman, he seems to be the same as Hastivarman of the Salarbaya family, as has been pointed out by Aiyangar. The next king attacked was Ugrasena of Palakka. The kingdom of Palakka has been identified by Smith with the division of Palghat or Palakkadu in the south of the Malabar District. Dubreuil, with greater probability, identifies Palakka with a capital of the same name which was situated to the south of the Krishna river and which is mentioned in many Pallava copperplates. Nothing, however, is known about Ugrasena. The next ruler mentioned is Kubera of Devarashtra. Smith takes Devarashtra to be identical with Maharrashtra. But there is no authority for it. It had better be identified with the province of Devarashtra mentioned in one of the eight copper-plate grants found in the District of Visakhapatnam and examined

2 J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 29.
3 Anc. Hist. of the Deccan, p. 58.
7 Anc. Hist. of the Deccan, p. 70.
9 Studies in Gupta History (University Supplement to J.H., Vol. VI), pp. 27 and 39.
10 J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 873.
12 J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 874.
by Krishna Sastri. The grant is of Eastern Chālukya Bhima I and refers to a village in Elamañchi-Kaliṅgadeśa comprised in Dēvarāṣṭra-vishaya.₁ Elamañchi-Kaliṅgadeśa is perhaps to be interpreted as "the Kaliṅga-country of which Elamañchi (the modern Yallamanchili) was the chief town." Another reference to this Dēvarāṣṭra is furnished by the Kindoppa plates of Anantavarman² who ruled at Pishṭapura though his father Gunavarman held Dēvarāṣṭra. We thus have Kaliṅga, Dēvarāṣṭra and Pishṭapura somehow connected with one another. The ruler of Dēvarāṣṭra in the time of Samudragupta was Kubēra.³ The last king of Dakṣiṇāpatha that has been named in the Allahabad inscription is Dhananājaya of Kusthalapura. Kusthalapura is taken by Smith as a mistake for Kuśasthalapura, a name of the holy city of Dwārkā.⁴ This does not, however, seem likely, as it is situated, not on the east, but on the west coast. Barnett opines that it is probably Kuttalur, near Polur, in North Arcot District, Tamil Nadu.⁵ Aiyangar, on the other hand, draws our attention to the existence of a river Kuśasthal, south of the Krishna, mentioned in the Kaliṅgattupparai poem.⁶

The question is nowadays asked: what was this Samudragupta's expedition to the south like? According to V. A. Smith, it was a very glorious one. The invader, marching due south from the capital, through Chutia Nāgpur, directed his first attack against South Kōsala. Passing on, he subdued the chief of the Forest Country. Still advancing southwards, by the east coast road, Samudragupta vanquished the chieftain of Pishṭapura; King Maṇṭarāja of the Kolēru (Colair) lake; the neighbouring king of Vēṅgi between the Krishna and Godavari rivers; and Vishṇugōpa, king of Kaṅchi or Conjeevaram, to the south-west of Madras, almost certainly a Pallava. Then turning west-wards, he subjugated Ugrasēna, king of Pālakka, a place perhaps situated in the Nellore District. Samudragupta returned homewards through the western parts of the Deccan, subduing on his way the kingdom of Dēvarāṣṭra or the modern Maharatta country, and Ėraṇḍapalla or Khandesh.⁷ It was thus a wonderful campaign, in the estimation of Smith.

According to Dubreuil,⁸ however, the Allahabad pillar inscription contains a detail which indicates the exact contrary, because it has therein been stated that Samudragupta captured the kings and afterwards released them. And it is confirmed by the fact that none of the Deccan kingdoms remained in the possession of the Guptas. It is probable that Samudragupta first subjugated some kings, but that very soon he encountered superior forces which obliged him to relinquish his conquests and return rapidly to his kingdom. The expedition of Samudragupta presents itself to us in a quite different form. It is no more a new Alexander marching victoriously through South India. It was simply the unfortunate attempt of a king from the north who wanted to annex the coast of Orissa but completely failed. Leaving his capital Pāṭaliputra, Samudragupta marched directly to the south. He first conquered South Kōsala and then crossed the forests to the south of Ṣonpur, reaching the coast of Orissa. Maṇṭarāja of Kōrāla, Mahēndra of Pishṭapura, Svāmīdatta of Kōṭṭūra and Damana of Ėraṇḍapalla tried to stop him, but were captured. Samudragupta now prepared himself for new conquests, but was opposed by a confederacy of all the kings that ruled near the mouths of the Gōdāvari and the Kṛishṇā, the most powerful of them being Vishṇugōpa, the Pallava king of Kaṅchi. The other kings were Nilarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vēṅgi, Ugrasēna of Pālakka,

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Kubêra of Dèvarâśîtra and Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura. Samudragupta, being repulsed by the kings of the Eastern Deccan, abandoned the conquests he had made in the coast of Orissa, and returned home.

Let us first consider Dubreuil’s estimate of the expedition of Samudragupta in Dakshināpatha. His remarks may be summed up as follows: Samudragupta did at first achieve conquests on the coast of Orissa, but when he encountered the superior forces of the confederacy of Eastern Deccan kings headed by Vishnu Gupta, he was repulsed and had to relinquish his former Orissan conquests and return to his capital forthwith. The only statement in the Allahabad inscription that bears on the point is in lines 19-20 which enumerate the names of the rulers of Dakshināpatha and further inform us that they were at first captured but were afterwards released by Samudragupta. And if it is this statement which has enabled Dubreuil to say that Samudragupta subjugated the kings of Kōsala, Mahākântâra and also of countries on the coast of Orissa, it is not at all clear why it should not enable him to say further that the Gupta monarch subjugated also the kings of the Eastern Deccan headed by Vishnu Gupta. And when, instead of drawing this natural and perfectly logical inference, he deduces the conclusion that Samudragupta, not himself conquered, but was himself conquered by these rulers of the Eastern Deccan, we confess that our amazement knows no bounds. Surely, there is absolutely nothing in this epigraphic record which makes this invidious distinction between the kings of Orissa and those of Eastern Deccan, whether in lines 19-20 or any other lines of this inscription. And we are perfectly justified in asserting that Samudragupta vanquished not only the kings of Kōsala, Mahākântâra, Kûrâla, Pîshtapura, Pûṭtûra and Āraṇḍapalla, but also those of Kâñchi, Avamukta, Vêngi, and so on. Again, we are quite unable to understand what Dubreuil means when he says that Samudragupta seized the kings of Dakshināpatha and afterwards released them and that it is confirmed by the fact that none of the kingdoms ever remained in the possession of the Guptas. What he probably implies is that his capture of the Deccan princes was of an ephemeral character, that they were released because they had to be released, and that this explains why no part of their territories was incorporated in the Gupta empire. He is probably not aware that many modes of conquest were known in ancient India, of which one is that of the Dharma-vijayin or Righteous Conqueror, who conquers his enemies but does not seize their territory and liberates them on the receipt of some rich spoils. This mode of conquest has been described not only in works of Arthaśāstra but also in other books of Sanskrit literature. This point we shall soon have occasion to expatiate upon. Even then, that some such conquest was intended by the Allahabad pillar pravâsti is clear from the phrase grahaṇa-môkṣh-anugraha which occurs in line 20. And, as a matter of fact, it was this interpretation which V.A. Smith has put upon it, though it did not suggest itself to Dubreuil. “No attempt,” says Smith, “was made to effect the permanent annexation of these southern states; the triumphant victor admitting that he only exacted a temporary submission and then withdrew. But beyond doubt he despoiled the rich treasures of the south, and came back laden with golden booty, like the Muhammadan adventurer who performed the same military exploit nearly a thousand years later. Malik Kâfûr, the general of Alâ-ud-dîn, Sultan of Delhi, during operations lasting from 1309 to 1311 A.D., repeated the performance of Samudragupta, and penetrated even farther south than his Hindu predecessor seems to have done.”

It will thus be seen that there are absolutely no grounds to suppose that Samudragupta’s expedition to the south was an ignominious failure. What was it then like? Did he bring his triumphant march to a finish, returning homewards through Dévarâśîtra or the modern Maharatta country via Āraṇḍapalla or Āraṇḍol in Khandesh as Smith describes it? Un-

1 Early History of India (4th edn.), p. 301.
Fortunately there is nothing to support Smith's identification of Dēvarāṣṭra with Mahārāṣṭra or Fleet's identification of Ėrāṇḍapalla with Ėrāṇḍōl. There is no epigraphic or documentary evidence of any kind in favour of it. Again, even if we regard these identifications as correct, one would naturally expect Ėrāṇḍapalla at least to be mentioned last in the list of the rulers of Dakshināpatha. As a matter of fact, this place is seen in the list, not last, but somewhere in the middle preceding Kāṇchī and Vēṇgi. The names of this list could not have been strung together in a haphazard fashion,--if not in their geographical order, at least according to their political importance. This has been very shrewdly guessed by no less a scholar than Dubreuil. For, it was he who first scented in the air the Eastern Deccan Confederacy that opposed Samudragupta and of which Vishṇugōpa, the Pallava king of Kāṇchī, was the most powerful member. It seems that Vishṇugōpa was the overlord and that the rulers of Avamukta, Vēṇgi, Pālakka, Dēvarāṣṭra and Kusthalapura were his feudatories in this descending order. This alone can explain why Vēṇgi has been mentioned after Kāṇchī. If Samudragupta is represented as marching victoriously southward and encountering the king of Kāṇchī, it becomes inexplicable why the ruler of Vēṇgi is not mentioned first, for one would naturally expect him to meet Vēṇgi first and Kāṇchī afterwards as Kāṇchī is to the south of Vēṇgi. This mystery is, however, dispelled if we suppose that the rulers in this list have been arranged according to the political hierarchy to which they belonged. One such political hierarchy is indicated by the group of states headed by Kāṇchī. Is there any other in the states named placed prior to Kāṇchī? If our line of argument has any weight and as the list of the Dakshināpatha rulers itself begins with Kōsala, the conclusion is irresistible that another such group of states in the Deccan was that with Kōsala as the feudal superior. And we have already pointed out that in the Krishna and Guntur Districts of Andhra Pradesh many inscriptions connected with Buddhist stūpas have been brought to light which furnish us with the names of three kings of the Ikshvāku line, one of whom is credited with the performance of several Vedic sacrifices, the most pre-eminent of which was the Aśvamēdha; that, as they were very powerful rulers, their might must have spread far beyond the two Telugu Districts named; and that, as they were Ikshvākus, they must have been the hereditary rulers of (South) Kōsala itself. Samudragupta is only two generations posterior to the last of these Ikshvāku kings. We have thus another political circle with Kōsala as lord paramount and Mahākāntāra, Kurāla, Pīshṭapura, Kōṭṭūra and Ėrāṇḍapalla as subsidaries in this descending order. It will be seen that the region where the Kōsala and Kāṇchī empires met was the Telugu country, the northern half of which owed fealty to Kōsala and the southern half to Kāṇchī.

If this line of reasoning has any force in it, it means that Samudragupta tackled and reduced to submission two political confederacies whose territory was co-extensive with Orissa and practically the whole of the Telugu and Tamil Districts. But what about the Pāṇḍya and the Kērala Countries? Perhaps these countries were subordinate to the paramount sovereign of Kāṇchī. And the defeat of the Kāṇchī overlord presupposed the defeat of all states subsidiary to him, though they might not have taken actual part with him in his fight against Samudragupta. But what about the whole of the Deccan plateau? There is absolutely no reference to any part of it in the list of the kingdoms mentioned as being situated in South India though it must have formed a most conspicuous part of Dakshināpatha. As stated above, the identification of Dēvarāṣṭra with Mahārāṣṭra and of Ėrāṇḍapalla with Ėrāṇḍōl in Khandesh is anything but satisfactory. What then becomes of the central and western Deccan, which at this time seems to have been held by the Vākāṭakas? This subject

1 Anc. Hist. of the Deccan, pp. 60-61.
2 Early History of India (4th edn.), p. 301.
has been handled at length a little further in the sequel, and an attempt has been made to show that the Vākāṭakas not only had been in subordinate alliance, but had also established blood relationship, with the Imperial Guptas; and that, though the founder of this dynasty, Pravaraśēna I, was a paramount sovereign himself, they soon lost all their power till Rudrasēna I revived it in a modified form because in his time the Vākāṭakas were not a suzerain power but were feudatories; and that most probably he owed his rise to Samudragupta, whose granddaughter Prabhāvatī was married to his grand son, Rudrasēna II. This explains why Samudragupta’s invasion of Dakśināpatha was confined to the eastern and south-eastern parts of the Deccan only.

The next passage in the Allahabad pillar inscription sets forth a list of the rulers of Āryāvarta whom, we are told, Samudragupta forcibly uprooted. They are (1) Rudradēva, (2) Matila, (3) Nāgadatta, (4) Chandravarman, (5) Gaṇapatināga, (6) Nāgasēna, (7) Achyutanandin and (8) Balavarman. It has been customary to divide Achyutanandin into the two names, Achyuta and Nandin, and assume that not eight but nine princes of Āryāvarta have been specified here. But surely Nandin like Nāga is still a surname among the Kāyasthas of Bengal. And that Nandin formed the second component of a name even in ancient times may be seen from Bhūtinandin and Śiśunandin, mentioned in the Purāṇas as the names of two rulers of Vidiśā who flourished between the Śunga and Gupta epochs.1 Achyutanandin looks exactly analogous to Gaṇapatināga that occurs in this passage, where Nandin and Nāga are doubtless to be taken as the names of the clans or families to which these kings belonged. This point we have already dwelt upon. We have also noted above that three of these Āryāvarta kings, namely, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasēna and Achyutanandin, have been mentioned in the verse portion of the prāṣasti as co-operating with a Kōta prince to form a confederacy against Samudragupta. We have, in that connection, made an attempt to identify them and locate their kingdoms. Here and now, we shall say something about the remaining five. As regards Rudradēva, the late Rao Bahadur Dikshit identifies him with Rudrasēna I of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.2 This seems improbable, as the Vākāṭakas belonged to Dakśināpatha, and not to Āryāvarta. The second name, Matila, may be identical with the Mattila of the seal found in Bulandshahr, and published by F. S. Growse,3 “but the absence of any honorific on the latter,” says Allan, “suggests that it is a private seal and not one of a royal personage.”4 But instances are not unknown of princes being named on their seals without any title. Thus the well-known Gaṇjam plates of Śaśāṅka dated Gupta year 300 bear a seal with the legend Śrī-Sainyabhītasya.5 Similarly, the seal of the Lār plates of the Gāhaḍavāla king, Gōvindachandra has the legend Śrīmad-Gōvindachandradevaḥ.6 The mere absence of the honorific on the Bulandshahr seal should not thus preclude us from identifying the name Mattila on it with Matila, the Āryāvarta ruler, exterminated by Samudragupta.

Nothing is known about the third ruler of Āryāvarta, namely, Nāgadatta. But as regards the fourth, that is, Chandravarman, Smith7 at first correctly proposed that he was the Mahārāja of that name who is mentioned in the rock inscription of Susunī8 in the Bankura District of West Bengal. Chandravarman is therein called “lord of Pushkaraṇa”. He, however, gave

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3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 289.
6 Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 90.
7 JRAS., 1897, p. 876.
up this view in the third edition of his *Early History of India*, and maintained with Haraprasad Sastri who edited the record that Pushkaran̄a was the same as Pokaran̄a in Marwar and that Chandravarman was identical with the sovereign Chandra of the Mehrauli pillar inscription. This view cannot commend itself to us, because the title borne by an overlord at this period is Mahārajādhīrāja, whereas Chandravarman, like his father Simhavarman, is designated simply as Mahārajā. And what is strange is that Sastri maintains that Simhavarman was a mere chieftain and Chandravarman a supreme ruler, though both have been styled Mahārajās. What appears to be the fact is that both father and son were feudatories. Besides, Pushkaraṇa of the Susunī inscription has now been satisfactorily identified by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit with Pokharan, a village situated about 25 miles to the north-east of Susunī itself on the south bank of the river Damodar. It is thus more reasonable to say that this Chandravarman was a chief of Pokharan in West Bengal and was identical with Chandravarman, contemporary of Samudragupta.

The next three Āryāvarta rulers that have been mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription are Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasēna and Achyutanandandin. We have already shown at length who they were and why they were exterminated by Samudragupta. Nothing need, therefore, be said about them here. The eighth and last prince of Āryāvarta, who is mentioned in the prasasti, is Balavarman. According to Dikshit he is most probably identical with Balavarman, an ancestor of Bhāskaravarmas, who pertained to the Vajradatta family of Prāgjyotisha. But Kamarūpa or Assam has been distinguished from Āryāvarta by our epigraph. Hence Balavarman of Āryāvarta cannot be identified with Balavarman of Kamarūpa.

The kings of Āryāvarta destroyed by Samudragupta were formerly taken to be nine in number, and it was then suggested by Rapson that possibly they might all have been Nāgas and denoted the Nava-Nāgas of the Vishnu-Purāṇa, which expression is taken by him to denote, not a dynasty of nine successive rulers, but rather a confederation of nine princes belonging to the Nāga race. But, as we have pointed out above, the actual number of the Āryāvarta rulers named is, not nine, but eight. Secondly, the Vishnu-Purāṇa speaks of Nava-Nāgah as ruling over Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā. As these are only three and not nine cities, Nava Nāgas cannot signify nine Nāgas but rather nine Nāgas, the old Nāgas being those mentioned earlier by the Purāṇas in connection with Vidiśā. And, as a matter of fact, it was a confederation of three Nāga kings that opposed the accession of Samudragupta to the throne. One of them, namely, Nāgasēna certainly reigned at Padmāvatī, another, Achyutanandandin, most probably at Mathurā, and the third, Gaṇapatināga at Dhārā which may be another name of Kāntipurī.

After specifying the names of the kings of Āryāvarta who were violently uprooted by Samudragupta, the Allahabad pillar inscription proceeds to say that the Gupta monarch reduced to servitude all the rulers of Forest Countries. As we have pointed out above, we have to distinguish Aṭāvārīya from Mahākāntāra mentioned in line 19. One copper-plate grant

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1 P. 290, note 1.
3 *A. R. ASI*, 1927-28, p. 188.
6 *JRAS*, 1897, p. 421.
8 Ibid.
describes a Parivṛjaka king, Hastin, as master of the Daḥhāla kingdom included in the Eighteen Forest kingdoms (aśṭādaśa-āṭavi-rāja). Daḥhāla must be the older form of Daḥhāla, the modern Bundelkhand, which practically coincided with the territory held by the Kalachuris of Triputri in later times. The Āṭavi Country, which comprised no less than eighteen tiny kingdoms, must correspond to the forests spread through and along with Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, whereas Mahākāntara must have extended from the south of Madhya Pradesh right up to the seacoast of Orissa.

The inscription thereafter (lines 22-23) enumerates the names of the frontier (pratyanta) countries and also of the tribes that propitiated the monarch by payment of all tributes (sarva-kara-dāna), execution of commands (ājīna-karaṇa), and attendance at his court to offer homage (pranām-āgamana). The pratyanta countries specified are as follows: (1) Samatata, (2) Daṭāka, (3) Kāmarūpa, (4) Neḍāla and (5) Kartṛipura. Varāhamihira places Samatata in the Eastern Division. But that does not help us to locate it properly. According to Yuan Chhwang, Samatata was to the east of the Tāmralipti and to the south of the Kāmarūpa country, and bordered on the sea. On the strength of these data and also the Bāghāūra image inscription, N. K. Bhattacharji has satisfactorily identified it with the natural geographical unit “comprising the eastern half of the present Mymensing and Dacca districts lying east of the Brahmaputra, the greater part of Sylhet, and the whole of the Tippera and Noakhali districts.” He further holds the opinion that Baḍkāmta, twelve miles west of modern Comilla was the capital of Samatata.

Fleet suggests that Daṭāka may be another form of Dacca. According to Smith it corresponded to the modern Districts of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi in Bengal. Yuan Chhwang informs us that in this region five countries were conterminous, Puṇḍravardhana; to its east or rather north-east, Kāmarūpa; to the south of Kāmarūpa, Samatata; to the east of Samatata, Tāmralipti; and to the north-west of Tāmralipti, Kārṇasuvāra. Daṭāka cannot thus be coextensive with Dacca or with Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi, which must have then been included, in part, in Puṇḍravardhana, Suhma, Samatata and Kāmarūpa. It seems more reasonable to locate Daṭāka somewhere in the eastern half of Assam. For the same reasons Kāmarūpa seems to have comprised the western half of Assam and parts of the northern districts of Bengal so as to make it contiguous with Puṇḍravardhana, Samatata and Tāmralipti provinces. The suggestion of the late K. L. Barua seems thus worthy of all consideration in regard to the location of Daṭāka. “Very probably, the present Cachar District, including the north Cachar hills and the Kopili valley which in later times constituted the Cachari kingdom, was known as Davaka. Even now the Kopili valley, comprising an area of about 400 square miles, is known as Davakā.” Nēḍāla is too well-known to require any identification. It forms the mountainous country bordering, on the north, Magadha, Ayōḍhyā and so forth. As regards Kartṛipura, Fleet suggests that the name may survive in Kartṛpur in the Jullundur District, Panjab. C. F. Oldham refers to the Katuria Rāj of Kumaon, Garhwal and Rohilkhand. To speak more accurately, Kartṛipura denotes the Katyūr Valley with

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1 K. P. Jayaswal's *Hist. of India*, etc., p. 139. The Ṭāṭavi kingdom was known also in the time of Aśoka who refers to it in *Rock Edict* XIII.
5 *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 879.
7 *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 42, note.
9 *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 198.
Baijanath or Kārtikēyapura as the capital of the Katyūri Rājās in the Almora District, as we shall see later on.

It will thus be seen that the pratyānta kingdoms bordered the Gupta dominions on the east and the north and that they were called pratyānta because they were on the frontiers of Āryā-varta. But on the west and north-west of these dominions were many tiny states which in this period seem to have been governed by various tribes of whom as many as nine have been named. The list is headed by the Mālavas, who were originally the same as the Malloi of the Greek writers and were living in the time of Alexander near the confluence of the Akesinos (Chenab) and the Hydraotis (Ravi) in the erstwhile Panjab. They appear afterwards to have migrated southwards and were in occupation of a province called Nāgarchhāl in the south-eastern portion of the Jaipur State, where their coins are found in numbers. As these range approximately from B.C. 150 to 250 A.D., they seem to have been settled in that province during that period. In the Gupta epoch, however, they appear to have migrated still further southward. This is indicated by the findspots of the inscriptions of this period which are dated according to Mālava-kāla. At this time they seem to have occupied Mewar and Kotah in Rajasthan and parts of Madiya Pradesh adjoining them, in fact, the whole of the region indicated by long. 75-76° and lat. 24-25°. Originally they no doubt were a gaña or tribal oligarchy, as is clearly indicated by their coins, but in the later period they seem to have assumed a monarchical constitution, because there are some inscriptions where their Mālava-kāla is spoken of as being the era Mālavācānām ‘of the Mālava lords’. The Ārjunāyanas are known from Varāhamihira’s Brihatasamhita and also from their coins, of which, however, only a few specimens have been found. The joint cabinets of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Indian Museum contain only two which may be assigned to circa 100 B.C. They are closely related, in one way or another, to the money of the Northern Kshatrapas, Yaudhēyas and other ancient powers. “And the Ārjunāyana country,” says Smith, “may reasonably be regarded as corresponding to the region, . . . roughly speaking, the Bharatpur and Alwar States, west of Agra and Mathura, the principal seat of the Northern Satraps.” “Cunningham classed the Ārjunāyana coins with those of Mathurā, because they are procurable in that city.” But the exact provenance of their coins has not been recorded. In these circumstances, as they have been placed by our inscription between the Mālavas and the Yaudhēyas, they may be taken as occupying the region consisting of the erstwhile Bundi and Karaulī States and the eastern half of Jaipur.

The Yaudhēyas seem to have been in existence from the time of Pāṇini, who speaks of them as an āyudha-jīvīn Saṁgha. This expression is the same as śastra-ōpajīvīn used by Kaṭalāya. And both denote a tribal corporation “subsisting on arms”. Originally they seem to have been a tribal band of mercenaries and constituted one kind of a king’s army. In the time of Pāṇini they were an eka-rāja Kshatriya tribe which means that so far as their tribal constitution was concerned they were governed by one ruler, but exercised no political

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2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 404; D. R. Bhandarkar’s A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 3, 5-7 and 9.
3 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 18 and 346.
6 JRAS., 1897, p. 886.
8 B. C. Law suggests that as Yaudhēya is given as one of the sons of Yudhishṭhīra in Adi-P., ch. 95, v. 76, Ārjunāyana may be taken as a descendant of Arjuna (MA, Vol. I, p. 460). Prājrūna may similarly be connected with Arjuna. The same thing happened in the case of the Ikṣvākus.
power. About the beginning of the Christian era, however, they appear to have risen to the rank of a political Saṅgha. This is indicated by the issue of their coins which are found in the Eastern Panjab, and all over the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna rivers. Two large finds have been made at Sonpath, between Delhi and Karnal. This coinage ranges between 50 and 350 A.D. Like the Mālavas they style themselves Gaṇa on their money. It is thus clear that they were a political Saṅgha and especially of the type of tribal oligarchy when they struck these coins. This inference is established beyond all doubt by a stone inscription found at Bijayagāḍh near Bāyānā in the Bharatpur District. It is true that it is only a fragment of an inscription, but enough of it has been preserved to show that it is the record of a personage who was Mahārāja and Mahāśīnāpati and also a leader (paraskrīta) of the Yauḍhēya Gaṇa. The title Mahārāja and the word Gaṇa show that in the year 371 A.D., the date of the inscription, the Yauḍhēyas were not only an oligarchy but also a rāja-śabd-ōpajīvin Saṅgha, every member of which styled himself a Rājan or Mahārāja. Further, the personage in question was one of the Gaṇa-mukhyas or ‘heads of the Gaṇa’ as he has been designated paraskrīta, ‘a leader’. Further still as he has also been designated Mahāśīnāpati, it means that he was a leader of the Yauḍhēya Gaṇa as the general of their forces. It was, however, shortly before 150 A.D. that the Yauḍhēyas were in the heyday of their glory, for it is in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman dated in this year that they are described as assuming the epithet of vīra in consequence of the prowess they displayed against all Kshatriyas and spoken of as being mowed down by the Kshatrapa ruler. The Yauḍhēyas still survive in the Panjab and Sind. Cunningham has identified them with the Johiyas settled on the banks of the Sutlej, which tract is consequently called Johiyan-bāṛ. “They have become Musalmans and inhabit the banks of the Indus from Bahawalpur and Multan to the Kohistān tālukā of the Karachi district. Parts of Bahawalpur State and the Multan district are still called Johiyan-wār. Remnants of the tribe still inhabit the Kohistān tālukā of the Karachi district under their own chief who is known as Johiyan-jo-Jām.” It seems that when they were at the height of their power, that is, slightly prior to 150 A.D., they overran Sindhu and Sauvāra and were settled down there and that it was apparently in these provinces that Rudradāman came into collision with, and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. In the time of Samudragupta, however, they appear to have been confined to their original habitat between the Sutlej and the Jumna going as far south as Bharatpur.

As regards the Madrakas, their country corresponds roughly to modern Sialkot and surrounding region between the Ravi and Chenab rivers. Its capital was Śākala which has been identified with Sialkot. The Madrakas are no doubt the same as Madras and denoted rather a people and not a tribe as seems to be the case here. The latter, probably, were the Jātrikas or Jāṁs who are described as Mēchēchhas in the Kṛna-Parasā (chs. xl and xlv) of the Mahābhārata. The Ābhīras or Ahirs are spread as far east as Bengal and as far south as the Khandes District of Mahārashtra. The correct location of the Ābhīra tribe during Samudragupta’s regime is thus a matter of some difficulty. The earliest epigraphic reference to this tribe is contained in the Gundā inscription of Kshatrapa Rudrasimha dated Śaka 103, which records the construction of a well by Senāpati Rudrabhūti, who was a son of Senāpati Bāpaka and who is therein described as an Ābhīra by extraction. But this Bāpaka was a Senāpati, and

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1 Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 76; CASIR, Vol. XIV, p. 140.
3 C Theatre of the Indus, 1918, pp. 148 and 156.
not a ruler. The record therefore tells us nothing about the political power exercised anywhere by the Ābhīras. The second epigraph known about this tribe is a Nasik cave inscription which refers itself to the ninth regnal year of Iśvarasena, son of Sivadatta, who are both called Ābhīra.\(^1\) This alone shows that the Ābhīras held sway over the Nasik District at some time in the third century a.d. to which period the record belongs. But there is nothing to show that their sway lasted for a century more over this province so that any successor of theirs might reasonably be thought to be a contemporary of Samudragupta.\(^2\) Besides, in the time of this Gupta sovereign the Ābhīras must have wielded power, not in Dakshinapatha but rather in Aryāvarta. So none of these inscriptions helps us as to the exact location of the Ābhīra tribe in Samudragupta’s time. In these circumstances we are thrown upon other resources to find out where precisely they were ruling in North India. In this connection we have to note that in the Musala-Parvan\(^3\) of the Mahābhārata Arjuna is represented to have been waylaid by Ābhīras in the Pañcanadadėśa or the Panjab, as he was going from Dvārakā to Mathurā with the widowed females and treasures of the Yādavas after burning the dead bodies of Kṛiṣṇa and Balarāma. These Ābhīras are therein called Dasyus and Mēchchhas. But we are not told where exactly in the Panjab they were settled about the beginning of the Christian era when the Musala-Parvan was probably composed. Attention may here be drawn to a verse in the Śalya-Parvan\(^4\) which tells us that the Sarasvatī disappeared on account of her hatred for Śūdras and Ābhīras and was known as Vinaśānā for that reason. As the Sarasvatī is represented to have disappeared in consequence of her intense dislike for the Ābhīras, the latter cannot but be taken as the Ābhīras considered Dasyus and Mēchchhas by the Śalya-Parvan. We have therefore to suppose that the Ābhīras, early in the Christian era, were settled somewhere in the Karnal District of the Panjab. Or they may be located, with V. A. Smith, in the province of Ahirwāḍā between the Pārbaṭī and the Betwā in Central India.\(^5\) But we do not know when precisely this province was occupied by the Ābhīras and was called Ahirwāḍā after them. On the other hand, the concurrent testimony of the Śalya- and the Musala-Parvans is enough to show that the Ābhīras were living on the banks of the Sarasvatī in the early centuries of the Christian era.

As regards Prājrūṇa, Raychaudhuri\(^6\) is the first to point out that they are the same as Pājjñaka of Kauṭilya’s Arthasastra.\(^7\) Although here they are mentioned along with Gāndhāras, they have to be located much far southwards. In fact, Smith places them in the Narsinghpur District, Madhya Pradesh. But, as they are here associated with the Sanakāṇīkās and as we know that these last have for certain to be placed not far from Bhālsa, it is safer to put the Prājrūnas somewhere near Narsinghgarh in Madhya Pradesh. A chief of the Sanakāṇīka tribe or clan has been mentioned as a feudatory of Chandragupta II in an Udayagiri cave inscription (No. 7 below) near Besnagar, ancient Vidiśā. The inscription describes three generations of his family, who have all been styled Mahārājjas. The Sanakāṇīkas, therefore, appear to have held the province of Vidiśā. The first of them was known as Chhagalaga, which, according to A. M. T. Jackson, “has a Turkī look.”\(^8\) According to the same scholar “Kāka may be Kākā-

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\(^1\) Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 88.
\(^2\) The Ābhīras were known long before the Christian era (JC., Vol. I, p. 16).
\(^3\) Chapter 7; also Wilson’s Vishnu-Purāṇa, Bk. 5, Chapter 38.
\(^4\) Chapter 37, verses 1-3. It is worthy of note that the actual expression used is Śūdr-Ābhīrāṁ, which may also mean “the Ābhīras, who were Śūdras”. A similar compound word Śūdr-Ābhīrāṁ has been used by Patañjali in his gloss on Vārttika 6 on Pāṇini I.2.72.
\(^5\) JRAS., 1897, pp. 890-92.
\(^7\) III. 18. 15.
\(^8\) B. G., Vol. I, part i, p. 64, note 3.
pur near Bihār (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, 386).” But the identification seems unlikely as this Bihār is in Kanpur District, Uttar Pradesh, and not somewhere in Central India, as may naturally be expected. Smith says: “The name Kāka (‘crow’) may be locally associated with Kākaṇāda (‘crow’s voice’), the ancient name of Sāñcī, the celebrated Buddhist site 5-1/2 miles south-west of Bhilsa.” This name occurs once in the lid of the steatite casket found in Stūpa No. 2 at Andher near Bhilsa and thrice as Kākaṇāya or Kākaṇāva in inscriptions of Sāñcī Stūpa No. 1. The hill of Sāñcī on which the stūpas stand has been called Kākaṇādabōta in two epigraphs of the Gupta period (No. 9 below and *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 62). Further, as Jayaswal has pointed out, about twenty miles north of Bhilsa, is a large and ancient village called Kākapur, situated on a river, and a hill opposite the village has two square temples and a few Gupta sculptures. This Kākapur he identifies as the ancient seat of the Kākas. The Kāka family or clan is frequently mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and has survived in Kashmir to this day. It seems that like the (Tāka-) Nāgas, Kākas had migrated from this country and settled down round about Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh shortly before the time of Samudragupta. The last tribe that we have to consider is Kharaparika. As pointed out by Hiralal, they are probably identical with Kharpasa mentioned apparently as a people in the Bāţiḥāgaṛ inscription of the Damoh District, Madhya Pradesh. Kharparsas, according to this record, are evidently to be located in that district.

These wonderful achievements of Samudragupta must have spread his name and fame far and wide so that the neighbouring independent monarchs entered into diplomatic relations with him. We are here furnished not only with the enumeration of these foreign kings but also with a description of the modes in which they sought his friendship and alliance. The first form of alliance was that of self effacement (ātma-nivēdana). The second consisted in offering daughters in marriage (kany-ṝpāyana-dāna). The third was a request (yāchanā) for the governance (śāsana) of their own districts and provinces (śra-dev ṣhāyā-ḥukti) by means of the Garuḍa badge (Garutmad-anika), which was, no doubt, the royal insignia of the Gupta family. It was by one or another of these measures that they, we are told, established friendly relations with him. As regards these distant monarchs, they fall into two groups. One of these comprised the rulers of Śrīmala (Ceylon) and such other Islands (dvipa) which were situated to the south and south-west of India. The other consisted of Daivaputra-Shāhī-Shāhānushāhī-Śa-kha-Murūnda. The identification of the foreign independent kings enumerated in this long compound is a matter of some difficulty and cannot be made with perfect certainty. There can, however, be little doubt that they were the descendants of the Śa-kha and Kusāṇa kings, who invaded India

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1 *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 893.
6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 46, verse 5. See also his *Descriptive Lists of Inscri. in C. P. and Bevar* (2nd ed.), pp. 58-59, where, however, the name has been spelt Kharapara.
8 According to Jayaswal, *All the dvipas* here meant “all the Indian colonies of Bāhāratavarsa, of the Bāhāratī prajā.” “His India or Prithīvī, therefore, embraced within its bounds Further India” (*Hist. of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 156). This view is, however, strongly dissented from by Miss Karunakara Gupta (*JC.*, Vol. II, p. 65). As this list is headed by Śrīmala (Ceylon), it is safer to take sarva-dvipa to denote such islands as Laccadive, Maldives and others which have been referred to as Lakshadweepa and Malayadvipa in Sanskrit works dealing with Geography (*IHQ.*, Vol. II, pp. 348 ff.).
about the beginning of the Christian era. There was a time when their might had spread over the whole of Northern India, as is evidenced by the find of their coins as far east as Mayurbhanj. This point we have already dwelt upon. About the beginning of the fourth century, however, their power, and the sphere of their suzerainty, had considerably shrunk up. Let us now see who these foreign rulers were. The whole of this compound is susceptible of a number of divisions. The different divisions proposed by different scholars have been considered elsewhere. In our opinion, it is practically certain that two distinct rulers only are here adverted to. The first three members of the compound are obviously titles, but the question is: whether they are to be considered jointly as the titles of one great suzerain, or each as the peculiar title of the ruler of a smaller state? The solution is indicated by its first component, which is Daiva-
putra, and not Dēvaputra. Daiva-
putra is Dēvaputrasya-ēdam (padam)=Daiva-
putram, according to Pāṇini IV. iii. 120. It cannot stand by itself, and so it cannot be taken to denote an individual ruler, as some scholars have done. It has to be taken in conjunction with Shāhi-Shāhān-
shāhi which follow it. These three components, namely, Daiva-
putra-Shāhi-Shāhān-
shāhi, must therefore be taken together as indicating one of these distant monarchs. Who could he be? He was presumably a Kushāṇa ruler, because the titles Dēvaputra, Shāhi and Shāhān-
shāhi are found used by the Kushāṇas only. It may be observed that Dēvaputra is the Indian equivalent of the Chinese imperial title tien-tzu, 'son of heaven', which, so far as we know, was adopted from the Chinese by the Kushāṇa rulers only. In the epigraphic records we find it assumed not only by Kanishka I but also by Huvishka and Vāsudēva I. It is true that the title Shāhi was not much used by the Kushāṇas. But it is a mistake to say that they never used it. Thus, in a Mathurā inscription of the year 8, we notice Kanishka I adopting this title along with Mahārāja and Rājātirāja.1 As regards Shāhān-
shāhi it is obviously an attempt to transliterate the Persian Shāhān-
shāh, 'king of kings', the well-known Iranian title of suzerainty adopted by the Kushāṇas from their Scythian predecessors of Bactria and India. It is true that this title is not traceable in any Kushāṇa epigraphs, but it is exceedingly familiar to us from their coin legends from the time of Kanishka I to that of Vāsudēva I.2 Nay, it is traceable in a corrupt form on the coins of Kanishka II and Vāsudēva II also, who were doubtless the Later Great Kushāṇas. It will thus be seen that the three titles Dēvaputra, Shāhi and Shāhān-
shāhi were used by the Kushāṇas only and regularly correspond to the Indian titles Dēvaputra, Mahārāja and Rājātir-
rāja which are invariably and conjointly associated with the names of the Earlier Great Kushā-
ṇas in Sanskrit records. But Samudragupta could not be a contemporary of any one of these Kushāṇas. We know that the latter were succeeded by the Later Great Kushāṇas such as Kanishka II and Vāsudēva II, who seem to be scions of the family of Kanishka I. A Sanskrit epigraph of one of these kings has been discovered at Māt near Mathurā. It speaks of a Kushā-
ṇaputra who receives the titles Mahārāja Rājātirāja Dēvaputra exactly as the Earlier Great Kushāṇas do.3 The name Kushāṇaputra reminds us of Bhōjaputta and Vidēhaputta of the Pāli Jātakas,4 and Kēralaputra and Sātiyaputra of Aṣōkan inscriptions.5 The ending putta (=putra) obviously denotes new branches or septs of old clans. If Kushāṇa stands for the Earlier Great Kushāṇas, Kushāṇaputra must stand for their descendants, the Later Great

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 11.
2 These titles were for a long time not correctly read until Aurel Stein pointed out that Scythic p represented the same letter as the s of the Indian forms and that the character p was sometimes found as ṭ with a slight upward stroke (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 94 ff.).
3 A. R. ASI, 1911-12, p. 124.
4 For Bhōjaputta mentioned as a country, see Fausboll, Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 45, line 26; for Vidēhaputta, see ibid., Vol. V, p. 90, line 8.
INTRODUCTION

Kushāṇas.¹ And further, as the Gupta coinage has been struck after the model of that of the Later Great Kushāṇas, it is reasonable to suppose that it is the latter who have been adverted to as Daivaputra-Shāhi-Śhāhānushāhi in the Allahabad pillar inscription. Their power about this time extended not only over the Panjab but further westward as far as Kabul, if not further still up to the Oxus.

How far did it extend to the east of the Panjāb? In this connection we have to take note of the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the Mahārāja Dēvaputra Kanishka edited by Daya Ram Sahni.² The record is more probably in Eastern Gupta script than in Kushāṇa characters, because ma and ha are invariably like those of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta though sa is sometimes as in this inscription and sometimes of the Kushāṇa type. The date is read 10 4 by Sahni, but the first sign is almost certainly 80 and not 10. The date is thus 84 and not 14. And further we take it as a year of the Kalachuri era and as equivalent to 332 A.D. so as to bring it close to the time of Samudragupta in whose reign the Allahabad pillar inscription was engraved. It thus clearly shows that as far east as Mathurā a Kushāṇa king called Kanishka (II) ruled who was a contemporary of the Gupta monarch. We shall not, therefore, be far from right if we suppose that the Kushāṇa rule extended up to Mathurā when Samudragupta was alive and that Dēvaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi refers to one of the Later Great Kushāṇas.

The question that now arises is: where was the necessity to distinguish the (Later Great) Kushāṇa emperor from the Sassanian Emperor who, at this time, was Šāpūr II (309-379 A.D.) and who was the immediately next neighbour of the Gupta empire. Both were Shāhān-Shāhs and had contiguous kingdoms. They had therefore to be differentiated, one from the other. And this was done by the use of the term Dēvaputra which was the peculiar title of the Kushāṇas.

We have now to account for Śaka-Muruṇḍa. Are we to understand by it ‘the Śaka king and the Muruṇḍa king’, or, ‘the Śaka lords’ where the word muruṇḍa is to be taken as a Scythian word meaning ‘lord’. More than forty years ago various scraps of information about the Muruṇḍas were brought to a focus by Sylvain Levi, in his paper entitled Deux Peuples Méconnus.³ There was an embassy from China to Fu-Nan (Siam) in the third century A.D. Just at that time had returned from India the envoys sent thither by the king of Fu-Nan. The Chinese thus met these Siamese envoys in Fu-Nan, and received an account of India from them. Naturally, therefore, in the account of this Chinese embassy to Fu-Nan we find mention made also of the king of a country in India, called Meou-loun which Levi equates with Muruṇḍa. The Chinese account represents this Muruṇḍa as a suzerain of great power to whom distant kingdoms owed fealty and whose capital was apparently Pāṭaliputra. But the Muruṇḍas seem to be known even earlier, for, the French scholar thinks them to be the same as the Maroůndai of Ptolemy who flourished in circa 150 A.D. and who locates them ‘on the left bank of the Ganges, south of the Gogra, down to the top of the delta’. The Jain books also, he tells us, speak of Muruṇḍarāja once as ruler of Kanyākubja and once as residing at Pāṭaliputra. The Purāṇas have similarly been brought into requisition, for the Muruṇḍas or the Muruṇḍas are found mentioned there in the dynastic lists among the foreign tribes side by side with the Śakas, Yavanas, Tukhāras and so forth. And while the Vāyu describes them as Ārya-Mālēchchhas, the Matsya Purāṇa speaks of them as Mālēchchha-saṁbhava. Piecing together these scraps of

¹ A similar practice of calling a family after an individual founder by the addition, at the end, of the word putra or its equivalent has been too common in Raiputana. The khāṇēs or scents of many Raiput clans are so formed. Thus of the Rāthōs some clans are Jēṭamālōs, Bāḥrmālōs, Rīḍmālōs, and so forth; of the Rājāvats (Sīōdīyās), are Bhūchārōts, Sārāndēvōts, Gajūsinhōts, and so on; of the Chōhāns are Bālōts, etc. The ending āt of these names is obviously the modern Prakrit form of the Sanskrit putra, which corresponds to the English ending ‘son’ in such family names as Robertson, Stevenson, and so forth (JPASB., Vol. V, p. 168 and note 4).
information we arrive at the conclusion that the Muruṇḍas were of a foreign origin and ruled over the greater portion of the Ganges Valley in the first three centuries of the Christian era. Now, it is strange, very strange, that not a single inscription or even a coin has been found of these Muruṇḍas, whosoever they were, that is, whether they were a tribe, a clan or a family, although they exercised sway over the greater part of Northern India, for nearly three centuries. What, however, we do find is the supremacy of the Kus̱haṇas established precisely over this region and during this period, as has now been clearly demonstrated by the find of their coins. That they were a foreign race cannot possibly be denied. It is, therefore, difficult to avoid the conclusion that it is they who are intended by the use of the term, Muruṇḍa. If this position is once accepted, it becomes intelligible why the Jaina books mention them as being stationed once at Kanyakubja and once at Pataliputra. Evidently they were the Satrapies of the Kus̱haṇa empire. But the question arises: how can we identify the Muruṇḍas with the Kus̱haṇas? It is possible to say in reply that Muruṇḍa was the name of the tribe, and, Kus̱haṇa, of the family. But there is not a shred of evidence in support of it. It thus becomes a mere assumption. On the other hand, Sten Konow has adduced good evidence to show that muruṇḍa was a Scythic term signifying ‘a lord’ and corresponding to the Sanskrit svāmin.1 This word is actually found used in Kharāṣṭrī inscriptions, more than once, with reference to the Scythian rulers of India. If this suggestion of the Norwegian scholar is accepted, we can easily understand how the Kus̱haṇa sovereigns, or rather, their Satraps, came to be styled Muruṇḍas. What was originally a designation or title became afterwards a family name, instances of this kind being furnished by the Peshwas of Poona and Nizams of Hyderabad (Deccan) of later history. To come back to our main point, Śaka-Muruṇḍa of the Allahabad pillar inscription had better be thus understood to denote ‘the Śaka and the Muruṇḍas’ and not merely ‘the Śaka lord or lords’. There is nothing to prevent us from taking Śaka-Muruṇḍa in the plural, and perhaps it accords better with what we know about the Śakas of this period, as we shall soon see.

The question that now confronts us is: who the Śaka rulers could be in the time of Samudragupta? One such must certainly be a Western Kshatrapa. But the Western Kshatrapas were no longer the kings of Ujjain that they were originally. Their power had been considerably reduced and seems to have been confined, at this period, to Kāśi and possibly North Gujarat. The Mahākshatrapas of Surāshtra are known from their coins to have been in existence up till 388 A.D. And as the title Mahākshatrapa shows, they appear to have maintained some sort of independence till then. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from supposing that Śaka of the phrase Śaka-Muruṇḍa denotes, among others, the Mahākshatrapa of Surāshtra who was a contemporary of Samudragupta. Śaka, again, may designate, as Allan2 observes, those Śakas in the north-west who struck coins of Kus̱haṇa types with Ardoksho reverse. Some of these, which bear the clan name Sāka, bear also the letters Sāyaṇa, Sita and Sāna under the arm of the royal figure on the obverse, which must, therefore, be taken to be the names of individual rulers.3 Others, again, contain the clan name Shālada, also read as Pālada, and the individual names Bhadra and Pāśaka.4 Of these Shāka looks like a taddhita form of Śaka or Shaka, and means ‘descendants of Śakas’. We meet with similar taddhita forms in later history also. Thus certain clans of South India, when they first rose to power, were known as Chalukya, Kadamba and so forth. Afterwards they lost their power for a time, but later, when their scions re-asserted it, they called themselves Chalukya, Kādamba and so on. It is thus perfectly intelligible why the descendants of the earlier Śakas should style themselves Shākas.

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4 Ibid., pp. 88-89.
when they again established their power. In regard to the other clan, the correct form seems to be not Shālda, but Pālada. At any rate, it is only in this form of the name that we can recognise the foreign tribe Pārada, which is consequently associated and appears to be allied with the Śaka. Possibly the Śaka tribe comprised many clans, two of which were Śaka and Pārada. There is another class of coins found in the extreme north-west of India and outside, which we have to consider in this connection and to which our attention was drawn by Jayaswal. They are coins of the Gaḍahara or Gaḍakhara tribe or rather family. One type of Gaḍahara coinage is represented, says R. D. Banerji, by "Samudra.—The resemblance between this coin and the coin of Samudra Gupta No. 10 (Spearman type, variety a, Cat. I, p. 102) is so great that it is possible to say that the Gaḍahara tribe at last acknowledged the suzerainty of the great conqueror and placed his name on their coins." This seems to have been continued," says Jayaswal, "to the next generation... The coin (No. 13356, at p. 65 of Rodgers' *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Part III, Plate III) is evidently a Shālda coin. Rodgers read the legend as ब इ ल and rightly described it as 'allied to Gupta coins.' The figure is Hindu and of Chandragupta." Elsewhere he says that they print "the effigy of Samudragupta and his... name also similarly stamped. As to the identity of these Gupta kings there cannot be any doubt, for the kings wear ear-rings or kunḍala on these coins, while Kushānas never used them." This agrees with one of the modes in which the distant foreign monarchs are reported in the Allahabad pillar inscription to have maintained friendly relations with Samudragupta, viz., a request (yāchana) for the governance (śāna) of their own districts and provinces (sva-vishaya-bhūkti) by means of the Garuḍa badge (Garutmad-anika). As these coins bear the representation of Garuḍa besides the effigy of Samudragupta, there can be no doubt as to these foreign rulers also being intended by the term Śaka-Murugāya. There thus seems to be no exaggeration in the enumeration of these distant independent monarchs in the form of the friendly relations they sought to establish with the sovereign of Pāṭaliputra. They were all on a footing of equality. There is nothing of subordination even in the rulers of foreign states on the north-west frontier of India, imitating Gupta coinage and using the Garuḍa badge, not simply for numismatic but also administrative purposes. Surrounded as they were by Kushāna and Sassanian kingdoms which could at any moment swallow them up, these comparatively tiny Śaka States were in a way compelled by this form of flattery to enter into entente cordiale with Samudragupta. And that these Śaka or foreign states succeeded in preserving their independence not for one generation but for two generations is clear from the fact that their coins bear the effigy and name not only of Samudragupta but also of his son Chandragupta II. Similarly, if we turn to the south of India, there is no improbability or impropiety in the ruler of Simhala also seeking for his good-will and friendship. That, as a matter of fact, there was an embassy from Simhala to Pāṭaliputra at this time we know from the account of the Chinese Wang Huien ts'e, for which we are indebted to Sylvain Levi. The king of Ceylon, who was a contemporary of Samudragupta, was Mēghavāraṇa, who, according to the Sinhalese chronicle, reigned from 325 to 352 a.d. During his rule, two Buddhist monks, the senior of whom was the king’s own brother, repaired to Bōdh-Gayā on a pilgrimage and

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1 See e. g., *Harivamśa*, 1.767 ff., where the Pāradas have been associated with the Haihayas (=Tālajānghas), Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjās, Pahlavas and Khaṇās and where the Pāradas have been described as mukta-kiśāh, 'those who let loose the hair'. See also Nundolal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, sub voce.


4 *Hist. of India*, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., p. 146.

were put to considerable inconvenience and discomfort during their stay there. On their return home, they made a representation to the king that such a holy place of the Buddhists as Bödh-Gayā, where the founder of their religion obtained Enlightenment, had yet remained without any accommodation for the Sinhalese pilgrims. Thereupon Mēghavarna, we are told, sent an embassy, with presents to the Magadha Court and obtained the permission of Samudragupta to erect a monastery and a rest-house for the convenience of travellers from Ceylon.

The same story with variations has been told also by Huen Ts'ang. From this it appears that the monastery was built outside the northern gate of the wall of the Bödhī Tree. It was three storeys in height, included six halls, was adorned with three towers, and surrounded by a strong wall thirty or forty feet high. The statue of the Buddha was cast in gold and silver and was studded with gems. The monks exceeded one thousand in number, and belonged to the Stavira school of the Mahāyāna. The site is now marked by an extensive mound on the northern side of the Bödhī Tree. According to the Mahāvaṁśa, Mēghavarna (Mēghavarna) succeeded his father Mahāśēna and ruled from 836-863 a.ū., which, according to the reckoning of the era accepted by Geiger, corresponds to 352-379 a.ū. This makes Mēghavarna an exact contemporary of Samudragupta.

In between the list of the countries and tribes who were situated on the outskirts of Samudragupta’s dominions and who paid him tribute and homage and the list of the distant foreign monarchs who entered into diplomatic relations with him occurs a line in the Allahabad pillar prāsasti which says that the fame of this Gupta sovereign became tired with wandering over the whole earth and re-establishing the royal families that had been overthrown and had been dispossessed of their realms. It is a pity that Harishēna, the author of the prāsasti, tells us nothing as to which royal houses had lost their kingdoms but were reinstated by Samudragupta. He gives us details about all other achievements of his lord and master, but curiously enough, does not give the name of any royal dynasty that had been so restored to power by the Gupta monarch. Presumably he had good reasons to observe reticence over this point. These royal families, it seems, were now on terms of great intimacy with the Gupta House, and it was probably considered to be a positively bad taste to mention their names and thereby revive the memories of their unfortunate past and remind them of their subordinate present. Harishēna’s silence is thus perfectly intelligible. Can we, however, make a shrewd guess about any one of these royal families? Now, it is worthy of note that Harishēna has given us a detailed account of Samudragupta’s conquests but has not said a word about the Vākāṭakas. What was the position of the Vākāṭakas about this time? For a long time there was nothing to show that the Vākāṭaka family was in any way connected with the Gupta family. Nay, nothing was known about the exact period when the Vākāṭakas flourished. Of course, there was palaeography to help us in the matter. But palaeography is not an exact science. And it is no wonder if Fleet and Kielhorn differed widely from Bhagwanlal Indraji and Bühler in regard to their correct time, though all of them were erudite scholars. It was the discovery of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatigupta that established a synchronism. She was the chief queen of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Rudrasēna (II) and daughter of the Imperial Gupta sovereign Chandragupta II. The father of Rudrasēna (II) was Pṛthivishēna I, who was thus a contemporary of Chandragupta II. Their fathers, consequently, were contemporaries, namely,

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2 The *Mahāvīra*, *Trans.*, Intro., pp. xxxviii and ff.
the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Rudrasēṇa I and the Gupta Mahārājadhirāja Samudragupta. Now, this Rudrasēṇa was a son of Gautamiputra with whose name no royal title of any kind has been coupled. Gautamiputra, we are further informed, was son's son to Pravarasēṇa I. About this Pravarasēṇa we are told not only that he was a Mahārāja but also that he belonged to the imperial (samrād) Vākāṭaka family or clan. And quite in keeping with it has been mentioned the fact that he celebrated four aśvamedhās. There can therefore be no doubt as to the Vākāṭakas having attained to the imperial rank in the time of Pravarasēṇa. This receives confirmation, if any is required, from the fact that the Vākāṭakas are nowhere described as samrād-Vākāṭakas in the time of any prince of this line after Pravarasēṇa I. It will thus be seen that the Vākāṭaka rulers from the time of Rudrasēṇa I onwards occupy a subordinate position, namely, that of the Mahārāja, whereas in their own copper-plates the Gupta sovereign, Chandragupta II, has been actually styled Mahārājadhirāja in consonance with his imperial position. Again, what we have to note about this family is that there is a break in the line between Pravarasēṇa I and Rudrasēṇa I. It is true that the name of Rudrasēṇa I’s father has been mentioned, namely Gautamiputra, but he receives no royal title at all. Further, the father and grandfather of Gautamiputra have not been even so much as named. The conclusion is irresistible that after Pravarasēṇa I the Vākāṭakas lost their kingdom and remained destitute of power for three generations till Rudrasēṇa I, who belonged to the fourth, became a Mahārāja. The title Mahārāja, about this time, that is, three generations prior to Samudragupta, was in a transitional stage. Its significance had not yet become fixed. It could be assumed by an imperial ruler, or a feudatory chieftain. Thus Pravarasēṇa was, no doubt, a Mahārāja, but that he was a suzerain is proved by the appositional phrase samrād-Vākāṭakānām, which occurs in all Vākāṭaka charters. Similarly, Rudrasēṇa I or his son Prīthinivēṣṇa I has been styled Mahārāja, but that they were subordinate princes is indicated by the appositional phrase shrinking up into Vākāṭakānām with the prefix samrād- dropped invariably. It will thus be seen that when, after the overthrow of the Vākāṭaka supremacy after Pravarasēṇa I, the Vākāṭakas again rise to power in the fourth generation, they are, not suzerains, but feudatories. How could they have been brought to power again? And to whom, again, could they have remained subordinate? The only plausible reply is that as, after Pravarasēṇa, Rudrasēṇa first became a ruler and as Rudrasēṇa was a contemporary of Samudragupta, it was this Samudragupta who was responsible for raising him and the Vākāṭakas to power. This inference is strengthened by the fact that in the Allahabad pillar prāṣasti Samudragupta is credited with having re-established some royal families that were shorn of power. We do not know whether Chandragupta’s daughter Prabhāvatiguptā was married to Rudrasēṇa II, son of Prīthinivēṣṇa, in the time of Samudragupta. There is nothing inherently impossible in this supposition. On the contrary, it is a most likely one, because his Ėran inscription speaks of his possessing not only many sons, but many sons’ sons. Nevertheless, even supposing that this event took place after the demise of Samudragupta, this much cannot be denied that the two royal families must have already been on terms of great intimacy, as a marriage alliance took place between them practically in one generation from the rise of the Vākāṭakas to power. This probably explains why Harishēṇa refrained from giving specific instances of the royal families reinstated by Samudragupta. Of all such families the Vākāṭaka was the most prominent. And if he had named it, that would surely have reminded the Vākāṭaka Rudrasēṇa I of the imperial power which his family once enjoyed and of the subordinate position it now held, notwithstanding the fact that it was restored to some power at all by Samudragupta. The ancestral dominions of the Vākāṭakas, again, comprised the western half of Madhya Pradesh, Berar and Mahārāṣṭra, thus practically the

1 See in this connection the view of S. K. Bose who for the first time successfully tackled this synchronism (JC., Vol. II, pp. 53 ff.).
whole of the tableland of the Deccan, which by no means was an insignificant portion of Dakshinapatha. No part of this vast region is mentioned in any one of the lists, given by Harishena, of kingdoms, reduced to subordination, or put under tributary alliance, or brought into diplomatic relations with Samudragupta. This was a flagrant omission which would scarcely be expected of such an accurate historiographer of Samudragupta’s conquests as Harishena. Once, however, the cause of his reticence can be guessed, one can easily understand why no mention is made at all of this vast Deccan plateau held by the Vakatas, who were, no doubt, in secure, but, nevertheless, subordinate, alliance with the Imperial Gupta House.

We thus obtain a fairly accurate conception of the military achievements of Samudragupta. They were of six or seven different types. The first of these was that of prasabh-oddharana or ‘violent extermination’, which was practised upon eight kings of Aryavarta. This was absolutely necessary for the preservation and safeguarding of the Gupta empire. As this type of conquest involved also the annexation of the kingdoms of the rulers forcibly uprooted, this automatically led to the enlargement also of the Gupta dominions. The second type consisted of paricharakaraṇa which was inflicted upon the rulers of all Āṭavika principalties who were thus made ‘slaves’ of Samudragupta. This was a milder type of conquest than the first, as imposition of slavery is less violent in character than extermination. The third is represented by the payment of tribute (kara-dana), execution of orders (ājñā-karaṇa) and visits to the Gupta court for offering homage (praṇām-āgamana) which Samudragupta exacted from the princes ruling on the east and north frontiers of Aryavarta, and from the tribes that formed the west and south-west fringe of the Gupta dominions. By this three-fold measure alone they were able to mollify his stern rule (parilōṣhita-prachanda-īsanasya). They were all states that became part of the Gupta empire though they were situated on its outskirts. This gives us an idea of the extent of that empire. On the north it was bounded by the Himalayas, on the south by the Vindhyas, on the east by a line running from the mouths of the Ganges through Tripura-Cachar-Assam to the Himalayas, and on the west by a line running through East Panjab and East Rajputana down to the Vindhyas.

The fourth type of Samudragupta’s conquests consisted of grahaṇa-mōkṣa, ‘capture and release’ which he carried out in Dakshinapatha. It is true that only twelve rulers of South India are mentioned by Harishena. But we have to remember that whereas he speaks of only anēk-Aryāvarta-rājā he speaks of sarva-Dakshinapatha-rājā. The contrast between the words anēka and sarva is worthy of note, and it shows that whereas in the case of Aryavarta the Gupta monarch uprooted only some, in the case of Dakshinapatha he vanquished and set free all kings. But what could be the meaning of this mode of conquest styled grahaṇa-mōkṣha by Harishena? This reminds us of a verse in the Raghuvansha, where Kālidāsa describes the dig-vijaya of Raghu. In his expedition of conquest Raghu is represented to have defeated the ruler of the Mahendra mountain. And his defeat of this king is thus described by Kālidāsa:

\[
\text{Grihita-pratimuktasya sa dharmā-vijaye nyāyaḥ} \backslash
\text{ṣrīyāṃ Mahendra-nāthasya jahāra na tu mēdinim} 11
\]

(IV. 43)\(^1\)

\[\text{Grihita-pratimukta of Kālidāsa is obviously identical with grahaṇa-mōkṣha of Harishena. It is thus quite clear that Samudragupta like Raghu is represented as Dharma-vijayan, ‘the Righteous Conqueror’, because neither of these rulers deprived the conquered foe of his dominions. And, in fact, the phrase Dharma-vijayan is not of Kālidāsa’s own coining, and is found used as early as the time of Kauṭalya, for he, in his Arthaśāstra, distinguishes between three types of}\]

\(^1\) Our attention to this verse was drawn by Raychaudhury as early as 1927 in his second edition of Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind., p. 339.

\(^2\) XII. 1. 11.
conquerors of whom Dharma-vijayin is doubtless one. He further tells us that of these conquerors Dharma-vijayin is the best, because he does not despoil the vanquished ruler of his possessions, meaning that his object is neither money nor annexation, but rather obeisance, that is, the ambition of becoming a Chāturanta or Chakravartin, the goal placed before a king by the Arthaśāstra. In Kālidāsa’s time, however, this goal seems to have undergone a slight change; for, the poet says that Raghu seized, if not the kingdom, at any rate, the wealth (śri) of the ruler of the Mahēndra mountain. Mallinātha, the commentator, explains śriyāṁ jahāra by dharm-ārtham=iti bhāvah. It is thus clear that in the Gupta period it was customary for the Dharma-vijayin to exact at least a tribute from the worsted enemy. The precious metal, so acquired, was most probably, used not so much to overstock the royal treasury as to celebrate some politico-religious ceremony at the end of the expedition and distribute it in largesses to the Brāhmaṇas. This point we will come to very shortly. Suffice it here to say that Samudragupta appears to have undertaken his campaign in South India with a view to establishing himself as a supreme ruler of India and that he could thus afford to be a Dharma-vijayin for Dakshināpatha.

The nature of the fifth type of Samudragupta’s military achievements is revealed by the expression utsanā-rājāvāṁśa-pratisṭhāpana ‘restoration of overthrown royal families’. This point we have already dwelt upon. This need not therefore occupy us here very long. It is true that Harishēṇa does not specify the names of these families. But we have already remarked that he must have had very good reasons for refraining from this specification, especially as we know he has not spared himself from such enumerations elsewhere in describing the conquests of his lord and master. Although he has not thus thrown any light on this point, purposely we think, we have already surmised that one of these families was the Vākāṭaka, whose ancestral kingdom was practically co-extensive with the tableland of the Deccan. And when this extensive region is once taken into consideration, the enumeration of the twelve kings of South India vanquished and liberated by Samudragupta does not, after all, look a meagre and incomplete one so as to cast a reasonable doubt upon the wide extent of his dig-vijaya, so absolutely necessary for the position of the Paramount Sovereign to which he was aspiring. Who seized upon this Vākāṭaka territory between the time of Pravaraśeṇa I and that of Samudragupta, we do not know definitely. We can only guess that it was not one king, but perhaps a combination of neighbouring rulers, that partitioned the Vākāṭaka kingdom. There was the ruler of Kōsala in the east, the Nāga confederacy in the north, the Kshatrapas in the west, and the Pallavas and others in the south. These must have conspired jointly and severally to pounce upon the Vākāṭaka empire and seize every one for himself a sumptuous morsel. When this whole array of formidable princes was confronted, singly and severally, and destroyed or subjugated by Samudragupta during the various types of conquests he carried out, it was not difficult at all to unify and restore the dismembered Vākāṭaka power, which, however, now in its regenerated form had to enter into a subordinate alliance with the Imperial Gupta House.

The sixth and perhaps the last type of military achievements which stands to the credit of Samudragupta is the diplomatic relations which sprang up between him and the distant independent states on the frontiers and beyond. We have seen who they were. Here we are supplied with two lists by Harishēṇa, one consisting of foreign independent rulers settled on the west and north-west of India and the other of those situated beyond the extreme south of the country such as the princes of Śiṅhala (Ceylon) and other island countries. The very fact that the rulers of Śiṅhala and adjoining islands exchanged international courtesy with him shows that the dig-vijaya of Samudragupta was complete over the whole of Dakshināpatha.

1 D. R. Bhandarkar, Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity, pp. 95 ff.
In fact, he was the paramount sovereign of the whole of India except those small provinces held by the Kushâna and Śaka rulers on the outskirts. If Harishêna has not exaggerated, they were, indeed, afraid of “the onrush of the prowess of his arms (bâhu-vîyâ-prasara) and therefore constructed ‘earthen embankments’ (dharanî-bandha) to arrest it by way of various diplomatic devices, such as ātma-nivêdana, kany-êpâyana-dîna, etc. These last we have carefully considered and explained.

The natural culmination of these India-wide conquests was, of course, the celebration of the Aśvamêda sacrifice with which Samudragupta is credited. There is, however, absolutely no mention of it in any one of his epigraphic records, above all, in his Allahabad pillar inscription where it would be naturally expected. The reasonable conclusion is that the Aśvamêda sacrifice must have been performed after this inscription had been put up. It is worthy of note that this record has been engraved on a pillar which had already been inscribed with three different types of Aśoka’s edicts. From one of these it is also quite clear that originally this pillar was standing at Kauṣâmî, identified with Kosam, about 28 miles west by south from Allahabad. Kauṣâmî was then the centre of the main routes that ran from east to west and north to south.\(^1\) And it seems that Samudragupta had just then completed his expedition of conquest in South India and was returning to his capital Pātaliputra, via Kauṣâmî. Of all the victories of this Gupta monarch, those of Dakshinâpâtha must have been the last to achieve. They were not at all needed for the preservation of the Gupta empire, and must have been undertaken at a time, when everything was quiet and firm in North India, and, when as Dharma-vijayin, Samudragupta had only to capture and liberate the different princes of that region to establish his claim to sârivahamvatwa with a view to celebrating the Aśvamêda which he had now set his heart upon. As Kauṣâmî was the meeting point of the two great arteries of communication in India, Samudragupta must have naturally rested himself for some time along with his sacrificial steed, before he could resume the onward march to Pātaliputra. It was here and at this time that the idea of setting up a record of all his multifarious achievements presumably suggested itself to him. And as Kauṣâmî was itself known for a stone column inscribed with the edicts of Aśoka which handed down the name of the Maurya sovereign from one generation to another, Samudragupta must have thought this column to be the fittest place where his panegyric record also could be engraved so that his fame, like that of his Mauryan compeer, could endure from one age to another till the sun and the moon shone in their orbs.

We have shown that this praiasti of Samudragupta was composed by Harishêna, his Minister for Peace and War. The actual work of executing it, that is, of engraving it on the pillar, was done by another officer, called Tilakabhaṭṭa, a Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka, who was apparently the officer in charge of Kauṣâmî and the surrounding districts. On reaching Pātaliputra Samudragupta must have performed the Aśvamêda sacrifice.

“Verily,” says the Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa (XIII. 1.6.3), “the Aśvamêda means royal sway; it is after royal sway that those strive who guard the horse. Those of them who reach the end become ( sharers in) the royal sway, but those who do not reach the end are cut off from royal sway. Therefore let him who holds royal sway perform the horse-sacrifice; for, verily, whoever performs the horse-sacrifice, without possessing power, is poured (swept) away.”\(^2\) The late Eggeling, who has translated this Brâhmaṇa rightly says that “the Aśvamêda ... 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; and its celebration must

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\(^1\) Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 517.
therefore have been an event of comparatively rare occurrence." The Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra (XV. 1.1) also says that the king, who is desirous of Aśvamēdha must be a conqueror and (ruler) of all land (Aśvamēdhēṇa yakṣhyamāṇā bhavati rājā vijjītā sārvabhumaḥ). This is further corroborated by the Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra (XX. 1.1), which says: rājā sārvabhaumī = śvamēdhēṇa yajēta, “the king who is (ruler) of all land may perform Aśvamēdha.” It will thus be seen that originally an Aśvamēdha sacrifice was considered worthy of celebration by a sārvabhauma king only. Things were, however, changing, even in the (Śrāuta) Śūtra period. For the Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra just quoted is followed immediately by aṣvya = aṣāvabhaumaḥ, “Even (a king) who is not (ruler) of all land (may perform it).” Aśvamēdha was not thus the be-all and the end-all of a universal ruler only, as it doubtless was to start with. Its performance must thus have come in later times to be associated with a variety of purposes. One of these was certainly putra-prāpti, ‘attainment of a son’, and the well-known instance of it is the Aśvamēdha celebrated by Daśaratha, king of Kōsala. At the very beginning of the Rāmāyaṇa, Daśaratha is made to declare this his intention with the words putrārtham hāyamēdhaṇa yakṣhyām = iti mātir = māma, in front of Vasishṭha, Rishyasṛṅga and others. And it was done, and the expected fruition also obtained. Another object with which the sacrifice was performed is pointed to by stanza 4 of Act I of the Mṛcih-<br>               <br>chhakaṭika, where Śudraka, the reputed author of the drama, is represented to have performed the Aśvamēdha after abdicating his throne in favour of his son, and thereby apparently to have lived for one hundred years and ten days before he cremated himself in a sacred fire. A third end in view is indicated by the Aśvamēdha celebrated by Yudhishṭhīra, the account of which constitutes one whole parvan of the Mahābhārata called the Aśvamēdhīka-parvan. Yudhishṭhīra had already performed the Rājaśūya for attaining to the rank of Sārvabhauma. Nevertheless, after regaining the kingdom from Duryōdhana who had wrested it from him, he performs the Aśvamēdha, with the express object, we are told, of washing off “the sin committed in consequence of the slaughter of kinsmen” (jñāti-vadhya-kṛtān pāpaṁ). Elsewhere in the same parvan, that is, in the Aśvamēdhīka-parvan, the Aśvamēdha is described as ‘purificative of all sins’. This leaves no doubt as to the main purpose of celebrating an Aśvamēdha. Even Manu expresses the same opinion, when he says yath = Aśvamēdhaḥ kratu-rāṭ sarva-pāp-āpanōdanaḥ (XI. 260). Nevertheless, after reconquering his dominion, it was necessary for Yudhishthīra to proclaim his position as Sārvabhauma through the performance of Rājaśūya. If we carefully study the movements of the sacrificial steed of Yudhishthīra, we find that the animal goes from Hastināpura, the capital of the Pāṇḍavas, first to the Trigarta country, in the extreme north-north-west of India, from there to Prāgjyotisha in Assam in the extreme east, from Prāgjyotisha again to Sindhu (Sind) in the extreme west, from Sindhu to the country of Manipura in the extreme east again, from there to Magadha, and then only to the south to such countries as Kōsala, Taṅgaṇa, Draviḍa, Andhra, Raudra, Māhishaka, Kaulagiri, thence northwards to Śurāśṭra, Prabhāsa, Dvārāvati, Paṅchanada, and lastly to Gandhāra. If such was the progress of the sacrificial steed, the conclusion is irresistible that the horse was taken from one frontier province to another in order that the Aśvamēdha should be combined with the dig-vijaya.

Now, there can be no doubt as to the motive with which Samudraguṇa performed his Aśvamēdha. We have already remarked that his Allahabad pillar inscription makes no mention of it at all. But the same record leaves no doubt whatever that when the prātiṣṭhā was composed,
he had already attained to the rank of paramount sovereign. The Horse Sacrifice must have been celebrated very soon after the record was incised on the column, as the obvious culmination of his assertion of undisputed supremacy over the whole of India. This view is confirmed by a critical study of the coins he issued to signalise this event of extreme political importance. On the obverse of the coin, as Allan informs us, is a representation of the sacrificial steed standing before a decorated sacrificial post (yāpa) and apparently bound to it. On the reverse is a female figure standing, wearing loose robe and jewellery and holding chowrie over her right shoulder in her right hand. Presumably she is the mahisē or Chief Queen of Samudragupta, namely, Dattadēvi, who must have played a more important part in the sacrifice than the other wives of the king. On the left is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet. Around her feet is what looks like a chain extending also round the spear. At her feet, again, is an uncertain object which seems to be a gourd. On the reverse, again, is the legend Aśvamēdhapaṭākramah, which is no doubt the appellation he assumed after the performance of the sacrifice and which signifies "one whose valour is Horse Sacrifice." This means that when he performed Aśvamēḍha, he exhibited valour, that, in other words, it was through his valour that he was able to celebrate the sacrifice. This Aśvamēḍha of Samudragupta, therefore, must have been an achievement worthy of a Sārvabhauma. It could not have not been performed with a purely secular motive, such, for example, as putra-prāpti, or a purely religious purpose, such as the expiation of sins. This is corroborated also by the distich which occurs on the reverse of his coins, namely, rājādhāraṇāḥ pṛitiṣṭhīṁ viṣāya dīvāṁ jayarītai = Apratīvāra-virāhā, "The Overlord of lords, having conquered the earth, being of irresistible prowess, conquers heaven". This indicates that his conquests all over India have developed into Aśvamēḍha which has now enabled him to conquer heaven also.

It has been stated above that though the coins of Samudragupta commemorate his celebration of Horse Sacrifice, no reference to it is traceable in his epigraphic records. The inscriptions of his descendants, however, do refer to it. Thus the Bilsāq and Bihār stone pillar inscriptions of Kumāragupta and Budhagupta respectively (Nos. 16 and 41 below) speak of Samudragupta as chir-ātsann-āśvamēḍhā-kartā. This expression Fleet has rendered by "who was the restorer of the aśvamēḍha-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance." When this English savant published his classical work Gupta Inscriptions, there was little epigraphical evidence to show that there was any other king except Sātakarṇi, or rather his queen, who performed the Horse Sacrifice before the time of the Gupta monarch. But their name is now legion. Because now we know that Aśvamēḍha was performed twice by the Šūṅga Pushyamitra, once by Pārāśariputra Gājāyanā Sarvatāṭa, twice by Vēḍīśrī Sātakarṇi, ten times by the Bhārāśivas, four times by the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna I, and once by the Ikshvāku Vāsiśṭhitṛputra Chārīntamūla. Besides, we have the evidence of a seal that the same sacrifice was celebrated by Viṣṇudēva about 150 B.C. If, therefore, Harishēna gives us to understand that Samudragupta restored Aśvamēḍha which had for long been in abeyance, it is an exaggeration, pure and simple, of a court panegyrist. But does the phrase chir-ātsann-āśvamēḍhā-kartā necessarily mean this? Is

3 Ep. Ind., Vol. XX., p. 57. [Cf. also the brick inscription of Dāmamitra, Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 99-100.—Ed.]
5 ASW, Vol. V, p. 60, No. II.
7 Ibid., No. 55, p. 236, text line 2 and No. 56, p. 243, text line 2.
8 Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 18 ff. (Āyaka-pillar inscription B 2, line 1; C 2, line 3; C 4, line 3; E line 1; G lines 2-3; H lines 4-5); ibid., Vol. XXXV, pp. 18-19.
9 JRAS., 1893, p. 97.
Fleet's translation the only one possible? In this connection attention may be drawn to what Krishnaswami Aiyangar\(^1\) has said about the word utsanna, used of the Āskyamādh in the Śata-patha-Brāhmaṇa. But the pity of it is that he did not think it worth his while to develop this point at all. And what is more pitiful is that he does not even tell us in which part of this Brāhmaṇa the word utsanna has been employed with reference to Āskyamādh. Nevertheless, we will try and develop this point as best as we can. It is in 1.Kaṇḍa XIII of the Śata-patha-Brāhmaṇa that Āskyamādh has been called utsanna-yājña ieva. We will quote the whole passage bearing on this point:

\begin{quote}
Saṁkrity = Achhāvaśaka-sāma bhavati utsanna-yājña ieva va ēśha yad = Āskyamādh kiṁ vai hy = ētasya kriyate kiṁ va na yat = Saṁkrity = Achhāvaśaka-sāma bhavati āśasya = āvā sarvataēva.\(^2\)
\end{quote}

“The Saṁkriti (tune) is the Achhāvaśaka’s Sāman. Verily what is (called) Āskyamādh is, as it were, a decayed sacrifice. Because something thereof is performed, and something not. When the Saṁkriti is the Achhāvaśaka’s Sāman, it is for (bringing about) the completeness of the Horse (Sacrifice).” This translation follows in the main that given by Eggeling.\(^3\) In the footnote to his translation he has quoted some commentary bearing on this passage. Part of it is worth repeating here: utsanna-yājña ēśha yad Āskyamādh akatham utsanna ity = aha kiṁ va ha-h̄iti va yasya ērāmāh pūraṇa-yānau (yugṛ ?) prayuṣyaṃ tē śāśāṁ kiṃchi kałau kriyate kiṃchin = na kriyate tatā = cha Saṁkriti = Achhāvaśaka-sāma bhavati. In the same footnote Eggeling says that a similar passage is found also in the Ta互联互通y-saṁhitā (V. 4.12.3). If we examine it, we find that it also contains the words: utsanna-yājña vai ēśha yad = Āskyamādh Śaṅkara in his gloss upon it explains it by saying that it is utsanna-yājña, because some parts of it (āvayava) were either ēetakā, ‘utterly lost’, or āvitya ‘completely forgotten’, and that it was consequently necessary to chant the Saṁkriti, namely, the Achhāvaśaka’s Sāman, in order that the Āskyamādh may be restored to sarvāvayavā-sākalāva, “completeness through the totality of elements”.\(^4\) If we thus take into our careful consideration the two Vedic passages relating to the Āskyamādh together with commentaries thereupon, it is clear that some parts of the sacrifice were long ago either lost or forgotten,\(^5\) that the whole and entire sacrifice could not thus be performed and that hence arose the necessity of chanting the Saṁkriti, just adverted to, to rectify this defect. This is why Āskyamādh was known as utsanna-yājña “a dilapidated sacrifice”. It will thus be seen that it is not simply the Śata-patha-Brāhmaṇa but also the Ta互联互通y-saṁhitā where the sacrifice has been so designated. And the commentaries concur practically as to the signification of the term utsanna. When therefore the Gupta inscriptions speak of Samudragupta’s Āskyamādh as chirōtsanna, the term utsanna in this phrase cannot but be taken in the same sense. We have therefore to suppose that Āskyamādh had remained utsanna for a long time, up till the time of this Gupta sovereign, but that, whether on account of his expedition in the south where Vedic lore and practices are still better preserved or on account of some other circumstances about which we know nothing at present, the elements of this sacrifice which were so long taken as lost or forgotten were recovered beyond all doubt and that in consequence thereof he celebrated the Āskyamādh, whole and entire, without any one of its original elements missing.

We have remarked above that although the records of Samudragupta do not speak about his Āskyamādh, the inscriptions of his descendants make prominent mention of it. But they do so in two different phrases. One of these, namely, chirōtsanna-Āskyamādh-āhārtā, we have just

\(^1\) Studies in Gupta History, pp. 44-45.
\(^2\) Śata-patha-Brāhmaṇa, XIII, 3.3.6.
\(^3\) SBE, Vol. XLIV, pp. 333-34.
\(^5\) This explains why we have a double description of the Āskyamādh in the XIII Book of the Śata-patha-Brāhmaṇa (Adhyāyā 1-3 and 4-5), as has been so lucidly pointed out by W. Calland (Acta Orientalia, Vol. X, pp. 126 ff.). This double description naturally involves repetitions, discrepancies and even contradictions, though an attempt has been made to bring both the descriptions into harmony one with the other.
considered. We will now consider the other expression namely, anēk-Āśamēdhā-yāji, which occurs in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, who, we have already seen, was the Chief Queen of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna II and daughter of the Gupta sovereign Chandragupta II. What does the word anēka of this expression mean? Does it mean that Samudragupta celebrated more than one Horse Sacrifice? This is practically contradicted by the other expression which we have already considered, namely, chir-ōtsann-Āśamēdhā-āharitā. Surely this new expression cannot be appropriately translated by “the performer of (many) Āśamēdhas which had for long become dilapidated”. The words chir-ōtsanna are opposed to the idea of Samudragupta having performed more than one Horse Sacrifice. What then becomes of the statement, anēk-Āśamēdhā-yāji, which is made about him in the copper-plate charter of his grand-daughter? In this connection we have to note that epigraphic records credit some princes with the performance of many Āśamēdhas. If the Śuṅga king Pushyamitra and the Śātavāhana ruler Vēdišri Sātakaṇci celebrated Āśamēdha twice, as reported in their inscriptions, it is intelligible enough, though there is no evidence to show that their might extended over the whole of India as was the case with Samudragupta. But when Pravarasēna I is represented to have performed four Āśamēdhas, it demands a very high stretch of imagination to believe it, even though in his time the Vākāṭakas were sarvādās or suzerains, as their inscriptions inform us. When, however, we are told that the Vishnukundin king, Mādhavavarman I, celebrated no less than eleven Horse Sacrifices, it becomes an absolutely incredible proposition, if it means that they were performed one after another till they numbered eleven. This Mādhavavarman may have been an independent prince, for aught we know to the contrary, but certainly he must have ruled over a small dominion, occupying scarcely one sixth of South India. Besides, he was not a suzerain. Nevertheless, we can conclude that he was entitled to the performance of an Āśamēdha. Because the Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra lays down that the Āśamēdha may be celebrated even by a-sāvabhauna rulers, who must inter alia include ‘feudatory chieftains’. If any proof is needed, it is furnished by Harivamśa, which, as was first pointed out by J. C. Ghosh, adduces the instance of Vasudēva, father of Krishna, who, although a kara-dāyaka or ‘tributary’, is represented as performing a Vājīmēdha. In later history the case is very well known of Savaī Jayasimha, the Kachchhāra founder and ruler of Jaipur in Rajputana, who celebrated an Āśamēdha, but whose men, we are informed, took care that the stallion did not stray beyond the region of his political influence. James Tod, therefore, rightly says that “although, perhaps, in virtue of his office, as the satrap of Delhi, the horse dedicated to the sun might have wandered un molested on the bank of the Ganges, he would most assuredly have found his way into a Rahtore stable had he roamed in the direction of the desert: at the risk of both jīva and gaddi (life and throne), the Hara would have seized him, had he fancied the pastures of the Chambal.” This shows clearly that a feudatory could perform this sacrifice, only if his attendants, who escorted the steed, saw that the animal never wandered away from the boundaries of his principality. We are not therefore to be surprised at all if the Vishnukundin prince, Mādhavavarman I, celebrated an Āśamēdha after all. But the most incredible feature of this statement would be that he celebrated as many as eleven such sacrifices, if we understand by it that he performed them all successively. It is incredible first, because, every single performance is of a long duration, and secondly because, the preparations for it are tedious.

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 39-44 and Plate.
2 Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 134, line 3.
and exacting and would swell into abnormal and prohibitive expenses. We are therefore compelled to suppose that Mādhavavarman had a long reign and that he spent the whole of it in the performance of sacrificial rites. The only way out of this difficulty is that suggested by the remark which Vyāsa makes to Yudhishṭhira in connection with his Āśvamedha. "Let thy sacrifice, O the best of kings," says Vyāsa, "be performed in such a way that it shall not be defective. In consequence of the large quantity of that gold (having to spend which) it is called Bahuśvarṇaka (Profuse-Gold Sacrifice). Increase here the dakṣiṇā threefold, O great king, and thy (sacrifice) shall become threefold. The Brāhmaṇas are competent for this purpose. Having thus accomplished three Āśvamedhās each with profuse dakṣiṇā, thou shalt be freed, O king, from the sin committed in consequence of the slaughter of thy kinsmen." This is a most significant passage, because it clearly says that he, who gives dakṣiṇā that is triple of what is enjoined, is looked upon as having performed three different Horse Sacrifices and consequently as having attained to triple the spiritual merit. May we not therefore infer that Pravarsēṇa I and Mādhavavarman I disbursed dakṣiṇā four and eleven times respectively, of that actually prescribed for that sacrifice, and were credited with having performed four and eleven Āśvamedhās respectively, when, as a matter of fact, the ceremony was performed but once? The same may have happened in the case of Samudragupta. We do not know the exact value of anēka in the epithet anēkā-Āśvamedha-yaśi which has been applied to him in his granddaughter’s copper-plate grant. It may be ‘four’; it may be ‘eleven’; it may be even two. We have only to presume that he distributed dakṣiṇā among Brāhmaṇas just so many times more than laid down for the sacrifice, but that he performed only one solemn rite.

One of the many epithets by which Samudragupta is known is nyāy-āgat-anēka-gūl-hiranyakāṭṭi-prada, "the giver of many crores of lawfully acquired cows and gold". This may not be an exaggeration, as from the verses just cited from the Āśvamedhika-pāvan of the Mahābhārata we learn that the Āśvamedha is called Bahuśvarṇaka, because profuse quantities of gold are given by way of dakṣiṇā. That cows also were bestowed upon the Brāhmaṇa priests is too wellknown to require any proof. Of the epigraphic records that have been hitherto published, the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription is the most important in this connection. There the Śātavāhana king, or rather, his queen, is represented as having celebrated Śrāuta sacrifices of various kinds, and the various dakṣiṇās distributed by this charitable monarch in connection therewith have also been described. Even a cursory glance is enough to show that the kine formed an important item of dakṣiṇā in the case of most of his sacrifices. But there is no mention of swarna except in the case of the Āśvamedha performed by him. Vediśri performed two Āśvamedhās, but the details of the second of them alone have been preserved, and these again only partially. Nevertheless, what has been preserved indubitably points to the conclusion that the precious metal or coin that was associated with Horse Sacrifice is Swarna as we also know from the Mahābhārata, and not silver or Kārshāpaṇas which we find invariably associated with all other sacrifices of Vediśri in the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription.

It is but natural that the memory of such an important event as the celebration of Āśvamedha by Samudragupta should be preserved in a variety of ways. We have already described what is called the Āśvamedha type of coins, which he issued to commemorate this event. Some scholars are of opinion that they were struck for distribution to the Brāhmaṇas who took part in the Āśvamedha ceremony. But this seems unlikely, because these coins,

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2 ASWT., Vol. V, pp. 60-64.
3 Ibid., p. 60, line 1, (No. II-B Right Wall).
though so few of them have yet been found, seem to present three or four different varieties, showing that they were struck in different mints. On the other hand, if they had really been intended as largesses to the Brāhmaṇa priests who participated in the solemn rite, they would have come from one and the same mint, and presenting one variety only. It is safer to say that they were issued by Samudragupta to signalise the universal sovereignty presupposed in the performance of the Horse Sacrifice and indicated by the new title that he now assumed, namely, Aśvamēḍha-parākrama. The memory of this performance has persisted in another way also. As early as 1901, E. J. Rapson brought to our notice a circular seal, containing the representation of a horse looking towards a sacrificial post and the legend Parākrama below.1 As Rapson remarks, the title Parākrama is distinctive of Samudragupta and occurs alone without any addition on some of his coins. As this seal is a clay impression, it is clear that it must have been originally attached to some document despatched from Samudragupta’s Sacrificial Hall. It is, however, a pity that nothing is known about the provenance of the seal. Seals or sealings from sacrificial grounds are by no means unknown. One such was picked up by me during excavations at Besnagar from a site which appears to have been once a Sacrificial Hall.2 A third memorial also of Samudragupta’s Aśvamēḍha has come down to us. It is the life-size stone figure of a small horse, which was dug many years ago near the ancient fort of Khaiergarh in the Khērī District, on the border between Oudh and Nepal. The stone horse bears on the right side of its neck in faintly incised and partly defaced Gupta characters an inscription of which . . . . ddaṭhāśa dēyaḥhamma are legible.3 The first word must clearly be restored to Samuddaguttassa, and this line translated by “the religious benefaction of (Samu)-dragupta.” It is true that the artistic merits of this sculpture are contemptible. Still the word dēyaḥhamma used shows that the stone horse was considered to be an object of some religious significance. It is possible that representations of the steed sacrificed and thus hallowed were put up by Samudragupta at important places in his empire as souvenirs of this celebration of extreme politico-religious importance. Again, the fact that this brief mutilated inscription is in Prakrit has puzzled V. A. Smith and even suggested a shade of doubt, because all other Gupta inscriptions are in pure classical Sanskrit. But pure classical Sanskrit must have been the language of the learned, and for the half-literate and the illiterate, Prakrit must have continued to be the medium of expression especially in the earlier part of the Gupta epoch.

The Gupta inscriptions and coins give us some insight into the royal style of the dynasty. In this respect numismatics is of greater importance than epigraphy. In the Allahabad pillar inscription, we have seen that, whereas Gupta and Ghaṭātka have been called simply Mahārāja, Chandragupta I and Samudragupta are given the suzerain title of Mahārājādhirāja. All other inscriptions follow suit, except one. This exception is the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II, dated Gupta year 61, where both this monarch and his father Samudragupta have been styled Mahārāja-Rājādhirāja, doubtless after the Kushāṇa Mahārāja-Rājātirāja prevalent in that locality. But this Kushāṇa formula is not met with in any other Gupta inscription, which invariably calls the Gupta sovereign Mahārājādhirāja. The coins of Samudragupta, however, present the three forms Mahārājādhirāja on the Lyrist type, Rājādhirāja on the Aśvamēḍha type, and rājā on the Tiger type. The last two forms may have been forced on the mint-master by the exigencies of versification or shortage of ground in the margin of the coins. So far in regard to the actual titles. But there were many epithets which were borne by Samudragupta, expressive of his multifarious achievements. Such are the appellations (1) Aprātripatī, (2) Kṛitānta-parāśu, (3) Parākrama, (4) Yāghra-parākrama and (5) Aśvamēḍha-

1 JRAS., 1901, p. 102.
2 CASIR., 1914-15, pp. 77-78.
3 JRAS., 1893, pp. 97-98.
parâkrama. Of these the first is found on his coins of the Archer type, and in the amplified form of prîthivyām = apratiratha in line 24 of the Allahabad pillar inscription and epigraphic records of his successors. The second, Kritânta-parâśu, occurs on the Battle-axe Type coins of the monarch, and is associated with the name of Samudragupta in the inscriptions of his successors. The next three epithets of this monarch are connected with the term Parâkrama. In the first place, he was Parâkrama or Valour Incarnate, and is, therefore, called Parâkrama on his coins. The Allahabad pillar inscription gives the epithet Parâkramâṅka, which must mean “he whose appellation (anika) is Parâkrama.” Then this Parâkrama has also been joined to vyâghra, and he becomes Vyâghra-parâkrama. What this appellation signifies may be seen from how he figures on the coins which give him this designation. There the king is represented as “trampling on a tiger which falls backwards as he shoots it with bow.” This means that Samudragupta was fond of hunting and took particular delight in tiger hunting. Even now when guns and powder are used for hunting a tiger, it is by no means considered to be a small feat to bag that wild animal. What daring, sharpness of aim and quick action are required of a huntsman who shoots a tiger with an arrow can easily be imagined. It is, therefore, no wonder if an appellation like Vyâghra-parâkrama is coined and is assumed by a king who is always encouraged by the Arthasastra to develop a liking for hunting. If Samudragupta’s parâkrama was thus remarkable on hunting grounds, it was equally remarkable on the battle fields. It is therefore no wonder, if he brought the whole of India under his sway, celebrated a Horse Sacrifice, and assumed another appellation expressive of this valour, namely, Aśvamēdhā-parâkrama. As the common factor of these combinations, namely, of Vyâghra-parâkrama and Aśvamēdhā-parâkrama is Parâkrama, and as Parâkrama by itself also forms his epithet, Samudragupta appears to have been regarded as Parâkrama par excellence just as his son, Chandragupta II was Vikrama, and his grandson, Kumāragupta I, Mahândra, pre-eminently.

There were other epithets and appellations which we find conjoined to the name of Samudragupta in later Gupta inscriptions. Thus the fragmentary Mathura inscription (No. 10 below) and the Bilsad record (No. 16 below) of the time of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I respectively, and the Nālandā plate of Samudragupta (No. 3 below) couple the following with the name of the last mentioned king: (1) Sarva-rāj-ōchhheṭṭā, (2) Prîthivyām = apratirathāh, (3) Chatur-udadhī-salīl-āśvādita-yaśāḥ, (4) Dhanada-Vaṇa-Endr-Āntaka-samaḥ, (5) Kritânta-parāśuḥ, (6) Nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiranya-kōṭi-pradāḥ, and (7) Chir-ōśam-Āśvamēdh-āharīṭā. Of these the fourth appellation, namely, Dhanada-Vaṇa-Endr-Āntaka-samaḥ, occurs in line 26 of the Allahabad inscription and the fifth, namely, Kritânta-parāśuḥ, on his coins. It is worthy of note that some of these epithets are found associated with the name of Chandragupta II in the Poona plates of Prabhâvatigupta. They are (1) Prîthivyām = apratirathāh, (2) Sarva-rāj-ōchhheṭṭā, (3) Chatur-udadhī-salīl-āśvādita-yaśāḥ, and (4) Anēka-gō-hiranya-kōṭi-sahasra-pradāḥ. The first three of the latter group are identical with the first three of the former, and the fourth of the latter is practically the same as the sixth of the former. The third epithet in the first group, again, is associated with the name of Kumāragupta I in inscription No. 21 below, and the fourth is of such a generic character that it may be borne by any king, Gupta or non-Gupta, and, was, in fact, borne even by a Chalukya feudatory in the south, as we will see shortly. The fifth and the seventh may alone be taken to be epithets peculiar to Samudragupta.

But what about the three epithets common to Samudragupta and Chandragupta II,

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1 See note on this appellation in the translation of the Allahabad pillar inscription (No. 1, below).
3 Arthasastra, ed. by Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1919, 8.3.119 (p. 329).
namely, (1) Sarva-rāj-ōchhētā, (2) Prithivyaṃ-aprirathā, and (3) Chatur-udadhī-salīl-
āsvādita-yasāh? Why should these epithets be common at all to these two Gupta sovereigns?
A reply to this question is furnished by a consideration of the titular formulary of later royal
dynasties, e.g. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkēd. Those, who have studied the history of this
dynasty, know full well that while, on the one hand, there are epithets which are peculiar to
every name, such as Akaḷavarsha, Prabhūtavarsha or Āmoghavarsha, there are others which are
common to them all, namely, Prithiṉavallabha, Vallabhārāja, and so forth.2 The same may have
been the case with the appellations of the Gupta dynasty. While Parākrama and combinations
formed out of it are peculiar to Samudragupta, and Vikrama and its combinations to Chandragu-
pata II, there are other epithets which were common to them all, such as the three referred
to above. And, in fact, these last are of such a character that they could be borne by powerful
kings of any family. And this is just what we find about the Kaṭachchuri prince Śaṅkaragāṇa,
with whose name are coupled these three Gupta epithets in the Sarasavī plates.3 Not far
removed from Śaṅkaragāṇa was the Chalukya chieftain Vijayarāja of Gujarāt known from
his Kairā grant dated Kalachuri year 394. Curiously enough this grant applies to his name
the following epithets:4 (1) Prithivyaṃ-aprirathā, (2) Chatur-udadhī-salīl-āsvādita-yasāh and
(3) Dhanada-Varun-Ēndr-Āntaka-sama-prabhāva. It thus seems that this Gupta titular formulary
was imitated by other royal families and was prevalent up till the middle of the seventh century.

Samudragupta was not only a first-rate soldier but also a king of exceptional ability.
He was also endowed with varied gifts. By his praiseworthy qualities and good deeds, Haris-
heṇa tells us, he wiped out the fame of other monarchs. He was master alike in causing the
prosperity of the good and the destruction of the wicked. His heart melted easily at the exhibi-
tion of genuine devotion and obeisance. His mind had taken up the solemn vow to raise the
miserable, the humble, the forlorn and the distressed. Much other general and vague praise
has been lavished by Harishēṇa upon Samudragupta. Praise of this character is just what
might be expected in a composition of the praśasti type, such as the Allahābad pillar inscrip-
tion, no doubt, is. And consequently when the court panegyrist goes further, and says that
Samudragupta “put to shame (Brihaspati) the preceptor of the lord of gods, Tumburu, Nārada
and others by his sharp and polished intellect and musical performances respectively” (No. 1,
line 27), one is apt to think that this is exaggeration, pure and simple, and contains no grain
of truth at all. But he cannot but be agreeably surprised when he considers one type of the
king’s coins, where Samudragupta is represented as wearing a waistcloth, close-fitting cap,
necklace, earrings and armlets, and seated, cross-legged, on a high-backed couch, with a
musical instrument lying on his knees, the left hand pressing it on the left thigh and the right
playing on the strings.5 Surely, the monarch would not have figured as a lyrist on his coins,
if he had not been something like an expert in instrumental music. In fact, no other Gupta
sovereign is represented as playing on a lyre. When Harishēṇa, therefore, says that the king
surpassed the heavenly musicians in his musical performances, we cannot help admitting
that, after all, there is a kernel of truth in the shell of his poetic hyperbole. And for the same
reason it must be admitted that there is some grain of truth also in the other statement, namely,
that he excelled Brihaspati in respect of his sharp and polished intellect. We know that

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1 It is worthy of note that this epithet has been associated also with Kumāragupta I in the Karamadāṇḍa
stone inscription (No. 21 below).
5 Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, p. 18; V. A. Smith, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian
Bṛhaspati was the counsellor of Indra, the ruler of the gods. Bṛhaspati was also the reputed founder of a school of Daṇḍamīrī. Consequently, when Harishcena compares his lord and master to Bṛhaspati, what he apparently means is that Samudragupta surpassed the counsellor of Indra in point of diplomacy and state-craft. This is obviously indicated by the differences noticeable in the nature of his conquests and invasions. This we have expatiated upon above, but these we may briefly recapitulate here. In regard to some kings, he followed the policy of prasabh-ōdharana, ‘violent extermination’. These were the rulers of Āryāvarta, whose dominions were conterminous with those of the Gupta family which he had inherited from his father. In regard to the tribes and princes who formed the outer fringe of the Gupta kingdom, his policy was that of prachanda-śāsana, that is, of exacting tribute, obedience and obeisance of various kinds. So far, in regard to North India. It was, however, absolutely necessary for him to conquer also, as his aspiration was that of a Chāturanga, or Chakravartin, the ideal set before a king by the Arthaśāstra. He therefore subjugated Dakshināpatha by means of grahaṇa-mōksha, which, as we have seen above, was the policy of dharmavajīyin. Pāri paśu with these modes of conquest he adopted the policy of uṣṭana-rāja-vamśa-pratishthāpana, ‘the re-establishment of the royal families (already) overthrown’. This naturally involved a reshuffling of kingdoms which must have made the Gupta government much stronger than it was ever before. This was one great triumph of his foreign policy. When, in this manner, he succeeded in making himself master of practically the whole of India, the distant independent monarchs, who were ruling over provinces on the outskirts of this country, became panicky and entered into various kinds of alliances with the Gupta sovereign. It was by these multifarious policies that Samudragupta raised himself to the indisputable rank of the Supreme Ruler of India. He was thus an adept in state-craft and foreign policy. It is but just and proper that he should be compared to Bṛhaspati by Harishcena. The keynote to his phenomenal success was ‘severity tempered with mercy’. This is clear from another statement of Harishcena where he informs us that Samudragupta’s ‘Ayukta Officers were always occupied with the restoration of the wealth (vīhava) of many of the kings conquered by the strength of his own arms.’ His policy was thus that of a foresighted ruler with an iron hand in velvet glove.

Let us, however, return to the consideration of the varied gifts of imagination that he possessed. One of these was certainly the musical sense that had been developed in him to an eminent degree. This trait of his artistic calibre we have already touched upon. He displayed proficiency also in another fine art. He was an ardent devotee not only of the Muse of Music but also of the Muse of Poetry. In the verse portion of the Allahabad inscription, Harishcena tells us that the king’s ‘poetry outdistances the glory of the genius of the poets.’ In the prose portion (line 27) we are informed that the monarch’s ‘title to Kavirāja was established through many poetic compositions which would be a source of living to the literate class.” Kavirāja literally means ‘a king of poets’, but is also a technical term. It has been defined by Rājaśekhara as follows: Tās = tu tatra tatra bhāsāḥ-vīśēśhu tēśhu tēśhu prabandhēśhu, tasmān = tasmān = cha rasē svatantraḥ sa kavirājaḥ tē yādy jagatī = āpi katiyaśe. “But that (person) is a Kavirāja who is a master of manifold specific languages, of manifold forms of composition, and of manifold sentiments. If they (exist), they are very few in the world.” The specific languages here referred to denote apparently Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramśa. As regards the various forms of composition and the various sentiments with which a Kavirāja

1 D. R. Bhandarkar, Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity, pp. 6, 12, 25, etc.
3 Kātyāyānīdīśa (G.O.S., No. 1) ed. by C. D. Dalal, p. 19. See also Intro., p. xiv, where Dalal informs us that “Rājaśekhara calls himself not a Mahākavi, but a Kavirāja” and quotes in support of it bāla-kāi kai-rādī from Karpūrāmanjari, I. 9.
is expected to be conversant, they are all detailed in works of poetics. Suffice it to say, the term Kavi raja bears a specific signification, and it must be in this sense that Samudragupta has been called a Kavi raja. It is, however, a pity that no work or stray poems composed by the king are known at present. Perhaps as more anthologies come to light, some poems in the name of Samudra, Sāgara or Parākrama may be traced. Though we are not so fortunate just at present as to discover any poetic composition of Samudragupta, this much cannot be doubted that he wanted to live in the poetic atmosphere. It is now well-known that “like the distichs on many of the coins of the Mughal emperors, the legends on Gupta coins are metrical.” It is further well-known that these metrical legends on Gupta coins began with Samudragupta. When once he set this fashion going, it was natural for his successors to follow it. If he had not been passionately fond of poetry, the idea of inscribing distichs on his coins would never have occurred to him. Such a poet king must have been a patron of literature. Here also it is our misfortune that we do not know what different poets and litterateurs flourished in his reign and what kind of patronage he distributed amongst them. Into this firmament of utter darkness, however, a ray of light is introduced by Vāmana, the author of the Kāvyālāṁkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, who flourished in circa 800 A.D. He quotes the first half of a stanza as an example of sāhāpprāyaśa or ‘Significance’ and remarks that it contains a reference to the ministership of Subandhu. The couplet in question is as follows:

Sā = yaṁ sampratī Chandragupta-tanayaḥ chandra-prakāśaṁ yuvā
jātō bhūpatīr = āśrayaḥ kṛita-dhiyāṁ dīṣṭyā kṛt-ārtha-śramaṁ

“That same son of Chandragupta, young and shining like the moon, whose effort has luckily attained its object, has now become king and is patron of men of talents.”

Now, who could be this son of Chandragupta? Was he a son of Chandragupta I or of Chandragupta II? Haraprasad Sastri, who first drew our attention to this couplet, Hoernle, and K. B. Pathak have taken him to be Chandragupta II. But what the verse means is that this son of Chandragupta is not only a king but also a support of the learned. The implication is that the father of this young king was not ‘a support of the learned’, as otherwise he would have extended his patronage to the literate. This implication can hold good only in the case of Chandragupta I, who, while engaged upon founding an empire, could have no time for patronising any votaries of the Muses and who, at any rate, is not known from any source to have bestowed any such patronage. On the other hand, there is good reason to suppose that Chandragupta II is the Vikramādiśya of Hindu tradition, who is celebrated as a munificent patron of arts and literature. It is thus very likely that the patron of Subandhu was a son of Chandragupta I. He must have thus been Samudragupta. The attributes yuvā and kṛt-ārtha-śramaṁ also fit him excellently. For he succeeded Chandragupta I, when young, and had at once to encounter hostilities that had sprung up in the wake of his accession to the throne. All things considered, Samudragupta seems to be the king who was the patron of Subandhu, as hinted in the couplet cited above. It is true that for Subandhu there is another reading,

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1 Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, Intro., p. cviii.
2 Attention to this stanza was first drawn by Haraprasad Sastri in JPASB., Vol. I, pp. 253 ff. and afterwards by Pathak (Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 170), who, however, deduced different conclusions. Discussion on this subject was carried on by Hoernle (ibid., p. 264), Narasimhachar (ibid., p. 312), D. R. Bhandarkar (ibid., Vol. XLI, pp. 1 ff) and H. P. Sastri (ibid., p. 15).
3 For another reading, namely chaṇḍa-prabhāva, see Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 312.
4 This goes against the possibility of taking Chandragupta-tanaya as Gōvindagupta, son of Chandragupta II, as proposed by us in 1912 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, pp. 1 ff). This Chandragupta must be some Gupta king, who, for some reason or other, was prevented from becoming a patron of literary men. He cannot thus be Chandragupta I. Chandragupta-tanaya must therefore be taken to be Samudragupta.
namely, Vasubandhu.¹ But Vasubandhu was a Buddhist mendicant. He could not have been spoken of with favour by a Brahmanical Hindu writer on rhetoric; above all, he could hardly be described as ‘a minister’ of any sovereign, as this, no doubt, is the primary signification of sahipa.² As we shall see later on, most of the big officers in the Gupta period were men of letters. This suits Subandhu admirably, as his work Vásavadattā is looked upon as a literary production of great merit. He must have begun to rise in the time of Samudragupta and attained fame in the reign of his successor Chandragupta II. This agrees with the note of wail which he strikes in verse 10 of his introduction to the Vásavadattā—wail at the passing away of Vikramādītya.

The late V. A. Smith remarks that Samudragupta “was in fact a man of genius, who may fairly claim the title of the Indian Napoleon.” Krishnaswami Aiyangar, however, says: “It should be the most inappropriate description of him to call him ‘a Napoleon who regarded kingdom-taking as the duty of kings’.” Samudragupta was not only a fearless warrior and astute general like Napoleon but also a statesman like Brihaspati who conceived and carried through a scheme of political reconstruction which evolved an empire and kept it together. He thereby not only secured peace and tranquillity but utilised the same for fostering and preserving culture by developing his own poetical genius and musical talents and distributing unstinted patronage to arts and literature. He thus endeavoured to realise the old ideal to which the kings and ministers of Ancient India constantly aspired,—the ideal of bringing about a unison between Śrī (Wealth-Power) and Sarasvati (Learning-Wisdom).

Kāchagupta³

Samudragupta had up till now been supposed to have been succeeded to the throne by his son Chandragupta II. But evidence has recently come to light which shows that not Chandragupta, but his elder and co-uterine brother, Rāmagupta, or, rather Kāchagupta, as we shall soon see, was really the immediate successor. This evidence consists of some extracts from a Sanskrit drama called Dēvichandrāguptam, a production of Viśakhadatta, apparently the same as the author of the Mudrārākhasa. Three extracts from this play are contained in the Śrīnārāmahṛdaya of Bhāja, and were brought to light by Ramakrishna Kavi and A. Rangaswami Sarasvati.⁴ Five more were traced by Sylvain Levi⁵ in a new work on dramaturgy, called the Nātyadarpaṇa,⁶ a joint production of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra, pupils of Hēmachandra who was the well-known Jaina preceptor of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla (1145-71 A.D.). No systematic attempt, however, was made at reconstructing the history of the time until A. S. Altekar wrote and published a most informing article⁷ on the subject, which was followed by another,⁸ in which he drew the attention of scholars to the story of Rawwāl and Barkamāris as narrated in the Mujmal-ut-Tawārikh by Abul Hassan ‘Ali (1126-93 A.D.). This Arab writer, we are told, translated a Hindu book into Arabic, which was

¹ *JPASB*., Vol. I, p. 253; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 312, and Vol. XLI, p. 15, where the third reading, Vastubandhu, is also considered. This is obviously a scribe’s error for Vasubandhu.
² The word sāhipa in Vāmana’s comment upon the couplet is taken by Hoernle to mean ‘companionship’ or ‘friendship’ (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 264). See, however, H. P. Sastri’s reply to it (*ibid.*, Vol. XLI, p. 16).
³ The account of Kāchagupta given here is practically identical with the contents of our paper *New Light on the Early Gupta History* published in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, pp. 189-211.
⁶ Since published in *Gazetteer's Or. Series*, No. XLVIII. For the necessary extracts, see pages 71, 84, 86, 116, 141-42 and 193-94.
rendered into Persian in 1026 A.D., from which is quoted _ad verbatim_ this story of Rawwāl and Barkamāris by Abul Hassan 'Ali. The Muhammedan version is thus older than even 1026 A.D. This story has such a close resemblance to the plot of the _Devāchandrāgyaptam_ that it may be safely and judiciously used to fill in the details on which the extracts shed no light.2

Sylvaïn Levi does not believe in the historicity of the _Devāchandrāgyaptam_, because the Gupta inscriptions do not speak of any Rāmagupta intervening between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Besides, they mention Dhruvadēvi as the wife of this last Gupta king only. But grounds will be adduced in the course of this account, showing that Sylvaïn Levi’s arguments are not convincing. Winternitz, on the other hand, believes in the truth of the story, but assigns its author Viśākhadatta, not to the fourth century A.D., as he did formerly, but to the sixth, that is to say, not to the reign of the Gupta sovereign Chandragupta II but to that of the Maukhari king Avantivarman. This suits excellently, because there was an interval of just two centuries between the incident dramatised in the _Devāchandrāgyaptam_ and its composer Viśākhadatta. There is thus every likelihood of the events narrated in the play being correctly reported and being therefore worthy of all credence. Such does not, however, appear to be the case in regard to the _Mudrārākṣhasa_, the events recorded in which came off in the third century b.c., that is, at least eight hundred years before the time of the same author. And, as a matter of fact, much of the plot of that drama is incongruous with the history of the Maurya king Chandragupta such as has been compiled from reliable sources, and does not seem to have made much impression upon posterity. On the other hand, the sensational events connected with Chandragupta II and Dhruvadēvi made such a deep impression upon the people living in the eighth century, that is, in the period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta that they are referred to even in their copper-plate charters, as we shall see later on. All things considered, the plot of the _Devāchandrāgyaptam_, may be taken as being drawn from actual history.

Let us, first of all, see what we know from the Indian sources. It seems that hostilities were going on between Rāmagupta (Kāchagupta) and a Śaka ruler, or rather, the Śaka preceptor at a place called Aļipura, in which the former was worsted. The enemy at first wanted Rāmagupta to surrender his younger brother, Chandragupta, but the Gupta king refused to comply with the demand for fear of causing grave dissatisfaction among his people.3 This led to the idea of the compromise of the queen Dhruvasvāmini being handed over to the enemy. Chandragupta, however, did not like the compromise and hit upon the expedient of meeting the enemy in the garb of the queen and killing him. Accordingly, at dead of night, he retired to a solitary place where, by previous arrangement, a dress worn by Dhruvasvāmini was waiting for him. This he put on, and he saw his elder brother before his departure. In spite, however, of the remonstrances of Rāmagupta, Chandragupta left for the enemy’s camp, but, not without a female retinue, consisting of males dressed as female attendants. Further light is thrown on this point by the _Tavārīkh_ referred to above. From this account it appears that Rawwāl’s (Rāmagupta’s) officers dressed their sons in like manner as damsels. Every one of them concealed a knife in his hair, and Chandragupta, besides, carried a trumpet also concealed. When they reached the enemy’s camp, they distributed themselves as previously settled, Chandragupta to the rebel king and his attendants to the latter’s officers. When the

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1 Elliot, _History of India_, Vol. I, pp. 100 ff.
2 Since the above was written two attempts at the reconstruction of the history were made, once by V. Raghavan in _Benares Hindu University Magazine_, Vol. II, pp. 23 and ff. and the other by N. N. Das Gupta in _IC_, Vol. IV, pp. 216 and ff.
3 _Prakṛitiñāma-dīśāsanāda_ is taken by Raghavan following Jayaswal as “Council of ministers”. Why then did they allow Rāma (=Kācha)gupta to set aside Chandragupta in the first instance and usurp the Gupta throne?
king retired, and met Chandragupta, dressed as Dhruvasvāminī, the latter ripped his belly with the knife and sounded the trumpet. When the other youths heard it, they did their work similarly in an instant. All the officers of the army were thus slain. On hearing the trumpet, Rāmagupta's soldiers also sallied forth and exterminated the foe. Chandragupta's ruse succeeded wonderfully.

The first question that now arises here is: Where could these hostilities have taken place between Rāmagupta and Śakāchārya? The enemy's camp, as we have already stated, was stationed at Alipurā, which has wrongly been changed once into Aripura. But where was this Alipurā? No such place has yet been known to us. Perhaps some help is forthcoming from the Mujmal-ut-Tawārīkh, where, we are told, a former rebel of his father attacked Rawwāl, that is, Rāmagupta, and put him to flight. Rawwāl with his brother and nobles went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwāl then sued for peace and the enemy asked him to send his queen for himself and compel his chiefs to send their girls for his officers. Just at this juncture his brother Barkamāris came in and proposed to go to the enemy’s camp dressed like the queen, in accordance with his scheme which was explained and approved. This account shows that Rāmagupta and his brother were hemmed in and defeated, not on the plains in their capital at Pātalipuruta, but on some mountain where they had gone on an expedition of conquest to punish some rebel king. Further light is thrown upon this point by a stanza in Rājasēkhara's Kāvyamāhāsā which Altekar was the first to bring to our notice.\(^1\) The stanza is addressed to a king and says that his praises are sung by the women of Kārttikēya-nagara just in that Himalaya from where Sarma (Sēna) gupta, being besieged, was found to surrender his queen Dhruvasvāminī to the king of the Khaśas. The name Dhruvasvāminī, and the incident of a king being compelled to give up his queen to the enemy leave no doubt as to its being the political episode dramatised in Dēvichandraguptam. There is, however, difference of name to be accounted for namely, Sarma (Sēna) gupta instead of Rāmagupta. But both of these seem to be a misreading for Kāchagupta, as we shall see later on. As regards Khaśa, it is almost the letters Sa-ka reversed. As and Khaśas were perhaps known better than Śakas, especially in the Himalayan region, the letters which were originally Sa-ka came naturally to be reversed and turned into Kha-śa with a slight change. Unfortunately, Altekar separates Kārttikēya from nagara and takes the former to denote Kumāragupta, who, in his opinion, is the person addressed in this stanza. But why Kārttikēya should stand for Kumāragupta, and not for Skandagupta, is far from clear. Secondly, why should the Himalayan caves be taken to reverence with the exploits of Kumāragupta or Skandagupta about which we know nothing? On the other hand, the stanza attains to its fullest significance if we take it as addressed, not to Kumāragupta or Skandagupta, but to Chandragupta II. For, in that case, we can easily understand why the praises of this Chandragupta are sung just in those Himalayan caves from where his brother had to think of an ignominious retreat by promising to surrender Dhruvasvāminī who was then his wife. This seems to be the natural sense of this stanza. It is therefore advisable to take Kārttikēyanagara as one word. Now, Gazetteer, N.W.P.,\(^2\) tells us that Kārttikēya-pura lay in the valley of the Gōmatī and near the present village of Baijnāthi which is comprised in the Almora District of U.P. and thus situated in the Himalayas. It is mentioned in the Dēvi Purāṇa.\(^3\) The town and district of

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1 Dattār Śrī-Sarma (Sēna) gupta nrīpah


3 Chap IX.
Kārttikēyapura are mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar copper-plate grant of Lalitaśūradēva, assigned to about the middle of the ninth century a.d. Kārttikēyapura is also mentioned in the two Talēsvara charters of Dyutivarman, which have been ascribed to about the sixth century. It will thus be seen that a place is still known in the Himālayas namely, Baijnāth which is still called Kārttikēyapura and that it was in existence at least as early as the sixth century a.d. The Imperial Gazetteer also says that “Baijnāth lies in the centre of the Katysūr valley, and was formerly known as Kārttikēyapura, a capital of the Katysūr Raījas.” Further, as pointed out above, Katysūr seems identical with Kārtṛipura which is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as one of the frontier states that were tributary to him. It is possible that the ruler of Kārtṛipura, who was the Preceptor of the Śakas, if not, himself, of Śaka extraction, rose in rebellion after the demise of Samudragupta and that it was to quell his revolt that Rāma (Kācha)gupta and his brother Chandragupta with their family repaired to the Himālayas—with what result we have seen.

The second half of the story is thus told by the Mujmal-ut-Tawāriḵ. Rawwāl’s Wazir, Safar, that is, the prime minister of Rāmagupta, thereupon excited the king’s suspicions against Barkamāris (= Vikramārka) or Chandragupta, and that the latter was therefore compelled to feign madness. This receives confirmation from the fragment, small as it is, that has been preserved of Act V of the Divēchandrāguptam. It seems that Chandragupta had to remain in hiding to counteract the malicious intentions of his elder brother, in the house of a courtezan called Mādhavasēnā with whom he had apparently fallen in love and came in public in the role of a lunatic presumably to secure information about any plans that may have been formed by Rāmagupta and his prime minister to detect and arrest him. What happened ultimately we know from a stanza from the Saṅjān copper plate grant which tells us that Chandragupta killed his brother and seized not only his throne but also his queen. A glimpse into the nature of this occurrence is afforded us by the Tawāriḵ. No fragment from the above-mentioned play has, however, come down to us to vouch for the correctness of the account. One day in the hot season, the narrative goes on, Barkamāris (= Vikramārka), that is, Chandragupta, was wandering barefoot in the city as a mendicant, and came to the gate of the king’s palace and found him and the queen sitting on a throne sucking sugarcane. When Rawwāl, that is, Rāmagupta, saw him, he took pity on him and gave him a bit of sugarcane. The mendicant took it, and picked up a bit of the cane shell to scrap and clean it with. When the king saw that he wanted to clean the cane, he told the queen to give him a knife. She rose and gave one to Barkamāris, who cleaned the sugarcane with it, and craftily watched until the king was off his guard. Then he sprang upon him, and, plunging the knife into his navel, ripped him up.

As regards the Wazir, Barkamāris admitted that although he counselled his brother in all his dealings against him, he did but his duty and requested him to continue to govern the kingdom as he did for his brother. But Safar replied that he was with Rawwāl in life, he would

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2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 115 and 118. It seems that Kārttikēyapura was also known as Alipura.  
4 Raghavan has cited two passages to show that somehow the Mālechhha rulers are called Mālechhha-āchāryāh in the epics (*loc. cit.*, pp. 45-47).  
5 She seems to be the Sūtradhāri (the wire puller) who is mentioned in two extracts from the drama in the *Nātyadārapa*. She was in the camp and helped the prince with the dress and ornaments of Dhuvedēv and later on concealed him in her house in Pāṭaliputra and caused him to be in touch with the queen and the palace. Dasgupta rightly compares her to Kamalā, courtezan of Pauḍrāvardhana, who helped Jayāpiṇḍa (*JC.*, Vol. IV, p. 217).  
6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 248, verse 48. My translation of this stanza on pp. 255 following is somewhat faulty. The correct rendering of it has been pointed out by Altekar in *JBO*s, Vol. XIV, p. 237.
be with him in death also. Barkamāris, however, told him to write a book on the duties of kings. Safar consented, and wrote a book called "Instruction of kings". Could it be the Nīttisāra of Kāmandaka? It is a mistake to identify Safar with Śikharasvāmin who was a Mantrin and Kumārāṇāya of Chandragupta II (No. 21 below). Because Kāmandaka, or, more accurately, Kāmantaka is, like Kauṭalya, a gōtra name, and, as a matter of fact, is a branch of the Viśvāmitra gōtra, but Śikharasvāmin belonged to the Aśvavājin gōtra. Besides, Safar does not appear to have served Chandragupta II. When the book was finished, read and praised, Safar, says the Tawārīkh, burnt himself.

The story of the Dvēchandraguptam raises three questions of importance. The first is: What was the degree of moral turpitude involved in Chandragupta murdering his brother and marrying his wife? That question is fairly well answered by the Mujmal-ut-Tawārīkh, which tells us that Dhruvasvāmin had really chosen Chandragupta in a svayaṁvara ceremony for his wisdom and handsome form, but that when he brought her home, his brother snatched away the girl from him, so that he was forced to give himself to study and associate with the learned. Besides, Chandragupta was already a favourite with the people. He became much more so, when he killed the preceptor of the Śakas and saved Dhruvasvāmin from insult and ignominy. That made his elder brother intensely jealous of him and carry on machinations against his life. It is therefore no wonder if Chandragupta killed him and married her, though she was then his brother's wife, for, as a matter of fact, she had already chosen Chandragupta but was compelled to marry his brother instead. This is a straight reply to the first question, namely, the moral aspect of Chandragupta's course of conduct. The second question is something like this. When Chandragupta married Dhruvasvāminī, she was a widow; and how could he marry a widow. Nothing is more shocking than this to an orthodox Hindu of the modern day. This, however, is a purely social question and will be discussed in the chapter which describes the social life of the Gupta period. The third is the historical question, namely, whether Rāmagupta represents the correct form of the name of the Gupta sovereign who was the elder brother of Chandragupta II. This question arises, because this name is not yet traceable in any of the inscriptions and coins of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. It is true that this is an argument ab silentio, and, as such, is not always to be relied upon. Nevertheless, we have to remember here that up till now so many epigraphic records, above all, coins, of the Gupta sovereigns have been found that it cannot but be considered strange that the name Rāmagupta has not yet been traced. On the other hand, of just about the time of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, we have found coins issued by a ruler who calls himself Kācha. This Kācha has been taken as a title of Samudragupta, because on his coins we notice the epithet Sarvarājācchhihūtā, which in inscriptions had been associated with Samudragupta and Samudragupta alone. This was the view which was once propounded by V. A. Smith and has been endorsed by Allan. There was no doubt some force in this argument before the plates of Prabhāvatiguptā came to light. She was, we know, the Chief Queen of the Vākṣṭaka king Rudrasēna II, and daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II from his queen Kubēranāgā. Now, these plates, while describing this Gupta sovereign, coupled with his name just those four epithets which, according to Smith, are coupled with Samudragupta alone in inscriptions. And one of these is Sarvarājācchhihūtā. If Sarvarājācchhihūtā thus becomes an epithet not only of Samudragupta but also of Chandra-

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1 D. R. Bhandarkar, Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity, pp. 40-41. Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya is a branch of both Bṛhgu and Anāgrī gōtras.

2 [See the editorial note below, p. 52—Ed.]

gupta II, there is no reason why it should not be an epithet of a third Gupta king also. Nothing is, therefore, more absurd now than to suppose that Kācha is the same prince as Samudragupta, simply because Kācha assumes the epithet of Sarvarājāčchāhēti on the reverse of his coins. On the contrary, there is every reason to hold that Kācha was a ruler separate from Samudragupta or Chandragupta II. For on Gupta gold coins the name which appears on either side of the standing figure of a king on the obverse, especially below his left arm, is the personal name of the king who issues them. This is how the names Samudra, Chandra, Kumāra and Skanda are found on the obverse, and if these are considered the individual names of separate Gupta kings, for the same reason we ought to take Kācha also as separate from those just mentioned. All evidence thus points to Kācha being regarded as the personal name of a king distinct from Samudragupta. On the grounds of type and fabric, numismatists connect his coins in time with those of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. The conclusion is, therefore, not unreasonable that Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II, is a misreading for or another name of Kāchagupta. Many Gupta kings seem to have had at least two names: one, proper name, and the other, familiar name. Thus Chandragupta (II), Kumāragupta (I) and Skandagupta were proper names and appeared on coins. But they had familiar names also, namely, Dēvagupta, Gōvindagupta and Purugupta. Similarly Kācha was the proper, and Rāma the familiar, name.

The existence of Kācha or Kaccha is known to us solely by means of his gold coins, which, as remarked above, are found with, and closely related to, those of Samudragupta. One hoard, that of Tāṇḍa in Oudh, consisted of twenty-five coins, only two of which belonged to the 'King and Queen' type of Chandragupta I, the remainder being divided between the 'Standard' type of Kācha and the 'Āśvamedha' and 'Battle-axe' types of Samudragupta. The fact that the coins of Kācha are closely related in weight, fabric and type to those of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta shows that he not only was a Gupta ruler but also was not long separated from either. This agrees with the fact that, according to Devichandraguptam, Samudragupta was succeeded by Rāmagupta, which, as pointed out before, must be a misleision for Kacchagupta. Two objections may, however, be raised to this view. The first is the omission of Kaccha's name from the genealogies. But this is explained by the fact that he left no son, as he was murdered by his brother Chandragupta II, who immediately succeeded him to the throne. The name of Kaccha was omitted from the dynastic list, as being irrelevant, as that of Skandagupta was from the Bhitarī seal inscription of Kumāragupta III, as we shall see later on. Secondly, it may be argued against the view that as Chandragupta II is represented to have been selected as heir-apparent by his father, he must have succeeded him directly. But the adage: "there is many a slip between the cup and the lip" is as true in the political world as in ordinary life, if not even truer. It is quite possible that when Samudragupta died, his chosen heir was far from the capital in charge of a remote province or engaged in invading some foreign territory, and that Kaccha, being on the spot, was in a position to seize the throne, of which he maintained possession for a brief space. The paucity of Kaccha's coins, and their occurrence in only one type, indicate that his reign was brief. This further agrees with the fact that his coins are the lightest and are inferior in purity of metal to those of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta.

1 The coins of Kaccha were at first attributed by Princep and Thomas to Ghātōkachā, the second prince of the Gupta dynasty, and in 1884 V. A. Smith followed them (JASB., Vol. LIII, 1888, p. 2, note 4). Therafter Fleit pointed out good reasons to show that they could not have been struck by Ghātōkachā and that they must be assigned to Samudragupta (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, 1919, p. 3; N. Chr., Vol. III, 1888, p. 27, note 4). And Smith agreed with him (JRAI., 1899, pp. 74-76). Rapson threw out the suggestion that Kaccha or Kachā was not, as Fleit and Smith supposed, identical with Samudragupta, but was, in all probability, his predecessor and brother (N. Chr., Vol. XI, 3rd series, pp. 48-64). And, in 1893, Smith veered round to this view (JRAI., 1893, p. 81), but
INTRODUCTION

[About the beginning of 1969, three Jaina images, containing inscriptions on their pedestals, were discovered at a village named Durjanapura in the Vidisha District of Madhya Pradesh. Two of these inscriptions are fairly well preserved and mention Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta as responsible for making the images of Chandraprabha and Pushpadanta respectively (No. 5 below). Since the characters of these inscriptions have to be referred to the 4th century A.D. and since Rāmagupta is endowed with the imperial title Mahārājādhirāja, the king is identified with his name-sake mentioned in the Sanskrit drama Devichandraguptam and with the son of Samudragupta and elder brother of Chandragupta II. Thus these Vidisha image inscriptions furnish the first epigraphical reference to Rāmagupta and establish the existence and historicity of this king. The question regarding his identity with Kācha of the gold coins and with Rāmagupta of the copper-coins found in the Vidisha region has to be left open until further and more definite evidence is made available.—Ed.]

Chandragupta II

Chandragupta was the son of Samudragupta by Dattadēvi. He was one among his many sons and was not even the eldest. This is the reason why in some inscriptions he is described as parigrihita or selected as Yuvārāja by his father. In spite of his selection, there was opposition to his accession after the demise of his father. We have pointed out what exactly were the circumstances connected with this case. We have seen above how his elder brother Kāchagupta interloped, seizing the Gupta throne and snatching away even the bride affianced to him. How his machinations were foiled and how ultimately Chandragupta ascended the throne rightfully his own and won back the damsel, also his own through savyāmaṭa, are details which have also been narrated above.

For his reign we possess a number of inscriptions. The earliest of these is the Mathurā pillar inscription which is dated Gupta year 61, and the latest is the Sāñchī railing inscription, giving the year 93. He must have thus enjoyed a reign of at least thirty-two years. The first of these again contained the specification of the regnal year, but unfortunately that part of the record which comprised this detail has been obliterated. It thus seems that Chandragupta must have reigned for more than thirty-two years.

Two inscriptions of his time have been found engraved in two different caves of Udayagiri near Besnagar. One of these records the excavation of a cave and dedication of it to the god Śambhu by a hereditary minister (anwaya-brāpta-sāchiya) of Chandragupta II. The minister is named Virasēna and surnamed Śāba. He belonged to the Kautsa gōra and was thus a Brāhmaṇa by caste. But the most noteworthy point about the inscription is that we are told that Virasēna had come to that part of India in the company of his sovereign when he was seeking to conquer the whole of the earth (kṛitṣna-prīthvi-jay-ārthēṇa). This is confirmed

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reverted in 1902 to his original opinion which was that of Fleet (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXI, p. 259 and note 9; see also Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 96). He and Fleet were followed by Allan in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty in 1914. But, in the same year, that is, in the 3rd ed. of his Early History of India (p. 281, note 1 and p. 331, note), Smith remarks: "Some authors suppose Kācha to be identical with Samudragupta, but the better opinion regards him as a rival brother of that king." (See also 4th ed. revised by S. M. Edwarde, p. 297, note 1.). "The better opinion referred to here is apparently that of Rapson. At any rate, it is refreshing to find that even before the discovery of extracts from Devichandraguptam Kācha was taken to be a Gupta ruler, almost contemporaneous with, but different from, Samudragupta. [For a recent article on the Kācha problem wherein he is regarded as a feudatory of Samudragupta, see Journ. Ep. Soc. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 75-84.—Ed.]
by the fact that Virasêna, as we are informed, had been entrusted with the Office of Peace and War. If any further confirmation is required, it is furnished by the fact that Virasêna has been called Pâtalîputraka, "an inhabitant of Pâtalîputra". It thus seems that Virasêna Śâba was Minister of Peace and War of the emperor Chandragupta II and came to Vâsišhâ from Pâtalîputra in the company of his master during his expedition of conquest of the whole world. It may, however, be asked: where was the necessity of this India-wide conquest, again, on the part of Chandragupta, when his father, Samudragupta, had once conquered the whole country, put his seal to it by the celebration of the Aṣamâdhâ sacrifice, and left a compact empire to his successors? But, in the political history of ancient India, we often find that as soon as a prince of the imperial dynasty comes to the throne, some of his feudatories are sure to rebel, being disaffected by the rival claimants to the throne or by his conterminous sovereigns. Soon after assuming the reins of government and consolidating his power over the territory directly under his control, the new ruler was therefore compelled to start on an expedition of conquest, first with a view to reclaiming or putting down the disaffected tributaries, and secondly, to war with the independent neighbours whose ambition and aggression were always feared. These reasons must have weighed with Chandragupta in undertaking this expedition of conquest. We have already pointed out that although he was chosen by his father to succeed to the Gupta throne, his elder brother, Kâchagupta, nefariously intercepted and forestalled him. We have also perceived how Chandragupta ultimately triumphed over his brother and managed to occupy the throne, rightfully his own. It must have taken him a pretty long time to make his position firm and secure at the centre of the Gupta empire before he could safely leave Pâtalîputra for putting down the malcontents and bringing round the recalcitrants among his tributaries and neighbouring princes. In this connection we have to take note of one event of his reign to which attention has been drawn by some scholars, namely, his conquest of the Western Kshatrâpas, which added Surâshêtâ to his dominions. It is true that, to begin with, these Kshatrâpas exercised sway over Malwa, part of Rajputana and Gujarât and practically the whole of Kâthiâŵâr and Cutch. The date of this event, namely, the conquest of Surâshêtâ, has not yet been ascertained, but can be fixed within fairly narrow limits. The latest dated coins of the Western Kshatrâpas are those of the Mahâkâshatrapa Svâmî Rudrasimha III, son of Svâmî Satyasimha. They bear one date only, namely, 310 or 31X=388 or 388 plus X A.D., which could not have been separated by a long interval from the Gupta conquest of the Western Kshatrapa dominions. But, on the other hand, we have to note that "evidence of the conquest

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1 All the coins of the later Kshatrâpas have been found in Kâthiâŵâr and Cutch only. The latest hoard of their coins outside these provinces was found at Sarvâni in the earstwhile Bansktra State, Rajputana, with coins ranging from those of Rudrasimha I (Saka 101-14) to Rudrasimha III (Saka 270-73) (J.R. ASL, 1913-14, pp. 227 ff.). As regards Malwa no Kshatrâpa coins have been discovered except perhaps of the Mahâkâshatrapa Ivaradhattâ at Besnagar (ibid., 1914-15, p. 85). On the other hand, an inscription has come to light at Kâñchâkâra (Sârchi) which is dated 241 and is of the reign of the Mahâdândanââyaka Saka Śrîdharavarman, son of Saka Nanda (D.R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India. No. 1077). The inscription was first published by R.D. Banerji in Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 232 but was afterwards thoroughly revised and critically re-edited by N.G. Majumdar in JPASB, Vol. XIX, pp. 343 ff. The record gives the regnal year 13 of Śrîdharavarman and describes it as sva-râya-abhivyâdhih kârtâ vâjyajîkâ svamitvâre trayodashami. This shows that Śrîdharavarman was an independent king though he is styled Mahâdândanââyaka. The case is not unlike that of Śrîharata Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śrînagar family (Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 57). Further palaeographic considerations require that the date 241 of Śrîdharavarman should be referred to the Saka era. It thus seems that when the foundation stone of the Gupta empire was being laid by Chandragupta I, the province of Malwa, at any rate, of Eastern Malwa, was being ruled over not by a Kshatrapa but by Śrîdharavarman, who, though he was a Saka by extraction was styled Mahâdândanââyaka. As regards Western Malwa, it was held by the Nâgo families of Dharâ and Padmavati.
of Surāśṭra during the reign of Chandragupta II is to be seen in rare silver coins which are more directly imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas and are found in Kāthiāwār only. The only date that has been read on his coins is 90 or possibly 90 plus X of the Gupta era = 409 or 409 plus X A.D. There is thus a gap of nearly twenty years between the only dated coin of the Western Kshatrapas (= 338 or 388 plus X A.D.) and the earliest dated coin of the Guptas struck in Kāthiāwār (= 409 or 409 plus X A.D.). When then did the Gupta conquest of Surāśṭra take place, circa 388 or 409 A.D.? It seems very unlikely that it came off about 409 A.D., that is, circa Gupta year 99, because the last date for Chandragupta is 93, and the earliest for his son and successor, Kumāragupta I is 96. Chandragupta thus appears to have ceased to be king between Gupta year 93 and 96. We have therefore to suppose that his expedition of conquest of the earth and with it his conquest of Surāśṭra came off nearly thirty years after his accession to the throne and just four years before his demise or retirement. This is a most unlikely supposition. It is far more reasonable to hold that he undertook it nearly eight years after his occupation of the Gupta throne during which period he was able to establish his power thoroughly at Pātāliputra. The only argument that may be urged against this inference is that there is a gap of some twenty years between the last Kshatrapa Rudrasimha III who was overthrown and his conqueror Chandragupta issuing their coins respectively. But this can by no means be a serious objection, because, as a matter of fact, we know that the conqueror does not always strike coins in the territory conquered by him. To take one instance, Malwa was incorporated into the Gupta dominions not only in the time of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II but also of Kumāragupta I. And yet no coin of any one of these Gupta monarchs has yet been picked up from any part of this province. Even if no coins of Chandragupta II had been discovered in Kāthiāwār, it would not thus have been a matter of surprise at all. How should it constitute a surprise if they are found about twenty years after the overthrow of the Kshatrapa power? Nothing consequently precludes us from supposing that Chandragupta left the Gupta capital, Pātāliputra, some eight years after his coronation, on an expedition of conquest, to establish all round his position as paramount sovereign of India.

It is a great pity that no detailed description of this expedition has come down to us, just as we have Harishchandra's prāsāti of Samudragupta. Nevertheless, we cannot get rid of the idea that some meagre, though not detailed, account of Chandragupta's dig- śrīgāna has been preserved for us in the shape of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription of Chandra (No. 12 below). It is true that there is a great diversity of opinion in regard to the identity of this Chandra. According to some scholars, he is the Gupta king Chandragupta I, and, according to some, Chandragupta II. According to some, again, the inscription does not belong to the Gupta

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1 E. J. Rapson's Catalogue Coins Andhra Dyn., Intro., p. cli.
2 James Ferguson, referring to the Persian form of the capital, expresses the opinion that the inscription is of the Chandraguptas of the Imperial Gupta dynasty (History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 208). "My own impression at first, on independent grounds," says J. F. Fleet, "was to allot it to Chandragupta I, the first Mahārājahūrīja of the family, of whose time we have as yet no inscriptions; and I should not be surprised to find at any time that it is proved to belong to him." (CHJ, Vol. III, 1898, p. 140, note 1). He, however, admits that while the characters approximate in many respects very closely to the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (No. 1 below), it bears the distinguishing feature of very marked mātrās, such as are noticeable in the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta I (No. 16 below), showing that in point of time they are somewhere midway between the two Gupta monarchs. Again, the fact that the iron pillar is situated in the village of Meharauli, the name of which is a corruption of Mihirapuri (Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 362), suggested to him that alternative conjecture that Chandra might be the unnamed younger brother of Mihirakula whose existence is attested by Yuan Chhwang. According to Hoernle the characters of the inscription belong to the Gupta variety of the north-eastern alphabet, the only other specimen of which in the west is the Udayagiri inscription of Chandragupta. He, therefore, unhesitatingly ascribes the iron pillar to this Gupta sovereign (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, pp. 42-44). V. A. Smith at first agreed with him (JRSA., 1897, p. 9). "Not only is there no real ground," says Allan, "for identifying
dynasty at all. Thus, the late Haraprasad Sastri held that he was identical with Chandravaran who is mentioned as 'the lord of Pushkaraṇa' in a rock inscription found at Susunia in the Bankura District of West Bengal. But we have to remember that Chandra of the Meharauli pillar inscription is represented as having attained to the supreme sovereignty of the world and enjoyed it for a long time and as having up till then 'perfumed the southern ocean with the breezes of his prowess'. This description cannot possibly apply to Chandragupta I in whose time, as we have seen above, the Gupta dominions included Magadha and extended as far westward as Sākēta (Ayodhyā) only. It cannot suit Chandravarman of the Susunia rock inscription, as proposed by Sastri. It is true that this scholar tries to make of Chandravarman a supreme ruler of India by identifying his capital Pushkaraṇa with Pōkarnā in the Jodhpur District, and showing thereby that, although he was originally a ruler of Mārvār, his conquests had spread so far and wide as to include the western part of Bengal as is indicated by the fact that his inscription is engraved on the Susunia rock. But, as we have already pointed out, it is a mistake to identify his capital town Pushkaraṇa with Pōkarnā in Mārvār so far away from Susunia, when there is a place called Pōkharan about 25 miles from Susunia itself, as K. N. Dikshit has informed us. Where is the evidence, again, that this Chandra of the Susunia record enjoyed sovereignty for a long time? One sure sign of it is the find of coins. But no coins of this Chandra are found in any part of India although he is supposed to have been an emperor of India and to have reigned long as such. Again, whatever evidence there is points to the conclusion that this Chandravarman of Pushkaraṇa was a mere feudatory, because he, like his father Sinhavarman, is simply called a Mahārāja, whereas the title indicative of paramount sovereignty at this time was Mahārājādhirāja. And what is most singular is that H. P. Sastri asseverates that Sinhavarman was a chieftain but that his son Chandravarman was a supreme ruler, though both have been designated Mahārāja! It is therefore entirely absurd to identify Chandra of the Meharauli inscription with Chandravarman of the Susunia epigraph. The only recourse left is to identify him with Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. We have seen that his father Samudragupta ruled over an empire which on the east was bounded by a line running from the mouths of the Ganges through Tripurā-Cachar-Assam up to the Himalayas through East Panjab and East Rajputana down to the Vindhya. And even a little study of the Meharauli pillar inscription is enough to tell us that Chandra, whosoever he was, ruled over an empire whose boundary, though on the east it was practically the same as that of Samudragupta’s dominions, extended much beyond on the west. These considerations leave no reasonable doubt as to this Chandra being the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II.

Contd. from page 54.

Chandra with Chandragupta II, but it is improbable that the inscription belongs to the dynasty at all” (Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, Intro., p. xxxviii). This hint was picked up by Haraprasad Sastri, according to whom Chandra pertained to the Varman family and ruled over Pushkaraṇa or Pōkarnā in Jodhpur (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLIII, pp. 217 ff.). This view has been considered above. Another theory based on the hint thrown out by Allan is that of A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar who identifies Chandra with Sadāchandra mentioned in the Puranic lists among the dynasties that ruled over Vidiśa (The Hindu, Madras, dated the 13th and 24th February 1928). This view is, however, strongly dissented from by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar (Jour. Ind. Hist., Vol. VI, The Vakatakas and Their Place in History, University Supplement, Introductory, pp. 2 ff.) though it has apparently been adopted by Hemachandra Ray Chaudhuri in Pol. Hist. of Ind. (3rd ed.), p. 364, note 2. But Aiyangar opines that the king commemorated in the iron pillar inscription cannot be any other than Chandragupta I (Jour. Ind. Hist., Vol. VI, Studies in Gupta History, University Supplement, pp. 14-16); R. G. Basak also holds the same view (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVIII, pp. 98 ff.).

1 [Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 133 and plate.—Ed.]

2 This view was first combated by us in I.H.Q., Vol. I, pp. 254-55.
INTRODUCTION

Let us now study more closely the contents of the Mehrauli iron pillar inscription of Chandra. It consists of three stanzas, the first of which describes his exploits. It tells us how far east, west and south he proceeded in his career of conquest. On the east he put down the confederacy of enemies who had gathered and confronted him in the Vaṅga territory. On the west he crossed the seven mouths of the river Sindhu, that is, the Indus, and conquered the Vālhiḍas on the battle-field. In regard to his conquests on the south we are informed that "the southern ocean is still perfumed by the breezes of his valour". Let us take the last item first. It merely implies that like his father Samudragupta, Chandragupta played the role of a dharmaa-vijayin, conquering the various states of Dakṣiṇāpatha one after another and collecting tribute, without, however, annexing any one of them to his dominions and that his triumphant march did not end till he actually reached the southern sea. This is clear enough from stanza 1 of the inscription, though we are sorry that no details have been furnished in regard to the actual names of the kings and kingdoms he subjugated. As to the first item of his world conquests mentioned in this record, it seems that kings of the Vaṅga country had formed a conspiracy against him and that he met and vanquished them. It is true that Vaṅga is not mentioned in the Allahabad prāsasti of Harishēṇa. Nevertheless, as Samataṭa is mentioned as a frontier province of his empire held by a tributary prince under him, Vaṅga which was to the west of it, not only was included in his dominions but formed part of Āryāvarta. It seems that it was re-conquered by Chandragupta II. Vaṅga occupies a position between Suḥma and Samataṭa and comprises the modern districts of Bakarganj, Khuṅa and Faridpur of Bangladesh. It is further worthy of note that the poet Kālidāsa, who was a contemporary of Chandragupta, as we shall see later on, also speaks of Vaṅga chieftains as ruling along the various streams of the Ganges, as being possessed of fleets and as being captured and afterwards reinstated by Rāghu.\(^1\) What the first part of the stanza therefore tells us is that Chandragupta vanquished the petty rulers of Vaṅga who had confederated against him and laid the Gupta yoke on them. The second part of the stanza says that he crossed the seven mouths of the Sindhu and defeated the Vālhiḍas. What does that mean? What it obviously means is that he crossed Western Rajputana and made himself master of Sind and practically the whole of the Panjab. What it further means is that he inflicted a defeat upon the Vālhiḍas who must therefore have been living near the source of any one of the well-known tributaries of the Indus. It is true that the Vālhiḍas have been mentioned many a time in the Brihaṭ-sainhitā along with the peoples of Northern India and usually identified with the people of Balkh,—an inference supported by the derivation of the word from Bakhī or Bahl which is the Pehlevi form of Balkh. But as Allan correctly remarks, "the inscription cannot mean that Chandra's arms penetrated to Balkh, the route to which would not be across the mouth of the Indus."\(^2\) Where are we, then, to locate these Vālhiḍas? In this connection we have to note a passage in the Rāmāyana, to which our attention was drawn long ago by Chintaharan Chakravarty.\(^3\) There, we are told that messengers were sent by Vasishṭha to Bharata who was then at Girivraj, capital of Kēkaya. They start from Ayōdhya and take a north-western route. They pass through Kuru-Jāṅgala to Paṅchāla and cross the Ikshumati river, which is identified with Kālīnādi (East) which flows through Kumaon, Rohilkhand and Kanauj.\(^4\) The messengers then pass through the Vālhiḍa country to the Sudāman hill and see Vishnupada and the two rivers Vipāṣa and Śālmāli. This is the most apposite reference to Vālhiḍa, because here it is associated with Vishnupada, which is specified in the third and last stanza

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1. Raghuvamśa, IV, 33-36.
of the Meharauli inscription as the place where the iron pillar was originally set up. It thus, at one sweep, tells us where Vālhika and Vishṇupada are to be located, namely, not far from the source of the Vipāśa or Beas in the Himālayas.

Further, we have to note that Vālhikas have been mentioned again in the Rāmāyana in two consecutive chapters. Thus in the Kishkindhā-Kānda (Rām. IV. 43. 12) they have been described as living in the north and distinguished from the Kambōjas, Yavanas and Śakas, whereas in IV. 42. 6 they are described as situated in the west and mentioned along with Surāśtras. This agrees with the Kāśīka on Pāṇini VIII. 4, 9, where we read Sauvira-pānā Bāhlikāh, “the Bāhlikas are fond of Sauvira drink”. This shows that according to the Rāmāyana the Vālhikas occupied not only Sindhu and Sauvira but also the north-west and north-east parts of the Panjab. They probably denote the (Later Great) Kushānas who were the last foreign horde to migrate into India from Bālkh.

The mention of the Vālhikas as being vanquished by Chandra after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu is thus quite intelligible. It will thus be seen that while in the time of Samudragupta the Gupta dominions extended westward only so far as to include East Rajputana and East Panjab, in the reign of Chandragupta II they extended further westward so as to comprise Sind and the whole of the Panjab.

The second stanza of the Meharauli pillar inscription is a hard nut to crack. It has been completely misunderstood by J. F. Fleet, and he has drawn the specious conclusion that “the inscription is a posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named Chandra as to whose lineage no information is given.” And he has been followed by Allan and other scholars. It is the first two lines of this stanza that are more important. The first of these is: khinnasya-eva vistijya gām nara patar = gaṁ = aśrītasya = ētārāṃ. What this means is that Chandra has left one gō and is now resorting to another gō. What does gō mean in each case? Fleet translates it thus: “he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world. . . .” Fleet thus implies that Chandra quitted one gō, that is, the earth, and went to another, that is, ‘the other world’. And, as a matter of fact, gō has the three senses of ‘the earth’, ‘the sky’, and ‘the heaven’. Consequently, no exception can be taken to Fleet’s rendering so far as this sentence stands. But the crucial test is furnished by line 2 of the stanza, namely, mārtī [t]ya karmma-jit-avainin gata vatah kir[tya] shītasya kṣhitau, “moving in (bodily) form to the land (paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions.” Here the most important word is mārtītya, which Fleet has rightly translated by ‘bodily form’. But the question arises: how can Chandra, or, for the matter of that, any human being, go to ‘the land (of paradise)’ ‘in (bodily) form’? The obvious conclusion is that Chandra was not dead when the eulogy was inscribed on the iron pillar. If mārtītya must mean ‘in bodily form’ and as no human being can go to the other world in his corporeal form, karma-jit-avainin cannot possibly be translated by “to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions”, as Fleet has done. The two lines of the stanza have thus to be so translated as to do away with the preconception that Chandra was dead when the pillar was set up. They may therefore be rendered as follows: “who, the king, having quitted this gō (earth), as if being dejected, has resorted to another gō (sky); who, though he has, in body, gone to the land (avani) conquered by (his own) action, has remained on the soil of the earth (kṣitti) by fame.” What do these verses mean? As stanza 3 of this eulogy tells us, the column was originally put up at Vishṇupada. This Vishṇupada, we know, was a

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1 In the second quotation Vālhikas have been omitted in the Bombay recension. In the other two they have been mentioned in both the places though in the Bangali recension the quotations are found in IV, 43, 5 and IV, 44, 13.


tīrtha or sacred place. There is just a passage in the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata which distinguishes between two kinds of tīrthas, those which are situated on the earth (prīthivī) and those, in the mid-region (antarikṣa). The passage to which our attention was first drawn by J. C. Ghosh runs thus:

prīthiyāṁ yāṁ tīrthāṁ antarikṣaḥ ca
nadāḥ hradāḥ taṅgāṁ cha sarva-prasravaṇāṁ ca

(Chap. 83, verse 193).

There can be no doubt that tīrthas on earth have here been differentiated from those in the firmament. Ghosh rightly remarks that “here prīthivī should be taken as ‘the plains’ and antarikṣa as a high peak of some mountain almost reaching up to the sky.” That this distinction between the tīrthas was not an imaginary one may be seen from the line prīthiyāṁ Naimishaṁ tīrtham=antarikṣa cha Pushkaram (verse 203), which occurs further in the same chapter of the Vanaparvan. Of these two, Naimisha has been identified with Nimkhar or Nimsar, not far from the Nimsar Railway station. There can thus be no doubt as to Naimisha being a tīrtha on the plains. Some doubt may, however, arise as to Pushkara. Because the tīrtha which is at present known by this name is the celebrated Pushkar Lake, six miles from Ajmer, which, however, is on the plains, and, not on a mountain peak, may thus be looked upon as a tīrtha on prīthivī, and, not in antarikṣa. There is, however, a Pushkara-tīrtha which is apparently to be located in the Himālayas. Thus the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata has the following:

punaḥ=cha parivṛtti=ātītha Pushkar-āranyavāsinaḥ
gaṇāṁ=Utsavasanniketān vyajyat purushashabbaḥ

“And having turned his back again, the bull among men (Nakula) then conquered the tribes called the Utsavasaṅniketas residing in the Pushkara forest.” Utsavasaṅniketa is mentioned by Kalidāsa in his Raghuvanśa IV, 78, and is believed to be “a Sanskrit word formed by the combination of the names of the Tibetan provinces bordering on India—U’tschang, Bostan and Khotan.” And as these Utsavasaṅniketas are said to have occupied the Pushkara forests, the latter must have been situated in the Himālayan regions, where India met Tibet. Naturally, therefore, this Pushkara, being on an exceedingly higher altitude than the plains, can easily be described as a tīrtha in the mid-region. And curiously enough, Pushkara, like Vīshṇupada, is a synonym of Antarikṣa according to the Amarakaśa (I. 2.1-2).

To return to our point, how was Vīshṇupada exactly situated—Vīshṇupada where the pillar was originally erected? Where this Vīshṇupada is precisely to be located is a question which we will consider in detail a little further on. But what we have stated above is enough to show that it was somewhere near the origin of the Vīpāśa (Beas). That surely indicated a sufficiently high altitude to enable us to class it under antarikṣa-tīrthas. And, as a matter of fact, Durgāchārya, the commentator, while explaining a passage from Yāska, unequivocally locates Vīshṇupada in antarikṣa, as Ghosh has pointed out. And further, we have to note that even the Amarakaśa gives Vīshṇupada as a synonym of antarikṣa. How could this word have acquired the sense of ‘the mid-region’? It is true that Kṣīraśvaṁin, who has written a commentary upon the Amarakaśa, says: Vīshṇoḥ padaṁ kramāḥ tra Vīshṇupadam. But this is

2 Nundolal Dey, Geographical Dictionary, etc., p. 135.
3 Chap. 32, verses 8-9.
6 J.2.2.
7 And, in fact, this is supported by what we are told in the Udghoṣa-parvan (Chap. 110, verses 21-22) namely, that in covering the three worlds Viṣṇu with one stride created what is called Vīshṇupada situated in the northern region and not far from Kailāsa.
not enough, because Vishnu is renowned for his three strides, of which one only was in the antariksha. Why did not the other two places which represented the remaining two strides of Vishnu come to be called Vishnupada, especially the one on the plains (prithivi)? The truth of the matter is that since only one Vishnupada must already have been known as a sacred place, that being situated on a stupendously lofty eminence, it was considered to be midway between earth and heaven, that is, in the firmament, and that consequently Vishnupada came to be used as a term denoting 'the sky, firmament' itself before the time of Amara, that is, before the fifth century A.D. If this is the case, it is quite intelligible why Chandra (that is, Chandragupta II) should be described as having quitted one gô, that is, the earth, and as having been settled on another gô, that is, the mid-region, because, as just pointed out, Vishnupada where the column was at first standing was perched on such a high eminence that Vishnupada not only was considered to be existing in antariksha but became itself a term synonymous with antariksha.

The last question that we have now to consider is the exact location of Vishnupada which is mentioned in stanza 3 as the place where the iron pillar was originally planted. We have just seen that there is nothing in stanza 2 which shows that Chandra was dead when the eulogy was engraved on the pillar. On the contrary, the word mûrttyā, occurring in it, clearly shows that he was alive at that time, because he could not, by any stretch of imagination, be supposed to have gone to the other world in his bodily form. We have therefore to take it not only that he was living but also that he was then staying at Vishnupada. Here two questions arise: (1) Where precisely was this Vishnupada, and (2) Why was Chandra staying there? In regard to the first point, Fleet raises the query 'whether it should be identified with the part of the Delhi Ridge on which the column stands.' But he is undecided, because, says he, on the one hand, that 'the actual position of the column is in a slight depression, with rising ground on both sides, a position which hardly answers to the description of its being on a giri or 'hill.' This agrees with the tradition, he argues further, that 'the column was erected, in the early part of the eighth century A.D., by Anāṅgapāla, the founder of the Tūmara dynasty,' and raises the surmise that like the Aśoka stone columns at Delhi and Allahabad, the iron pillar also was brought from elsewhere to the spot where it is now standing. On the other hand, he says that 'the fact that the underground supports of the column include several small pieces of metal 'like bits of bar iron' is in favour of its being now in its original position; as they would probably have been overlooked, and left behind, in the process of a transfer.' But 'no violence of language,' remarks V. A. Smith, 'could possibly justify the application of the term 'hill' to the present site of the monument.' And, in his opinion, it is extremely probable that the iron pillar was originally erected at Mathurā, at the Katra mound, where the magnificent temple of Kesava once stood, and which may very probably prove to be Vishnupada-giri mentioned in the inscription. But the Katra mound also, which, according to Smith, was the original site of the monument, cannot possibly, by any stretch of language be described as a giri. Long ago we noted that the Petersburg Lexicon gave many references to Vishnupada contained in the epics and the Purāṇas. We drew the attention of Chintaharan Chakravarty to it, who, thereupon wrote a learned paper entitled "The Original Site of the Meherauli Pillar." But he was not able to identify the spot accurately. This was, however, done by J. C. Ghosh with practically the same materials. The most important of these is a

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3 CASIR, Vol. VI, p. 28 and Pl. V.
4 JRAI, 1897, pp. 16-17.
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passage, from the Rāmāyana, which gives an account of the travels of the emissaries sent by Vasishṭha to bring Bharata back to Ayodhya from Girivraja, the capital of the Kekaya country. It runs as follows:

_Tayur = madhyāna Vāhlikān Sudāmānai cha āratam 1_

_Vishyāḥ padam prakṣhamāya Vipāsān ch = āpi Śalmalim 11_

Rāmāyana, II. 68. 18-19.

"They went through the Vāhlikā country to Mount Sudāman, viewing Vishnupada and also the Vipāsa and the Śalmali."

If we read carefully the second half of this Chapter, namely, Chapter 68, we note that the emissaries of Ayodhyā crossed the Ganges at Hastināpura, thereupon with their faces turned towards the west reached the Pañchāla country after passing through Kuru-Jāṅgala, thence entered the city of Kuliṅgā, from there repaired to the river Ikshumati sacred to the Ikshvāku ancestry, and thereafter to Mount Sudāman passing through the Vālhiṅka country, from there viewing Vishnupada, the Vipāsa and the Śalmali. From there the emissaries finally reached Girivraja, their place of destination. This Girivraja, the capital town of the Kekaya country Cunningham identifies with Jalālpur of the Gujarat District, Panjab, now in Pakistan, the ancient name of which was Girjāk. And this identification has been approved by F. E. Pargiter in his translation of the Mārkandeya-Purāṇa. The whole passage is of great significance; first, because Vishnupada is here mentioned not alone, but along with Vāhlikā—just the two localities which are mentioned also in the Meharauli inscription, showing clearly that this is just the Vishnupada we are in search of; and, secondly, because the passage provides us with the clue that these places were in the close proximity of the Vipāsa, which, we know, is the modern Beas, where it is joined by another river, which must therefore be the Śalmali. Thirdly, it is worthy of note that this Ikshumati was much to the south-east of the Beas. It cannot thus be identified with the Oxus near Balkh as one scholar has thought fit to do. Besides, the Oxus was never considered sacred to the Ikshvāku ancestry. The old name of the Oxus, again, was Vaṅkshu. If the Ikshumati of the Rāmāyana has to be located, it had better be identified with the Ikshu mentioned in the Purāṇas as having sprung up from the Himālayas along with the Vipāsa and others. In this connection, it is desirable to notice another passage, namely, one from the Mahābhārata, which, though referred to in the Petersburg Lexicon was first quoted and brought to the attention of scholars by J. C. Ghosh. The passage runs as follows:

_śat = Vishnupadaṁ nāma dyiṣatā tirtham = uttamam 1_

_iśāḥ rāmyā Vipāsā cha nadi parama-pācaṇi 11_

Kālima-maṇḍalaiṁ ch = aitāt sarva-puṇyam = arīndama 11_

(Vanaparvan, Ch. 130, verses 8 and 10)

It will be seen from this description that not only the Vipāsa but also Kāśmīra was

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1 It is worthy of note that Vāhlikā or Bāhlikā is the reading found in the three recensions of the Rāmāyana namely of Bombay, Madras (Kunnakonam) and Bengal (Calcutta). The Madras and Bengal recensions specify various readings, but nowhere is the reading Vāhlikā given for Bāhlikā. On the other hand, be it noted that the latter gives the reading Sudāmānai = instead of Sudāmānai = (II. 70. 17), immediately following Bāhlikān. See, in this connection, our articles in IC., Vol. III, pp. 511 and ff. and Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. X. pp. 36 ff. This is controverted by D. C. Sircar in his paper printed in Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane, 1941, pp. 469 and ff. But the latter's view has been substantially refuted in (Miss) Padma Mishra's article on Vāhika and Bāhlikā published in IC., Vol. VIII, pp. 85 and ff. See also O. Stein's Round the Meharauli Inscription in V. A., Vol. I. pp. 196-98.


3 P. 318, note.


5 Ind. Ant., 1912, p. 266; Ep. Ind., Vol. II. p. 188, verse 54.

6 Viśv-P., Chap. 45, verses 95-96; Matsya-P., Chap. 114, verses 21-22.
visible from Vishnu Purana. Vishnu Purana was thus on a hill near the Vipasa from where Kasmira was not far distant. "It appears that the Vipasa had her source in the mountains of the Kasmira region in the time of the ancient Aryans. On emerging out of Kasmira into the country of the Saptasindhavah (Panjab) it has formed a sharp bend in the border of Gurdaspur (Panjab) and Kangra districts." It is just at this bend that it has been joined by another river, which must be the Salmali. Vishnu Purana was surely somewhere there.

Before we dismiss this subject, we have to note again that the passage quoted above from the Ramayana associated Vishnu Purana with the Vahlika country and that both these localities are referred to in the Mehrauli inscription also. We have further to note that stanza 1 of this epigraphic record speaks of Chandra as having conquered the Vahlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu or the Indus. Evidently, therefore, Vishnu Purana was situated in the province subjugated by him. This throws a most welcome light on the line karma-jit-avanit-gata-vatah, etc. in stanza 2 of the inscription. Flet, of course, renders it by "the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions." The proper translation should be "gone to the land (avanit) conquered through (his own) deeds." What it means is that he was then in the country of the Vahlikas which had been subjugated through his prowess. The question that now remains to be discussed is: Why did Chandra, that is, Chandragupta II, go to Vishnu Purana? I think, the reply is furnished by the line, khinnasya = eva vrisiya gam narapatir = gham = asritasya = taran. This means that he quitted one gha, that is, the earth, and repaired to another gha, that is, the mid-region where Vishnu Purana was situated, through dejection as it were. We are further told immediately thereafter that he then remained on the soil of the earth (kshiti) only by fame. If we read between the lines carefully, the impression produced on our mind is that he was at Vishnu Purana, not as a temporary pilgrim, but as a permanent resident, that, in other words, he retired from the worldly life and was settled for good at the holy place of Vishnu Purana. This is not the first instance of an Imperial Gupta ruler abdicating the throne and becoming a Vana-prastha. His grandfather, Chandragupta I, we have seen, had similarly renounced the householder's, and embraced the anchorite's stage of life. When this event most probably came off will be discussed later on.

We have thus seen how wide the Gupta empire had become in the time of Chandragupta II. It was co-extensive practically with the whole of northern India, omitting, of course, the nominal suzerainty that he may have exercised over the states of Southern India. Such a big empire must have had at least two capitals for its effective administration. At any rate, the hereditary capital of the Gupta kingdom, namely, Pataniputra, was situated a little too far eastward to provide adequate control over the empire. A most welcome light is thrown on this point by the inscription of the Guttas of Gutal. It was Fleet himself who first drew our attention to certain data furnished by these records though he was unable to deduce the proper conclusions. The family is usually called the Gutta anvaya, kula or vanis. Gutta here is doubtless a Prakrit form of Gupta, because one member of the family is styled Gupta vaniśa-triṇētra, "a very Trinētra (Siva) in the Gupta race"; another, Gupta-anvaya-hūkānta, "a king belonging to the Gupta lineage"; and a third, Gupta-vaniśa-vardhi-vardhana, "increasing (like

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1 That Vishnu Purana was somehow connected with the Imperial Gupta dynasty may be seen from the fact that along with the seals of Dhruvavasāmi, of the Yuvaraja and his officials picked up by Bloch during his excavations at Basar have been found a seal with the inscription: (1) Śrī-Vishnu Puranaśāmi-Vā (2) rājan, "Narayana, Lord of the holy Vishnu Purana" (CASIR, 1903-04, p. 110, No. 31). Bloch, however, thinks that this Vishnu Purana is perhaps the temple of Vishnu Purana at Gayā (ibid., pp. 104 and 111). But there is nothing to show that the famous shrine at Gayā was in existence in the fourth century A.D. Besides, the only Vishnu Purana known to exist in the early Gupta period is the Vishnu Purana mentioned in the Mehrauli pillar inscription.

INTRODUCTION

the moon) the ocean of the Gupta race”. This leaves no doubt as to the family name ‘Gutta’ being identical with ‘Gupta’. Now, it is worthy of note that the members of the family are described not only as Vikramāditya-vamīs-ōdhava, “born in the race of Vikramāditya” but also as Chandragupta-vamīs-ōdhava, “born in the race of Chandragupta”. It is also worthy of note that the hereditary titles, which commemorated their place of origin, were Ujjayani-puravar-ōdhisvara, “supreme lord of Ujjayani, the best of towns” and Pātalipuravara-ōdhisvara, “supreme lord of Pātali, the best of towns”. And to crown all, we are told that they were descended through a Vikramāditya, who is specified as king of Ujjayani, and whom one record represents plainly as himself a descendant of Chandragupta. Now who could this ancestor of the Guttas or Guptas of Guttal be, who was not only Chandragupta by name, but also a descendant of Chandragupta, and, who, again, not only had the title Vikramāditya but also was a king of Pātaliputra. He can be no other than Chandragupta II, grandson of Chandragupta I, of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. And, as the place of origin of his descendants, namely, the Guttas of the south, is represented once as Pātaliputra and once as Ujjayani, the natural conclusion is that this Chandragupta II had two capitals, one Pātaliputra and the other, Ujjayani.

It has been assumed above that Chandragupta II bore the title or epithet of Vikramāditya. This is, however, quite clear from a critical study of his coins,¹ which, again, throw light upon the other titles by which he was known. The most pre-eminent of these was Vikrama,² which was to Chandragupta II, what Parākrama was to his father, Samudragupta. There were many combinations formed out of Vikrama as there were out of Parākrama. Like Vāgha-Parākrama of Samudragupta, we have Sinha-Vikrama for Chandragupta II. Coins bearing this epithet are known to the numismatist as the Lion-Slayer Type which has been distinguished into at least four classes and each further into a number of varieties.³ On the obverse the king stands, wearing waist-cloth with sash, turban and jewellery, shooting with bow at a lion and trampling on the animal with one foot. These details, however, vary with the varieties. It is, no doubt, tempting to take this Type of coins as indicating that Chandragupta annexed Kāthiāwār, in the Gir forest of which alone the Indian lions at present exist. But the lion was formerly found throughout the greater part of North-western and Central India. “In the early part of the nineteenth century, lions occurred in Hariyānā, Khāndēsh, and Rewah and as far east as Palamau, whilst up to 1860 or 1870 many existed in Kāthiāwār and parts of Rajputana”.⁴ The Lion-Slayer Type cannot thus be taken as a sure indication of Chandragupta’s conquest of Kāthiāwār. And we have, therefore, to understand that as among animals the tiger and the lion afford the best standard of comparison, Samudragupta is taken to surpass the former and his son Chandragupta the latter animal in strength and agility. The court poets were so fond of comparing Chandragupta to the lion, that they invented not only Sinha-Vikrama but Sinha-Chandra also.⁵ This combination of names is not noticeable in the case of other Gupta kings. Thus we have Vāgha-Parākrama and Sinha-Mahēndra, but not Vāgha-Samudra and Sinha-Kumāra, in the case of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, respectively. What is further noteworthy about Chandragupta is that Vikrama was combined with Āditya and developed into the title Vikramāditya. It is somewhat difficult to know what this name exactly means, that is, whether it means the Sun of Valour as it is generally interpreted or ‘Valour who is (also) the Sun’. The latter seems to be the better of the two explana-

³ Allan, loc. cit., pp. 39 ff.
⁵ Allan, loc. cit., p. 43.
ions, because, in the first place, it agrees with the fact that Vikrama alone was par excellence the title of the king, and secondly the very first verse of Inscription No. 11 below compares Chandragupta with Arka which is synonymous with Aditya, both signifying ‘the sun’. And, as a matter of fact, from the time of this king onwards Aditya forms the second half of the composite title assumed by the Gupta sovereigns. We thus have Mahendra Aditya for Kumara-gupta I, Kramaditya for Skandagupta and so forth. If this interpretation of the title Vikramaditya is not accepted and if it is taken to mean ‘the Sun of Valour’, the question arises as to how we are to interpret Mahendra Aditya? Is it possible at all to take the latter expression in the sense of ‘the Sun of Mahendra’? The rendering ‘the Sun of Mahendra’ conveys no meaning at all, and the phrase has to be translated by ‘Mahendra who is (also) the Sun’. This shows that the composite title Vikramaditya has to be interpreted to mean ‘Vikrama who is the Sun’. There is no evidence to show that there was any king prior to Chandragupta II who bore this title. In fact, he seems not only to be the first king who was styled Vikramaditya but also to be the Vikramaditya of tradition reputed for supernatural powers and patronage of arts and sciences. We will consider this point in greater detail later on. A third title derived from Vikrama is Vikramanka, which we find coupled with his name on his silver coins, all found in Kathiawar. This no doubt corresponds to Parakramanka of Samudragupta which occurs in line 17 of Inscription No. 1 below. Vikramanka must thus mean “One who has the distinctive appellation or epithet of Vikrama (Valour)”. Sometimes Vikrama is joined to Ajita, and we thus find Ajita-Vikrama as another epithet of Chandragupta II. Ajita-Vikrama has similarly to be taken to signify “the Invincible (one) who is Valour”. It will thus be seen that the epithets that have been conjoined to the name of this Gupta monarch are, all except one, either Vikrama or combinations of Vikrama. The only exception is Sinha-Chandra which has been noted above. Chandragupta had another appellation which is worthy of note. The copper plate charters of the Vakataka kings have been known and published a long time since. The mother of Pravarasena II is, in all of them, mentioned as Prabhavatigupta, daughter of Devagupta. Who this Devagupta was, was not known for a long time. It was the discovery of the Poona plates1 of Prabhavatigupta that first unriddled the mystery. And it was first announced by us that these plates left not even the shadow of a doubt as to this Devagupta being Chandragupta II.2 We then also pointed out that another form of the name was Devaraja which occurred in a Sanchi inscription (No. 9 below), but, which, just because some letters immediately thereafter had broken off in the record, was taken wrongly, of course, by Fleet as the name of a minister of Chandragupta. Whether we take Devaraja or Devagupta to be his another name, the meaning is the same. Deva here must signify not ‘a king’ but ‘Indra’, because the former sense is not possible in the form ‘Devaraja’, which, in that case has to be taken in the sense of “the king (rāja) of kings (devas)” where the word used for ‘king’ in one case is rāja and in the other deva—a singular procedure.

Of the birudas or laudatory appellations of Chandragupta II, four are found. They are found associated with his name in the Poona plates of Prabhavatigupta, who was his daughter and was queen of the Vakataka king Rudrasena II. The appellations are: (1) Prthiviyān = apratirathaḥ, (2) Sarva-rājā-āśekhottaḥ, (3) Chatur-udadhi-sālik-āsādita-yaśāḥ, and (4) Añka-gō-hiranya-kōti-sahasra-pradāh. The first three of these, as pointed out above, are exactly the same as the first three of the seven coupled with the name of Samudragupta in his Nālandā plate (No. 3 below) or in the Bilsad inscription (No. 16 below) of his grandson Kumāragupta I. The fourth, again, is practically identical with the biruda: nyāy-āgat-āñka-gō-hiranya-kōti-pradāh which is conjoined to the name of Samudragupta. The second of these, moreover,

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 39-44.
as remarked above, was adopted by Kāchagupta as his epithet. Any way, these were not the distinctive apppellations of any one of the Gupta sovereigns, and seem to have been used by them and made so common that they were adopted later, that is, in the beginning of the seventh century, by kings of the Kāṭachchuri family, as we have seen above.

Chandragupta had at least two wives, one Dhruvadēvi and the other Kubēranāgā. The first of these is known to us from four inscriptions, in three of which (Nos. 16, 31 and 41 below) she has been called Dhruvadēvi and in one (No. 13 below) Dhruvavāmini. We do not know to which family she belonged. We have seen, however, that she was a bone of contention between Chandragupta whom she had selected and to whom she was affianced and his elder brother Kāchagupta who forcibly espoused her. We know further how Chandragupta afterwards seized and killed Kāchagupta and married Dhruvadēvi who was rightfully his own. She was the favourite queen of Chandragupta, who had from her the two sons, Gōvindagupta and Kumāragupta. One seal of this queen (No. 13) was exhumed by the late Bloch during his excavations at Basārh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar, which has been identified with the ancient Vaiśālī. Its legend means: "The Great Queen (Mahādevī), the prosperous Dhruvavāmini, wife of the Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Chandragupta (and) mother of the Mahārāja, the prosperous Gōvindagupta." The names Chandragupta and Dhruvavāmini mentioned in the seal are doubtless Chandragupta II and his wife Dhruvadēvi, well-known from Gupta inscriptions. As the names of Chandragupta and his son Gōvindagupta occur in the seal, both must be supposed to be living when the seal of Dhruvavāmini was impressed in the clay piece. Chandragupta, as he is called Mahārājādhirāja, was, of course, the paramount sovereign, and Gōvindagupta, being Mahārāja, was holding some province under him, most probably as Yuvarāja in the district of Vaiśālī. This was natural, as Vaiśālī was originally the capital of the Lichchhavis through whose active help, as pointed out above, Chandragupta I raised himself to power. It was thus fit and proper that if the seat of the Gupta sovereign was Pātaliputra, that of the crown prince should be Vaiśālī. It thus seems that Gōvindagupta was stationed there as Yuvarāja. And further it seems that Dhruvavāmini was at the time of the seal staying there with her eldest son.

The existence of the second wife of Chandragupta is attested by the Poona plates of Prabhāvatigupta referred to above. There, she is described as the daughter of Chandragupta II, from his wife, the great queen (Mahādevī), Kubēranāgā, who belonged to the Nāga family. It seems tempting to connect Kubēranāgā with king Kubēra of Dēvarāṣṭra in South India whom Samudragupta vanquished and thereafter reinstated. But there is nothing to show that this ruler of Dēvarāṣṭra was a Nāga by extraction. On the other hand, we know that there were no less than three Nāga families ruling over Dhārā, Padmāvatī and Mathurā in North India in the time of Samudragupta. It is true that the Nāga princes of these dynasties are represented to have been destroyed by this Gupta monarch, but there is nothing to show that he extinguished these royal lines and annexed their kingdoms to his own empire. The inference is more probable that Kubēranāgā pertained to one of these Nāga families. Whether Chandragupta had any son from her we do not know, but this much we do know for certain that the two had a daughter called Prabhāvatigupta who was the agramahishī or Chief Queen of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Rudrasena (II). She is also described in the Poona plates as "the mother of the Yuvarāja, the prosperous Divākarasena." And the seal attached thereto records: "this is the enemy-chastising command of the mother of the Yuvarāja who is the ornament of the Vākāṭakas and who has obtained royal dignity in course (of succession)." This clearly shows that Divākarasena was a minor and continued to be Yuvarāja, whereas his mother Prabhāvatigupta played the role of Queen-Regent. The year 13, the date of these plates must therefore denote the year of the regency. Whether Divākarasena ever be-
came a ruler we do not know. At any rate, there is no evidence to that effect, no record of his having yet been found. We have, however, five copper plate inscriptions of his brother, Pravarasena II. One of these records the grants of his mother Prabhāvatiguptā, but refers itself to his reign. She was then near “the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri”, where, obviously she had retired and from where her grant was issued. As she no longer exercised any ruling authority, the charter is dated in the reign of her son. In that record she is described as “the Mother of the Vākāṭaka Mahārājas Dāmōdaraśena and Pravarasena.” This means that Divākaraśena never became a Mahārāja, that is, died without becoming a king, but that after him the Vākāṭaka throne was occupied first by Dāmōdaraśena and afterwards by Pravarasena (II). Their mother, Prabhāvatigupta, must have been far advanced in age when she issued her last grant, and, as a matter of fact, she is represented in this inscription as being “more than a hundred years old”. There is yet another inscription² of the reign of Pravarasena which relates to her. But this time the grant is made by the son himself for the augmentation of merit, in this as well as in the next world, to his Mātri-bhṭāṭārikā or ‘Venerable mother’.

At least three Officers of Chandragupta II are known to us from the inscriptions of the Gupta period. One of these we have already noted. He is the one referred to in the undated Udayagiri cave inscription (No. 11 below). He was the Minister of Peace and War, and was, in fact, a hereditary minister of the royal family. He was named Viraśena and surnamed Śāba. He belonged to the Kautsa gōtra and was evidently a Brāhmaṇa. He was an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra, and came to Central India in the company of his sovereign during his conquest of the earth. Being a Brāhmaṇa, and, above all, Minister for Peace and War, he was a man of letters. He is thus represented as being conversant with Grammar (Śabda), Polity (Artha), Logic (Nyāya) and Popular Usage and Custom (Lōka).² In other words, he was well-versed in the four sciences known as Vyākaraṇa, Artha-śāstra, Nyāya and Dharma-śāstra, as every Minister of Peace and War was expected to be. Above all, he is described as being a poet (kavi). This was also a qualification indispensable to a Sāndhivigrahika. The longest and historically the most important Gupta record is the well-known prasasti of Samudragupta, engraved on the Aśokan pillar now in the Allahabad fort. It was composed by Harishena who calls it a kāya. Elsewhere we have pointed out that this panegyric was a meritorious production worthy of being styled a kāya. But what was the official position of Harishena at that time? He too was a Sāndhivigrahika. In fact, this office was of such a character that the occupant of it had perchance to be a master of style. It is rather unfortunate that no piece of composition from the pen of Viraśena Śāba has been preserved. The name of another Brāhmaṇa minister of Chandragupta II is revealed by an inscription (No. 21 below) discovered in the Fyzabad District in Uttar Pradesh, belonging to the reign of his son Kumāragupta I, and bearing the date Gupta year 117. He has therein been named Śikharasvāmin and mentioned as son of Vishnuśālītabyaṭa and grandson of Kumāravabhṛata who was a teacher of the Chhandoga Veda and was of the Asāvajina gōtra. Śikharasvāmin is there designated as both Mantrin and Kumārāṇayya. The first of these designations, namely, Mantrin, is of a generic character and seems to be synonymous with Sacliya applied to Viraśena Śāba. The name of a third Officer, also of Chandragupta II, appears to have been preserved in an inscription (No. 9 below) dated Gupta year 93 on the railing of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchi, known in ancient times as Kākanādaśoṭa. The purport of this epigraph is to record the benefaction of twentyfive Dīnāras and of a place called Īśvaravāsa purchased with the money realised by selling off three royal palaces by a donor, called Āmrakaṛdava, son of Undāna. These

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² Ibid., No. 15, pp. 69 ff.
³ For the meanings of these terms see the necessary foot-note to the translation of this record.
gifts were made to the Āryasaṁgha or confraternity of Buddhist monks, that was settled in the Great Monastery of Kākanādabōta, that is, pertaining to the line of teachers connected with Sāṇchi Stūpa No. 1. From each of the donations five monks were to be fed daily and a lamp maintained in the Jewel-House (rātana-gṛha), which here obviously denotes a Buddha shrine. The second of these was for the attainment of all virtues by Chandragupta (II) and the first for the enhancement of the donor’s merit. This Āmrakārdava seems to have been an Officer in the service of the Gupta monarch, because he is described as “one whose means of subsistence has been augmented through the favour of the feet” of Chandragupta and as having shown to the world how the dependent of a king should behave himself. That he was an Officer of some military rank is evident from the epithet anēka-samar-ānāpta-viśayāyaḥ-patākah, which means that “his banner of fame was the victories achieved in many battles.” And, further, as he was in charge of royal palaces some of which he sold off, it seems that Āmrakārdava was something like a quarter-master entrusted with the duty of marking out camps and assigning quarters there. It is not quite clear why he sold off some of the royal palaces that were in Vidiśa, on the outskirts of which, no doubt, Kākanādabōta was situated. But as the date of his inscription is Gupta year 93 when Chandragupta was ruling, and as his son Kumāragupta was already a king in Gupta year 96, it seems that Chandragupta abdicated the throne in or about the year 93. And it is quite possible that the palaces which were personally his own were sold off at his own bidding when the Gupta king actually retired from worldly life and became settled at Viśñupada. This is also indicated by the fact that the assignment of Īśvaravāsaka purchased with the proceeds of the sale of the royal palaces was intended for the attainment of virtues by Chandragupta II. This “attainment of virtues” at the close of his reign practically coincided with the Vāṃprastha āśrama embraced by Chandragupta soon after the date of this inscription.

As Chandragupta was a paramount sovereign, he must have had a number of tributary princes owing fealty to him. The inscriptions, however, reveal the names of only two of them. One Udayagiri cave epigraph (No. 7 below) is dated Gupta year 82 = 400-01 A.D. and refers itself to his reign. It records the dedication of the excavated shrine apparently to Viṣṇu made by a chief of the Sanakānika clan, who describes himself as meditating on the feet of the Mahārājaśirāja Chandragupta. Unfortunately his full name has not been preserved, the last letter of his name, namely l, being alone legible. He was son of the Mahārāja Viṣṇudāsa and grandson of the Mahārāja Chhagalaga, which looks like a Turkish name, as was pointed out by the late A. M. T. Jackson long ago. Probably Viṣṇudāsa and Chhagalaga also were feudatory chieftains of Samudragupta whose suzerainty was acknowledged by Sanakānika, as well as by the other tribes, as the Allahabad pillar inscription informs us. Then again we have to take note of an inscription1 found at Mandaśōr and dated the 5th of the bright half of Āśvōja (Āsvina) of the Mālava (or Viṣṭaraka) year 461 = 404 A.D. It refers itself to the reign of the Mahārāja Naravarman, son of Siṃhavarman and grandson of Jayavarman. There can be no doubt that this Naravarman is identical with the prince of that name who is mentioned as father of Viṣṭaraka in the Gaṅghār inscription2 of Viṣṭaraka year 480. And further we know from another Mandaśōr inscription (No. 35 below) that Viṣṭaraka’s son was Bandhuvarman. It will thus be seen that Naravarman belonged to the line of feudatory chieftains that ruled over Daśapura (Mandaśōr) from about the middle of the fourth to about the middle of the fifth century A.D. Now one of the many epithets of Naravarman mentioned in his record is Siṃh-vaṭrānta-gāmin, “a follower of Siṃh-vaṭrānta”. Siṃhā-Vikrānta is obviously the same as Siṃhā-Vikrama which, we know from Gupta coins,

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 320 ff.
was a title of Chandragupta II. And we have already seen from a Sāñcī inscription (No. 9 below) that this Gupta sovereign was reigning till Gupta year 93=411-12 A.D., that is, for at least seven years after this date for Naravarman. The latter was thus a tributary prince of Chandragupta II—a conclusion which is in keeping with the fact that his son and grandson, namely, Viśvaravarman and Bandhuvarman, were feudatories of Kumāragupta I.

Students of history need not be told that Vikramāditya has become a favourite hero of the fable literature. Popular stories clustering round his name have been narrated not only in the Śīhāshānasāvatīrṇā, Vēṭālaṭāchāvīnāṁ, Mērutūrga’s Prabandhachintāmaṇi and Rājaśēkara’s Chaturvīnāśatītrābhandha but also in Kshēmēndra’s Brihatkathāmāyāri, Sōmadēva’s Kathāsarit-sāgara and Kālidāsa’s Jyōtirīvidābhāraṇa. It is quite clear from these popular tales and traditions that Vikramāditya, whosoever he was, was not only a yōṅi and Siddha who could tackle and control evil spirits but also a Śākāri or foe of the Śakas who founded the Vikrama era, and above all, a patron of arts and sciences. Was he one individual who satisfied all these conditions, or was he one hero who drew to himself tales of earlier and later champions? Of all the Vikramādityas known to history, that is, known to epigraphy and numismatics, Chandragupta II was the earliest and perhaps the most famous. Let us see whether or how far he answers to the traditions centering round his name. Was he believed to be a Siddha or yōṅi who could tame malicious spirits? In this connection reference may be made to the Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal in Dharwar District, Karnataka, who claim their descent from Chandragupta-Vikramāditya, a ruler of Ujjayani and Pāṭaliputra. We have pointed out that this Chandragupta cannot but be Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Now, in the records of these Guttas there is one passage which says that at Ujjain (Chandragupta-) Vikramāditya mastered the ashṭa-mahāsiddhi, “eight great supernatural powers”, and another, that he ruled over the Vēṭālas and demons.1 It is thus plain that, in the thirteenth century A.D. when the Guttas of Guttal flourished, the Vikramāditya who was credited with the development of supernatural powers and the control of Vēṭālas was regarded as no other than Chandragupta II. At any rate, that was the tradition handed down in the Gutta family, who traced lineage to this Chandragupta.

But have we got evidence of an earlier period in support of this statement? Now in the Devi-chandra-guptam Chandragupta is represented as being intent upon performing some ceremony to propitiate Vēṭāla with a view to warding off the calamity threatened by the Śākapati upon the camp of Rāmagupta (Kāchagupta).2 The same event along with the charges of murdering the elder brother and carrying on incestuous intercourse with his wife has been referred to in the Śāngli3 and Cambay4 plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, to which our attention was first drawn by V. V. Mirashi.5

The question may now further be asked whether any confirmation of this point, partial or of any kind, is forthcoming from the early Gupta inscriptions. Attention may, in this connection, be drawn to the undated Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta (No. 11 below). We have already pointed out that the very first verse of this record describes this king as Antarjīōtiḥ ‘Inner or Spiritual Light’. The verse number three it calls him a rishi in the phrase rājaḥīrāja-arshēḥ coupled with his name. And the term rishi means not only ‘a saint or sage’, but also ‘an ascetic or anchorite’. Epigraphic evidence, contemporary and later, thus points to the Siddha or yōṅi Vikramāditya of tradition being no other than Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta line. That the epithet Śākāri, which is applied to Vikramāditya of tradi-

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2 See the passage given to us by Ramakrishna Kavi and quoted in our paper on New Light on the Early Gupta History published in the Māلاتvīya Commemoration Volume, pp. 207 ff.
tion, is also applicable to this Chandragupta can scarcely be doubted, because we have pointed out above that Chandragupta II destroyed the power of the Kshatrapas who were Śakas. But the Śakārī of the tradition was also the founder of the Vikrama era. How could Chandragupta be connected with this era? In this connection it is worthy of note that most dates of the Gupta era can be worked out correctly even by taking them as Vikrama years. The necessary calculations involved in this supposition have already been set forth before us by Dhirrendranath Mukhopadhyaya in the case of many dates of the Gupta era. How these Gupta dates can work out correctly even though they are treated as Vikrama years may appear somewhat singular and almost incredible at this stage, but this matter has been dealt with fully in a separate chapter. Here it is sufficient to note that this fact adequately explains why the name of a Gupta king, a (Chandragupta-) Vikramāditya above all, should be connected with the inauguration of an era starting from 57 B.C., which for that reason must have been called Vikrama Sāvat. The third important point connected with the traditional Vikramāditya is that he was a patron of arts and sciences. And one tradition recorded in the Jaṭārāṅgini associated with him nine gems of litterateurs and scientists, the most resplendent of whom was Kālidāsa, the prince of poets. Most of the literates huddled together in a verse of this work were tenth-rate people and pertained again to different periods. The nine gems referred to therein could not thus have flourished in one age, or, for the matter of that, during the reign of Chandragupta II. Nevertheless, there is good reason to suppose that Kālidāsa lived and wrote in the fifth century A.D., and was a contemporary not only of Chandragupta II, but of Kumāragupta I, if not also of Skandagupta.

The Rājatarāngini informs us that there lived at Ujjayānī as the sole sovereign of the world the glorious Vikramāditya who also bore the second name of Harsha and destroyed the Śakas. A poor poet, Mātrigupta, sought the court of this Vikramāditya, and, after long futile endeavours, attracted the attention of the king who sent Mātrigupta to Kashmir and had him installed there on the vacant throne. On the death of his patron and after a just rule of about five years Mātrigupta abdicated in favour of Pravarasēna II and retired as a recluse to Banaras, where he died, supported to the end by the donations of his generous rival and successor. This account of Kalhaṇa is an amalgam of truth and fiction, as all traditions in India are bound to be. That this Vikramāditya is Chandragupta II can scarcely be seriously doubted; because Kalhaṇa represents him to be “the sole sovereign of the world”. It is true that Kalhaṇa further tells us that Pravarasēna II “replaced Śilāditya-Pratāpāśila, son of Vikramāditya, who had been dethroned by enemies, in the kingdom of his father”, the capital of which, we have seen above, was Ujjain. This Śilāditya has been identified with a king of that name mentioned by Yuan Chwang as having ruled about 580 A.D. in Mālava, that is, sixty years before the time of the Chinese pilgrim. It is forgotten, however, that this Mālava was situated on the south-eastern side of the Mo-ho (verse 1, Mo-ho = Mahi) river and is distinguished from the country of Ujjayīnī. Śilāditya mentioned by Kalhaṇa as son of Vikramāditya, ruler of Ujjain, cannot possibly be identified with Śilāditya referred to by Yuan Chwang as a ruler of Mālava whose capital was not Ujjain. On the other hand, we have pointed out above, on the strength of the Meharauli pillar inscription that Chandragupta made himself master of the country through which flowed the Sindhu with her seven mouths, that is, of the country which comprised not only the Panjab but also Kashmir. Whether tradition had in Kashmir

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1 Book III, verses 129-320; Stein’s Trans., Intro., pp. 83-84.
2 ibid., verse 125.
3 ibid., verse 330.
confused Chandragupta II with Harsha of Kanauj it is difficult to say. But as the latter ruler has not yet been adverted to at all by Kāliṇa, it looks probable that the second name Harsha had clung to Vikramādiṭṭya perhaps through the mistake of the scribe. It seems that originally he was known as Chandra-Vikramādiṭṭya. And just as Kācha, the name of his elder brother, was corrupted into Rāma, his own name, that is, Chandra, became Harsha. But who was Mātrigupta, the poet of the court of Vikramādiṭṭya, who was placed in charge of Kashmir? It is true that the existence of a poet, Mātrigupta, is attested by the verses cited from his compositions by Kshēṃendra and other Kashmirian literateurs. But how is it that he is unknown outside Kashmir? In this connection it is impossible not to take cognisance of an ingenious theory of the late Bhaū Dājī which identifies Mātrigupta with the great poet Kālidāsa.1 His arguments are principally based on the two names being practically synonymous (Kāli = Mātri; dāsa = gupta); on the absence of any mention of Kālidāsa in the Rājatarangini, which, however, speaks of Bhavabhūti, Vākpati and others; and on the ascription to Kālidāsa of the composition of Sṛustibandha at the bidding of a king Pravarasena. Now even if we do not accept that Mātrigupta is exactly synonymous with Kālidāsa, it may certainly be another name for Kālidāsa. Another well-known dramatist was Bhavabhūti who, we are told in the prstācanā of all his dramas, had the other appellation of Śrīkantha. It is quite possible that Mātrigupta was similarly another appellation of Kālidāsa. Again, it is a point worthy of note that one work of Kālidāsa has been styled Vikramādiṭṭya and another Kumārasainbhava. This gives rise to the presumption that the first components of these names, namely, Vikrama and Kumāra are respectively Chandragupta II and his son Kumāragupta I, whose contemporary he was. The presumption becomes strong when we consider impartially some of the contents of his renowned Raghuvaniṣa. This poem speaks of the Ḥūṇas, not simply as situated at a long distance from India, but as settled on the Sindhu and quite on the confines of this country.2 Skandagupta, son of Kumāragupta I, was the first Gupta sovereign to meet and repel them in a well-pitched battle. The Raghuvaniṣa may thus rightly be taken as being composed in the time of this Gupta monarch. Many allusions to the kings of this royal line have been traced, some of which are more imaginary than real. Some most likely allusions have not been even thought of. One such relates to the Raghus, at the very commencement of the work, who are “a race emanating from the sun” (sūrya-prabha vāniṣaḥ). It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Guptas were a solar race and that the Raghuvaniṣa in the course of the description of many of its princes may contain some covert references to the Gupta princes and this sovereignty enjoyed by them. Thus when at the very outset of the poem we are told that it intends giving an account of the Raghus who pertained to the solar race, the presumption is raised that the Guptas also claimed to be descended from the sun. Now, if we study the coins of this dynasty, we find that most of the Gupta kings had epithets ending in ādiṭya which means ‘the sun’. Thus Chandragupta is called Vikramādiṭṭya; Kumāragupta I, Mahēṇḍrādiṭṭya; Skandagupta, both Kramādiṭṭya and Vikramādiṭṭya; Narasimhagupta, Bālādiṭṭya; Kumāragupta II, Kramādiṭṭya; Chandragupta III, Dvādaśādiṭṭya; and so on.3 What does the term ādiṭya in these epithets signify? To begin from the beginning, Vikramādiṭṭya is generally taken in the sense of ‘the sun of valour’. But how will this translation suit, e.g., Mahēṇḍrādiṭṭya or Bālādiṭṭya? The first of these is an epithet of Kumāragupta I. But what is meant by saying that he was Mahēṇḍrādiṭya if Mahēṇḍrādiṭya is taken in the sense of ‘the sun of the great Indra’? In fact, this rendering is not only

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1 JBBRAS, Vol. VI, 1861, pp. 218 ff.
2 This view was first insisted upon by K. B. Pathak in JBBRAS, Vol. XIX, pp. 35 ff. and also in Introduction to his Kālidāsa’s Māghadīta, pp. vii ff.
meaningless but confusing. We have therefore to translate it by "Mahêndra who is (also) the Sun". Similarly, Vikramâditya is to be understood in the sense of "Valour who is (also) the Sun". These are, of course, composite epithets of which the second component is invariably Aditya and the first is a second appellation which is peculiar to the Gupta king. Whether he is Vikrama or Mahêndra, he is uniformly Aditya. Similarly, Narasimha is styled Balâditya or 'the rising Sun'; and Chandragupta III, Daçâdâditya, or "the twelve Suns (combined)", but without any second appellation being conjoined to it. It will thus be seen that every one of these Gupta kings was at least an Aditya, whatever were the other appellations he assumed. If this fact is once admitted, the conclusion is irresistible that they claimed to belong to the solar race. When, therefore, Kâlidâsa aspires to describe the life and doings of the Râghu princes, he may have covertly adverted to the exploits of the three Gupta sovereigns whose contemporary he was, as he is suspected to have done. To take one instance, we may turn to the scene of svayaminvara, or bridegroom selection by the Vidyârbha princess, Indumati, which has been set forth in Canto VI of the Râghuvaññâ. Sunandâ, the maid, takes her from one prince to another who had gathered in the assembly hall. But who is the very first prince to whom Indumati is introduced? He is the ruler of Magadha which is thus accorded the place of honour. This would not have been possible if Kâlidâsa had flourished in the sixth century, as by that time Magadha had lost all its importance. About its king, again, it is said that although there were kings by thousands, the earth was said to be under good rule through him alone.\footnote{Râghuvaññâ, vi. 22; also \textit{ABORL.}, Vol. VIII, p. 202.} And we are further informed about him that Indra was being continuously invited to the sacrificial performances of this king at Pushpapura, which never ended.\footnote{Râghuvaññâ, vi. 23.} As Sanskrit poets are noted for \textit{double entendre} in many of their verses, this continuance of sacrificial rites most probably refers to Samudragupta who celebrated the Aśvamèdh, and the Indra invited to attend them is most likely his own son Chandragupta II, whose another name, we have seen, was Dêvarâja, a synonym of Indra. This inference seems to receive some confirmation from the fact that the king mentioned immediately after that of Magadha is the ruler of Aûga,\footnote{Ibid., vi. 27.} about whom the remark is made that in him dwelt together the goddess of learning and the goddess of wealth although they had naturally discrepant abodes.\footnote{Ibid., vi. 29.} This description can suit Chandragupta best. We have pointed out above that in inscriptions he is described as \textit{pratigrihita} or 'selected for succession' by his father. This means that he was \textit{Yuvatra}jâ for some time. And the province that had been ear-marked for Yuvarâjaship in the Gupta period was Tirabhukti whose headquarters then was Vaiśâli, as is clear from the seals found at Basâr̄h which is the modern representative of that place. And this was but natural, because Vaiśâli was the capital of the Lichchhavis with whose help Chandragupta I, as has been shown before, rose to political power. While the Gupta sovereign sat on the throne of Pâtaliputra, the heir-apparent, to begin with, ruled at Vaiśâli then included in Tirabhukti which practically coincided with the Aûga country. It is quite possible that while the sacrificial rites of Samudragupta were being performed in Pushpapura, Chandragupta, the \textit{Yuvatra}jâ, was invited to his father's capital to witness them. This is not unlike what took place in the time of Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śunaga dynasty, who, when he celebrated the Aśvamèdha sacrifice, invited there his son Agnimitra who was then stationed as Viceroy at Vidiśâ, as Kâlidâsa tells us in the \textit{Mâlavikâgnimitra}. Some such references to the contemporaneous Gupta monarchs are traceable in the \textit{Râghuvaññâ}, which, though none of them by itself is of a convincing nature,
produce cumulative evidence of some cogency. The question is very often asked: what was the birth-place of Kālidāsa? Was it Mālava or was it Kashmir? The first of these views was propounded by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastrī, and the second by Pandit Lachhmi Dhar Kalla. It is very difficult to decide as to who is correct. But the trend of the evidence points to the inference that Kālidāsa was a native of Mālava, that for a long time he resided in Kashmir and that explains the intimate acquaintance he displays in his writings, with that country. This strengthens Bhuji Daji’s suggestion that Mātrigupta, who, according to the Rājatarangini was sent by Vikramāditya to rule over Kashmir, was but another name of Kālidāsa.

The only argument that can be urged against this inference is that Kshēmēndra, a native of Kashmir, distinguishes between Mātrigupta and Kālidāsa in his Aucityavisheśaracharchā. But there were probably two or three different Mātriguptas, one a poet referred to by Kshēmēndra, another a writer on Alāmkāra mentioned by Vāsudēva in the Karpāramaṇjayī and a third who wrote a commentary on Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra. That does not preclude the possibility of either Kālidāsa being confounded with Mātrigupta in the legend connected with Vikramāditya in Kashmir and narrated by Kalhaṇa, or again of Kālidāsa having borne the appellation of Mātrigupta just as Bhavabhūti bore that of Śrīkantha. What we have further to note in this connection is that the Rājatarangini mentions also a third personage who was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and Chandragupta-Vikramāditya, namely, Pravarasēṇa II.

As Chandragupta was the imperial ruler, we can understand how Mātrigupta (=Kālidāsa) could be appointed as the governor of one province in Kashmir and his grandson Pravarasēṇa of another as he was then a mere prince of the Vākāṭaka territory, his elder brother Divākaraṇa being then the Tūravāja with their mother Prabhāvatiguptā as queen-regent. The connection of Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya and Pravarasēṇa did not cease here, and Kālidāsa seems in the later period to have been dispatched as Tantraṭāpa or chargé d’affaires to the Court of Pravarasēṇa when he became king. It was in regard to his political connection that a poem came into existence with the romantic figure of Kālidāsa at the centre, entitled Kuntalēivarakāśya, wrongly shortened into Kuntēśvarakāśya. Kuntala itself denotes the southwestern part of the Hyderabad territory which, however, came into the possession of the later Vākāṭakas so that the tradition centering round Kālidāsa was woven into the poetic composition long after his return from the Vākāṭaka court. The real author most probably flourished in the reign of some later Vākāṭaka ruler, who included into his composition a few stray verses which Kālidāsa might have uttered at both the courts—at the court of the suzerain power as state poet and state official and at the court of the vassal where he went as ambassador. Anyhow this author must have lived earlier than Rājaśekharā (10th century A.D.) as the latter quotes one verse from this poem.

It was during the period that Pravarasēṇa was on the Vākāṭaka throne and Kālidāsa was an ambassador sent to his court by the suzerain, Chandra-Vikramāditya, that the Vākāṭaka ruler must have composed his celebrated poem Sētabandha, also called Daśamukhasodha or Rāvaspavadha under the inspiration, probably with the help of Kālidāsa. Even Kalhaṇa mentions vaguely a tradition about this work of Pravarasēṇa when he says that the latter constructed the ‘Great Bridge’ (Bṛhat-sētu) built on the Vītastā. This Bṛhat-sētu cannot be a physical construction, as understood by him and also by the translator, but must be taken to be the

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1 The scholar who first made Kālidāsa a contemporary of the Guptas is R. G. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS., Vol. XX, pp. 399-400). He was followed by M. M. Chakravarti in JRAS., 1903, pp. 183 ff. and 1904, pp. 158 ff.; and by B. C. Majumdar, ibid., 1909, pp. 731 ff.
3 The Birth-place of Kālidāsa (Delhi University Publications, No. 1).
well-known poem of Pravarasena, called Sêtubandha. That this Pravarasena ruled over Kashmir is clear also by his coins found in that region which by their type and Gupta characters belong to a period not far removed from the time of Chandra-Vikramaditya. But Kalhana speaks also of another Pravarasena who was his grandfather. The latter is, however, described as the protector of the earth. This Pravarasena is doubtless the founder of the Vākṣāka dynasty; and, as he has alone been described as samrāt in the records of that family, it is no wonder if his rule spread over Kashmir also. But he was not the grandfather of Pravarasena II, perhaps the grandfather of his grandfather. But as we have remarked above, the first three books of the Rājatarangini abound in many legendary accounts with the occasional mention of historic names and incidents, which we have carefully to pick up and distinguish from the others.

### Kumāragupta

Who succeeded Chandragupta II to the throne of Pātaliputra is somewhat difficult to determine. As early as 1904 a clay seal was exhumed by the late T. Bloch during his excavations at Basār, the ancient Vaiśāli (No. 13 below). It pertains to the Mahādevi Dhruvavāminī, who is there described as wife of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta and mother of Mahārāja Gōvindagupta. As it is a seal of the Gupta period and this Chandragupta is a Mahārājādhirāja, he must be Chandragupta II, especially as we know from the Gupta records, that his queen was Dhruvadēvi. It is true that Dhruvadēvi is not exactly the same thing as Dhruvavāminī. Nevertheless, that is no good ground for entertaining any doubt on the question. We have got an analogous instance in the case of the Uchchakalpa family, where the wife of Jayantātha, a prince of this feudatory family, is, in one inscription, called Muruṇḍadēvi, and, in two, Muruṇḍavāminī. It seems that the terms dēvi and svāminī were used synonymously. There can thus remain no doubt as to the Basār seal being one of Dhruvadēvi, the chief queen of Chandragupta II. She had therefore a son named Gōvindagupta when the seal was issued. But why is he called Mahārāja? Along with this seal of Dhruvadēvi many others were found by Bloch during the Basār excavations which leave no doubt as to Vaiśāli having been not only the headquarters of Tirabhukti but also a seat of the Tuvarāja, at any rate, in the earlier part of the Gupta period. It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to conclude that Gōvindagupta was Tuvarāja stationed at Vaiśāli. Vaiśāli was the old capital of the Lichchhavis, and we have seen how deeply indebted Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, was to this clan for his rise to political supremacy. It is therefore in the fitness of things that Vaiśāli should be the seat of the Tuvarāja government. That Gōvindagupta held some such position is shown by the fact that with his name is coupled the title Mahārāja. We may thus take it as certain that Gōvindagupta was a son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvadēvi, that he was selected as Tuvarāja and posted at Vaiśāli, and that he was expected in due course to succeed his father to the Gupta sovereignty. But whether he actually ascended the Gupta throne we do not know. On the other hand, we know of another son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvadēvi, namely, Kumāragupta I, for whom we have found many epigraphic records. We have to suppose either that Gōvindagupta died in the lifetime of his father who was therefore succeeded to the throne by Kumāragupta or that Gōvindagupta was another name of Kumāragupta. In this connection it is worth noting another inscription which speaks of Gōvindagupta in verse 4. The verse following it says: “When his lotus-like feet were touched by the heads

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2 Ibid., Vol. I, Bk. iii, verse 97.  
4 A. R. As., 1903-04, p. 107, Nos. 4, 6, 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 25 and 29.  
of kings whose power was extinct, even the lord of the gods, overwhelmed with fear, ascended the swing of deliberation.” What the verse obviously means is that when Gōvindagupta finished conquering all enemies on earth, Indra feared that Gōvindagupta would next attack him. As Indra has thus been represented as being suspicious of Gōvindagupta’s power, it follows that the latter was a supreme ruler. But as no coins of Gōvindagupta have been found, the conclusion is irresistible that Gōvindagupta and Kumāragupta were names of the same king. This agrees with the fact, as we shall see later on, that Kumāragupta, like Samudragupta, celebrated the Horse-Sacrifice, as is clearly evidenced by their Aivamādha Type of coins, when he raised himself to the position of Supreme Ruler by carrying out world-wide conquests. This also explains why not a single coin of Gōvindagupta has been found. If any further proof is required, it is supplied by a type of coins which has on the reverse the epithet Śrī-Kramādīlya and on the obverse Ku beneath the left arm of the king and Gō between his feet. If Ku has rightly been taken to stand for Kumāragupta—an inference supported by the Archer Type of that sovereign, it is not at all unreasonable to take Gō between his feet as standing for Gōvindagupta.

We may thus take it that Chandragupta II was succeeded to the Gupta throne by Kumāragupta, another name of whom was Gōvindagupta. The latest date that we have for the father is Gupta year 93=411-12 A.D. furnished by a Sānchi inscription, and the earliest for the son and successor is Gupta year 96=414-15 A.D. The latter could not have become a sovereign much earlier than 414 A.D. Again, the latest date for Kumāragupta I, known from inscriptions is Gupta year 129=447-48 A.D. supplied by the Mankuwar stone image. But as early as 1894, V. A. Smith drew our attention to a coin in the possession of Vost which gave the latest date for this king, namely Gupta year 136=454-55 A.D. On the other hand, the earliest date for his son Skandagupta is Gupta year 136 given by the celebrated Junāgadh rock inscription. It is, therefore, reasonable to hold that Kumāragupta ruled from ‘Gupta year 96 to Gupta year 136’, or, in other words, that he had enjoyed a reign of at least forty years.

Many copper-plate inscriptions, not of the nature of ordinary royal grants, but representing a peculiar type of land sale deed between the State and the lay purchaser have been discovered in North Bengal. Three of these are dated in the reign of Kumāragupta I. Of these, one was found at Dhanāidaha (No. 19 below) in the Rajshahi District (now in Bangladesh) and the other two at Dāmādāpur (Nos. 22 and 24 below) in the Dinajpur District, West Bengal. The Dhanāidaha plate is in such a fragmentary condition that it has to be restored in the light of the Dāmādāpur plates. The three couple with the name of the king the paramount titles Paramadāvata, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. The first component of this royal formula is noteworthy, namely, Paramadāvata, which clearly indicates that in the Gupta period the king was identified with the supreme divinity. The Dhanāidaha plate is dated Gupta year 113. And although the name of Kumāragupta has not been preserved, the date clearly shows that his name has disappeared in the lost portion of the plate. It seems that some Āyukta Officer, whose name ended in -vishya approached certain Brāhmaṇas and the Ashīvakul-adhikarana of the village for the purchase of some land at the rate prevalent in the District (vishaya) of Khādā(ṭa?)pāra. His application was complied with, and he in turn made a grant of it to a Chhandōga or Sāmāvēdin Brāhmaṇa called Varāhasvāmin. Of the Dāmādāpur plates of Kumāragupta, one is dated 124, and the other, 128. In both the years, the province (bhūti) of Punḍravardhana was being administered by Chirātadatta who was


appointed Uparika or Governor thereof by the Emperor himself. The Governor, in his turn, appointed Kumārāmāya Vēṭvarman to administer the court of the town along with four other officials, namely, the Nagara-śrēṣṭhī Dhrītipāla, the Sārthavāha Bandhumitra, the Prathama-Kulika Dhrīmitrīta and the Prathama-Kāyastha Śambapāla. It is to this town kacēri that a Brāhmaṇa called Karpatika applied for one kulyavāpa, that is, a strip of land where one kula of seed could be sown, land, again, which could be held in perpetuity according to the nōpi law, i.e., in lieu of the sum given for it, namely, three dināras. The land was bought for the purpose of the performance of his Agnīhōtra rites. It was waste land, unploughed and not yielding (any produce). The record keepers (Pustapālas) Rūṣidattā, Jayanandin and Vibhudatta went into the case and fixed upon some land north-west of Dōṅgā, which was thus sold to the Brāhmaṇa. The second plate, which is dated Gupta year 128, mentions exactly the same officials from the Uparika down to the Pustapālas.

Unfortunately, the name of the Brāhmaṇa who made an application for the land is not decipherable. What seems preserved here is that he wanted and secured for the performance of his pāncia-mahāavyājas, two drōgas of land in the western quarter in a waterless region (airāvata), devoid of all cattle, but the land was furnished with drinking-places (pānaka) and water-drawing wheels (araghaṭṭa).

Another important plate1 of this date, namely, of Gupta year 128, is the one found at Baiḍrām in the Bogra District, West Bengal. It is doubtless of the time of Kumāragupta though the name of the emperor is not mentioned. Nor is the name of the Uparika or Provincial Governor specified. The charter commences with the orders, issued by the Kumārāmāya Kulavriddhi of Paṇichanagari and the Adhikarana or Court of the District (vishaya) called thereafter, to the village officials, of Trivṛtā and Śrīgohāli connected with Vāyigrāma (Baiḍrām). Here Kulavriddhi is spoken of as meditating on the feet of the Bhāṭṭāraka, that is, the sovereign, who, in this case, must be Kumāragupta I. And it seems that Paṇichanagari was the name not only of the District but also of its headquarters. Bhōyila of Trivṛtā and Bhāskara of Śrīgoхāli, we are told, applied to this court for three kulyavāpas and two drōnavāpas to help them to make an endowment to defray the expenses of flowers, perfumery, frankincense and so forth for daily worship in, and of occasional repairs to, the temple of Gōvindasvāmin, which was founded by their father Śivanandin. The land was granted on the receipt of six dināras and eight rūpakas. This is the value of three kulyavāpas and two drōnas. The price of one kulyavāpa is expressly stated as two dināras; and one kulyavāpa, we know, was equivalent to eight drōnas. It thus seems that in the Gupta period, one dināra was equivalent to sixteen rūpakas, just as one guinea was to sixteen rupees up till some time ago, when normal circumstances prevailed in India. Rūpakā has several meanings. One meaning is simply ‘a coin’, that is, any coin. In that sense occur such terms as swarna-rūpaka and swarna-rūpakā, both in the Rājatarāṅgini and in the Kathāsaritsāgara. It is also used in the sense of ‘a silver coin’, corresponding to the Hindi Rupee and the English ‘Rupee’. An inscription originally found at Bijāpūr in the Gōḍwār Division of the erstwhile Jodhpur State and dated 997 A.D., speaks of three different types of coins, rūpaka, vinīśāpaka and karsha while recording benefactions to a Jain temple.3 Of what metal the vinīśāpaka was made is doubtful. But there can be no doubt as to rūpaka and karsha being made of silver and copper respectively. It thus appears that in the Gupta period two types of coins were prevalent in Bengal, the gold dināra and the silver rūpaka.

It is true that the three copper-plate inscriptions just adverted to are deeds of sale and register the purchase, by private individuals, of fallow and uncultivated land, belonging to the

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff.
2 Car. Lect., 1921, p. 131.
State. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that they are connected with Brahmanism; because, the land in each case was bought for settling down Brāhmaṇas in the extreme north of Bengal and enabling them to perform either the Agnihōtra or pañcaka-mahāyajña rites.\(^1\) There are many other Brahmanic records of the time of Kumāragupta which throw light on the developments of his reign. The earliest of these (No. 16 below) is engraved on a pillar found at Bilsad in Etah District in Uttar Pradesh and is dated "in the ninety-sixth year of the increasingly victorious (Gupta) rule (abhīvarddhamāna-vijaya-rāja-saṅvatsara) pertaining to the prosperous Kumāragupta (I), the Mahānājādhirāja." It records that one Dhrusārman constructed a pratīḷī or gateway, established a sattra or almshouse and erected the column in question, in connection with a temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāśēna. Then there are two partly broken stone inscriptions (Nos. 17 and 26 below) found at Gaḍhwā in the Allahabad District which also refer themselves to the reign of Kumāragupta I. Both of them were originally dated, but the year in one of them is not preserved, whereas that in the other is Gupta year 98. This last records the gift of twelve dināras for the maintenance of a sattra or almshouse, apparently, to a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the community of Sadāśattra. The other inscription, the year of which has been effaced, seems to record two gifts, one of ten dināras for the maintenance of a sattra and apparently to a Brāhmaṇa of the same community. There are two more Gaḍhwā inscriptions\(^2\) which also speak of endowments made to other sattras. And as this place was thus studded with many such almshouses, it naturally came to be known as Sadāśattra or Perpetual Almshouse, and the Brāhmaṇas thereof as Sadāśattrasāmānya, that is, as 'pertaining to the Community of Sadāśattra'.

There are two more Brahmanic inscriptions of the time of Kumāragupta of which we have to take cognisance. They were found in the western part of Mālwa. They are of particular interest inasmuch as they belong to a family of his feudatory chieftains that ruled over that part of Central India. The first of these\(^3\) was found at Gaṅgdhār in the erstwhile Jhalawar State, Rajputana, and is of the time of a prince called Viśva-varman, who was either a son or younger brother of Naravarman whose inscriptions dated Vikrama 461 and 474 we have noted in our account of Chandragupta II's reign, and, who, it is all but certain, was a feudatory of that Gupta monarch. The date of the Gaṅgdhār record is not happily worded, but, it seems, it is dated in the Kṛita year 488 (expired). As the year has been called Kṛita, it has to be taken as a Vikrama year. It is thus equivalent to 431-32 A.D. expired and must be taken to belong to the reign of Kumāragupta, though his name has not been specified. The inscription then records the fact that a personage called Mayūrāksha, who apparently pertained to the bania caste and was an able minister of Kumāragupta I, executed many charitable works at Garga-raṭapura, doubtless Gaṅgdhār also called Gaṅgrāḍ. He had two sons, Vishṇubhaṭṭa and Hari-bhaṭṭa, who were engaged in business and who, at the instance of their father, constructed a temple of Viṣṇu, whereas Mayūrāksha himself built an edifice of the Divine Mothers, full of female ghouls (dākini), and also a large drinking step-well. The next inscription (No. 35 below) which we have to notice was originally found at Mandaśōr, though it is now deposited in the State Museum, Gwalior. Fortunately for us, it refers itself to the reign of Kumāragupta I, and also speaks of his feudatory Bandhuvarman, as protecting Daśapura. Bandhuvarman is described as a son of Viṣava-varman, no doubt, the son or younger brother of Naravarman as we learn from the Gaṅgdhār record. Bandhuvarman doubtless pertained to the family of feudatories ruling in Daśapura. The record bears two dates, one the year 493 and the other the year 529. The first of these years is the date of the consecration of a temple of the Sun constructed by

\(^1\) *ABORI.*, Vol. XII, p. 113.
\(^2\) No. 8 below and *CH.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 64, pp. 264 ff.
a guild of silk-weavers who originally belonged to the Lāṭa country but who afterwards migrated to Daśāpura and settled down there. While Kumāragupta was ruling over the earth and Bandhuvarman was a prince of Daśāpura, the guild, we are told, built and consecrated the Sun temple which was standing in the western ward of Daśāpura, “when four centuries, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed, according to the reckoning of the Mālavas”, showing that the date was a Vikrama year and was thus equivalent to 436-37 A.D. The inscription then informs us that when a considerable time had elapsed, and also other kings had passed, “one part of the temple was shattered”, apparently through lightning, and the same Guild renovated it in the year 529. The inscription closes by telling us that there was one Vatsabhāṭṭi, who not only looked after the work of building and rebuilding the temple but also composed the draft of the record.

The next record that we have to notice chronologically is that dated Gupta year 116 (No. 20 below) and found at Tumain in the Guna District of the erstwhile Gwalior State, nearly forty miles west of Ėraṇ, the ancient Airikīṇa, situated in the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh. Unfortunately, the proper right half of the inscription is gone. Nevertheless, what has been preserved of it is of great importance. It refers first to Chandragupta II in line 1, and then speaks in line 2 of his son, Kumāragupta who is there compared to Mahēndra. In line 3 mention is made of Ghaṭōtkachagupta who is represented as having inherited the inherent powers of his ancestors. And the immediately next line specifies the date 116 and refers it to the reign, not of Ghaṭōtkachagupta mentioned in the preceding line, but of Kumāragupta. The conclusion is almost irresistible that Ghaṭōtkachagupta was a son of Kumāragupta, who was then in charge of the Airikīṇa District. That there was one Ghaṭōtkachagupta, not far removed from the time of Chandragupta I, is clear from his seal (No. 27 below) found at Basārḥ, the ancient Vaiśālī. We will consider this matter at greater length shortly. But here we will finish our short notice of the Tumain inscription by saying that the object of it is to record the construction of a temple, apparently of Pinākin (Śiva), at Tumbavana (Tumain) by certain brothers of a family which was settled there but which originally hailed from Vaiṭōdaka, famous as a settlement of Sādhus or merchants.

Another piece of historical information for the same reign is furnished by an inscription (No. 21 below) dated Gupta year 117 and engraved on a liṅga from Bharāḍī Dīḥ near Karam-ḍāṇḍā, 12 miles from Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh. It registers a benefaction by Prithivishēṇa, son of Chandragupta’s Mantri-Kumārāmāṭya Śikharasvāmin, who was the son of Vīṣṇuśakti-bhāṭṭa, son of Kumāravyabhāṭṭa, of the Chhandogas and of the Aśa-Vājin gōtra. Prithivishēṇa has been described, like his father, as Mantri-Kumārāmāṭya, not, however, of Chandragupta II, but of Kumāragupta I. But at the time when the benefaction was made, he was Mahābalaḍhīkṛita. The benefaction was made for the worship of Mahādēva, known as Prithivīśvara, apparently, the liṅga of our inscription founded by and named after Prithivishēṇa. The portion of the inscription, which recorded the object thereof, is not well preserved, but what remains shows that the donces were some Brāhmaṇas from Ayōdhīya, connected with Mahādēva Śailēśvara, who appears to be the principal deity of the religious settlement. The Brāhmaṇas belonged to different gōtras and charanaḥs and were proficient in their penances, Vedic recitation, mantras, śāstras, bhāshyas and so forth. The benefaction was made to enable them to perform some duties in connection with the dēvadūṇi at Bhāraḍī, which apparently is the same as Bharāḍī Dīḥ, the place where the liṅga was found. And it seems that the money grant contributed by Prithivishēṇa by way of endowment was deposited in the treasury houses of the principal divinity Śailēśvara.

So far in regard to the Brahmanic inscriptions of the time of Kumāragupta. But there are at least five inscriptions of his time which are of a non-Brahmanic character. Of these, two are
Jaina and three Buddhist. Of the former, one is dated Gupta year 107 (No. 18 below). It is engraved on the base of an image of a large sitting Jina, originally unearthed in the Kaṅkāli Tīlā at Mathurā and now deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. The inscription was first deciphered by Bühlner who read the date as 113 (?). But the date is clearly 107 and mentions the twentieth day of the intercalary month Śrāvana. It is thus equivalent to the English year 426-27 when Śrāvaṇa was an additional month. It further records that the Jina image was set up by Śāmādhyā, daughter of Bhaṭṭībhava and wife of Guhāmitrapālita, who was a Prārthiṭaka (=Prāṭārthika), apparently a lapidary. The second of the Jaina inscriptions1 is dated Gupta year 106. And, although it does not refer itself to the reign of any king, there can be no doubt that it must belong to the time of Kumāragupta I. It is engraved in Cave No. 10 of Udayagiri near Bhilsa. The object thereof is to record the installation of an image of the Jina Pārśva, that is, the Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha, at the mouth of the cave, by a Jaina monk, whose religious name is not given, but who was a pupil of the teacher Gōśārman, himself descended from the teacher Bhadrā. The secular name of the donor was Śaṅkara, and we are told that he was a son of Sanghila-Ripugna through Padmāvati. We are further told that he hailed from some country in the north which was as exquisite as that of the Northern Kūras.

Of the three Buddhist inscriptions of the time of Kumāragupta, one is engraved on the front of the pedestal of a seated image of the Buddha originally found in Mankuwar in the Allahabad District, but now deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow. It is dated Gupta year 129 and refers itself to the reign of this sovereign (No. 25 below). It records the installation of the Buddha image by a Bhikṣu named Buddhāmitra whom the late K. B. Pathak identified with a Bhikṣu of the same name, who was the teacher of Vasubandhu, whose patrons, according to Paramārtha, were Skandagupta-Vikramāditya and Narasirnagupta-Bālāditya. This record Kumāragupta has been styled simply Mahārāja, not Mahārājadhirāja, as has been done in other inscriptions. Fleet indulges in the surmise that this possibly points to the king’s reduction to the feudal rank, about the close of his life, caused by the rebellion of the Pushyamitrās and the inroads of the Hūnas adverted to in the Bhūtarī epigraph of Skandagupta (No. 31 below). But this is most unlikely as these political disturbances took place, not in his, but in his successor’s reign, as we will see later on. Nor are the titles always a safe criterion to the rank of a ruler. During the Kūshāṇa period the titles attached to the name of a sovereign are Mahārāja and Rājātirāja. As the latter signifies ‘King over kings’, the former must be taken to mean ‘the great king’. It is in this sense that the title Mahārāja appears to have been coupled with the name of Kumāragupta. The other two Buddhist inscriptions do not refer themselves to the reign of this Gupta monarch. Nevertheless, from the dates, they have to be assigned to his time. One of these,2 dated Gupta year 131, refers to three different grants by a Buddhist Upāśīkā, named Harivāminī, wife of Upāsaka Sanaisiddha, made to the Ārya-Saṅgha at the Great Buddhist Convent of Kākanadabōta near the great Stūpa at Sānchi, for the purpose of feeding one Bhikṣu daily and for maintaining lamps in the Ratna-griha and in front of the seats of the Four Buddhas. The third Buddhist inscription3 is from Mathurā and is incised on the pedestal of an image which was itself presented by one Dēvata, who describes herself as Viśārvavāminī or ‘Lady Superintendent of Viśāra’. It is dated Gupta year 135 (=453-54 A.D.), and probably belongs to the end of Kumāragupta’s reign as one coin of his gives 136 as a date for him.

The coins of Kumāragupta throw light also on the titles or epithets he bore. The most pre-eminent of this was Mahāndra which was to him what Vikrama was to Chandragupta II,  

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2 Ibid., No. 62, pp. 260 ff.
3 Ibid., No. 63, pp. 262 ff.
and Parākrama to Samudragupta. Many combinations were formed out of Mahēndra as they were out of Vikrama and Parākrama. Thus, like Vyāghra-Parākrama of Samudragupta or Śīhā-Vikrama of Chandragupta, we have Śīhā-Mahēndra for Kumāragupta on the Lion-slayer Type. But what is noteworthy is that this Śīhā-Mahēndra is sometimes found reversed into Mahēndra-Śīhā, showing clearly again that it is a karmadhāraya compound, signifying that Kumāragupta is here described as “Mahēndra who is also Lion”. Further, what is strange is that he adopts the upamāna not only of Chandragupta II, but also of Samudragupta. Thus, he is styled not only Śīhā-Vikrama but also Vyāghrabala-Parākrama on some coins. This does not mean that he was a more powerful king or a more daring sportsman than any one of these predecessors. It may be that he carried on his hunting exploits sometimes in the Gir forest of Kāṭhīawār and sometimes in the Sunderban jungles of Bengal. The case is, however, different in regard to the Aśvamēṭha Type struck by him. This is almost an exact imitation of the Aśvamēṭha Type issued by Samudragupta. On the obverse there is a horse wearing breast-band and saddle and facing a yātra or sacrificial pole, on an altar, carrying pennons, which float over the horse. On the reverse there is queen, nimbate, facing the sacrificial spear bound with fillets and holding chowrie on her shoulder. This celebration of Aśvamēṭha, as in the case of Samudragupta, must be taken as an indication of the rank of Sāreabhāuma, attained by Kumāragupta. And we have already seen that in an inscription\(^{1}\) Indra is represented as being suspicious of Gōvindagupta, another name of whom was Kumāragupta, and that the latter must therefore be taken to have become a supreme ruler. In this connection, we have to note another type of his coins called the Peacock Type, on the obverse of which the king stands, nimbate, feeding a peacock from a bunch of fruit with a legend ending with Mahēndra-Kumāra and on the reverse Kārttikēya, riding on the peacock and holding a spear over his shoulder and with the name Mahēndra-Kumāra affixed to it. Anybody who studies this type carefully will be convinced that here the king is actually identified with Kumāra or Kārttikēya. Both on the obverse and the reverse it is not any mortal king that is figuring, but rather the god Kārttikēya feeding the peacock on one side and riding his vehicle on the other. It seems that the original name of the king was Gōvinda but that, being invincible in his fights with the enemies, he was taken to be identical with the god Kumāra and was thenceforth known by that epithet just as the son and successor of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III was known only by the epithet Amōghavarsha.\(^{2}\) That the king was known for his world-conquests and that his was a glorious reign is indicated also by the great variety in his silver coins which “forms a striking contrast to the scarcity of his father’s silver coinage.” “Not only was the coinage of silver in the west considerably extended . . ., but he also introduced a silver coinage for the first time to the central provinces of the Gupta dominions” (the Ganges Valley), as John Allan has correctly remarked.\(^{3}\) They bear a superficial resemblance to the Ksatrapa prototype, and display great originality of treatment, not the least important feature of which is the discarding of the representation of Garuda, the family symbol in favour of a peacock standing facing with wings and tail outspread, an allusion, no doubt, to Kumāra (=Kārttikēya) with whom the king is completely identified. This accords with the fact that the Vaishnava legend, in which the epithet Paramabhaṅgaṅgatā prominently occurs in his silver coinage in the west, is discarded in favour of the boast of victory recorded in verse on the gold Archer and Horseman Types in which the epithet Kumāragupta is prominently mentioned.

Kumāragupta had at least two sons. One was Ghaṭōtkachagupta who was apparently in charge of Tumbavana, Tumain, in Gupta year 116 (=434-35 A.D.) in the lifetime of his

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\(^{1}\) Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, pp. 12 ff.


\(^{3}\) Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, Intro., p. 349, line 10.
father (No. 20 below). Another was Skandagupta known to us from many inscriptions and coins. Perhaps a third was Purugupta, known from the Bhitari and Nālandā seals (Nos. 46 and 45 below). We, however, know the name of only one queen of his, namely, Anantadēvi, mother of Purugupta. Whether Skandagupta is identical with Purugupta is a point which we will discuss when we treat of the former. Among the officers of his reign we have to take note, in the first place, of Prithivīshēna, son of Śikharasvāmin who was Mantri-Kumārāmātya to Chandragupta II. Prithivīshēna like his father was at first Mantri-Kumārāmātya but afterwards became Mahā-balādīkṛita and was so in Gupta year 117 when inscription No. 21 below was engraved. The Dāmodāravijaya plates (Nos. 22 and 24 below) also speak of two or more of his officers. One was Chirātadatta who was the Uparika or Governor of the Puṇḍravardhana Province (bhuva) and the other was the Kumārāmātya Vētravarman who was put by the former in charge of the City Court of Kōṭivarsha.

**Ghaṭotkachagupta and Skandagupta—Purugupta**

Many scholars are of opinion that Kumāragupta began his reign peacefully and gloriously but that it ended in disaster. There is, however, no evidence in support of this conclusion, which is based on a wrong interpretation of certain passages in Skandagupta's inscriptions. This point we will discuss shortly, but, in the meanwhile, let us see who actually succeeded Kumāragupta. The Tunian inscription of Kumāragupta (No. 20 below) speaks not only of this Gupta sovereign but also of one Ghaṭotkachagupta who apparently was his son and governor of Airikīna (Eran) and gives Gupta year 116 as a date for both. In this connection we have also to take note of the fact that a clay seal of Ghaṭotkachagupta (No. 27 below) was found at Basāḍh along with that of Gōvindagupta (No. 13 below). We have already seen that Gōvindagupta was the name of Kumāragupta before he became irresistible and invulnerable in his battles and was, for that reason, identified with god Kumāra and came thenceforth to be styled Kumāragupta after that divinity. We have also seen that Vaiśālī, the old capital of the Lichchhavis, was the seat of the Yuvāraja or Crown-Prince in the early Gupta period. That was the reason why the seal of Gōvindagupta (=Kumāragupta) was discovered at Basāḍh (=Vaiśālī). We can proceed one step further and say that as a seal of Ghaṭotkachagupta also was found at Basāḍh, Ghaṭotkachagupta seems similarly to have been raised to the dignity of the Yuvāraja soon after Gupta year 116 when he was Governor of Airikīna and was, for that reason, posted at Vaiśālī, the traditional seat of the Gupta Crown-Prince. The question that now arises is whether he ever became a king. Unfortunately, no inscription referring itself to his reign has yet come to light. Nevertheless, a coin of Ghaṭotkachagupta from the St. Petersberg collection is well-known. It is true that on the ground of the style and weight Allan places it about the end of the fifth century A.D. Unfortunately, however, although he makes this remark in the Introduction of his classical work, the actual Catalogue of Coins does not specify the weight of the coin in question. And so far as we can see, the style does not differ essentially from that of Skandagupta's coins, as may be seen from a comparison of Plate XXIV, 3 with Plate XIX. Besides, as the last date of Kumāragupta is Gupta year 136 = 454-55 A.D., which is not far removed from 'about the end of the fifth century A.D.', we cannot say that on numismatic grounds a difference of even fifteen years is discernible between coins of two almost contiguous members of the same royal family. That would be like an epigraphist detecting with a palaeographic microscope a similar tiny little space of time between two inscriptions. We may thus safely take it that Ghaṭotkachagupta of the Tunian inscription, of the Basāḍh

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seal and of the coin from the St. Petersburg collection was one and the same person—the prince who was Governor at first of Airikina, Yuvrāja thereafter stationed at Vaiśālī and the successor to the Gupta throne after the demise of his father Kumāragupta.

But the extreme paucity of Ghaṭotkachagupta's coins shows that his was a very brief reign. And this is supported by the fact that the latest date for Kumāragupta is Gupta year 136 supplied by a coin and that the same is the earliest date for Skandagupta furnished by the Junāgaḍh inscription. What could be the cause of this brief reign of Ghaṭotkachagupta? Our most important documents for the history of this period are the Bhitari (No. 31 below) and Junāgaḍh (No. 28 below) epigraphs of Skandagupta. From certain statements in these records, scholars have argued that Kumāragupta’s last years were much troubled. As a matter of fact, they should have argued on this evidence that the fortunes of the family had sunk to a low level, not in the reign of his father, but, rather, of his immediate successor. Let us examine this evidence more searchingly. There are three distinct allusions to this historical fact in the Bhitari inscription. From the first half of stanza 4 we learn that while he was “intent upon steadying the tottering Fortune of the House, several nights were spent (by him) on the bed, namely, the earth.” The second half of this stanza is taken by scholars as containing a reference to the enemies who had reduced him to those straits, namely, the Pushyamitrās. That was no doubt supported by the reading of Fleet, namely, Pushyamitrāns = cha jīvā. Bhagwanlal, however, reads Pushyamitrās = cha jīvā. Some time ago, the reading = Tuddha = amitrāns = cha was suggested on grounds of plausibility by H. R. Divekar. The damaged condition of the stone does not enable us to arrive at any definite reading. Nevertheless, the ink-impressions supplied to us establish Divekar’s reading as far more probable than that of Fleet or Bhagwanlal Indraji. In fact, they show that this reading is as good as certain. It is true that the existence of the Pushyamitrās is attested by both a Mathurā Jaina inscription and the Purānas. Nevertheless, it is highly strange that such an insignificant clan as the Pushyamitrās should all at once rise to such eminence as to dominate Gupta supremacy for a while, only to sink into perennial oblivion thereafter. We may therefore take it that what stanza 4 of the Bhitari inscription records is only that when the Fortune of his dynasty was for a time at its lowest ebb, Skandagupta had to spend some nights sleeping on the bare earth. The second reference to this historical fact supplies better information contained in stanza 6 which tells us that when he re-established the Fortune of the Dynasty which had turned adrift when his father had repaired to Heaven, he saw his mother who was in tears just as Kṛishṇa approached Dēvakī when he had slain his foe. If the comparison of Skandagupta and his mother to Kṛishṇa and Dēvakī has any meaning at all, the foe that had arisen against the Gupta power and made it totter to its foundations was some relative of his through his mother, presumably her brother. In this connection we have to take note of another document of his reign, namely, the Junāgaḍh inscription. The second half of stanza 2 of this record says that “he forged an order with an effigy, namely, Gāruḍa, which rendered devoid of poison, the Serpent (bhuja) Rulers, who had uplifted their hoods in pride and arrogance.” As bhuja is synonymous with Nāga, both meaning ‘a serpent’, and as royal families of the name of Nāga were in existence in the Gupta period, and as, further, Gāruḍa was an insignia or signet of the Gupta dynasty, the conclusion is irresistible that there was a rebellion set up by some Nāga rulers which Skandagupta quelled. Further, we know that some Nāgas were related to the Guptas. Thus one queen of Chandragupta II was Kubēra-Nāgā, who, we are explicitly informed, was of the Nāga family. His son Kumāragupta may similarly have been married to a Nāga princess from whom Skandagupta was born. This line of reasoning can alone explain why Skandagupta

1 JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 349, line 10.
is represented on the one hand as impressing his Garuda signet on the Nāgas and on the other as repairing to his mother in tears just as Krṣṇa did to Dēvakī after he had laid low his enemy. It seems that on the demise of Kumāragupta, Ghaṭotkacha occupied the Gupta throne. But hardly had he ascended the throne when the Nāgas raised the standard of revolt with such virulence and ruthlessness that the fortunes of the Gupta dynasty sunk to the lowest level. Ghaṭotkacha was probably killed and his brother Skandagupta who had stood by him had to flee and sleep some nights on the bare earth. Soon, however, he triumphed over all difficulties and was able to re-establish the Gupta supremacy which had for a time been rudely shaken. There is, however, nothing in any of his inscriptions to show that Kumāragupta’s reign had a tragic end. All that has been mentioned in this connection in the records of Skandagupta is that the Gupta power was tottering when his father had passed away. That does not mean that Kumāragupta’s last years were troubled. It can also very well mean that the fortunes of the family ebbed away shortly after his death when Ghaṭotkachagupta came to the throne, and were not restored till Skandagupta made himself supreme.

The Bhūtabī pillar inscription furnishes us with another item of historical importance connected with the reign of Skandagupta. Stanza 8 thereof describes the terrific conflict into which he came with the Hūṇas. Unfortunately the stanza is very much mangled and further details, if any, which it contained have been lost. With this may, however, be compared the information contained in stanza 4 of the Junāgadh rock inscription (No. 28 below), which says: “And, moreover, he alone has conquered, whose fame enemies proclaim (being caused to return) to the Mēchchha countries, with (their) pride broken down to the very root.” This is a clear reference to the Hūṇas, because, so far as we know, they alone could be the Mēchchhas who invaded the Gupta territory but were forced to return to their Mēchchha home. This inscription contains three dates, namely, Gupta years 136, 137 and 138. It thus seems that the Hūṇas were defeated and repulsed at least before Gupta year 138 = 456-57 A.D. when the inscription was engraved. When there is a rebellion inside a kingdom, that affords a most suitable opportunity for outside powers to encroach upon the neighbouring territory. In many cases the insurgent chiefs themselves seek the help of foreign rulers. It is quite possible that the malcontent Nāga chieffain himself invited the Hūṇa monarch to come to his succour. The result, to begin with, was certainly disastrous, as Ghaṭotkacha appears to have been killed and Gupta supremacy to have been tottering to its foundations. Skandagupta, however, true to his Gupta heritage, rose to the occasion, put down the Nāga rebellion and drove the Hūṇas back to their own territory. But where were the Hūṇas settled about this time? While describing the conquests of Raghu, Kālidāsa, who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, says that his hero marched against the northern region where his horses rested on the banks of the Vaṅkshū (Oxus), where saffron was grown and where he vanquished and killed the Hūṇa king, the inmates of whose harem had therefore to lacerate their cheeks.\(^1\) Kshirāsavāmin, in his gloss on Amarakośa, II.6.124, on the word Vahlīka which means ‘saffron’, explains it by Vahlīka-dēśajām yad=Raghbṛ-uttara-dig-vijayaē.

\textit{“Dudhwur=vajinah skandhāṁ=lagna-kuṅkuma-kēśarān”}

Thus according to Kshirāsavāmin, the country described in the Raghuvanśa, IV, 66-68, is Vahlīkadēśa or Bactria, watered by the Vaṅkshū or Oxus. It was this province which the Hūṇas were occupying in the time of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, when the Raghuvanśa was composed by Kālidāsa. It was from this region that the Hūṇas rushed forth and

made their sally upon the Gupta dominions soon after the demise of Kumāragupta. Skandagupta, however, repelled their attacks and forced them to retire to their original tract of country.

In this connection it seems desirable to say a few words about Purugupta or rather Purugupta as he is clearly called on one of the two seals (Nos. 45 and 46 below) of his grandson Kumāragupta III, and, above all, to discuss whether he was separate from or identical with Skandagupta. On both the seals Purugupta is represented as being a son of Kumāragupta I through Avantadevi. As Chandragupta II had another appellation, namely, Dēvagupta, and Kumāragupta had Gvindagupta, there is nothing to preclude us from holding that Skandagupta also had another appellation, namely, Purugupta. But for a long time there was difficulty in the acceptance of the identification, because Allan had described one Archer Type of Gupta coins as belonging to a king whose name he read as Purugupta on the obverse and Śri-Vikrama on the reverse. As R. D. Banerji has correctly said, “in the coinage of the Imperial Gupta dynasty there is not a single instance in which two personal names of the same emperor have been used on his coinage”.1 As there was thus one Gupta prince who called himself Skandagupta on some coins and another who called himself Purugupta on others, the two could not possibly be identified till 1935, when Sarasi Kumar Saraswat for the first time correctly pointed out2 that the legend read as Puru by Allan, as a matter of fact, was either Budha or Budha, and that as sha after Bu was meaningless, the correct reading must be taken to be Budha especially as the existence and imperial position of Budhagupta was attested by Gupta inscriptions. And this conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that this reading alone would assign some coins to Budhagupta who had hitherto none at all assigned to him by the numismatists although he was an Imperial Gupta ruler and reigned for a pretty long time. As there are thus no coins attributable to Purugupta, nothing prevents our identifying him with Skandagupta for whom coins have been found in numbers, just as Dēvagupta and Gvindagupta who have no coins ascribed to them can be identified with Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I respectively whose coins are numerous and varied. Besides, if this identification of Purugupta with Skandagupta is once accepted, it simplifies the chronology of the later Imperial Guptas. Thus the last known date for Skandagupta is Gupta year 116. For Kumāragupta II we have Gupta year 154, for Budhagupta dates ranging from 157 to 175, for Vainagupta 188, for Bhāmagupta 191, and so forth and so on. It is then quite natural to take Kumāragupta who issued the Bhātarī and Nālandā seals as the grandson of Skandagupta. If we, however, take Skandagupta and Purugupta as separate brother kings we are forced to cram three reigns of three generations within a period of eleven years, that is, between Gupta year 146 and 157. If, on the other hand, we take Skandagupta and Purugupta as two names of one and the same Gupta king, it is not cumbrous to accommodate two reigns, namely, of Narasimha-gupta and his son Kumāragupta, within that period.

We possess a number of records of Skandagupta’s reign, two of which are most important from the political point of view. They are the Bhātarī pillar and the Junāgadh rock inscriptions. What light they throw on the political history of the beginning of Skandagupta’s reign has already been pointed out. Let us now examine what further information they give us. The purport of the first of these epigraphs is to record the installation of an image of Śārīraṅga (Viṣṇu) which would be a monument to his father Kumāragupta. Unfortunately the last line of verse 10 of this record has been effaced. But, if the restoration proposed by us is accepted, the god so installed was named Kumārasvāmin after him. Skandagupta also granted a village for the maintenance of the shrine and thus for the augmentation of the spiritual

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1 Abori., Vol. I. pp. 73-74.
merit of his father. There can be no doubt that this spot was hallowed with the memory of Kumāragupta. This may be seen also from the fact that numerous bricks inscribed with his name were found in the fields by Cunningham as early as 1861-62.\(^1\) And, in fact, the whole village of Bhitari is situated on the Gāngī-ṇadi, apparently a branch of the Ganges. That seems to be the reason why Skandagupta erected this monument to his father on this holy spot. In fact, Bhitari is studded with so many large mounds that it is not impossible that it was the mausoleum or *pratimā-ghṛha* of the Gupta family. The next record that we have to consider is the Junāgadh rock inscription which speaks of Skandagupta as having appointed, as his governor of Surāshṭra Kāśṭhārā, one Pannadatta who, in turn, put his son, Chakrapālita in charge of the town, which from Rudradāman’s inscription, appears to be Girinagara. We are further told that the dam of the lake Sudarśana, which had been formed in the valley round the foot of Gīr, near where the inscribed rock is situated, gave way on account of excessive rain on the night of the sixth day of Prausṭhānapada (August-September) in Gupta year 136 (expired) =455-56 A.D. One cannot forget in this connection that the Sudarśana lake was first constructed by Vaiśya Pushyagupta, provincial governor (*rāṣṭriya*), under Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty and that it was afterwards furnished with conduits by the Yavana ruler, Tushāspa, under Āsoka.\(^2\) During the reign of Rudradāman I and in Śaka 72 150 A.D. the dam burst out, but was repaired by Suviśākha, son of Kulaipa, Pallava minister (*amāya*) of that Mahākṣatrāpa. In the time of Skandagupta when Punnadatta was the governor of Surāshṭra and his son Chakrapālita was in charge of Girinagara, the dam was renewed after two months’ work in the month of Āśādha in Gupta year 137 (expired) =456-57 A.D. The Junāgadh rock inscription further records that in Gupta year 138 (expired), Chakrapālita built a temple of Viṣṇu named Chakrabhūrti, apparently after him, perched on Mount Ėīrajat and overlooking the town.

The Bihār pillar inscription (No. 41 below) of Skandagupta’s time is highly mutilated, but it proves beyond doubt that his power remained intact over Magadha. The first part of this epigraph records apparently the erection of the temple of Bhaḍrārāvī attended by Skanda and the Divine Mothers and a sacrificial post- both in Skandaguptatabaṭa called after him. This seems to have been an *agrāhāra or inām* village from which different shares were apportioned to different recipients, one of whom was Anantaśeṇa. This grant was made for the spiritual merit of the king’s parents. The second part of the inscription records the grant of a plot of land according to the law of *akhyaya-nīvī*. Unfortunately, it has not been at all well-preserved; otherwise it would have been interesting to compare its details with those of the Dāmōdarpur, and other land-sale documents. It refers to the village of Ajapuraka, one individual called Guhilaśvāmin and the goddess called Bhaḍrāryakā.

The fourth record of Skandagupta’s reign that we have to take note of is the copper-plate inscription found at Indōr in the Bulantshahr District, Uttar Pradesh. It is dated Gupta year 146 =465-66 A.D., when the Viṣhayapati Śrīvannāga was administering the District of Antarvīd which here cannot denote the big province intervening between the Ganges and the Jumna as Fleet takes it, but rather the small region of Kānaūj between the Ganges and the Jumna known as Antarābēda and commonly called the *Doab*. It records that the Brāhmaṇa Dēvavishnu, who was a student of Śūmacidā (Chhandōga) and a Chaturvēdin or Chōbē of Padmā connected with Chandrapura, made an endowment for the permanent maintenance of a lamp in front of the Sun god, established in the eastern ward of Indrapura (Indōr) by two Kshatriya or Khatri merchants of the same town. The money was invested in a local

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\(^1\) *CASIR*, Vol. I, p. 97 and pl. xxx.

tailikā-śrēṇi, ‘guild of oil-men’ headed by Jivanta, to enable two palas of oil being daily and perpetually supplied to the temple.

It is curious that not a single Buddhist inscription of Skandagupta has been found, but one Jaina is known, that engraved on the stone pillar found at Kahāum (No. 29 below) in the Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh. It states that in Gupta year 141, in the peaceful reign of this Gupta monarch, five images of the Jaina Tirthankaras (pathi ... ārhatām-ādi-kartrīn) were installed by Madra, sculptured in a lofty stone pillar in the village of Kakubha (Kahāum). They are no doubt the five standing nude figures in the niches of this column. Madra, again, is described as affectionate towards Brāhmaṇas, religious preceptors (gūrūs) and ascetics (yātis). This shows that, though by religious persuasion he was a Jaina, he was a Hindu socially.

There is also a sixth epigraph which we have to note in this connection. It is dated Gupta year 148, and records the setting up of an image of Anantavāmin (Vishnu) and the endowment of a grant. Unfortunately the ruler’s name has been effaced. But having regard to the phraseology (pravardhāna-vijaya-rājya-sanvatsara) occurring in the inscription and to the fact that the last known date of Skandagupta is Gupta year 148 read on some of his silver coins, the record in all probability pertained to the reign of this Gupta sovereign.

Successors of Skanda (Pūru)-gupta

(Chronological Adjustment)

Who succeeded Skandagupta and how they were related to him is a subject of great controversy which has given rise to many conflicting views. This much, however, is certain, that, if Pūrugupta is identical with Skandagupta, one of his successors was surely his son, Narasirinagupta, who was in turn succeeded by his son Kumāragupta (III). This is clearly proved by the Nālandā clay seals (Nos. 44 and 45 below) and the Bhūrī copper-silver seal of this last prince (No. 46 below). But several inscriptions and clay seals of other Gupta rulers of this period have been found. Thus, we have Kumāragupta (II) with the date Gupta year 154 supplied by a Sārnāth inscription (No. 34 below), and Budhagupta with dates ranging between 157 and 165 furnished by Sārnāth, Dāmodarpur and Ērān records (Nos. 36, 38 and 39 below). The other Gupta princes are Vainyagupta with the date Gupta year 188 contained in the Gunaighar plate and Bhānugupta with the date 191 given by the Ērān stone pillar (No. 43 below). Similarly we have clay seals found at Nālandā not only of Narasirinagupta and his son Kumāragupta III but also of Budhagupta and Vainyagupta (Nos. 42 and 33 below). How exactly to determine the order of succession among these Gupta princes with and without their dates has become a thorny question. Perhaps, it will be better if we tackle the question beginning with the clay seal of Budhagupta picked up in the excavations at Nālandā. The fact that his pedigree has been set forth in exactly the same order from Mahārāja Gupta down to Kumāragupta I as in the case of the Bhūrī seal of Kumāragupta III known to us for upwards of fifty years shows that Budhagupta pertained to the Imperial Gupta line, a conclusion which is supported by the imperial titles with which his name is coupled in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate charters. Unfortunately that portion of the inscription on his seal intervening between his name and that of Kumāragupta I is somewhat blurred, though it leaves no doubt as to his having been his grandson. Nevertheless, as we have remarked elsewhere, what little is preserved of the name of his father and also of his mother shows that their names were rather Pūrugupta and Chandradevi than anything else. And we shall not be far from right if we presume that like Narasirinagupta he was a son of Pūrugupta and

2 IHQ., Vol. VI, pp. 53 ff.
Chandrādevī. In this connection may be taken into consideration another clay seal from Nālandā, namely, that of Vainyagupta. Here also, unfortunately, it is of a highly fragmentary character and the only line that can be read in full and with certainty is the last which has Paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādvirāja-śri-Vainyaguptah. Very little remains of the line preceding it which contained the names of his father and mother. But what is preserved can be restored more reasonably to Pūrugupta and Chandrādevī than to the names of any other Gupta king and queen. It appears that like Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta, he has the same parentage.

Further, no doubt it seems tempting to identify this Vainyagupta with the Vainyagupta who issued the Gunaighar copper-plate charter, dated Gupta year 188 = 507 A.D. But the Vainyagupta of the clay seal is not only a Mahārājādvirāja but also a Paramabhāgavata, whereas the Vainyagupta of the copper-plate grant is a Mahārāja and Bhagavan-Mahādeva-pādānumhāta. The latter epithet is again in consonance with the recumbent bull that figures on the seal attached to his charter. The evidence thus runs counter to the identification of the Vainyagupta of the grant with the Vainyagupta of the seal. Thus the date Gupta year 188 of the Gunaighar charter cannot be taken as a date for the latter Gupta monarch. Where is he then to be placed? We know that the dates of Budhagupta range between Gupta years 157 and 175. Immediately before him must be placed Kumāragupta II for whom we have the date Gupta year 154. The last date of Skandagupta is Gupta year 148 known from his silver coins. Vainyagupta of the seal had thus better be placed between Skandagupta-Pūrugupta and Kumāragupta II, that is, between Gupta years 148 and 154. If Vainyagupta was thus an Imperial Gupta ruler, the question arises whether any coins of his have been found as of every Gupta sovereign. Now, it is well-known that there were certain coins which had long been attributed by Allan to Chandra(gupta) III-Dvādasāditya. But Ganguly has correctly remarked that what occurs on their obverse is not Chandra but indubitably Vainya. The coins have thus to be ascribed to Vainya(gupta)-Dvādasāditya, and not at all to Chandra(gupta) III-Dvādasāditya. Further, we have to note that on the obverse figures the Garuḍa standard, pointing clearly to the conclusion that Vainya who struck these coins was a devotee of Vishnu. This accords with the epithet Parama-Bhāgavata associated with Vainya of the seal.

It will be seen that Skandagupta alias Pūrugupta was succeeded to the Gupta throne by Vainyagupta, Kumāragupta II, Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta in consecutive order. Further, we know that Vainyagupta, Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta were co-uterine brothers to one another, being born of the same father and mother, namely, (Skandagupta-) Pūrugupta and Chandrādevī. It is difficult to avoid the inference that Kumāragupta II also stood in the same relationship to them. It is, however, difficult to understand why these four brothers came to the Gupta throne in quick succession one after another. The inference is not unreasonable that there was a violent Hūṇa eruption again on the north-west frontier. We have seen that this menace first arose after the demise of Kumāragupta I, that his son Ghaṭotkachagupta, in fact, lost his life in the turmoil created by the inroads of this foreign tribe, and that it was really his brother Skandagupta who successfully stemmed the tide of this Hūṇa invasion. The Hūṇas were, for a time, held at bay by the might of Skandagupta. But, as soon as he was numbered among his forefathers, the Hūṇa eruption made its appearance with redoubled vigour. It appears that, like Ghaṭotkachagupta before Skandagupta, the three brothers Vainyagupta, Kumāragupta and Budhagupta, after the demise of their father, came to the throne one after another, in quick succession, every one of them being foiled in his attempt to stay the flood of the Hūṇa immigration into India. It seems that Budhagupta successfully and for long resisted their onward course of movement, for he ruled much longer.

1 IHQ., Vol. VI, pp. 53 ff.
2 Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 784 ff.
than any one of his preceding brothers, reigning as he did for eighteen years from Gupta year 157 to 175. But, though he checked their ingress into this country longer than his brothers, the pressure of the barbarian hordes so long held back in check accumulated such a momentum that they swept off all barriers and overwhelmed the Gupta power for some time in Northern India soon after Gupta year 175, the last date of Budhagupta. This appears to be pretty clear from a critical study of three inscriptions found in Ēraṇ, Sagar District, Madhya Pradesh. One of these is engraved on a pillar in a temple at Ēraṇ. It is dated Gupta year 165, in the reign of Budhagupta (No. 39 below), and states that the pillar was a gift to the temple by the two Brāhmaṇa brothers, Mātrivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu, the former of whom was a chief of the province round about Airikina (Ēraṇ). As the inscription bears the date Gupta year 165 and the latest of his coins, Gupta year 175, the former seems to belong to the early part of Budhagupta’s reign. A second inscription from Ēraṇ, which is worthy of note in this connection, is on the lower part of the neck of a huge Boar or Varāha image in a corner shrine of the same temple, which records the date as follows: “the tenth day of Phālguna in the first year of the reign of the Maharājadhiraja Toramāna” and states that it was the gift of the younger brother of Dhanyavishṇu whose elder brother Mātrivishṇu is described as gone to heaven. Since Mātrivishṇu is mentioned as alive in the Budhagupta and dead in the Toramāna epigraph, it follows that Toramāna wrested the Gupta kingdom from Budhagupta about the end of his reign. It was this Sagar District which formed the eastern fringe of Hūṇa dominions and was the principal theatre of war between the Hūṇas and allied tribes on the one hand and the Guptas and their chiefs on the other. Though the Ēraṇ pillar inscription is dated in the first regnal year of Toramāna, we cannot take it that it was the first year of the Hūṇa rule. For, as we learn from Yuan Chhwang, the Hūṇa capital was Sākala in the Panjab. What the Ēraṇ inscription may be taken to mean is that Toramāna was the first Hūṇa king to conquer the eastern part of the Gupta empire and that he did so in the first year of his reign. That Toramāna was ruling already in the Panjab is clear from his epigraph found in Kura, Salt Range, Panjab, and deposited in the Lahore Museum. Unfortunately, the date portion of it is lost, but it refers itself to the reign of the Rājādhīraja Mahārāja Toramāna Shāhi Jāulva. No less a scholar than F. Kielhorn refers it to “the fourth or fifth century A.D.” Further, what we have to note about Toramāna is that at least two silver coins of his are known which bear the date 52. It seems that the Hūṇa inscriptions specified two kinds of dates—one denoting the year of the Hūṇa rule and the other, the regnal year of the particular king. The year 52 which figures on the coins of Toramāna indicates the year of the Hūṇa era. From this it is also evident that some Hūṇa kings ruled over the Panjab and Central India prior to the time of Toramāna and that the Hūṇas established their sway in India circa 440 A.D. Ever since that time fights were going on between the Hūṇas and the Gupta kings, whether the Gupta king was Skandagupta, Vainyagupta, Kumāragupta (II) or Budhagupta. It is true that in the time of Budhagupta the Hūṇas were held at bay for a long time, but it was soon after Gupta year 175, whether it was in the reign of Budhagupta or soon after his demise, that the Hūṇas under Toramāna penetrated through the eastern part of the Gupta dominions, as far east as Ēraṇ. How long the Hūṇa power lasted in this region, we do not know. But in this connection we have to take note that the Hūṇa monarch after him was his son Mihira-

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1 JRAI, 1889, pp. 134-33; Allan’s Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, p. 153. It is somewhat doubtful whether the date 175 is certain as read on Budhagupta’s silver coins. The symbol for 70 reads here like pu which is a sign for 60 and not pari for 70, as seems from Tafel IX in Bühler’s Siebmacher Tafeln Zur Indischen Palaeographie. In that case, we have to suppose that the Hūṇa incursions began soon after Gupta year 165.


3 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 1809.
kula, who must have ruled for at least fifteen years, as is clear from a Gwalior inscription.\(^1\) In
this connection we have to take note of a third inscription from Ėrāṇ (No. 43 below), dated
Gupta year 191=509-10 A.D. It speaks of Bhānu-gupta and Gōparāja as having fought against
and defeated the Maitras, apparently in the region of Airikiṇa. As the first of these names
ends in gupta, it raises the presumption that Bhānu-gupta was a Gupta sovereign. This receives
support from the fact that he has been called rājā mahān and Pārtha-samō. It seems that Bhānu-
gupta was a supreme ruler, and Gōparāja, his chieftain, the former having presumably
succeeded Budhagupta overthrown by Tōramana and that this Gupta sovereign seems to be
no other than Narasimhagupta-Bālāditya about whom we have to take note of what Yuan
Chwāng has said about Mihirakula, king of Śākala.\(^2\) The latter, for some reason, was prejudiced
against the Buddhist Church and was therefore bent upon its extermination. At that time
Bālāditya, king of Magadha, being a zealous Buddhist, rebelled against the order of the persecu-
cution of the Buddhists. When Mihirakula proceeded to invade the territory of Bālāditya, the
latter accompanied by his men withdrew to an island. Mihirakula came in pursuit, and was
taken prisoner. On the petition of Bālāditya’s mother, the prisoner was set free. His younger
brother, having taken possession of Śākala, Mihirakula took refuge in Kashmir of
which he made himself master by treachery. This account of the Chinese pilgrim
may, on the whole, be taken as worthy of credence. The only flaw noticeable in it is
that Yuan Chwāng places the event “some centuries previously” to his time. But similar
flaws are noticeable also in his account, e.g., of Harshavardhana, king of Kanauj, although
he was his own contemporary. This king Bālāditya of Magadha has rightly been taken to
be the Narasimhagupta-Bālāditya\(^3\) of the coins. He represents Bālāditya to be a staunch
adherent of Buddhism. This is corroborated not only by Paramārtha’s testimony of the
interest displayed in Buddhism by Bālāditya but also by inscriptions. Narasimhagupta-
Bālāditya was succeeded by Kumāragupta III, known from two seals of his (Nos. 45 and
46 below)—one, the Nālandā clay seal, and the other, the Bhītāri copper-silver seal.
Neither of the seals furnishes him with a date. They do, however, inform us that his mother
was Mitradēvi. Who succeeded Kumāragupta III is not definitely known. But the fifth
Dāmodārapur plate, with a date later than 200, shows that the Gupta power continued in the
province up till that time (No. 47 below). Unfortunately, only the suffix -gupta has survived,
and many scholars have made attempts to restore the full name. But, as pointed out above, in
Inscription No. 47 below, it is, in all likelihood (Vishnu)-gupta, as coins have been found of
one Vishnu-(gupta)-Chandrāditya who is supposed to be the last Gupta king who issued gold
coingage of the type of the earlier dynasty.\(^4\) There is, again, some doubt in regard to
the exact reading of the date. Basak who edited the plate reads it as 214, whereas
Rao Bahadur Dikshit takes it to be 224. The correct reading, however, seems to be
211. This suits excellently in every way, because there is an inscription engraved in
duplicate on two ‘pillars of victory’, found at Mandasör, which speaks of a king named
Yaśōdharmān, who enjoyed territories which were never enjoyed by the Gupta lords
and where even the sway of the paramount Hūṇa sovereigns did not penetrate, who
was the overlord of “the chieftains as far as the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra),
Mount Mahēndra, the Snow Mountain (Himālaya) whose peaks are clasped by the Gaṅgā,
and as far as the Western Ocean,” and, above all, to whom homage was done by Mihirakula

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\(^1\) CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 37, pp. 161 ff.
\(^3\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 245 ff. and 346 ff.
\(^4\) Since the above was written, a clay seal of Vishnugupta has been found at Nālandā and published by
Krishna Deva (Inscription No. 48 below).
touching his feet with the forehead—Mihirakula who had bowed his head to none but the God Śtāṇu (Śiva) and, on account of whom, even the Himalaya bore the pride of the appellation: Durga ‘Inaccessible’. It is worthy of note that it was Mihirakula who had made the Himalaya proud of the appellation of Durga, ‘Inaccessible’. This shows that the Hūṇa monarch had then established himself as the ruler of Kashmir. The defeat of Mihirakula by Yaśōdharman must have happened fairly long after his defeat by (Narasirihā-)Bālāditya of Magadha. But what was the date of Yaśōdharman? We have already referred to his inscriptions on the victory pillars found at Mandasör. There is another inscription¹ of his from the same place which commemorates the construction of a well by a Naigama named Daksha, brother of a provincial governor of Vishṇuvardhana in Vikrama 589=532-33 A.D. Its interest for us there is centered on the fact that it mentions two names, one Yaśōdharman, and the other Vishṇuvardhana, who is spoken of as pertaining to the Aulikara family. The latter is also described as having acquired the titles rājādhirāja and paramēśvara by subjugating kings of the east and the north. Hoernle² takes Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana as denoting one and the same person. Fleet³ however, takes them as two separate names, and R. G. Bhandarkar agrees with him.⁴ The former seems to be the more natural view to take, because we are not informed how Vishṇuvardhana was related to Yaśōdharman. This is rather unusual. In ordinary circumstances the former should have been mentioned either as a brother or a son of the latter. And further, immediately after the mention of Yaśōdharman, Vishṇuvardhana is described as narāhīpiḥ sa ēva. This makes it all but certain, nay, certain, that they are one and the same person. It seems that Yaśōdharman-Vishṇuvardhana was a king of the Aulikara family of Daśapura and that the date 589=532-33 A.D. refers to one single individual ruler. This date therefore is equivalent to Gupta year 214 and is just three years later than 211, the date of (Vishṇu)gupta who is supposed to be the Gupta king that issued the fifth Dāmōdarpur plate and was, in all likelihood, the last of the Early Gupta dynasty. Tōrāmā is probably in possession of North India as far as Eran from circa 495 to circa 503 A.D. The first of these dates, namely 495 A.D., falls after Gupta year 175=493-94 A.D., the last known date for Budhagupta. And the second date, namely 503 A.D., is prior to Gupta year 191=509-10 A.D., the date of Bhānugupta (=Narasirihā-Bālāditya) when there was an attempt on the part of the chieftains of the Gupta house to re-establish its power. The period from 503 to 510 certainly fell in the reign of Mihirakula, and it is not unreasonable that about 510 A.D. the Gupta sovereign (Narasirihā-)Bālāditya, who was in hiding for some time, made his appearance and asserted himself with the help of his vassals and expelled Mihirakula from the Magadha kingdom, as appears from the account of Yuan Chwang summarised above. But though about 510 A.D. Mihirakula was ousted from the Magadha dominions, his power remained unshaken in Central India till about 518 A.D., the fifteenth year of his reign, when Yaśōdharman dealt a death blow to the Hūṇa supremacy in India.

The above conclusions receive support from the records of the Parivraja family. With the years ranging between 163 and 209 and specified in their documents is coupled the significant expression Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktāu, ‘during the enjoyment of the sovereignty of the Gupta kings.’ This expression is of importance,” says Fleet, “in showing clearly that the Gupta dynasty and sway were still continuing.”⁵ Now we have to note that for Mahārāja Hastin we have two dates, 163 and 191 and for his son Saṅkhshōbha 199 and 209. It is thus

⁴ JBBrAS., Vol. XX, p. 392.
clear that the Gupta power over Eastern India continued at least till Gupta year 209, that is, two years prior to Gupta year 211, the date of Vishnugupta furnished by the last Dāmōdarpur plate. What seems to have happened after the defeat of Mihirakula by Bhānugupta (=Narasiṃhagupta-Bālāditya) in Gupta year 191 may be reasonably guessed as follows. As Yuan Chwang has told us, Mihirakula had to bear a hasty retreat to Kashmir, as the Hūṇa capital Sākala had been seized upon by his brother. But Mihirakula was a sturdy warrior. Soon after he made his position in Kashmir secure, he came down south and must have wrested Sākala from his brother who was a usurper. Thereafter he must have come down still further south with a view to conquer not only Central but also Eastern India. But, as ill-luck would have it, a terrible foe to him arose in the shape of Yaśōdharman-Vishnuvardhana, who did exactly what Mihirakula had intended doing. The former inflicted a hollow defeat upon the latter and forced him to return to Kashmir as before and instead spread his own might not only in Central and Eastern India but also North India, conquering territories, some of which were never under the sway of even the Hūṇas or the Guptas. The Aulikara supremacy, however, came to an end soon, and what happened thereafter to North India we do not know. Most probably the foreign hordes who followed in the wake of the Hūṇas occupied the different parts of India and established their might there. Such were the Maitrakas, the Prathāras, the Chāhamānas and so forth. But it is not at all improbable that he was one of those rulers who issued coins of Gupta types. How long Gupta power even with this shorn lustre lasted after Vishnugupta cannot definitely be ascertained.

The following is the chronological statement that may be tentatively put up as descriptive of this troubled period.

Gupta year 165=483-84 A.D., the last date of Budhagupta furnished by his inscription.
485-500 A.D., the reign of Tōramāṇa.
500-515 A.D., the reign of Mihirakula.

Gupta year 191=509-10 A.D., the date of Bhānugupta and Hastin, when Mihirakula was driven away from the Magadha kingdom by Narasiṃhagupta-Bālāditya with the help of his vassals.
515 A.D., the approximate date when Yaśōdharman overthrew Mihirakula and expelled him from North and Central India.
516 A.D., the approximate date when Yaśōdharman temporarily eclipsed the glory of the Gupta power.

Gupta year 191-98=509-16 A.D., the reign of Narasiṃhagupta-Bālāditya.
515-25 A.D., the reign of Yaśōdharman.

Gupta year 199-208=517-26 A.D., the reign of Kumāragupta III.
526-34 A.D., of which 533-34 A.D.=Vikrama 590 is his actual date, the reign of Vishnuvardhana, alias of Yaśōdharman.

Gupta year 224=542 A.D., the date of [Vishṇu ?-?] gupta.
THE GUPTA SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

THE Mauryan hierarchy of officials, if the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭālya is to be our guide on this point, had been almost completely changed and replaced by a new type of bureaucracy in the Gupta period with a correspondingly new set of official terms and designations. Some glimpses into an Adhyaksha-prachāra of this age are afforded by the seals picked up during the excavations at Basādhi, the ancient Vaisāli. The most important of the offices, official designations, etc., mentioned in the legends of these seals may be brought to a focus here. Of these, we may consider the following first:

1. Śri-Paramabhaṭṭarakaṇḍapādiya-Kumārāṃatya-ādhikaraṇa
2. Śri-Yuvatirajāhaṭṭarakaṇḍapādiya-Kumārāṃatya-ādhikaraṇa
3. Yuvatirajāpādiya-Kumārāṃatya-ādhikaraṇa
4. Tīra-Kumārāṃatya-ādhikaraṇa
5. Vaisāli-vāma-kundē Kumārāṃatya-ādhikaraṇa
6. Kumārāṃatya-ādhikaraṇa

It will be seen that these six seal legends are connected with the officer designated Kumārāṃatya, who, it seems, may be attached to the king, crown-prince or Revenue Division or any region. Kumārāṃatya thus seems to have been a big officer,—an inference confirmed by the fact that he had an ādhikaraṇa or office of his own, wheresoever he was posted. But what is meant by Kumārāṃatya? The late K.P. Jayaswal has, in this connection, drawn our attention to a passage occurring in Act II of Bhasa’s Pratijā-TVaundharāyaṇa. When Śālaṅkāyana, minister to king Pradyōta Mahāśeṇa, having captured Udayana, ruler of Kauṣāmbī, brings him to the gate of Ujjayini and the news is announced to Mahāśeṇa, the latter instructs the Kāṭchukīya or Chamberlain: Gachchha, Bharatarāhakā in brahi: “Kumāra-vidhi-viśishtēṇa satkārēṇa Vatsarājam —agratah kṛtva pravēṣyataṁ —āmāṭya iti”?, “Go and tell Bharatarāhaka to receive the minister (āmāṭya) with the honours due to a prince and bring him in with the Vatsa king.”

It is thus quite clear from the above passage that Kumārāṃatya is not an ordinary āmāṭya but an āmāṭya who is entitled in court etiquette to the honour and dignity of Kumāra or prince of the royal blood. This designation distinguishes him from an ordinary āmāṭya or minister on the one hand and from a Kumāra or Prince on the other. That there were officers called simply Āmāṭya is known from many seals found at Bhitā. But Kumārāṃatya was an āmāṭya par excellence and could therefore be attached to the king or the crown-prince and consequently designated as Paramabhaṭṭarakaṇḍapādiya-Kumārāṃatya and Yuvatirajāpādiya-Kumārāṃatya or Yuvatirajā-bhaṭṭarakaṇḍapādiya-Kumārāṃatya. Or he may be attached to some nondescript but important office designated e.g., as Vaisāli-vāma-kundē Kumārāṃatya-ādhikaraṇa on a seal picked up by the late D.B. Spooner during his excavations at Basādhi in 1913-14. Spooner reads Vēśāli-nāmakaṇḍē, but the reading is clearly Vaisāli-vāma-kundē. The legend has therefore to be translated as “the Office of Kumārāṃatya at the beautiful water spring of Vaisāli.” What could this water spring be? Vaisāli, we know, was the capital of the Lichchhavi Gaṇa or tribal oligarchy, every member of which was called a king. “As kings they were entitled to coronation. We

2 Ibid., Nos. 6 and 11.
3 Ibid., No. 4.
4 Ibid., p. 109, No. 22.
5 Ibid., 1913-14, p. 134, No. 209.
6 Ibid., 1903-04, p. 107, No. 3.
8 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 16, p. 33.
10 A.R. ASI, 1911-12, pp. 53-54.
hear of there having been a special pushkariṇī or tank in Vesāli, the water of which was used to sprinkle their heads while being crowned. The tank was considered very sacred, and was, therefore, covered with an iron net so that not even a bird could get through, and a strong guard was set to prevent any one taking water from it.1 The importance of this kudya or pushkariṇī can scarcely be exaggerated. And as the Guptas were indebted for their sovereignty to the Lichchhavis, every attempt must have been made by them to keep the water of this tank pure and unpolluted by man, beast or bird. For holding charge of this spring, no other officer could be fitter than Kumārāmāya, who, in court etiquette, was equal to the prince in rank and dignity.

We have at least three instances of a Kumārāmāya being attached to the king. The first is that of Harishēna who composed the praṣasti contained in the celebrated Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The other two are furnished by the Kārāṃḍāṇḍa stone inscription (No. 21 below) of Kumāragupta, which speaks of two persons, father and son, Śikharasvāmin and Prithivīshēna, who were Kumārāmāyas to the two kings, father and son, Gupta sovereigns, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, respectively. But it is worthy of note that whereas Harishēna has been designated Sāṅdhīvikraghika-Kumārāmāya, the other two have been styled Mantri-Kumārāmāya. The first designation is indicative of the executive function, and the second of the consultative character, with which the Kumārāmāya could be entrusted. This inference is confirmed by the fact that Prithivīshēna who was a contemporary of Kumāragupta was at first, as we are told, Mantri-Kumārāmāya and afterwards Mahābhātalādhikṛita. This shows that the office of Kumārāmāya was neither a hereditary appointment nor a permanently personal distinction. The question arises: what kind of an office was held by Kumārāmāya as Kumārāmāya? That question we have now to consider briefly. We have seen that an officer of the grade of Kumārāmāya could be attached to a yuvāja, and, above all, to the king himself as Mantrin or Sāṅdhīvikraghika. He could also be in charge of a division, as is clear from the seal legend reading Tīra-Kumārāmāya-ādhikarānasya, “Of the Office of Kumārāmāya in charge of the Tīra (—Division=Bhūkta).” He could not have been the governor of the province, because at Basādh itself has been found a seal bearing the legend Tīrabhūkyty-Uparik-ādhikarānasya.2 Uparika, as will be shown later on, means ‘the governor of a province.’ Kumārāmāya of Tīrabhūkta or Tīra province cannot therefore denote its governor. What duty then could he have performed? In this connection we have to note that he could be in charge of the Adhisṭhān-ādhikarana, as is evident from two of the Dāmodārpur plates (Nos. 22 and 24 below) which both speak of Kumārāmāya Viḍarvarman as presiding over the Town Administrative Board (adhisṭhān-ādhikarana) of Kāṭivarsha and as being nominated to discharge that function by the Uparika or Divisional Commissioner of Puṇḍravardhana. There he was in charge of the Land Records and Settlement Office of the District Town. Probably he had to discharge this function when he was not in charge of any special duty and had to work simply as Kumārāmāya. There is, again, a plate of Lōkaṇātha found at Tipperah, Bengal, which records his grant to a temple of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa. It is worthy of note in this connection that instructions in regard to this grant were communicated to the different officials of the district (visṣayā) by Kumārāmāya and his adhikarana as is clear3 from line 1 of the record and also from the seal attached to it. This seems to be the case also about the Bāigrām copper-plate inscription4 where too the Kumārāmāya and adhikarana convey similar orders in respect of the grant to the officers of the district concerned. There is mention in this inscription also of the

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1 D.R. Bhandarkar’s Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 150.
2 A.R. ASL., 1903-04, p. 109, No. 20.
4 Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff.
pustapālas or record-keepers but no reference at all to the Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa. It seems that Kumārāṃśyā's adhikaraṇa was conveyance and settlement office par excellence, though this duty was discharged by other officers also in the mufassil, according to the tradition and convention of the period and the place. Nevertheless, the honour and dignity attaching to the position of Kumārāṃśyā as Kumārāṃśyā was never forgotten in the Gupta period at least, as is clear from the Amauna plate1 issued in Gupta year 232 by NANDANA who styles himself Kumārāṃśyā Mahārāja. NANDANA who issued the charter was not only a Mahārāja or feudatory chieftain but also a Kumārāṃśyā, a dignitary of some rank in the court of his overlord. But when he made the grant, he must have been in his own territory, retaining and mentioning with pride the titular position he had attained. The same was the case during the earlier part of the Maitraka rule over Valabhi. Thus the Māliyā copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Dharasēṇa II sets forth the list of the state officials as follows: Āuyuktaka-Vinuyuktaka-Drāṅgika-Mahattara-Chāta-Bhata-Dhrusādhiṇorika-Dāṇḍapāsika-Rājasthāṇiya-Kumārāṃśyā-ādi.2 Here the officials have been mentioned in the ascending order from which it is clear that Kumārāṃśyā occupies the highest rank in this list and is therefore higher in rank than Rājasthāṇiya who corresponds to the Uparika or Divisional Commissioner of the early Gupta age, as we shall see later on. The designation continued to be used in an amplified form till the Pāla period, but its signification changed. The designation now is Mahākumārāṃśyā, and occurs e.g., in the Bhagalpur plate3 of Nārīyaṇapāla and the Manahali plate4 of Madanapāla, but the sense conveyed by it is something like that suggested by Bhagwanlal Indraji, namely 'an amāṭya minister or councillor, attached to Kumāra or prince.' This is clear from the fact that Mahākumārāṃśyā has in these Pāla plates been contradistinguished from Rājasthāṇiya, which is not noticeable in charters of pre-Pāla period.

The next designation we have now to take cognisance of is Uparika. We have already referred to the legend on the seal discovered at Basādh by Bloch, namely, Tirabhukty-Uparikā-ādhikaraṇa. Before this seal came to light, the term Upariāka had been known from inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta period. The article entitled Office of Uparika by B. CH. CHHABRA may, in this connection, be studied with profit.5 Though the word Uparika was thus known from inscriptions, its purport could not be made explicit. All that could be made out was that he was a great official as he was mentioned in charters in juxtaposition with such officials as Rājasthāṇiya, and Kumārāṃśyā.6 In later times, the prefix bhīhat was added to it to exaggerate the importance of the post just as mahā was added in the case of Kumārāṃśyā.7 But what the exact position of Uparika was remained undetermined, until the Dāmōdarpa copper-plate inscriptions came to light. Just as the Basādh seal referred to above speaks of Tirabhukty-Uparika, these inscriptions speak of Puṇḍravardhanabhūkta = Uparika. Now, it is worthy of note that, according to the Dāmōdarpa plates, during the reign of Kumāragupta I, in the years 124 and 129 Chirātadatta was the Uparika of Puṇḍravardhana, and that, although he was appointed to that post by the Gupta sovereign, it was he himself who nominated Kumārāṃśyā Vēṭravarman as the head of the Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa of Kōṭivarsha. Similarly, in Gupta year

4 Gaṅgātēkhamāla, p. 153, line 34.
5 D.R. Bhandarkar Volume, pp. 321 ff.
7 N. G. MAJUMDAR'S Inscr. of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 21, line 31; p. 63, line 26; p. 73, line 33; p. 87, line 29; p. 96, line 27; p. 102, line 27; and pl. 111, line 35, where Bhīham-Uparika comes immediately after Antarāṅga. One wonders whether the two terms together formed one designation. In the Nivinna grant of Dharmarājadēva, Antarāṅga seems to be separated from Uparika.—Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 41, line 37.
163 Mahārāja Brahmadatta was appointed by Budhagupta as the Uparika of Puṇḍravardhana. According to another Dāmōdaripat plate whose year is not preserved, the same emperor appointed Mahārāja Jayadatta as the Uparika of the same province, who, in his turn, nominated Āyukta Bhanḍaka as the head of the same Adhisṭhān-ādhikarana, namely, of Kōṭivarsha. The last Dāmōdaripat plate bears the date 214, but, unfortunately, the name of the king is gone. Gone also is the name of the Uparika appointed by him for the same province, though this much is certain that he had the title of Mahārāja. The name, however, of the Head of Kōṭivarsha Adhisṭhān-ādhikarana, appointed by him, is preserved, namely Svayamblūdēva who was Vishayapatī also. It will be seen from the above account that Puṇḍravardhana in the Gupta period was a province and Kōṭivarsha a district comprised in it. The Uparika of the province was invariably appointed by the sovereign, whether he was Kumāragupta, Budhagupta or some other sovereign, but in every case the Uparika nominated the Head of the Adhisṭhān-ādhikarana of the District. The conclusion is irresistible that the designation Uparika denotes the Viceroy of a province. The same conclusion is further supported by the description given of this officer in the last of these plates. He is there described as running on the administration with hasiy-aśva-jana-bhōga, “with the enjoyment (of the rule) consisting of elephants, horses and soldiers.” This exactly describes the status of the Subah or Viceroy such as he flourished in Mediaeval India down to seventy-five years ago. He had at his command not only soldiers but also horses and elephants.

In this connection may further be considered the administration of the districts upon which the Gupta inscriptions throw some light. The biggest territorial division, we have just seen, was bhūti, the administrator of which is styled Uparika. This Uparika, again, we have seen, was not so much the Divisional Commissioner of the modern day as the Subah of the old regime. Another characteristic of the Uparika was that he was invariably appointed by the Gupta sovereign direct. This is quite clear from the Dāmōdaripat plates, where the Puṇḍravardhana bhūti and the Kōṭivarsha vishaya contained in it are mentioned. Another noteworthy thing about the Uparika was that he was not always an individual of ordinary social status. Of the five Dāmōdaripat records, three (Nos. 38, 40 and 47 below) couple the title of Mahārāja with the name of the Uparika. This reminds us of Mahārājā Mānsingh of Amar being nominated the governor of Bengal by the Moghul emperor Akbar.1 Even long before the Gupta supremacy and during the reign of Aśoka, we know, the Yavana ruler Tushāspa was the provincial governor of Surāśṭra.2 The next smaller territorial division is vishaya. This is clear from the fact that Kōṭivarsha is mentioned as a vishaya comprised in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhūti. Both R. D. Banerji3 and R. G. Basak4 have remarked on the strength of the Dāmōdaripat inscriptions that the Vishayapatī, or officer in charge of the district, was appointed by the Uparika. This is, however, controverted by the Indōr plate (No. 30 below) of Skandagupta which makes mention of a Vishayapatī called Šarvanāga ruling over Antarvēdī, that is, Antara-bēḍa, the region of Kanauj between the Ganges and Jumna, and speaks of him as tat-pāda-parigrihitā “being favoured by that venerable (king),” that is, Skandagupta. This is precisely the expression used in the Dāmōdaripat records with reference to the Uparika, who, for that reason, is taken rightly by all scholars as being directly nominated by the Gupta sovereign. And the Indōr plate may now be taken to indicate that even the Vishayapatī was appointed by the same sovereign. The power of appointment which the Uparika possessed was with reference, not to the Vishayapatī, but to the President of the District Town Board to which

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1 D. R. Bhandarkar's Aśoka (2nd edn.), p. 53.
3 The Age of the Imperial Guptas (Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 1924), pp. 77-78.
4 The History of North-Eastern India, p. 190.
INTRODUCTION

office he could appoint anybody—a Kumāramāya, Āyuktaka or Vishayapati. Here the wording is not tat-pāda-parighiïita but tan-niyuktaka.

What the district subdivision in the Gupta period was it is very difficult to determine. The Nandapur plate,\(^1\) speaks of the village Khaṭāpūrana as being included in the Nanda viṭṭhi. Viṭṭhi originally signifies ‘a road’, ‘a row’ or ‘a market’, but here it denotes a “district subdivision.” And in this particular case it seems that the subdivision was called Nanda viṭṭhi after Nandapur, the place where the plate was found. We have further to note another expression which occurs in the Pahādpur grant.\(^2\) Here land is granted from various villages which are said to be contained in the Dakshinārṣa viṭṭhi and the Nāgaṛaṇa mandala. The question arises: which of these terms, viṭṭhi and mandala, denotes a more extensive territory? This may be compared to the phraseology occurring in the Nālandā plate\(^3\) of Dēvapāla and the Naihāti plate\(^4\) of Ballālasena. In the first we have Śrī-Nāgara-bhaktu... Gāyā-viṣaya-āntarāḥpāti-Kumudāsūtra-viṭṭhi, etc. In the second, we have Śrī-Vardhamāna-bhukty-āntarāḥpātinī-Uttara-Rādhā-mandala Scatpadakṣiṇa-viṭīyām. A comparison of the two passages will convince anybody that the terms viṣaya and mandala have been used synonymously and in the sense of a ‘district’, and viṭṭhi in the sense of a ‘subdivision.’

The Gupta empire, vast as it was, must have been divided into a number of bhuktis and viṣhayas. Of these, the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti and Kōṭijvarsha viṣaya have become well-known from the Dāmōdarpur plates. Then we have seen that one Śarvanāga was the Vishayapati of Antarvēdi or District surrounding Kanauj. Unfortunately the name of the bhukti has not been specified. Then the Ėraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, dated Gupta year 165 (No. 39 below) describes one Surasāṁchandra as governing the territory intervening between the Kālindī and the Narmadā as Lākṣāṇa, that is, Viceroy. With his name has been coupled the title Mahārāja, and what is further noteworthy about this inscription is that it mentions another Mahārāja called Māṭrīvishṇu, who, although he belonged to a holy Brāhmaṇa family, “was married by Sovereigntyt, as if by a maiden choosing herself [her own husband]” (svayaṃ-varayō =eva vajalakshmy =ādhigata). This means that Māṭrīvishṇu was the first of his family who raised himself to power. As he has been also styled Mahārāja, he appears to have been a local chieftain. But in no way does it appear that he was Vishayapati of Airikinā (Ēraṇ). In fact, Airikīna viṣaya has been mentioned in another Ėraṇ inscription\(^5\) which is of a somewhat later time and which refers itself to the first regnal year of Tōramāṇa. When this epigraph was engraved, Māṭrīvishṇu had passed away, and the object of it was to record the erection, by his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, of a shrine over the image of the Boar on whose chest it was incised. In both the records Dhanyavishṇu has been mentioned and is described not only as tad-anuvidhāvin, “obedient to him,” but also as tat-prasādo-parighiïita, “encircled by his favours.” Lastly, we have to take note of Parṇadatta in whose time the dam of the Sudarśana Lake was rebuilt, as the Junāgadh inscription of Skandagupta (No. 28 below) informs us. It was this Gupta monarch, who, we are told, appointed him the protector (gōṭrī) of the whole Surāṣṭra, by which we have to understand that he was the governor of Kāṭhiāwād. And, further, we have to note that Parṇadatta put his son Chakrapālīta, in charge of the protection of the city where the inscription is found. In other words, to borrow the language of the Dāmōdarpur plates, he was appointed the Head of the Town Administrative Board of Girinagara by the Uparika of Surāṣṭra, who was doubtless his father.

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\(^1\) Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, pp. 52 fl.
\(^2\) Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 61 fl.
\(^3\) Ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 318 fl.
\(^4\) Inser. of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 74, lines 37-38.
Let us now take up for consideration three more administrative terms of the Gupta period. We have to take these three together; because, unless we compare them with one another, it will not be possible to arrive at the correct meaning of each and dispel the confusion which has grown up by the multiplicity of interpretations or misinterpretations proposed by different scholars. The terms in question are supplied by the following seals: (1) Mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Agniguptasya, (2) Daṇḍapāi-adhikaranasya and (3) Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭārakapādiya-balāḍhikaranasya. Now, what does Daṇḍanāyaka or Mahādaṇḍanāyaka mean? Bloch takes it in the sense of 'judge', and R. D. Banerji in the sense of 'the principal judge', though, further on, he renders it by 'general.' But Agnigupta was not the only Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of the Gupta age. This term we find mentioned thrice in the Allahābād pillar inscription (No. I below). Thus, the officer who got the prāṣasti executed was Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Tilakabhaṭṭa. Nay, the officer who composed it, we know, was the celebrated Harishēṇa, who is designated not only Sāndhivīrahika and Kumārāmāya but also Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. Further, we have to note that even his father, Dhruvabhūti, is called simply Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, without any further title or designation coupled with his name. If any further instance is required, it is furnished by some South Indian records which describe one Brāhmaṇa as Mahāpradhāna, Sīnāḍhipati and Daṇḍanāyaka, and speak of his father Kāvana also as Daṇḍanāyaka. This shows that, like 'Duke,' 'Earl' and 'Viscount', Mahādaṇḍanāyaka was a hereditary title of nobility. Nay, there is one inscription—a Kannada inscription found at Kargudari and dated Śaka 1030, which in lines 40-41 speaks of one Malliyakka as Daṇḍanāyakita, 'the female Daṇḍanāyaka.' This reminds us of the titles Mahārāṭhi-Mahārāṭhini, Mahābhōja-Mahābhōjī and Mahāśīnāpati-Mahāśīnāpatini of the West India cave inscriptions, and Mahātālavara-Mahātālavari and Mahāśīnāpati-Mahāśīnāpatini of the Nāgarjunikonḍa inscriptions. But Malliyakka of the Kargudari inscription was Daṇḍanāyakiti, not because her husband, but rather her father, Īśvaramāya, was Daṇḍādhiḥa or Daṇḍādhipa which seem, at least here, to be synonymous with Daṇḍanāyaka, from whom she apparently inherited it. But how, it may be asked, could Malliyakka be entitled to be called Daṇḍanāyakiti? This is not unlike the English titles Duchess, Countess and so forth, where a woman may be a Duchess, etc., in her own right also. This, too, points to the conclusion that Daṇḍanāyaka was a title of nobility.

When J. F. Fleet translated the passage containing this term which occurs about the close of the Allahābād pillar inscription, he remarked that "Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, lit. 'great leader of the forces,' is a technical military title". As daṇḍa means 'fine' and 'rod' (of chastisement) as well as 'army' or 'forces,' the titles in which it occurs are capable of being explained as either judicial or military. This term has thus been rendered 'judge' by Bloch, 'Chief Officer of Police' by Sir John Marshall, a high, probably judicial, official' by Vogel and 'a police officer' by ourselves. The sense known to lexicons is 'a military commander.' Thus Abhidhāna-

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1 A.R. ASI., 1903-04, p. 109, No. 17. There are many seals of the Gupta period, belonging also to simple Daṇḍanāyakas (A.R. ASI., 1911-12, p. 55).
3 Ibid., No. 12.
4 Age of the Imperial Guptas, pp. 77 and 96.
7 Ibid., Vol. XLVIII, p. 80 and note 4.
8 Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 6-7.
10 A.R. ASI., 1911-12, p. 54.
11 Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 32.
12 A.R. ASI., 1914-15, p. 82.
chintāṃṣi (II.9.34) has chaturaṅga-bal-ādhyakṣahāḥ sēnāniḥ-dāṇḍanāyakah. This was no doubt the primary sense. But in what sense are we to understand this term in the Gupta epoch? The most plausible reply to this question is to take Dāṇḍanāyaka as equivalent to something like a ‘Mansabdar’ in the Mughal period. According to Irvine, the Mansabdar was in the service of the State and was bound to render service, military or otherwise, when he was called upon to do so. According to Abul Fazal, there were sixty-six grades of Mansabdars, but there were not more than thirty-three in actual existence, the lowest were 20 rising to 5000, though about the close of Akbar’s reign there were created Mansabs of 7000, and even 10,000. Mansab was not granted to a merely military officer. Each Mansab was expected to maintain a certain number of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts, according to his rank and dignity.¹ This suits here excellently, because, from the inscriptions, there appear to have been at least four grades of this rank and dignity, namely, Dāṇḍanāyaka, Mahādāṇḍanāyaka, Mahāprachāṇḍa-
Dāṇḍanāyaka and Sāra-Śaṇḍanāyaka.² This receives further confirmation from the Ṛājatarāṅgini, Book VII, verses 975-87, where not only Dāṇḍanāyaka but also their forces (sainya) have been referred to in connection with the capture of Rājapuri by Kandarpa upon the demonstrations of king Harsha. Vexed by the reproaches of the king, when Kandarpa, we are told, entered Rājapuri, only one from among the forces (sainyas) of the Dāṇḍanāyakas followed him, namely, the general (sēnāni) named Kularāja. This general fell in the skirmish, and the enemy thought that Kandarpa was killed. But at midday Kandarpa penetrated into the royal palace of Rājapuri while three hundred of his foot routed thirty thousand of the enemy’s soldiers. In the evening as he was entering the palace again and preparing himself for another fight, he heard that that Dāṇḍanāyaka had arrived whose soldiers (sainikas) had hidden themselves from fright; so forth and so on. From the above account it is clear that several Dāṇḍanāyakas with their forces (sainyas) had accompanied Kandarpa to Rājapuri, that only one general (sēnāni) from among them followed him to the palace and that later on even the Dāṇḍanāyaka whose soldiers had held back through fear also joined him. What inference is here more natural than that the Dāṇḍanāyakas were something like Mansabdars who joined the royal army with their forces and that each of these forces was commanded by a Sēnāni or General who was not and could not always be the Dāṇḍanāyaka himself? The Ṛājatarāṅgini has been translated by two scholars. One of these is Sir Aurel Stein who has rendered the term by ‘the prefect of police’ and the other is R. S. Pandit who has translated it by ‘the commissioner of police.’ How different Police Prefects or Commissioners could take to the battle-field their different police detachments of which they were not always the commandants, and joined the regular army for the battle as no doubt the Dāṇḍanāyakas did in the present case, is something which it is difficult to understand. This is not intelligible except on the supposition that Dāṇḍanāyakas were something like Mansabdars who were to help the State with military service or otherwise as occasion called for it. That they were asked to serve the State even in times of peace in the Gupta period is clear from the fact that Harishēna of the Allahābād pillar inscription is described not only as Mahādāṇḍanāyaka but also as Kumārāmātya and, above all, Sāndhiṅgrikha. If another instance is required, it is supplied by the legend of a Bhūta seal which runs thus: Mahāśvapatī-Mahādāṇḍanāyaka-Vishṇurakṣhitapād-ānugiriḥita-Kumārāmātya-ādhikaranaśya.³ Here we have a Mahādāṇḍanāyaka called Vishṇurakṣhitā who is mentioned as Mahāśvapatī, ‘supreme commander of the cavalry.’ That Vishṇurakṣhitā was a big officer is further indicated by the fact that it was within his power to appoint such a high dignitary as Kumārāmātya.

¹ Isvari Prasad’s Short History of the Muslim Rule in India, pp. 468-69.
³ A.R. ASI, 1911-12, pp. 52-53.
THE GUPTA SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

The grade of the Daṇḍanāyaka survived long after the Gupta rule but was ultimately merged into the Mansabdarı of the Moghul period. But how far earlier than the Gupta period was it in existence? That is the question we have now to consider. So far as our knowledge goes, we find it first mentioned in the Kushāna records. Thus, one Mathurā inscription speaks of a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of the time of Huvisha. Similarly, the Māñikīlā inscription of the time of Kanishka and dated in the year 18 of his reign makes mention of another Daṇḍanāyaka called Lala who calls himself a scion of the Gushaṇa (Kushāna) race. It is worthy of note that this rank of the Daṇḍanāyaka was unknown prior to the time of the Kushānas. At any rate, so far as I know, it is not mentioned in Kaṭalya's Arthaśāstra. Nor is the term met with in the epigraphs of the pre-Kushāna period. We shall perhaps be not far from right if we say that this rank became known to India with the introduction of the feudal system of the Kushāna administration, and later was replaced by the Persian term Mansabdar in the time of Akbar.

It will be seen that it does not at all seem likely that Daṇḍanāyaka denoted 'a general'. There were other terms which are distinctively of a military character. One of these is Mahāśvāpati occurring in a legend just referred to. A somewhat more extensive term is Bhātāśvāpati, which is mentioned on a seal thus: Bhātāśvāpati-Yakshavatsasya, "(seal) of Yakshavatśa, Commander of Infantry and Cavalry." A still more extensive term is Sēṅgpati, which, although it does not occur in the inscriptions of the Gupta sovereigns, is found in the copper-plate charters of the Vakṣa king Pravarasēna II, who was a grandson of Chandragupta II. Two of these charters were drawn up when Chitravarmaṇa and Bāppadēva were the Sēṅgpatis respectively. In later times also Sēṅgpati was distinct from Daṇḍanāyaka. Thus, in the Amgāchhi plate of the Pāla king Vigrāhapaṭa, Mahāsēṅgpati is mentioned separately from Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. Similarly, in the Barrackpur grant of the Śeṇa ruler Vijayasēna also Mahāsēṅgpati is distinguished from Daṇḍanāyaka. In the pre-Gupta period also Mahāsēṅgpati is mentioned separately from Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. Thus one Nāgarjunikoṇḍa inscription speaks of one Mahāsēṅgpati Mahāṭalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Khamdavisākhamāṇaka (=Skandavisākha). Here Mahāsēṅgpati does not seem to be a title of nobility, because his wife Āḍavi-Chāṁtisīri has been styled only Mahāṭalavari, and not Mahāsēṅgpatini as other ladies of the House of king Chāṁtāmūla have been. A fourth term connected with the military department is Balāṭahikīṭa and Mahābalāṭahikīṭa. The former occurs on a Bāśagh seal bearing the legend: Tuvarāja-baṭṭāra- paṭḍiya-Balāṭahikaranasya. It is found also in the Shāhpur stone image inscription11 of the later and feudatory Gupta chieftain Āḍityasēna. Mahābalāṭahikīṭa is found in line 20 of the Mahāgawām plates of the Mahārāja Hastin as the designation of the Dūṭaka called Nāgasimha. Nay, exactly the same designation, namely, Mahābalāṭahikīṭa is coupled with the name of Prithivishēna, a staff officer of Kumāragupta I, mentioned in the Karamḍāṇḍa epigraph (No. 21 below). We shall not be far from right if we say that Balāṭahikīṭa, Mahābalāṭahikīṭa and Sēṅgpati were to one another what a quartermaster-general, a brigadier-general and commander-in-chief are in the British military service. A fifth term relating to the Military

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1 IHQ, Vol. XII, pp. 225 and ff.
2 TRAS, 1924, p. 402, line 5.
4 A.R. ASI, 1903-04, p. 109, No. 18.
8 Ibid., p. 293, lines 26 and 28.
9 Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 18, line 4.
12 Ibid., p. 108.
department is Rāṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikarana which also is met with on a Basāḍh seal\(^1\) and which must signify "Office of Military Store House." The sixth and the last term that we have to note is Sāndhivigrāhika or Mahāsāndhivigrāhika or Mahāsāndhivigrāhādhihikarana as he is also styled in some records. Here the word mahā seems to be an honorific prefix, as the first two we find used, e.g., in the charters of the Uchchakalpa family. Thus, in the Khoṭ plate dated 177, Gallu, the officer who drew up the charter, is called Sāndhivigrāhika,\(^3\) whereas in the Khoṭ plate of 193, his brother, Manōratha, is styled Mahāsāndhivigrāhika.\(^4\) Possibly, in later times there was a distinction made between Sāndhivigrāhika and Mahāsāndhivigrāhika. In the earlier Gupta period, however, Sāndhivigrāhika seems to be the only designation known. Thus, Harishēṇa, who drew up the Allahābād pillar praśasti of Samudragupta, was not an ordinary officer. He was not only a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, but also a Kūmārāmāyaka. That is a clear indication of the high social and political status he was then enjoying. Nevertheless, the actual designation which he held at that time was that of Sāndhivigrāhika, without the prefix mahā. Of course, Sāndhivigrāhika denoted 'a Minister for Peace and War', but whether he was a Minister of External Affairs as we understand him at present, it is difficult to say. As this officer must thus have been connected with correspondence with the foreign states, and was, at any rate, a commissioner properly authorised for such transactions as treaties of peace or of alliance, truces and so forth, he and the members of his office must therefore have been experts in the art of composition and mode of drafting. Thus, an Udayagiri inscription (No. 11 below) speaks of Viraśeṇa Śāba of the Kautsa gōtra as being the Sāndhivigrāhika of Chandragupta II and describes him as a kāvi or poet. Nay, Harishēṇa himself who drew up the praśasti of Samudragupta engraved upon the Allahābād pillar describes it as a kāvya; and elsewhere we have pointed out what a great master of style and composition he was, by discussing the literary merits of that panegyric.\(^5\) It is therefore no wonder if a Sāndhivigrāhika or any one of his assistants or subordinates\(^6\) is generally found entrusted with the task of preparing the draft of a land grant.

Another officer connected with dāṇḍa is Dāṇḍapāśika mentioned in the legend Dāṇḍapāśikādhikaraṇasya on a Basāḍh seal noted above. In this connection we have to take note of the fact that Dāṇḍapāśika is distinguished from Chaurōḍharaṇika not only in the later Pāla and Sēna charters but also in the earlier Valabhi\(^7\) and Chamba\(^8\) plates. Further, they are both distinguished from Dāṇḍika or Dāṇḍaśakti in the Pāla plates. Thus the Khālimpur record of Dharma-pāla has Dāṇḍaśakti-Dāṇḍapāśika-Chaurōḍharaṇika,\(^9\) whereas the Mungir inscription of Dēvarāja has Chaurōḍharaṇika-Dāṇḍika-Dāṇḍapāśika.\(^10\) It seems that Dāṇḍika is the same as Dāṇḍaśakti. Dāṇḍika is not an imaginary term, it occurs also in the Deo-Baraṇārk inscription\(^11\) of Jīvita-gupta II. In thus settling the meaning of Dāṇḍapāśika, we have to consider side by side

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\(^1\) A.R. ASI., 1903-04, p. 100, No. 13.
\(^2\) Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 299, line 34.
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 128, lines 30-31.
\(^5\) See, pp. 149-63 below.
\(^6\) Thus we find a Kaṭak grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta I drafted by Mahūka, a Kāyastha, who belonged to the office of Rāṇa Maladatta, the Mahāsāndhivigrāhikā (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 350, lines 46-48).
\(^7\) See e.g., a grant of Dāṇḍimahādēvi which was drawn up by the poet Jambala, son of the great poet Jaya-ātman who is mentioned separately from the Mahākāpoṣapālīka and the Mahāsāndhivigrāhikā and Mahāpratiśhāṭa (Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 139, lines 39-40).
\(^8\) Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 207, line 3; Vol. VII, p. 72, Plate II, line 2.
\(^10\) Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 250, line 45.
\(^12\) CII., Vol. III, 1888, p. 216, line 9.
with it the sense of the other two terms, namely Đāṇḍika or Đāṇḍaśakti and Chaurōḍdharaṇika. From a careful consideration of these three terms it appears to me that Đāṇḍika or Đāṇḍaśakti corresponds to the Kōṭwāl1 or the City Police Magistrate, Đāṇḍapāśika to the Darōgā or District Superintendent of Police, and Chaurōḍhharaṇika, to the Head of the Detective Bureau, whose duty is to apprehend a thief, either by setting a thief to catch a thief or a Pagi or Tracker to trace the course of the miscreant by means of his foot-prints.

The next designation we have to take note of is contained in a Bāṣāḍ seal legend thus: Mahapratihāra—Taravara—Vinayasaśraya.2 Vinayasaśra is, of course, the name of the individual. Taravara is of rare occurrence in the Gupta records. But slightly earlier than this period we find that it had become a title of nobility, as is clear from the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions. Here we meet with not only Mahātalavara but also the feminine form of Mahātalavari. We may thus take it that Vinayasaśra was then occupying the social dignity of Taravara. Vogel who had edited the inscriptions enquires whether it can have “any connection with Tamil talavāy (= a general), Tamil talaiyār (= a village watchman), or Canarese talavara, talavāra (= a watchman, a beadle).” Hirananda Sastri further draws our attention to the fact that in early Jain literature the Mahātalavaras are mentioned along with eighteen Gaṇadharas and that in the Panjab there is a subdivision of Khatris which goes by the name of Talwād. There are other names like Mahēndra, Sāhi, Sāhni, etc., which are evidently derived from Mahēndra: ‘chief’, Sāhi: ‘banker’ and Sēnāni: ‘general’ respectively.4 There can thus be no doubt that in the social hierarchy of the day Vinayasaśra held the dignity of Taravara. But what was his office designation? That is indicatively and naturally by Mahāpratihāra, which is rendered generally by ‘the Great Chamberlain.’ R. D. Banerji, however, takes it5 in the sense of the “Chief Prefect of Police”—which is inexplicable. Now Mahāpratihāra we find associated with Mahādaṇḍanāyaka,6 or with Mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Mahākārtikātika-Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta7 in the specification of the rank and designation of one and the same officer or ruler such e.g., as Dhruvasēna I of Valabhi. On the other hand, he is mentioned in the list of officials mentioned in the partially preserved Dēo-Baranārāk inscription along with Kumārāmātya, Rājasthāniya, Chaurōḍdharaṇika, Đāṇḍika, Đāṇḍapāśika, etc. What could be the exact signification of Mahāpratihāra?

It is curious that in Sanskrit literature whereas dawārika denotes a male door-keeper prati-
hāri is employed invariably to denote a female door-keeper, especially with reference to a harem. Even in a Nasik cave inscription8 which seems to be a copy of a charter issued by Gautamiputra Satakarni and his queen-mother, a Pratihāra(ra)kshi called Lōtā is mentioned as having composed the draft of the same. In this connection we have to take note of the following passage from the Rājatarangini,9 relating to Lalitādiya-Muktāpiṭa, who is represented to have founded five new things, namely, ‘the Mahāpratihārapīṭa,’ ‘the Great Minister for Peace and War’ (Mahāsāndhivigraha), ‘the Royal Stables’ (Mahāśvaśālā), ‘the High Treasurer’ (Mahābhāṇḍāgāra) and the Mahāsādhanabhāga.” Of these five, three are obviously officers. Of the other two, one is the Royal Stables, and the other is Mahāpratihārapīṭa which literally means ‘the Porter’s chair.’ Vogel rightly informs us that “Dhyān Singh, the powerful minister of

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5 Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 77.
7 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 105, lines 13-14.
9 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 73.
10 Book IV, verses 141-43.
Mahārājā Ranjit Singh held the post of deodhīvālā or ‘chief door-keeper’ and further draws our attention to the remark of F. Drew that “in a native court, a palace of personal government, the door-keeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or restraining access to the chief, has considerable influence.” Even in Rajputana up till recently Dēvādhīdār was an important officer of a chief’s palace.

There are one or two more designations of the Gupta epoch that we have yet to take cognisance of. One of these is Vinayasthitisthāpaka who seems to have had his own adhikaraṇa or office, as is clear from the seal legend Tīrdbhuktau Vinayasthitis-tsthāpak-ādhikaraṇasaya. Bloch leaves it untranslated, but remarks that Vinayasthitis-tsthāpaka “may denote a class of officials entrusted with the superintendence of the moral conduct of the people.” The term or designation may safely be rendered by “the official who maintains moral (vinaya) and social (sthiti) discipline.” This may be compared to Raghunātha I, 24-25, where both vinaya and sthiti occur. In later times a somewhat different phraseology was employed to denote the same office or officer, namely, Mahādharmaṇḍhyaksha, Dharmaṇḍhikaraṇika, and so on. The same function was apparently discharged by Paṇḍitrāv, a member of Śivāji’s Cabinet Council. His duties as pointed out by K. T. Telang, were “to receive learned persons on behalf of the State and countersign all documents that may issue from the Sovereign relating to Āchāra, Vyavahaṇa and Prāyāṣhchitta, that is to say, rules of conduct, civil and criminal law, and penances—the three departments of the Dharma-sāstra.”

Another Officer that we have now to consider is Āyuktaka who is mentioned in a Dāmodarpur plate (No. 40 below). He is Bhandaka who, over and above his duties as an Āyuktaka, was the Head of the District Town Administration of Kōṭivarsha. We have further to note that Āyuktas are mentioned in line 26 of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as being “always engaged upon restoring wealth to the many kings conquered by the might of his arms.” In the earlier period the term Yukta is used. Thus Rock Edict III of Aśōka specifies Yuktas along with the officials, Prādēśikas and Rājukas. In Kauṭalya’s Arthaśāstra not only Tuktas but also their assistants Upayuktas have been mentioned. The duties of both appear to be of the same kind. They seem to be district treasury officers who managed the king’s property, received and kept account of revenue and had power to spend where expenditure was likely to augment revenue. These designations persisted in later times also. Thus, in the Cambay plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda IV of Māṇyakhetā, Yuktaka and Upayuktaka are specified along with Rāṣṭrapati, Grāmakūṭa and Mahattara.

Our account of the Administrative System of North India in the Gupta period cannot be complete until we show what light epigraphic records throw upon the Pañcāḥyata system in Bengal. Pañcāḥyata is generally taken to signify ‘the village community.’ It had better be understood in the sense of ‘local self-government,’ whether it is connected with a village or district. The old Pañcāḥyata is at present found in its best preserved form in the Madras Presidency. In many parts of Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt also it continues to be in some force, in spite of the innovations introduced by the British Government. But there was hardly any trace of it in

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2 AR. ASI., 1903-04, p. 109, No. 21.
3 It is not impossible to take this word as Vinayasthitisthāpaka and understand sthitiisthāpaka in the special sense of ‘having elastic properties, having the power of restoring to a previous state.’ In that case this officer has to be supposed as being entrusted with the duty of the restoration of moral discipline only. This is, however, too contracted a sense to be attached to the word.
4 Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 97, line 34.
5 Deccan College Lectures (First Series), p. 81.
Bengal even at the time of the establishment of the British power except perhaps in the Muhammadan community of Dacca until some time ago. A careful study of the Damodarpur and kindred copper-plate inscriptions leads us, however, to the conclusion that two types of the Pañchāyat were prevalent in Bengal in the Gupta period from circa 300 to 500 A.D.—one connected with the administration of the district town, and the other with that of the village. The Damodarpur plates are five in number, and are all connected with the viśhaya or district of Kōṭivarsa falling under the bhukti or province of Puṇḍravardhana. Puṇḍravardhana has now been identified with Mahāsthān1 in the Bōgra District and Kōṭivarsa with Bāngarh in the Dinajpur District, West Bengal. Now, it is worthy of note that these records register the orders of the Adhikaraṇa of the Kōṭivarsa adhisthāna to certain village officials in regard to the conveyance of certain lands. Let us now consider what these terms signify. First, what is adhikaraṇa? It is generally taken in the sense of ‘a Court of Law’ or ‘administration of justice.’ But this seems to be the narrow sense of the term. As pointed out above, in 1903-04, when T. Bloch excavated Bāṣādh, the ancient Vaśāli, he lighted upon many seals of the early Gupta period, pertaining to such offices as Kumārāṃśa-viśhaya; Bal-ādikaraṇa, Śrī-laṅka-viśhaya; Ćakaṇā-ādikaraṇa, and so forth. This shows that the term adhikaraṇa was used in the sense of the modern Kachhār or Kāchhār, ‘a town-house,’ ‘an office for transacting public business,’ whether it was a judicial, ecclesiastical or military nature or pertaining to customs and excise. Let us now see what court administration is referred to in the Damodarpur plates. It is true that most of these plates have lost their original seals. Fortunately, one has been preserved which clearly calls it Kōṭivarsha-adhisthāna-ādikaraṇa, that is, ‘Office of the District Town of Kōṭivarsa.’ This shows that adhisthāna here denotes the principal town of a district, in this particular case, the district town of Kōṭivarsa. Let us proceed one step further. In all these plates, except one, every personnel of the Town Board has been specified. To take the earliest two of them which refer themselves to the reign of Kumāragupta and are dated Gupta years 124 and 128, i.e., 442-43 and 446-47 A.D., we find that this Board was composed of Vētravaranam as President and Dhṛtipāla, Bandhumitra, Dhritimitra and Śāmbapāla as constituent members. Five members thus constituted this Board; in other words, it was a veritable Pañchāyat. The President of this Board, as we have just seen, was Vētravaranam, who is designated Kumārāṃśa. He was appointed President, we are told, by Chirātadatta who was the Uparika or Governor of the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti or Province. He was thus a nominee of the State. But what about the other members of the Board? The first of these, Dhṛtipāla, was the Nāgara-srēṣṭhin; the second, Bandhumitra, Sārvāvāha; the third, Dhritimitra, Prathama-kūlka; and the fourth, Śāmbapāla, Prathama-kāṣṭha. Of these the Nāgara-srēṣṭhin has survived in the modern Nagarsheth of Gujarat. “In all the chief centres of trade,” says the Bombay Gazetteer,2 “some of the leading Vānia capitalists, under the name of Mahājanas or great men, form a merchant guild. The guild fixes the rates of exchange and discount, and levies fees on certain transactions, spending the proceeds on humane and religious objects. The head of their community, the Nagarsheth or city-merchant, was formerly a man of much power and importance, though of late years, with the decay of his functions, his influence has been much reduced.” This clearly shows that up till some time ago, the Nāgara-srēṣṭhin was the head of all the artisan guilds of the district town. And this suits here exceedingly well. As regards Sārvāvāha, it is scarcely necessary to point out that the term denotes the leaders of caravans. Those who have read the classical work of the late Rhys Davids named Buddhist India need not be told that even in the sixth century B.C., “there were merchants who conveyed their goods either up and down the great rivers, or along the coasts in boats; or right across country in

2 Vol. IX, pt. i, pp. 95-96; Hopkin’s India Old and New pp. 178-79.
carts travelling in caravans. These caravans, long lines of small two-wheeled carts, each drawn by two bullocks, were a distinctive feature of the times ... There were taxes and octroi duties at each different country entered; and a heavy item in the cost was the hire of volunteer police who let themselves out in bands to protect caravans against robbers on the way.”

India seems to have hardly changed in this respect up till a century ago, the only difference being that the original Sārtthavāhas were later on known as Vanjaras or Lōbānās. These last “were the great travelling traders and carriers of Central India, the Deccan and Rajputana; and under the Afgān and Mughal empires were the commissariat of the imperial forces.” It will thus be seen that the Nagaraśāsthihīn represented the special industries of the district and the internal mercantile dealings, and Sārtthavāha the external commercial intercourse between province and province and country and country.

We have now to consider the full significance of the phrase Prathama-kulika. Kātyāyana, the author of a Smṛiti, says in one place: kulānāṁ tu samūhasaṁ = tu Gaṇah sa parākāritaḥ, “Gaṇa is an aggregation of clans.”

It seems that originally when a gaṇa or a tribe conquered some territory, the different kulas constituting it divided the land among themselves. Every kula had its autonomy, such, e.g., as the Śākya kula to which the Buddha belonged; and the several kulas confederated themselves into the tribal oligarchy or gaṇa such, e.g., as the Lichchhavi gaṇa. Kulas were thus petty Zemindaries, and their heads were styled Kulikas. There can be no doubt that up till later times the Kulikas played some part in fiscal administration in different provinces. It is a well-known fact that when the grant of land or village is made by a king, the copper-plate charter generally specifies a list of officials and also of peoples who are likely to be connected with the administration of the grant or in any way affected by it. Now, if we take any one of these plates published by J. Ph. Vogel in Antiquities of Chamba State, we find that after the specification of the state officials mention is made of Khaṣa-kulikas. The same is the case with the copper-plate grants of the Pāla kings of Bengal. They, too, specify first the state officials and make mention thereafter not only of the Khaṣa, but also of the Gauḍa, Mālava, and Hūna, Kulikas. That the Kulikas cut a more important figure in the Gupta period may be seen from the fact that several seals of Kulikas have been found in the excavations of Bāsādh, such as those of Kulika-Nagadatta, Kulika-Hari, Kulika-Ūmabhaṭṭa. What is further noteworthy is that there has been picked up at least one seal from Bāsādh where with the individual name Hari is coupled not simply Kulika but rather Prathama-kulika, showing that this Hari was the first and foremost of the Kulikas of Vaiśāli. Kulas or clans seem to have been further divided into Kūtumbas or families. The heads of these Kūtumbas are similarly called Kūtumbins; and they have been actually referred to as such in the cave inscriptions of Mahārāshṭra. Thus in one of these inscriptions a Hālakiya or agriculturist named Usabaḥaṇaka has been actually styled Kūtumbin, whereas his son is described merely as a Griha-pati, that is, a member of the Middle Class as it was then called. In fact, the Kūtumbins were the peasant proprietors and the Kulikas the Zamindars. In later times, though the term Kulika was forgotten, the term Kūtumbin is traceable in the

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1 Buddhist India, p. 98.
3 Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 151.
4 Ibid., pp. 149 and ff.
5 p. 166, line 8.
6 Gauḍa-śākhānāḍa, p. 61, line 36.
7 A.R. ASI., 1903-04, p. 111, Nos. 33, 39 and 40.
8 Ibid., 1913-14, p. 139, No. 277-A.
9 Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVIII, p. 80.
Marāṭhī Kuṃbi and the Gujarātī Kanbi and is now used to denote exclusively the cultivators. Though the term Kūrika is now forgotten, the term kula is still preserved in the Bengali word kula-karma which means 'cultivation.' The upshot of this discussion is that Prathama-kūrika represented, in the Adhishṭhān-ādhikarāṇa or the District Town Board, the Kūrika class who were District Zamindars.

There now remains the fourth term to be explained, namely, Prathama-kāyastha. We have, therefore, to trace the history of the Kāyastha caste in Bengal. The first question that arises is: when did the Kāyastha caste spring into existence in this province? In this connection we have to note that there is a work called Nyāyakandali by Śridhara, which is a commentary on Praśastapāda's Vaiśeṣikasūtra.1 There he tells us that he composed the work at a place called Bhūrisrishi in Dakṣiṇa-Rādhā in Śaka 913–991 A.D. at the request of Pāṇḍudāsa, who was the head-mark of a Kāyastha kula or clan. The Kāyastha caste had thus been formed in Bengal by the tenth century. But what was the primary occupation of the Kāyasthas before they developed into a caste? A copper-plate was found at Tippera which is dated Gupt year 188=506 A.D. and speaks of Naradatta as the officer who drew up the grant. There he has been designated Sādhvigrahādhikaraṇa-Kāyastha,2 that is, 'a Kāyastha pertaining to the Department of Peace and War.' It is difficult to say what the word Kāyastha here denotes, but there is here no indication at all that the Kāyasthas formed a caste about the end of the fifth century A.D. What was then the exact duty of a Kāyastha between the fifth and the tenth centuries before the Kāyastha caste arose? The Rāmgaṇj plate of Ṭisvaraghōsha, which belongs to the late Pāla period, mentions in the list of officials Mahākāyastha along with Mahākaraṇādhyaksha and Mahākṣapaṭalika.3 This shows that up till the twelfth century A.D. the function of a Kāyastha in Bengal was different from that of Karanika or 'the writer' or Akṣapatalika or 'the accountant'. But that does not determine the exact duty of the Kāyastha in Bengal. If, however, we turn to the earlier Pāla period and especially to the Khālimpur charter of Dharmpāla, the list of officials specified therein clusters together Jyōṣṭha-Kāyastha, Mahāmahattara, Mahattara and Dāsāgrāmikas as Vishaya-cyavahārins4 or District Officers. It appears that in the Pāla period the lowest unit for the governance of a district was a group of ten villages in charge of an official who was for that reason styled Dāsāgrāmika, that above him was a Mahattara, and above the latter a Mahāmahattara and that above every one of them was placed a Jyōṣṭha-Kāyastha. Now the term Jyōṣṭha-Kāyastha or the Chief Kāyastha implies that the other officials, namely the Mahāmahattaras, Mahattaras and Dāsāgrāmikas under him were known simply as Kāyastha. They thus seem to be district officers all connected principally with the collection of revenue and designated Kāyastha in ancient Bengal as they were in Kashmir in the time of Kalhaṇa.5 Prathama-Kāyastha, like Jyōṣṭha-Kāyastha, obviously denotes the highest grade among the Kāyasthas whose subordinate ranks were represented by the Mahāmahattara, Mahattara, and Dāsāgrāmika. To revert to the main point, the Prathama-Kāyastha represents the class of officers who were in supreme charge of the collection of revenue.

It will be seen from the above discussion that a district town in Bengal was administered in the Gupt period by a Board of Five. Three members of this Board were Nagarā-Srēśṭhin, Sārthavāha and Prathama-Kulika and represented respectively the Industrial, Commercial and Zemindari interests of the District. They seem to have been elected by their constituencies. What exactly the position of the Mahākāyastha was it is difficult to say. Apparently he was

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1 R. P. Chanda's The Indo-Aryan Races, p. 198.
4 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 250, line 47.
5 Rājatarangini, Bk. VII, verse 1226.
nominated by the Provincial Government, the senior most of the Revenue Collectors being selected for this purpose. There can, however, be no doubt as to the Head of this Board being appointed by the Provincial Governor. This has been actually stated to be so in the Dāmodārpur plates. And what has to be noted in this connection is that it was not the Vishayapati who was always appointed President of this District Board of Five, as might naturally be expected. Of the five Dāmodārpur plates, only four specify details about this Board. Of these four, only one speaks of Vishayapati as being President of the District Board, namely, the plate dated Gupta year 224 and mentioning Svayambhudēva as his name. Of the remaining three, Kumārāmāya has been specified twice and Ayuktaka once as the President of the District Pañchāyat.

What exactly were the duties this District Pañchāyat carried out cannot definitively be determined. One duty certainly was the conveyance of land as is clear from the Dāmodārpur and other kindred copper-plate inscriptions. Another duty must have been the settlement of town disputes as is clear from Act IX of the Myṛcchakakatika where the Śrēṣṭhīn and Kāyastha figure in the Adhikaraṇa along with its head. Here the latter is called merely Adhikaraṇika, and the three Adhikaraṇa-bhājaka and the Hall where they worked Adhikaraṇa-mandapa. In addition to these, they must have been entrusted with duties connected with public works, town charities and so forth. This receives confirmation from a Nāsik cave inscription which relates the benefactions of Uṣhavadāta (Rishabhadatta) to the Buddhist mendicants staying in the residential cave excavated by him for them. Rishabhadatta, we know, was a son-in-law and general of the Mahākṣatrapa Nahapāna (c. 125 A.D.). After citing the details of his charities, the inscription says: srāvita nigama-sabhāya nibadha cha phalakavārī charitrañī,1 “All this has been proclaimed to the Town Board and registered in a sheaf of record papers according to the established practice.” Phalakavāra, 'sheaf of record papers', reminds us of the Pastāpālas of the Dāmodārpur plates who were the Keepers of Records, and who, being aware of the title to all lands, registered the conveyance of land. Many other duties of the District Board of Ancient India or Bengal must have been similar to those of the Village Pañchāyat, but of these we have no definite knowledge.

The following passage from a Bhiṃmal inscription may be compared profitably with a similar one from a Dāmodārpur record. The first runs as follows: Śrī-Śrīmalē Mahārajaśhirāja-
Śrī-Udayasinhadēva-kalyāna-vijaya-rājē tan-niyukta-Mahām Gajasīka-prabhṛti-pañchakula-prātipatta,
“In prosperous Śrīmala, during the blessed and victorious reign of the Mahārājaśhirāja
Śrī-Udayasinhadēva and during the administration of the Pañchakula (consisting of) Mahānīta
Gajasimha and others appointed by him and of others.”2 This may be compared to Puṇḍravardhane-bhukta=Uparika-Chirātadattē=ānuvaha-mānakē Kōṭivara-vīshayē cha tan-niyukta-Kumārāmāya-Vētravarmanē=adhishthān-adhikaraṇāṇī=cha Nagara-śrēṣṭhī- . . . Sārthavāha- . . .
Prathama-kulika- . . . Prathama-kāyastha- . . . purōgē saṁyavaharati, “While the Kōṭivarsha District
is running on with (the rule of) Cīrātadatta, Uparika of the Puṇḍravardhana Province . . .
and while Kumārāmāya Vētravarman, appointed by him, is administering the Board of the
Town, (and) presiding over the Nagara-śrēṣṭhī . . ., the Sārthavāha . . ., the Prathama-kulika . . .,
(and) the Prathama-Kāyastha . . .” It will be seen that the Adhishtēn-adhikaraṇa of Kōṭivarsha is a
Pañchakula consisting as it is of five members. And, further, we have to note that just as in the
former the President of the Town Board was nominated by the Governor of the Province, so
in the latter he was by the petty Chief of the petty State whose capital it was. The only difference
between the two is that whereas in the former the members of the Board of Five have been
specified and named, in the latter the President alone has been so named. Anyhow both the
Boards can be described as Pañchakula, a term which has survived in the modern Pañcholi

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 82, line 4.
2 Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 56-57, lines 4-6; p. 58, lines 3-4.
which certain families of Rājputānā still bear as a reminiscence of their ancestors having originally been members of this Board.

The villages also of Ancient Bengal were governed by a sort of Pañchāyat system about which some details have been furnished by the Dāmōdar and other kindred records. In this connection may be cited the following passage from inscription No. 38 below: Palāśavṛindakāt= sa-Viśāsa Mahattar-ādy-Ashtakul-adhikaranaḥ grāmika-kutumbinaḥ=cha Chandragrāmaka-brahmān-adhyaksha-kshudra-prakriti-kutumbinah kusalam=uktā . . . , ‘From Palāśavṛinda, the Ashtakula Board headed by the Mahattara, in conjunction with Viśāsa, and the husbandmen who are village headmen, after enquiring about (their) health, inform the husbandmen of the village Chaṇḍaka who are the inferior ryots and are presided over by the Brāhmaṇas, as follows.’ Now, this passage speaks of two classes, the first consisting of those who issued the order and the second of those to whom it was issued. Let us, in the first place, consider those who pertained to the first order. The most important word or phrase here is the Mahattar-ādy-Ashtakul-adhikaraṇa. Of these the term adhikaraṇa signifies ‘the Administrative Board.’ Ashtakula after the analogy of Pañchakula should denote a Board with eight constituent members. Who these were is not known. One member, at any rate, was the Mahattara. As stated above, Mahattara and Mahāmahattara formed the lower order of officials connected with the collection of revenue. That suits here excellently. That the Mahattaras were in fact connected with and were the heads of Kutumbins or husbandmen may be inferred from Mahattar-ādi-kutumbins in line 3 of the Pahādpress copper plate inscription and santaivyahāry-ādi-kutumbins in lines 1-2 of the Nandapur copper plate inscription showing clearly that the Mahattaras were santaivyahārins or officials placed over the Kutumbins. The Ashtakul-adhikaraṇa was thus presided over by the Mahattara, who, being a government official, must have been nominated by the State as no doubt the Head of the Pañchakula was. Further, we have to note that with this Board was associated an official whose designation was Viśāsa, as we can also see from line 1 of the Nandapur copper plate inscription referred to above. Who was this Viśāsa? In this connection it is worthy of note that Bīwās is a surname which is very common in Bengal. It is found not only among the Kāyasthas but also among the Bārindra Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. And what is further noteworthy is that the surname Bīwās is met with not only among the Hindus but also among the Mussalmans of this province. Evidently it was originally the designation of a post which, later on, being held for several generations, became the surname of the family, like Bhāndārī, Munshī, Majumdār, and Chakladār. But what was the meaning of the designation Viśāsa, at the outset? As in the phrase quoted above, Mahattara denotes the Head of the village community called Ashtrakula, Viśāsa signifies in all probability the Accountant invariably associated with that community. This agrees with the fact that the term Viśāsa means ‘trust’ and may thus secondarily denote ‘an officer holding the post of trust.’ If this sense of Viśāsa, namely, ‘Accountant’ is accepted, it explains why Arjunamiśra, the Bengali scholar who composed a commentary on the Mahābhārata, says, as has been pointed out by J. C. Ghosh, that he composed the Mokshadharmmamṛthadipikā in accordance with the order of Gaṇḍēśvaran-Mahāmāntra-śrimad-Viśāsa-rāya, that is, ‘the illustrious Viśāsa-rāya who was the chief counsellor of the king of Gaṇḍa.’ Similarly the Bengali dramatist, Rāmachandra Guha, says that his father had attained to the distinction (padavi) of Viśāsa-khāna, being the chief counsellor (mahāmātya) and poet-laureate (kavi-pandita) of the king of Gaṇḍa. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Viśāsa-rāya and Viśāsa-khāna were something like the modern ‘Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer.’ We cannot explain these designations satisfactorily, unless Viśāsa is

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 52 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 128.
taken to denote 'an accountant'. Here we may proceed one step further and notice the fact that Vīvāsa is not included in but rather associated with such an Adhikaraṇa, showing that he was a state official who was connected with more than one Ashtakula. The case is not unlike the Kulkarni of Mahārāṣṭra who keeps an account sometimes of more than one village. Even the Maṛāṭhā word kul or kāḷ signifies 'a rōṭpaying revenue to Government.'

It will be seen that the Head of the Ashtakul-ādhikaraṇa was Mahattara, and with them is associated Vīvāsa, who was most likely the Accountant of a village or a group of villages. This is not all, because with them further are associated grāmika-kutumbīnāḥ. We have already seen that the Kutumbins were the peasant-proprietors just as the Kulkās were the Zemindars. There were various grades amongst Kutumbins. One grade is certainly represented by the Grāmikas, who, as pointed out elsewhere, were village headmen, or rather the heads of village guilds. It is these village headmen who, along with the Vīvāsa, constituted the Ashtakul-ādhikaraṇa presided over by the Mahattara, in the discharge of the village business. That there were various grades among the Kutumbins or husbandmen can scarcely be doubted. This is clear from the passage quoted above from a Dāmōdarpur copper plate inscription (No. 38 below), which contains the following words: brāhmaṇ-ādhyaksha-kshudra-prakrti-kutumbīnāḥ. They denote ordinary husbandmen who form the inferior ryots and are presided over by the Brāhmaṇas. What this means is that those husbandmen who were not Mahattaras, Vīvāsas or Grāmikas were stamped as kshudra-prakṛti, or inferior ryots. But they were Brāhmaṇ-ādhyaksha, that is, presided over by the Brāhmaṇas. With this may be compared Brāhmaṇ-āttarāṇ = Mahattar-ādi-kutumbīnāḥ in line 3 of the Pahāḍpur copper plate inscription1 and Brāhmaṇ-āttarāṇ = saṁnyavahāry-ādi-kutumbīnāḥ in lines 1-2 of the Nandapur copper plate inscription.2 Evidently, the Brāhmaṇas are here distinguished from the Kutumbins presided over by the village officials. The implication is that these Brāhmaṇas were not husbandmen, but, being Brāhmaṇas, were at the head of the village folk. In later times, however, some Brāhmaṇas in Bengal had taken to tillage and were therefore distinguished from those who were clinging to the old mode of life proper for a Brāhmaṇa. Thus in many inscriptions of the Sēṇa period we meet with the expression Kṣetramāñi = ādi Brāhmaṇān,3 "and the Brāhmaṇa cultivators headed by the Brāhmaṇas," the Brāhmaṇa cultivators being naturally supposed to be inferior in status to the Brāhmaṇas who did not turn agriculturists but adhered to the performance of the original duties of a Brāhmaṇa.

There are two or three more characteristics of this old Pañcāyat system of Bengal that are worthy of note now. The passage from the Pahāḍpur plate bearing on this point has been cited above. Another, that from the Nandapur plate, referred to above, may be quoted here for comparison. It runs thus: Ambilagrām-āgraḥārā = Sa-Vīvāsa = adhikaraṇam Jaṅgīyikā-grāmē Brāhmaṇ-āttarāṇ = saṁnyavahāry-ādi-kutumbīnāḥ, etc. In the first place, the Adhikaraṇa here must denote the Ashtakul-ādhikaraṇa as mention is made of Vīvāsa along with it. Secondly, this Ashtakul-ādhikaraṇa must have been a peripatetic body. In the Dāmōdarpur plate it issues orders to husbandmen and their head in Chaṇḍagrāmaka, while it is itself stationed at Paḷāsa-vaṁdana. Similarly, in the Nandapur plate it passes these instructions from an agraḥāra called Ambila-grāma to villagers in Jaṅgīyikā. Surely an agraḥāra village could not have been the headquarters of this Adhikaraṇa. It must have been in camp at that place in the course of its tour. It seems that a number of villages must have been under its jurisdiction which it visited in the course of its tour. Thirdly, and what is most important, is that the Ashtakul-

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.
2 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 52 ff.
3 N. G. Majumdar’s Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 21, line 36; p. 63, line 30; pp. 73-74, lines 36-37; p. 87, line 33. Majumdar’s translation of the expression is wrong; so is that of J. C. Ghosh (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, p. 129).
ādikaraṇa was a body which was independent of the Adhishṭhān-ādikaraṇa, because each had a conveyance and record department of its own. How the two exactly worked where they co-existed is somewhat difficult to understand. Because the Adhishṭhān-ādikaraṇa conveyed lands which were outside the strictly territorial limits of the Adhishṭhāna, whereas the Ashṭakula-ādikaraṇa does not seem ever to have included any adhishṭhāna in its jurisdiction. Nevertheless, both forms of Pañchakula were prevalent side by side in Ancient Bengal,—the Pañchakula and the Ashṭakula, each with a conveyance and record department of its own.

We have now to find out something further about Ashṭakula. We know that like the Pañchakula, it was connected with the sale and purchase of land. Did it share any other characteristics of the Pañchakula? Unfortunately our information on this subject is of a very meagre character. Nevertheless, there is evidence to show that it had power to settle disputes. And curiously enough this evidence is forthcoming from Buddhist sources. We have elsewhere pointed out how Buddhist commentaries afford us interesting glimpses into the manner in which land was administered in the Lichchhavi or Vajjī kingdom. When a culprit was found, we are told, he was, in the first instance, sent to an officer called Vinīchaya-Mahānāṭrā. If he was found guilty, he was transferred to the Body of Vyavahārikas, then to the Śūtradārās, thence to the Board of Ashṭakulikas, thereafter to the Sināpati, Upārāja and finally to Rājān (king), who consulted the Pavenī-pothāka or “Book of Precedents”, and inflicted a suitable punishment.¹

The Ashṭakulikas mentioned here must be the Ashṭakula-ādikaraṇa of the Dāmādarpur and Dhanādāhā plates, and were certainly endowed with power to try criminal cases under the Vajjīan constitution.

Nothing further is definitively known about the Ashṭakula-ādikaraṇa. We may, however, indulge in a little speculation about its composition. We have already seen that the Adhishṭhān-ādikaraṇa was a Pañchakula, the four constituent members of which represented the four different interests of the Adhishṭhāna, such as Industry, Commerce, Zemindary and Revenue. Ashṭakula must similarly have been connected with the eight-fold interest of a village or village group, with the Mahattara as the head. It may have been a cosmopolitan body, a recognised permanent council of village representatives of the classes which had traditional rights and claims such as was the case in Mahārāṣṭra. They are called Balutedārs, or public servants of a village entitled to Balute, or share of corn and garden produce for subsistence. They were generally twelve in number over and above the regular Government Officers such as Pāṭil (village headman), Kuḷkarnī (village accountant) and so forth. There were different Balutedārs for different districts. They represented the important castes or artisan guilds of the village community, not the least important being the untouchable Mahārs and Māṅgs. If we compare this characteristic of the Village-Council of Mahārāṣṭra with what we have culled about the composition of the Ashṭakula-ādikaraṇa from a critical study of inscriptions, it seems that Pāṭil and Kuḷkarnī of the former correspond with the Mahattara and Viśvāsa of the latter and the Balutedārs of the former with the Grāmikas of the latter. The Grāmikas were headmen, not of the village as a whole but of its constituencies, the village guilds of artisanship. As in Mahārāṣṭra so in ancient Bengal, this village council must have supervised the local affairs and seen that religious and social customs and traditions were properly adhered to.

Let us now proceed one step further. We have already noted that the names Pañchakula and Ashṭakula have the ending word kula in common. What does it mean? This term in the

¹ Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 154-55. The Vajjīan administration has been described by Buddhaghōśa in his comment upon porāṇa Vajjīdhammaṁ ti occurring in Dīghanikāya (P.T.S. edn., Vol. II, p. 74, line 10) in his Sūṃgaḷavilāśī, ed. H. Dharmakītī Sirī Devamīta Mahāṭhēra, Vol. I, p. 356, Colombo, 1918, Singhalese edn.). For this information, we are indebted to C. D. Chatterji.
sense of ‘an individual’ is found in several Pāli texts. This sense is not at all unsuitable. But it is worthy of note that Sanskrit lexicons attach the meaning of “the head of a guild or corporation” also to the word kula. This is perhaps the best and most correct explanation of Pañcakula or Ashtakula. These bodies thus comprise the chiefs of five or eight corporations or classes of a town or village. The Ashtakula thus consists of headmen of the village guilds of artisanship who later on degenerated into the principal castes of the village community.

SOCIAL HISTORY

We have pointed out above that Gupta as a family name was known long before 318-19 A.D. when the Imperial Guptya dynasty began to rise to power. Among the instances quoted from inscriptions was one found at Bhārhat or the Śūrga region which records the erection of a tūraṇa or gateway by Dhanabhūti, son of Aṅgāradyut and grandson of Viśvadeva. Viśvadeva is here styled a rājan ‘king.’ It is thus evident that Dhanabhūti who erected the tūraṇa belonged to a ruling family. What we have further to notice is that the names of the three princes are coupled with metronymics and that whereas Viśvadeva and Dhanabhūti have been styled Gārgiputra and Vāṭiputra respectively, Aṅgāradyut is called Gōtiputra (=Gauptiputra). What this means is that the mothers of the two former belonged to Brāhmaṇa gōtras but the mother of the latter pertained to the Kshatriya clan, Gupta. That Gupta was a clan of nobility even after the Śūrga period may be seen from a Kārle cave inscription of the second century A.D. which speaks of a Mahārāthi, Agni-mitraṇaka, as being Gōtiputra (=Gauptiputra). That Mahārāthi denoted the rank of a feudatory chieftain is too well-known to require substantiation. It is thus strange that up till the second century A.D. the Guptya did not adopt any Brāhmaṇa gōtra. Things, however, appear to have changed soon, because when the Guptya became an Imperial power, they did adopt a Brāhmaṇa gōtra. This is clear from the copperplate charters of Prabhāvatigupta, daughter of Chandragupta II. There she styles herself Dhāraṇa-sagōtra, “belonging to the Dāraṇa gōtra.” She was married to Rudrasēna of the family of the Vākāṭakas, whose gōtra, as we know from their grants, was Vishṇuvṛiddha. According to Kātyāyana-Laugākshi and Āśvalāyana, Vishṇuvṛiddha pertained to the Bharadvāja gōtra. But instead of Dhāraṇa we find Dhāriṇī mentioned by Laugākshi-Kātyāyana and as belonging to the Agastī gōtra. Dhāriṇī must be a mislection for Dhāraṇa, which reading is clearly established by the grants of Prabhāvatigupta, and, as a matter of fact, the gōtra lists enumerated in the Śrutasūtras are full of such misreadings. We may thus take it that as the Guptya and the Vākāṭakas were thus called Dhāraṇa and Vishṇuvṛiddha, they were considered as having belonged to the Agastī and Bharadvāja gōtras respectively.

Though the Guptya and the Vākāṭakas had adopted the Brāhmaṇa gōtras, the female members of the ruling families seem to have retained their Kshatriya clan names. It is true that the two charters issued by Prabhāvatigupta call her Dhāraṇa-sagōtra. Nevertheless, she has not ceased calling herself Guptā, as the ending affix of her name clearly shows. That this Guptā is not a component of her proper name is clear from the name of her mother, Kubēra-Nāgā, which is also mentioned in both her grants. Here, too, the ending Nāgā must be taken as the feminine form of the clan name Nāga just as Guptā is of Gupta. And, as if to leave no

1 See Mahābodhiśānta, ed. Strong, p. 154, Cambodian Mahāvihāra, chapter 19, verses 1-3; Mahāvihāra, ed. Geiger, pp. 148 and 155; especially Mahāvihāra Translation by Geiger, p. 128, note 1. Our attention to these texts was kindly drawn by C. D. Chatterji.


3 Lüders’ List, No. 1088.

4 Gōtra-praṇava-nibandha-kudambam (Bombay edn.), pp. 44 and 45.

5 Ibid., p. 87.
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doubt on this point, her Riddhapur copper-plate inscription\(^1\) not only mentions her mother as Kubëra-Nâgâ but also describes her as Nâga-kul-âtpanâ, 'sprung from the Nâga clan.' It is quite evident from the evidence just set forth that though the ruling families of the Gupta period assumed Brāhmaṇa gōtras, the female members thereof stuck to the clan names of their fathers.

The facts mentioned above give rise to two or three questions which we have now to consider. The first is: how far and where the custom of adopting Brāhmaṇa gōtras was prevalent among the ruling families? The most noteworthy of these is the Śatavâhana family, whose inscriptions have been found in the Nasik, Kārlē and Kanâhēri caves. The earliest of them was Gautamiputra; his son, Vâsishṭhiputra; and one successor of theirs, Mâdhârîputra. These metronymics are doubtless formed out of Brāhmaṇa gōtras. But why should they be found in a ruling family at all? In explanation thereof, it is argued by some that the Śatavâhanas were of the Brāhmaṇa caste.\(^5\) This conclusion, they say, is supported by two passages in Nasik cave inscription No. 2.\(^6\) The first, which is in line 5, is Khatiya-dâpa-māna-madana, "of (Gautamiputra), who humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas." From this it is inferred that Gautamiputra was not a Kshatriya. For, if he were a Kshatriya, what is the good of his saying that he put down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas? What was he then by caste? In reply thereto, they rely on the second passage of the inscription, in line 7, namely ēkâbambhaṇâsa, which has been translated by Senart as "the unique Brāhmaṇa."\(^7\) But bhamhaṇa can stand as much for bhramânya as for Brāhmaṇa. In fact, the first equation was suggested by R. G. Bhandarkar long ago, who rendered it by "the only supporter of Brāhmaṇas."\(^8\) The other translation makes Gautamiputra Śatagarṇi "the unique Brāhmaṇa", implying that in his time there was no Brāhmaṇa in the whole of India who could equal him in the sacred knowledge and duties of the Brāhmaṇa class in spite of the fact that he had already impaired the status of the first order by carrying on fights like a Kshatriya with hostile princes and lowering his family to that of the second or Kshatriya order. In these circumstances it is inconceivable how he could be styled "the unique Brāhmaṇa." It is more reasonable to take ēka-Bambhaṇas as equivalent to ēka-Brāhmaṇas, "of (Gautamiputra) the unique friend of the Brāhmaṇas." The expression is not unlike atyanta-(dēva)-Brāhmaṇa-bhakta which we find applied to the mahâarâja Hastîn in the copper-plate inscriptions\(^9\) of the Nripati-Parivrâjaka family. What then becomes, it may be asked, of Khatiya-dâpa-māna-madana which is used with reference to Gautamiputra? Khatiya of this expression has obviously to be equated with Kshatriya or Kshattri, the name of a tribe mentioned both by foreign writers and in Sanskrit literature. Thus Arrian who wrote an account of Alexander's invasion of India says that when this Macedonian emperor was in camp on the confluence of the Chenâb and the Indus, he received deputies and presents from Xathroi (=Khatroi), an independent tribe of Indians.\(^7\) The same tribe has been referred to as Khatriaioi by Ptolemy.\(^8\) Both seem identical with Kshatriya. That there was a tribe of the name of Kshatriya is clear from Kautŏiya's Arthasâstra which mentions it along with Kâmbhôjas and Surâshtras as a corporate tribe (śrêṇi) subsisting both

\(^1\) CII., Vol. V, No. 8, pp. 33 ff.
\(^3\) Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 60.
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 61; Senart practically follows Bühler, who renders it by "of him who alone (was worthy of the name of) a Brâhmaṇa" (ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 110).
\(^6\) CII., Vol. III, 1888, Nos. 21, 22 and 23.
\(^7\) McCrindle's Ancient India: Its Invasion by Alexander the Great, p. 156.
\(^8\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 360.
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upon arms and agriculture.\textsuperscript{1} They seem to be the same as the Kshattri mentioned in the Manusmrti (X. 9). But they are doubtless the same as the Kshatriyas referred to in the Sōhāval plates of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha of Uchchakalpa and the Lāṇḍī inscription of Sādhāraṇa.\textsuperscript{2} They appear to be represented by the Khatris of the modern day. This tribe may very well have been the Kshatriyas whose pride and conceit Gautamiputra crushed down when they were living not far from the confluence of the Chenā and the Indus. If he went on conquering as far northward as the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, there is nothing strange in his putting down the Kshatriyas (Khatroi) who lived in that neighbourhood like the Yaudhāyas whom the Mahākshatrāpa Rudradāman is similarly reputed to have exterminated.\textsuperscript{3} What was then the caste of the Śātavāhanas? That question has to be answered in the light of other evidence. There is a passage in the same Nasik cave inscription where Gautami Balāśri, mother of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, is called rājarisī-vadhusadam akhilaṁ anuwidhīyamānā,\textsuperscript{4} “acting in every way befitting the title ‘daughter-in-law’ of the Rājarisī.” It is worthy of note that Brahmashri and Rājarshi have always been distinguished one from the other, according to lexicons, the former meaning “a Brahmanical sage; a particular class of sages supposed to belong to the Brāhmaṇa caste”, and the latter “a man of the Kshatriya caste who, by his pious life and austere devotion, comes to be regarded as a sage or rishi.” It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Śātavāhanas were Kshatriyas, not Brāhmaṇas.

If even after this discussion some doubt still lingers in regard to the Kshatriya origin of the Śātavāhanas, we will set them aside for the present and consider the Ikshvākus whose inscriptions have been found in the Andhra country at Jaggayapēta and Nāgārjunikonda. That the Ikshvākus were the Kshatriyas of the solar race is too well-known to be pointed out. And yet we have in this dynasty three kings who bear metronymics formed out of two Brāhmaṇa gotras. They are Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputra Chaṁtamūla,\textsuperscript{5} his son Mahārāja Māḍhārīputra\textsuperscript{6} Virapurushadatta, and the latter’s son Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ehuvala-Chāṃtamūla.\textsuperscript{7} Related to these Ikshvākus are personages holding titles of nobility, such as Mahāśēnāpati and Mahātālava. Even they bear such metronymics. Thus we have Mahāśēnāpati Mahātālava Kandasīri (Kandaśīri) of the Pūğiya family\textsuperscript{8} and Mahāśēnāpati Mahātālava Khandā-Chalikireṁmanaka (Skanda-Chalikiraṇaka) of the Hirāṃākaka clan,\textsuperscript{9} who were both Vāsiṣṭhiputra. If we turn westwards again and consider the cave inscriptions, we find that even the feudatory chieftains, styling themselves Mahāraṇthī, Mahāśēnāpati and Mahāhūśa, possess similar metronymics. The question therefore arises: how did these Brahmanic metronymics come into vogue among the ruling classes who were presumably Kshatriya by caste? According to Bühler, “the explanation is no doubt that these gotras originally were those of the Purohitas of the royal or noble families, from which the queens were descended, and that the kings were affiliated to them for religious purposes, as the Śrautasūtras indicate.”\textsuperscript{10} But was it so, as a matter of fact? Bühler no doubt takes his stand upon the Śrautasūtras. But what they lay down is that a Kshatriya or Vaśyā should adopt, not the gotra, but the pravara, of his Pūrūhita. Thus the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra\textsuperscript{11} says: Kshatriya-Vaiśyānāṃ purōhita-pravarā bhavatiti viṇā-

\textsuperscript{1} Arthaśāstra, XI, line 4.
\textsuperscript{2} D. R. Bhandarkar’s A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 672 and 1196.
\textsuperscript{3} Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 44, line 12.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., p. 60, line 10.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 16, lines 4-6.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., p. 17, (C) line 13; p. 20, (C 4), line 6, etc.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., p. 24 (G), line 7.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., p. 16, (C), line 7; p. 21, (E), line 1; p. 20, (C 5), line 2.
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., p. 18, (B 4), line 4.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., Vol. I, p. 394.
\textsuperscript{11} (Bibli. Ind.), Vol. III, p. 466; Pravara-praśna, 54.
yatē. This shows that the Kshatriya borrowed from his Purōhita, not his gōtra, but his pravara. Those who are conversant with this subject know full well that the Śrautastūtras always make a distinction between gōtra and pravara. Thus the Māthāra gōtra from which the metronymic Māthariputra is derived has the three pravaras: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhrula. But these pravaras are not the monopoly of Māthāra only but are possessed in common by no less than eighty other gōtras, such as Kāśyapa, Chāhāgari, Aitiśāyaṇa and so forth.1 There is no such thing as one set of pravaras for one gōtra. Even supposing that a Kshatriya affiliates himself to the gōtra of his Purōhita for religious purposes as Bühler says, why should that gōtra be binding upon the Kshatriya for secular purposes, why, in other words, should the Kshatriya avoid marrying a girl, not of his own Kshatriya clan, but of the Purōhita’s gōtra which cannot but be an extraneous something foisted upon his family? This point is quite clear to whosoever studies the Nāgārjunikonḍa inscriptions. The kings mentioned in these records are Chāmītamaḷa, his son Virapurushadatta and the latter’s son Ehuvala-Chāmītamaḷa. The first and the third of these princes are Vāsishṭhiputra and the second Māthariputra, but they are all known by the Kshatriya clan name, Iskvāku. Again, these Iskvākus enter into matrimonial alliances with the Pūgiyas (Pūkiyas), Kuluhakas, Hiranyakas and Dhanikas. These are not found as the names of Brāhmaṇa gōtras in any one of the Śrautastūtras and must therefore be presumed to be Kshatriya clans. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that one Pūgiya, Skandaśrī, who had married a sister of Chāmītamaḷa, styles himself Vāsishṭhiputra. What could be the meaning of this? What could be the meaning of these Kshatriya rulers and noblemen having mothers who belonged to Brāhmaṇa gōtras and were thus Vāsishṭhi and Māthari. The only conclusion possible in these circumstances is that in the ancient period ranging from circa 150 B.C. to circa 350 A.D. there were intercaste marriages, even of the pratīḷōma type. The history of these Iskvākus clearly shows that the Brāhmaṇas were ready to give their daughters in marriage to Kshatriyas if they but belonged to the ruling family. If any further proof is required, it is furnished by the Nasik cave inscription referred to above. It records the gift of the cave by the mother of the Śatāvāhana overlord, Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. Therewith, be it noted, she calls herself Gōtāmi Balāśrī (=Gautami Balaśrī).2 It is quite evident from this that the mother of Gautamiputra retains her gōtra name, namely, Gautami, though this Śatāvāhana king is nowhere mentioned by any Brāhmaṇa gōtra appellation. Such is exactly the case with the rulers and noblemen adverted to in the Nāgārjunikonḍa inscriptions. They are all mentioned by their Kshatriya clan names, such as Iskvāku, Pūgiya and so forth but never by any Brāhmaṇa gōtra. Such was not, however, the case with the Brāhmaṇas of this period. Thus the Silahāra cave inscriptions speak of their being excavated by an amātya of king Śvāmidatta who is called Mūlādēva and styled Vātsa and Maudgaliputra.3 The first is a patronymic and shows that his father was a Brāhmaṇa of the Vātsa gōtra. The second is a metronymic and shows that his mother’s father was a Brāhmaṇa of the Mudgala gōtra. Another instance, if it is at all necessary, is that furnished by a Maḻavallī pillar record4 which speaks of the grantee Nāgadatta as not only of the Kauḍāṇya gōtra but also as Kaṇḍikiputra. This clearly shows that Nāgadatta was born not only of a Brāhmaṇa mother but also of a Brāhmaṇa father.

The second question that now arises is: what was the use of these metronymics at all? There can be but one reply. When and where polygamy is in existence, it becomes necessary to distinguish the sons of one wife from those of another. The custom is still in vogue in Rājputāna. If a Rājput marries more than one princess, they are distinguished one from the other,

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1 Baudh. Śr. Sūt. (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. III, pp. 448-49.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 30 and ff.
4 Lüders’ List, No. 1196.
according as she is a Hädi-ji, Rânävat-ji and so forth. Such must have been the case in ancient India also. Kings certainly married more than one princess who were therefore known by the clan names of their fathers. But it is worthy of note that this polygamy was prevalent in ancient India not only among the Kshatriyas but also among the Brähmana, as the instances adduced above clearly show. There can thus be no doubt that up till circa 400 A.D., the Brähmana mothers, whether they were married in the Brähmana or Kshatriya community, retained their original gōtras, that is, the gōtras of their fathers. What then becomes of the present day social custom that a girl as soon as she is married, is merged into the gōtra or family of her husband? This is the third question that we have to consider. What we have exactly to consider here is whether it is prevalent even now in all parts of India and also up till what period it was not adopted in ancient India. As regards the first part of the question, we have already pointed out that even to this day the queens of the native princes of Rājputānā, or, for the matter of that, of all Rājput princes, are known by the feminine form of the clan names of their fathers. In respect of the second part of the question we find this practice preserved among the Kshatriyas from early times up till the Gupta period. Thus Ajātaśatru of Rājagriha and Udayana of Kauśāmbi who were both contemporaries of the Buddha and belonged to the earlier epoch have been styled Vaidēhiputra in early Pāli literature. Evidently their mothers belonged to Vīdēha, which was one of the eight confederate clans constituting the Vajjī tribe.1 An instance of the later period is supplied by the Imperial Gupta dynasty, who, in spite of their being brahmanised, allowed their queens to retain the names of the clan from which they descended. Thus, whereas the daughter of Chandragupta II styles herself Prabhāvatigupta, her mother is called Kubēra-Nāgā. Each of the queens has retained the clan name of her father even after her marriage, nay even after she is the mother of several children. This is all the more significant as the Guptas were becoming more and more steeped in Brahmanism. Their brahmanisation even in the sphere of kingship is traceable in the fact that the Guptas adopted the Brähmana gōtra, Dhārana, to keep themselves on the same social footing as the Vākāṭakas who were of the Brähmana caste and of the Vishnuriddha gōtra. We have already mentioned and repudiated the view of Bühler that the ruling classes adopted the gōtras of their Purōhitas as prescribed by the Śrutasūtras and that metronymies were formed out of them to distinguish between the princes born of their various Kshatriya mothers. We have shown in the first place that what the Śrutasūtras ordain is that the Kshatriyas should adopt not the gōtras, but the pravaras, of their Purōhitas and, this, for religious purposes only, and secondly that there is nothing to show that these pravaras were binding on the whole of the family to which the Kshatriyas belonged. But when, from the second century A.D., Brahmanism began to be in the ascendant, a new social order began to arise. And the ruling classes, as a matter of fact, commenced adopting Brähmana gōtras, apparently those of their Purōhitas. Thus Asvaghōsa’s Saundarananda (I. 22) informs us that when certain Ikshvāku princes went to the hermitage of Gōtama Kapila, they became his pupils. And although they were originally Kautsas, they now became Gautamas in consequence of the gōtra of their Guru. The verse following is of great importance as it explains this change of gōtras. It runs thus:

Ekā-pitrō = yathā bhrātṛō
prthag-guru-parigrahāt 1
Rāma ēv = ābhavan = Gārgyō
Vāsubhadrō = pi Gō(au)tamah 2 (23)

“Just as of the two brothers from one father, Rāma (Balarāma) became Gārgya and Vāsubhadra (Vāsudēva), Gautama, through their accepting different Gurus.”

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It is thus clear that from the second century A.D. onwards the ruling princes somehow began to affiliate themselves to the gotras of their Purâhitas with the result that their descendants generally continued the same gotra though they by no means discarded their original clan names. This is quite clear from the charters issued by the daughter of Chandragupta. As mentioned above more than once, though she is styled Dhârana-sagotra, she calls herself (Prabhâvat-)Guptâ. Which Gupta prince adopted apparently the Dhârana gotra of his Purâhita, it is now difficult to say. Similarly, it is equally difficult to determine which Vâkâṭaka prince originally had or assumed the Brâhmaṇa gotra of Vishnuvîrdha. Certainly it was there in the time of Rudrasâna II, husband of Prabhâvati-gupta. And it is not impossible that it was the gotra of Vindhyâsakti who, according to an Ajanâta cave inscription, was the founder of the Vâkâṭaka dynasty and was himself a dvija, which, from the second century A.D. onwards, always denoted a Brâhmaṇa. This agrees with the fact that his son Pravarasâna I is described in the Vâkâṭaka plates as having celebrated many sacrifices among which is mentioned not only Vâjâpetya but also Brihaspatisava. “Brihaspatisava is the name of a sacrifice by which, according to the Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa, the priest who desired to become a Purâhita obtained that office. According to the Aîvalâyana Śrautastra, it was the sacrifice to be performed by a priest after the Vâjâpetya, while the king performed the Râjasûya.”1 It is true that “in the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, the Brihaspatisava is identified with the Vâjâpetya; but such identity is clearly not primitive.” And, as a matter of fact, in the Vâkâṭaka records Pravarasâna is represented as having performed not only Vâjâpetya but also Brihaspatisava. The two were of course considered as separate sacrifices when he actually celebrated them. It is thus evident that Pravarasâna must have been looked upon as a Brâhmaṇa when he performed them. Whether his descendants continued to be of Brâhmaṇa caste right up to the end or only up to the time of Rudrasâna II we do not know. But this much may be taken as certain that the family was of Brâhmaṇa origin and pertained to the Vishnuvîrdha gotra. And further, it seems that when the marriage alliance took place, doubtless of anulôma character, between the Vâkâṭakas and the Guptas, the latter, to raise themselves to a higher social dignity, assumed a Brâhmaṇa gotra, Dhârana, probably of their Purâhita. Thus originated the practice of Kshatriya rulers adopting the Brâhmaṇa gotra of their gurus which continued right down to the fourteenth century, as is clear from epigraphic records. Thus a Chaîndpur inscription2 dated Vikrama year 1207 speaks of one Udayapâla who belonged to the Mahâ-Pratiharâ family and the Vatsa-gotra. The Mahaḍa plates of Šômêsvaradêvavarman,3 Lord of Vaîdha (Baudh) describe him as pertaining not only to the solar race and the Kalikâla lineage but also to the Kâśyapa gotra. Similarly, a sati stone inscription4 found at Pushkar records the death of a Šhâkur of the Guhila lineage and the Gautama gotra. Many more instances might be adduced, but they are unnecessary. What we have to note here is that the Guptas who had been known as Kshatriyas of a high status were by the time of Chandragupta II so much Brahmanised that they had to adopt a Brâhmaṇa gotra, before probably they entered into a matrimonial alliance with a Brâhmaṇa family, namely, the Vâkâṭakas whose gotra was Vishnuvîrdhha which pertained to the Bhâradvâja stock. As the custom was and is to avoid marriage in the same gotra, the Guptas had to adopt Dhârana gotra which belonged to the Agasthi stock.

Now arises the fourth question, namely, how pratîlôma marriages took place between the Ikshvâkus and Śâtavâhanas on the one hand and certain Brâhmaṇa families on the other, as detailed above? There is one passage in a Nâgârjunîkônda inscription which is worth consider-

2 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 277.
3 Ibid., No. 1758; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.
4 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 407.
ing here. The benefactions made in connection with this site were in furtherance of Buddhism. It is therefore no wonder if the important inscriptions there begin with the praise of the Buddha, the founder of that religion. But Buddha was as much an Ikshvāku as any one of the ruling princes of that region. And one of these inscriptions speaks of the Buddha as follows:

\[\text{Ikha\-tārya-pavara-risā-sata-pabhava-rāya-śa-saṁbhava-ta}^1\] “Of (Buddha), born of a race which was the source of hundreds of Ikshvāku kings who were gōtra-originator sages (pavara-rishis).” It thus appears that the Ikshvākus of Southern Kosala had preserved some pavaras of their own which they naturally avoided when they married Brāhmaṇa girls. What these pavaras were we have now no means of knowing. Anyhow this much is certain that originally the Kshatriyas had pavaras of their own and had preserved them for a long time. Thus one can quite understand the exact significance of it when the Āpastamba Śrautasūtra says:² Aha yēśāṁ (=Kṣhatriyāṇām) mantrakṛśāt na suyāḥ sa-purōhiṇa-pavaraṁ = tē pravṛtiṇirṇ. It is quite clear that some Kshatriyas retained their ārsha gōtras for a very long time. And even as late as the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. we find the mention of a Kshatriya with ārsha gōtra and pravaras. Thus we have six copper-plate charters of the Gāhadavāla king Jayachandraddēva of Kanauj,³ with dates ranging between Vikrama years 1233 and 1236 and recording grants to one and the same grantee, namely, the Rāuta Rājyadhavarman, son of the Mahāmāhattaka, the Thakkura Vidyādharā, and son’s son of the Mahāmāhattaka, the Thakkura Jagaddhara, a Kshatriya. Now, what does Kshatriya mean here? Does it mean “a member of the second or military order” or “an individual of the Kshatri caste?” This matter is easily settled in favour of the former supposition, first because while the father and grandfather of the donee have been styled Thakkura, “a Rajput chief,” he himself is called merely Rāut, that is, Rājpūt. Probably he did not succeed or did not care to succeed to the ancestral position, and was content to lead a different life. Quite in keeping with the rank of Thakkura occupied by his father and grandfather is the title Mahāmahattaka which is coupled with their names. Secondly, if any doubt still remains on the point, it is set at rest by the place where the word Kshatriya occurs. The passage runs as follows: Vatsa-gōtraṁ Bāṛggaṇa-Chyavan-Āpnava-Ārvava-Jāmadagnī-ēti-paṁcha-pravarāya . . . . . . . . -pautrāya . . . . . . . . -putrāya rāuta-śrī-Rājyadhavarnmane kṣhatriyāya.⁴ This may be compared with the passage in another grant of Jayachandra concerning a Brāhmaṇa grantee. It is as follows: Sārkarakńska-gōtraṁ Bāṛggaṇa-Chyavan-Āpnava-Ārvava-Jāmadagnī-ēti paṁcha-pravarāya . . . . . . . . -pautrāya . . . . . . . . -putrāya Mahāpaṁdaṁita-śrī-Hṛshikēśa-śarmane brāhmaṇāya.⁵ It will be noted that Kshatriya in the first passage occupies exactly the same place as Brāhmaṇa in the second. It occurs immediately after the mention of the donee’s name. In the second passage, quite in consonance with the fact of the donee being a Brāhmaṇa are Mahāpaṁdaṁita and śarman prefixed and suffixed to his name. Similarly, in the first passage quite in consonance with the grantee being a Kshatriya are rāuta and varman prefixed and suffixed to his name. Further, it is worthy of note that each of the donees has five pravaras and that they are exactly the same in the case of both, though one of them is a Brāhmaṇa and the other a Kshatriya. Thus, both have one and the same ārsha gōtra, though the sept of the Brāhmaṇa is Sārkarakshī and that of the Kshatriya grantee, is Vatsa. It will thus be seen that up till the twelfth century A.D. some Kshatriyas had preserved their ārsha gōtras and pravaras and were considered to be as holy as the Brāhmaṇas; otherwise there would have been no meaning in Jayachandra issuing grants for the augmentation of the spiritual merit not

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 22, line 1.
2 Pravara-khanda, III. 15.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 135-143.
5 Ibid., p. 131, lines 27-28.
only of himself but also of his parents. And what is further noteworthy is that this Kshatriya donee Rājyadharavarman, seems to have been a particularly holy man as the Gāhaḍavāla king issued no less than six charters to him,—a thing unprecedented in the field of epigraphy.

We have now to consider the fifth question that arises out of the mention of the gôtras and clans specified in the two copper plate charters of the daughter of Chandragupta II. Let us, in the first place, recapitulate what we have discussed so far. We have seen that she calls herself Prabhāvatiguptā and that her mother is described as Kubēra-Nāga. As the latter is further described as having sprung from the Nāga family, there can be no doubt that the post-fix Nāga is the feminine form of Nāga, the name of the clan to which she belonged. For the same reason we have to take Guptā of Prabhāvatiguptā as the name of the clan to which she pertained. But she was married into the Vākāṭaka family which was decidedly a Brāhmaṇa family and bore the Brāhmaṇa gōtra Vishṇuvṛddha. The Guptas never had any Brāhmaṇa gōtra before or after they rose to power. We have found so many inscriptions of them, but no Brāhmaṇa gōtra is found coupled with the name of any one of them. But there is hardly any record of the Vākāṭaka kings where their Brāhmaṇa gōtra, Vishṇuvṛddha, is not specified. Their clan names were already different, namely Guptā and Vākāṭaka. That was enough to enable one clan to marry into the other, just as Kubēra-Nāga was married to Chandragupta. But as Prabhāvatiguptā was being wedded to a Vākāṭaka king of the Brāhmaṇa caste, the Guptas, it seems, had to adopt a Brāhmaṇa gōtra, namely, Dhāraṇa, which had different pravaras from those of Vishṇuvṛddha. This was probably to raise themselves to the dignity of a Brāhmaṇa family and legalise the marriage even from the Brahmanic point of view, by bringing about matrimonial alliance not only in two different clans but also in two different Brāhmaṇa gōtras. In fact, it was on account of mixed marriages, anulōma and pratilōma, that the Kshatriya families were forced to retain or assume Brāhmaṇa gōtras. Those who had the ārsha pravaras handed down from generation to generation certainly retained them. The mention of Rājyadhāravarman as a grantee in Jayachchandra’s plates is an instance in point, showing that some Kshatriya families retained such pravaras till the twelfth century A.D. But those Kshatriya families which had no ārsha gōtras attached to them had to assume them for matrimonial purposes to start with and borrowed them apparently from their Purōhitas. To sum up, mixed marriages, like anulōma and pratilōma, were known right up to the time of Chandragupta II, that is, up to the commencement of the fifth century A.D., that consequently the metronymics, coined out of Brāhmaṇa gōtra or Kshatriya clan names, were prevalent up to the Gupta period, but that except among the Rājpūts these metronymics have now gone completely out of vogue, especially in the Brāhmaṇa caste, where a girl is believed to be merged into the gōtra of her husband soon after her marriage. Thus the fifth question that we have to consider here is: when did the custom arise of a girl being absorbed into the gōtra of her husband? It is very doubtful whether this custom is Aryan at all. As a matter of fact, it is not supported by any one of the earlier Šmṛitis, such as Manu, and Yājñavalkya, and Nārada and Vishṇu. Gautama Dharmasūtra (IV. 2) says: a-samāna-pravarair = tvāhāh. Yājñavalkya-smṛiti lays down (I. 53) that a man should marry a girl who is a-samān-ārsha-gōtrajā, “born in a gōtra which has dissimilar Pravaras (ārshas).” If the Aryans were so particular about avoiding marriage with a girl who has the same gōtra, how can they admit a girl into the gōtra of her husband after a marriage. In fact, Boddhāyana asserts that sa-gōtrai gata Chāndrāyaṇam charit, “one shall perform (the penance of) Chāndrāyaṇa, having intercourse with a girl of the same gōtra.” It thus seems well nigh impossible according to the Aryan custom that a girl after marriage could be merged into the gōtra of her husband as he thereby committed an incest and would have to perform the expiatory penance. Nevertheless, the Aryan custom, foisted upon the marriage system of India, was gradually losing ground and being replaced by the pre-Aryan
Indian custom of a married girl being taken into the gōtra of her husband. Thus the Laghu-Hārita-smrīti says:

\[\text{vivāh-ādini karmāṇi smaranāt pīṭṛ-gōtraḥ} \]
\[\text{sanvatsāre vyattē tu tād-gōtram niyatē punah} || (V. 62)\]
\[\text{tri-parikramanād=agnēr=hrīday-ālambanāt tathā} \]
\[\text{svāmi-gōtrēṇa kartavyā pīṇḍa-dān-ōdaka-kriyā} || (V. 63).\]

From this it is clear that at the time of the marriage of a girl her father’s gōtra counts, but after the lapse of a year that gōtra is replaced by that of her husband’s and that all the subsequent rites such as offering of pīṇḍa etc., were performed with reference to the latter. The Likita-smrīti is more drastic and has the following:

\[\text{vivāhē ch=aiva nireṣṭīte chaturthē=’hani rātrīshu} \]
\[\text{ēkatvam sā gatā bhartuḥ pīṇḍē gōtrē cha sūtakē} || (V. 25)\]
\[\text{sva-gōtrād=bhāṣyatē nārī udvāhāt=saptamē padē} \]
\[\text{bhartṛ-gōtrēṇa kartavyā dānām pīṇḍ-ōdaka-kriyāh} || (V. 26).\]

What the passage means is that, as soon as the marriage saptapadi is over, a girl loses her father’s gōtra and on the fourth night thereafter is at one with the pīṇḍa, gōtra and sūtaka of her husband’s family and that consequently all gifts, obsequial rice-balls and libation waters are to be offered in her case in conformity with her husband’s gōtra. This state of things must have come into vogue after the Gupta period. For, of this period, are the two Smṛiti’s, Nārada and Viśnū, and the latter (24.9) says: na sa-gōtrāṃ na samān-ārśa-pravarāṃ bhāryāṃ vindēta, “No one shall marry a woman who is of the same gōtra, or the same gōtra-originating sage-ancestor.”

We now turn to an entirely different question connected with the social life of the Gupta period. While treating of Kāchagupta in a chapter on the Political History above, we had occasion to narrate that it was he who succeeded Samudragupta, that then came off a war where Kāchagupta was forced to agree to surrender to a Śaka ruler his queen Dhruvavāmini, that Chandragupta II put on the garb of the queen, went to the hostile camp and put the enemy to death, that he thereby incurred the violent jealousy of his elder brother who was now trying to assassinate him and that this concatenation of events ended in Chandragupta II putting Kāchagupta to death, occupying the Gupta throne and marrying his wife. This narrative is based upon a drama called Dēvi-Chandraguptām by Viśakhadatta who was the author of another historical play entitled Mūdra-Rākṣasa. Grounds have been adduced elsewhere to show how far we may take the drama as furnishing history. Supposing that our point of view is correct, supposing, therefore, that Chandragupta II married the wife of his elder brother whom he killed, the question arises: how was it looked upon from the social and legal point of view? When Chandragupta II married Dhruvavāmini, she was a widow, moreover a widow who was his own brother’s wife. Such a thing was not tolerated in the mediaeval and the modern periods. But was it allowed in the Gupta period? This is the question which we have now to consider. Every student of Smṛiti literature is conversant with the text:

\[\text{nashē mṛtē pravrajīte kūbhē cha patīte patau} \]
\[\text{paṇḍasau=āpatu nārīnām patir=anyō vidhiyatē} ||\]

It occurs not only in the Parāśara but also in the Nārada-smrīti (XII. 97). It allows a woman to marry another man in five kinds of adversity, that is, when the husband is untraceable, or dead, has become a religious ascetic, or when he is impotent, or is expelled from caste. Other texts may also be quoted, but they are unnecessary. What we have further to note here is that the Nārada-smrīti has been referred by Jolly to the fifth or sixth century A.D. It is thus of the early Gupta period, and must, therefore, be considered as reflecting the practices of the age. Though widow marriage was thus allowable in the Gupta period, this action of Chandragupta II in killing his brother and marrying his wife was not approved by the public as it is con-
denied in two of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records referred to above. It was, however, condemned not because of its being legally inadmissible.

We shall now turn to the other aspects of the social life of the Gupta period, and consider, above all, the nature of the ethno-social fabric of this epoch. Years ago we had occasion to observe that there was a racial identity or rather affinity between the Kāyasthas of Bengal and the Nāgār Brāhmaṇas of Bombay Gujarāt. We were then engaged upon a study of this Brāhmaṇa community with the help of Valabhi inscriptions and certain Pravarādhyāya texts discovered by the late Vallabhji Haridatta Acharya of Rājkōt, the greatest Nāgār Brāhmaṇa archaeologist and historian of the last generation. The texts cite a verse setting forth Sarman or clan affixes going with the various gōtras of the Nāgār Brāhmaṇas. The verse runs as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Datta-Gupta Nanda-Ghōshau} \\
\text{Śarma-Dāsa cha Varma cha} \\
\text{Nāgadattas = Trāṭa-Bhītau} \\
\text{Mitra-Dēva Bhava = tathā } \\
\end{align*}
\]

The texts in question are three manuscripts of the work Pravarādhyāya connected with the Nāgārs. One of these is dated Saṅvat 1788 Vaiśākha śuda 8 Bṛigu. And they all distinctively and unmistakably state that the gōtras, pravaras, etc., therein specified are those which were in existence before Saṅvat 1283. The thirteen Sarman set forth in the verse quoted above must therefore have been in use among the Nāgār Brāhmaṇas up till 700 years ago. Even now they are affixed to their names when they perform the religious ceremonies. Leaving aside the second statement for the time being, let us see whether the first one receives any corroboration from epigraphic sources. We will therefore confine ourselves here to two Sarman only, namely, Mitra and Trāṭa. In the Pravarādhyāya, Mitra has been assigned two gōtras, namely, Śarkarāksha and Gāṅgīyāna. The following extracts from the copper-plate inscriptions of the Maitraka princes, all found at Alinā, are worthy of consideration:

(1) Ānarttapura-vinirgga-khētaka-nivāsi-Śarkarākshi-sagōtra-bahvṛicha-sabrahmachaři-brāhmaṇa-Ādhyamitra-putra-brāhmaṇa-Vishṇumitrāya

(2) Śrīmad-Ānandapura-vāstavya-tach-chāturvidya-sāmānYa-Śarkarākshi-sagōtra-bahvṛicha-sabrahmachaři-bhaṭṭ-Ākhaṇḍalamitrāya bhaṭṭa-Viṣṇu-putraṛaya


The above four plates were all found at Alinā in the Kaira District of Gujarāt State. They were issued by different Maitraka rulers of Valabhi to Brāhmaṇa grantees who were natives of Ānandapura or Ānarttapura. Both are names of Vaḍnagar to which pertained a branch of the Nāgār Brāhmaṇa community called Vaḍnagrā. There can thus be no doubt as to the grantees of these charters having been Nāgār Brāhmaṇas. This is proved further by the fact that they were all of the Śarkarākshi gōtra, a gōtra which, the Nāgārs maintain, is to be met with in no other caste than their own. Further still, it deserves to be noticed that the names of the donces and their fathers end in Mitra, so far as the first three inscriptions go. What could be

\[^{1}\text{Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, pp. 32 and ff.}\]
\[^{2}\text{ibid., Vol. VII, p. 72, Pl. II, lines 4-5.}\]
\[^{3}\text{ibid., p. 85, lines 26-27; Cf., Vol. III, 1888, p. 179, lines 65-66.}\]
\[^{4}\text{Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 75, Pl. II, lines 15-17.}\]
\[^{5}\text{ibid., p. 79, Pl. II, lines 14-15.}\]
\[^{7}\text{ibid., Vol. IX, pt. I, pp. 13-14.}\]
the significance of this suffix? Is it an integral part of the proper names, and not therefore separable from them? Inscription (4) militates against this supposition. For the grantee therein mentioned is also the grantee of inscription (3), namely, Nārāyaṇa, son of Kēśava. In the latter, the suffix Mitra is attached to the names of both, but is conspicuous by its absence in the former. Obviously, it has to be understood as a Śarman in the sense of clan affix. This may be seen also from the fact that it has been assigned to two gōtras, namely, Śārκkaraṇtha and Gāṇgyāṇa in Pravarādhyāya. That statement of the work is correct may be seen from the fact that the Brāhmaṇa grantees, mentioned above as Mitras, actually belonged to the Śārκkaraṇtha gōtra.

The Pravarādhyāya, again, mentions Trāta as another Śarman and assigns to it two gōtras, namely, Bhāradaṇa and Ātrēya. Let us see whether the existence of this Śarman with any one of the gōtras attached to it is borne out by any epigraphic evidence. The Vāvaḍiyā-Jōgia plates of Dhruvasēna I speak of the grantees thus:

Ānandapura-vāśtayya-brāhmaṇa-Skandatrāta-Guhatrātābhīyāṇ Bhāradaṇa-sagōtrābhīyāṇ Chhandoga-sabrahmanahārīhyāṇ, etc., etc.1

The name Ānandapura shows that the donees here also were Nāgar, above all, Vaḍnagar, Brāhmaṇas. The names of both end in Trāta which must be the clan name. And as required by this clan, both belong to the Bhāradaṇa gōtra. This agrees perfectly with the information contained in the Pravarādhyāya about this Śarman and its gōtra.

The above evidence clearly shows that the contention of the Pravarādhyāya, that the gōtras, Śārmans, etc., specified therein as being in existence until Vikrama year 1283, is thoroughly borne out by the plates of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhi, that is, from circa 500 to circa 770 A.D., so far as the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas are concerned. The question arises: are they still prevalent amongst them? The great Nāgar scholar, Vallabhī Haridatta Acharya, assured us in 1910 that they were in full swing up till that year and that even the Śārmans were not forgotten as, at the time of performing religious ceremonies, it was customary to say Bhagvānāl-Trāta for mere Bhagvānāl, Maniśāṁkar-Gupta for mere Maniśāṁkar and so forth. Here, at any rate, Trāta and Gupta are not mere suffixes, for we have them already in lāl of Bhagvānāl and śānikara of Maniśāṁkara. The conclusion is not unreasonable that their Śārmans originally represented the families or clans that were incorporated in the Nāgar race.

Let us proceed one step further. Of the thirteen Śārmans of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas mentioned above, no less than ten are found as family names among the Kāyasthas of Bengal, such as Datta, Gupta, Nandi, Ghōsh, Śarma, Dāś, Barmā, Bhūt, Mitra and Deb. How can this concurrence of clan names or surnames in two such different parts of India be explained? When we first studied this question in 1909, we could only suspect that this pointed to some racial identity or affinity between the two communities. The chain of evidence was then far from satisfactory, because no Bengali Kāyastha surnames were at all traceable anywhere in ancient Bengal of the Valabhi period, and, above all, among the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal and Orissa. Epigraphy has since then made such considerable progress that we are now in a position to say something definite on the matter. A careful study of the inscriptions shows that the Kāyastha surnames were in existence in Bengal long before the Muhammadan invasion. One such group of inscriptions was found in the Faridpur District of Bengal,2 and pertaining to the sixth century A.D. But perhaps the earliest of these are the five celebrated copper-plate charters of the Gupta kings found at Dāmōdarapu3 in the Dinajpur District of West Bengal. The earliest of these, again, is dated Gupta year 124 = 442 A.D., and the latest, Gupta year 214 =

3 Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.
532 A.D. As has been pointed out in another chapter, these charters throw a flood of light on the system of administration prevalent under the Imperial Guptas. The provinces were ruled by governors appointed by the king, and, further, the district towns themselves were administered by Vishayapatis, Kumārāmāyas or Ayuktakas selected by them, being helped by a council of four consisting of Nagarā-śrēṣṭhin, Sārthavāha, Prathama-Kulika and Prathama-Kāyastha. One minor but not insignificant official of the district was the Pustapāla. Now in these Dāmodarpur plates, we do find the names of these officials ending in Kāyastha surnames. Thus the provincial governors mentioned are Chirāṭa-Datta, Brahma-Datta and Jaya-Datta. The Vishayapatis are Vētra-Varman and Savyamḥu-Dēva. Those who formed the councils are Dhṛiti-Pāla, Bandhu-Mitra, Dhṛiti-Mitra, Sāmba-Pāla, Rībhu-Pāla, Vasu-Mitra, Vara-Datta, Vipra-Pāla, Sthānu-Datta, Mati-Datta and Skanda-Pāla. The Pustapālas named in these grants are Risi-Datta, Jaya-Nandīn, Vibhu-Datta, Patra-Dāsa, Vishṇu-Datta, Vijaya-Nandīn, Sthānu-Nandīn, Gōpa-Datta and Bhaṭa-Nandīn.

It will be seen that most of the above names terminate in Dāsa, Datta, Dēva, Mitra, Nandīn and Varman which correspond to Kāyastha surnames in Bengal. The Sanskrit language is, however, so elastic that it is possible to contend that these name-endings need not be taken as surnames at all, but considered as integral parts of individual names. Thus Śāmbapāla need not necessarily denote a person who is called Śāmba and surnamed Pāla, but rather an individual who is named Śāmbapāla in the sense of “protected by the god Śāmba.” It is quite possible to explain many of these names in this manner, but this cannot explain them all. For, what plausible explanation can be offered of such names as Chirāṭa-Datta, Bandhu-Mitra, Patra-Dāsa, Nara-Nandīn, Bhaṭa-Nandīn and so forth. What philological ingenuity can interpret Chirāṭa-Datta and Patra-Dāsa, for instance? What we have further to bear in mind is that we have here names, a large number of them, every one of which, curiously enough, ends in a Kāyastha surname. And if we take such names as Vētra-Varman and Patra-Dāsa, they must look like ordinary names to a non-Bengali, and he is sure to look upon - Varman and - Dāsa as the name suffixes of the Kshatriya and Śūdram communities respectively. But even here they can be taken as corresponding to the well-known surnames, Barman and Dāsa, which are prevalent among the Kāyasthas of Bengal. How, again, can we better explain the two names Dhṛiti-Mitra and Dhṛiti-Pāla? Philology, of course, can explain the former by dhṛitiṃ =mitraṃ (=Dhṛitimitraḥ) and the latter by dhṛitiṃ pālayaḥ =iti (=Dhṛiti-pālaḥ). But Mitra and Pāla are well-known surnames, whereas Dhṛiti is not. And Dhṛiti, on the other hand, is not only the common but also the first component of the name. And common sense tells us that Dhṛiti is the individual name in the case of both and that whereas Mitra is the family name of the first, Pāla is of the second Dhṛiti. The conclusion is almost irresistible that the names of the officials specified above are full names, each consisting of the individual name and the family name, the last being the same as the Kāyastha surname. And as the earliest of these inscriptions is dated 442 A.D., it is incontrovertible that the Kāyastha surnames are traceable as early as the fifth century A.D. It must not, however, be thought that the officers who bore these names were, all or any of them, of the Kāyastha caste, because Kāyaṣṭha at this early period was an office designation and had not crystallised into a caste. We have already seen that the Dāmodarpur plates themselves speak of a Prathama-Kāyastha side by side with Nagarā-śrēṣṭhin, Sārthavāha and Prathama-Kulika, who together formed the administrative board of a district town. This shows that like Nagarā-śrēṣṭhin and so forth, Prathama-Kāyastha was an office designation. In fact, the earliest mention of Kāyatā is in the Yajnavalkya-smṛti (I. 336), a work assigned to circa 350 A.D. There too it seems to be used in the sense of an officer. And there is nothing in the text to show that it denotes any particular caste. And, in fact, Kāyastha as a caste does not seem to have sprung into existence before the ninth century A.D.
When therefore we speak of Kāyastha surnames being traceable in the names of the officers mentioned in the charters, it does not at all mean that the officers were Kāyastha by caste.

It is thus clear that whereas the Kāyastha surnames are traceable in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād as early as the time of the Valabhi princes, they are found in Bengal even two centuries earlier, that is, in the time of the Gupta kings. But in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād these surnames were traceable among the Brāhmaṇas. Were they similarly borne by the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal and Orissa at that early period? Three records are known, bearing upon this point, but we shall take here the earliest. This was the celebrated copper-plate charter discovered at Nitihanpur in Pańchakhāṇḍa, Sylhet, and published in two instalments1 by Mm. Padmanatha Bhattacharyya Vidyavinoda. The plates are of extreme importance, because they enumerate not only many Brāhmaṇa grantees, but also their gōtras and surnames. In fact, a list of these donees with these details accompanies the article of the Mahāmahopādhyāya, and we notice that such Kāyastha surnames as Dāsa, Datta, Dēva, Ghōsha, Pāla, Pālita, Sēna, Basu and so forth, were borne by the Brāhmaṇa grantees. There was thus a time when even the Brāhmaṇas in Bengal had name-endings which are now thought to be the conspicuous feature of the Kāyastha community. Now, the question that we have to consider is: to what period are these donees to be assigned? The Nitihanpur charter was no doubt issued by Bhāskaravarman of Prāgyjōtisha, who was a contemporary and ally of Harsha of Kanauj. It does not, however, register the original grant, which was made, not by him, but by Bhūtivarman (=Mahābhūtivarman), his great-great-grandfather. Owing to some mishap, we are told, the plates were burnt, and the grant was renewed by Bhāskaravarman in favour of those to whom it was originally issued. The Brāhmaṇa donees specified in this epigraph belong therefore to the time, not of Bhāskaravarman but of Bhūtivarman, not to the first half of the seventh century A.D., but to at least the beginning of the sixth.

Now, the first point that we have to discuss here is about the race or extraction of the Brāhmaṇas, settled in the easternmost part of Bengal with name-endings peculiar to the Bengal Kāyastha community. The same thing was noticeable about the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād who, about 700 years ago, bore similar Ṣarmans or clan-names, namely, Datta, Ghōsha, Varman, Nāga and Mitra. Is it possible that these Pańchakhāṇḍa (Sylhet) Brāhmaṇas also could be Nāgar Brāhmaṇas. It is well-known that the tutelary deity of the Nāgar caste is Hāṭakēśvara.2 In fact, it may be laid down as a general rule that wherever there is Hāṭakēśvara, there must be some sort of settlement of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas or Nāgar Bānias. Now, there is a līṅga of this name actually existing in the Pańchakhāṇḍa.3 In fact, it has been known ever since the time of Vanamāla, who belonged to the Bhauma dynasty of Haruppēsvara and who flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D. His Tējpur plates4 represent him to have renovated the temple of Hāṭakēśēlin (Hāṭakēśvara) and made endowments to it. The temple must thus have been in existence at least one century prior to circa 830-65 A.D. when he ruled. We thus find not only that there was a settlement of Brāhmaṇas at Pańchakhāṇḍa, who, like the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of the Valabhi charters, assumed surnames corresponding to those of the Bengal Kāyasthas, but also that they were, like the latter, worshippers of Hāṭakēśvara. Further, the attention of scholars may be drawn to a passage which occurs in the Pāradārika section of Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra. The section is concerned with zenana women and their protection. It tells us how in different provinces palace ladies came in contact with male outsiders. It speaks of how promiscuous intercourse takes place among the Aparāntas, Vaidarbhakas, Gaṇḍas and so forth. But in regard to Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga,

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it is the Nagara-Brāhmaṇas, we are told, who enter the zenana with the object of offering flowers and even with the knowledge of the king, but end in having illicit union with the inmates thereof. Who could these Nagara-Brāhmaṇas be? Are they the Brāhmaṇas of the town or towns? It means practically nothing. The Brāhmaṇas of Gauḍa were by no means better in this respect. But they are referred to simply as Brāhmaṇas, and not as Nagara-Brāhmaṇas. When the latter are thus associated with the palaces of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kālīṅga, whom are we to understand thereby? Obviously they are Brāhmaṇas, hailing from Nagara. It is well known that the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt and Kāṭhīwāḍ point to Nagor or Ānanda-pura as their native place and that this place has been identified with Vaḍnagar in North Gujarāt. Further, it is a well-known practice of a people or tribe to name the places, provinces or rivers of their new settlement after the old one from which they have migrated. We have elsewhere pointed out that those Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, before coming down to Gujarāt, must have originally been at Nagor or Nagarkōṭ, the old name of Kāṅḍā, which is situated in the Panjab in the Savālakh or Sapādalaksha hills. Just as they migrated south to Gujarāt, they must have migrated east to Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kālīṅga, if there were at all any Nāgar Brāhmaṇas there. The question that now arises is whether there were any places or provinces in East India named Nagara or Ānandapura. An epigraphist need not be told that whereas the Deo Barāṅkā inscription, found in the Shahabad District, Bihar, speaks of Nagara-bhukti, the Nālandā plate of Samudragupta (No. 3 below) speaks of the victorious camp of Ānandapura. So far as Bengal is concerned, there is one village called Nagar in the Dacca District, and another in the Sylhet. There are, again, two rivers of that name in North Bengal,—one running from Purne to Dinajpur and the other from Bogra to Rajshahi. Further and now, if we turn to the Karatōyā-māhātmya which describes the holy sites of Mahāsthāna, or old Pujāravardhana, which is in the Bogra District of Bengal (now in Bangladesh) and which stands on the west bank of the river, we find that there is a reference, not once, but twice, to the Sapādalaksha Brāhmaṇas. It is worthy of note that all the places mentioned above are not far removed from the Maldah District, where was discovered the Khālimpur charter of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty. It says that Nārāyaṇavarman, a feudatory chieftain of his, had installed a god called Nanna-Nārāyaṇa who was, we are told, placed chiefly in the charge of the Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas (dvijat). Four villages were granted by Dharmapāla to them for this god. And the question arises: who could these Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas be? It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas who hailed from Ānandapura or Nagara, that is, from Vaḍnagar in Gujarāt, the ancient name of which was Lāṭa. As a reminiscence of their early migration to East India may be mentioned again the fact that the names of Nagara and Ānandapura are traceable in inscriptions of the Gupta period. Even to this day not only is Nagar found as the name of a village in Dacca and Sylhet but also Gujarāt in Howrah. Keshab Chandra Bhattacharya's Vaṅgē Dākhiniṭṭya-Vaidika speaks of one such family not only as having migrated from this village called Gujarāt, but also being surnamed Vaidya. Vaidya, as a family name, is found among the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt and Kāṭhīwāḍ but not among the members of any high caste of Bengal except the Dākhiniṭṭya Vaidika. When all these pieces of evidence are brought to a focus, the conclusion is irresistible that the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas were settled in Bengal about this time.

1 Kāmaśītra, verse 6,41 (p. 301 of Bombay edn.).
6 P. 46.
INTRODUCTION

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

POPULAR RELIGION

As early as 1900, R. G. Bhandarkar contributed an article to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, entitled *A Peep into the Early History of India, etc.*, wherein he contended that the most noteworthy feature of the Gupta period was “Vigorous Brahmanic Revival and Renovation.” The evidence which he urged in support of his theory was then considered to be of an irrefragable character. This explains why his views are still accepted by a good many scholars. Evidence of another type is, however, gathering momentum which prevents our accepting this theory.

He relies upon a two-fold line of argument in support of his conclusion. The first relates to the performance of the sacrificial rites. In Chandragupta II’s inscription at Mathurā and Skandagupta’s Bihār and Bhitarī inscriptions, Samudragupta is represented, says R. G. Bhandarkar, as having performed the *Āśvamēdha*, which is pointedly spoken of as having gone out of use for a long time (chir-ōtsan-āśvamēdha-āharttāḥ). “This is the first instance of the Brahmanic revival under this dynasty.” This achievement was considered so important that Samudragupta struck gold coins or medals, on the obverse of which is the figure of a horse let loose, and the title *Āśvamēdha-Parākrama* on the reverse. Similar coins bearing on the reverse the legend *Āśvamēdha-Mahēndra* have been found. *Mahēndra* was a title assumed by Kumāragupta I, as is evident from some of his coins on which his proper name as well as the title occurs. It seems, therefore, that he too performed the horse-sacrifice indicative of supreme sovereignty. The present epigraphic evidence, however, runs counter to this conclusion. Even when R. G. Bhandarkar wrote on this subject, the contents of the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription of Sātakarnī were well known to scholars. There Sātakarnī, or rather his wife, is represented to have performed not only a good many sacrifices, but, above all, celebrated Rājasūya once and Āśvamēdha twice. This clearly indicates his or her rank as a supreme ruler. Slightly earlier than this record is that found at Ghōsūndi, not far from Chitōrgarh in Rajasthan. The contents of this inscription also were fairly well known when *A Peep into the Early History, etc.* was published, though it was critically edited much later in the light of two or more copies found on Hāthi-Bāḍā at Nagar in the *Epigraphia Indica.* This also credits Gājiyana Pārāśāriputra Sarvatāta with the celebration of a similar Āśvamēdha, as is clear from the text rājāṇa bhāgavatīnā Gājīyanēnā Pārāśāripurēnā Sarvatātēnā Āśvamēdha-[yājñinā] etc. The patronymic Gājīyanā indicates that Sarvatāta was a Brāhmaṇa and perhaps a Kāṇva ruler. Sarvatāta is not a proper name and may have belonged to any ruler, possibly the last ruler of the Kāṇva line. But earlier than Sarvatāta was Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty (187 B.C.). An inscription of this ruler was found some time ago at Ayōdhya which has dēir-Āśvamēdha-yājñinə Sēnāpatē Pushyamitrasya. This conclusively shows that Pushyamitra, like Sātakarnī, performed the horse sacrifice, not once, but twice. We may thus take it that Brahmanism was revived with the advent of the Brāhmaṇa Śuṅgas to power, that is, long, long before the time of the Guptas. What then becomes of the expression chir-ōtsan-āśvamēdha-āharttā which has been used in Gupta inscriptions with reference to Samudra-

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1 Vol. XX, pp. 356 ff.
5 Vol. XXII, pp. 198 ff.
gupta? Some scholars regard it as an empty boast. But the expression in our opinion is susceptible of a better interpretation which has been set forth above on pages 37-41.

The second line of evidence adduced by R. G. Bhandarkar relates to "the gods and goddesses adopted into the Brahmanic Pantheon." "The worship of Śiva, Vishnu, the Sun, and Mahāsēna seems to have become popular with all classes from princes and chiefs to ordinary individuals. To this pantheon there was not even an allusion in the epigraphical records of the country for more than five centuries." They suddenly present themselves to our view about the end of the fourth century; and appear uninterruptedly for the whole of the subsequent period of about two centuries covered by the inscriptions." It is very doubtful whether Śiva, Vishnu, the Sun and Mahāsēna can be considered to be Brahmanic deities even in the Gupta period. In modern times there is hardly any important shrine of Vishnu, Śiva or Ambikā which is not in charge of a Brāhmaṇa priest who alone has the right to show the god or goddess to the devotees on payment of money, or the making of offerings, or both, which is a source of income to the priest. But there is no inscription of the Gupta period to show that there was any temple or any shrine in the fourth, fifth or sixth century to which any Brāhmaṇa priest was attached and which was a means of his living. Nor is there any evidence to show that the deities noted above came down to the Gupta period from the Ṛgvedic times, with the Brahmanical or original character stamped upon them.

Let us take Śiva first. Śiva, we find, is a god unknown to the Vēdas.¹ His name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply 'propitious.' Not even in the Atharvan is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. It is only in the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad that Śiva first occurs as another name of Rudra. Whether he was originally a divinity from the mountains of the north it is difficult to say. This much is certain that shortly before the time of Patañjali there had developed a Śiva cult', saturated with the worship of Skanda and Viśākha and possibly also Kumāra and Mahāsēna as appears from the coins of Huvishka² and that Śiva so overshadowed Rudra that the latter himself came to be regarded as a form of the former. As regards Vishnu, every student of the Ṛg-Vēda knows that while the hymns and verses, dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, etc., are extremely numerous, those in which Vishnu is celebrated are much fewer.³ Not only is the power by which Vishnu takes his three strides described as being derived from Indra but also Vishnu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises. We shall not be far from right if we say that Vishnu occupied a subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the Rishis who composed the Riks. It is again doubtful whether and how far Vishnu had maintained his original character as a solar deity in the Gupta period. Why else does a divinity spring into existence called Sūrya or Bhāskara about this time? The form of the image of the Sun worshipped in this epoch has been described by Varāhamihira. The feet and legs of his icon, we are told, should be covered up to the knees and dressed in the fashion prevalent in the north and his waist should be encircled with an aśvaga. In fact, the images of this Sun have boots reaching up to the knees and a girdle round the waist. "This last is a Persian feature" according to R. G. Bhandarkar.⁴ He further points out that the priests, in charge of the idols of this deity, were called Magas who also correspond to the Persian Magi. This worship of the Sun was thus a foreign importation to a large extent. How this divinity could be assigned to the Brahmanic pantheon in the Gupta period is far from clear. As regards Mahāsēna, he stands or falls together with Śiva. And as the Brahmanical

¹ Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. IV (1873 edn.), p. 399.
³ Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. IV (1873 edn.), p. 98.
⁴ Vaishnavism, Śaivism, etc., pp. 154-55.
character of the Śiva of the Gupta period has not been proved, Mahāśēna also cannot be taken to be a Brahmanical deity for this period.

How Śiva, Vishṇu and Sūrya (Bhāskara) developed new characteristics and became entirely different from their prototypes in the Ṛigvedic period need not trouble us here. What we have to note here is that the mode of worship followed by the Aryanś in the Ṛigvedic period was no longer observed in the Gupta epoch by the Indians. When the hymns of the Ṛig-Vēda were being composed, they prayed to Indra, Varuṇa, the Ādityas, the Aśvinś, Apārī-napāt, Mātariśvan and so forth, who are no longer worshipped in the times of the Guptas. But the case was different in regard to the sacrifice performed by the Ṛigvedic Aryanś. They celebrated many such sacrifices as the Aśvamēḍha, the Rājasūya, the Agyādhēya, the Anvārāmbhaṇīya and so forth as any critical student of the Brāhmaṇa literature can tell us. But, soon after the Brāhmaṇa period and owing to the rise and spread of Śramaṇa religions such as Buddhism, Jainism and so forth, these sacrifices had fallen into utter desuetude till they were revived with the rise of the Śuṅgas to political power. This point we had already expatiated upon. If anybody doubts the correctness of this conclusion, he has only to glance over the contents of the Nānāghāṭ cave inscriptions. A careful study of these records gives us the following information. Sātakarnī was the supreme ruler of Dakshināpathā (the Dekkan). His queen was Nāganiṅkā. And it is worthy of note that although her husband was living, she appears to have performed on her own behalf no less than seventeen Vedic sacrifices of which the Aśva-mēḍha was one and that it was celebrated twice. Bühler wrongly supposes that “according to the Śāstras, women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices, and the Brāhmaṇaṇ those who perform such sacrifices for them (stri-yājaka) are severely blamed.”1 But anybody who impartially studies Jaimini-Sātra, VI. 1.8 and ff. in the light of the Śabara-bhāṣya will be convinced that men and women are entitled alike to perform Vedic sacrifices. So there was a revival of these sacrifices when the Śuṅgas came to power. And this revival was in full swing in the Gupta age and continued even till the eighth century A.D.

The point just referred to has already been established beyond all shadow of doubt. What we have to note here is that there was a heterogenous mass of Vedic and non-Vedic, Aryan and non-Aryan, gods and goddesses, numbering thirty-three crores as the popular estimate goes. Two unifying principles were at work. One was belief in the Oneness of the Ultimate Spirit; and the other, the Doctrine of Incarnation. For the first, the people of India were indebted to the Aryanś. It is so beautifully enunciated in the Ṛik:

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\text{Indrāṁ Mitraḥ Varuṇam = Agnim = āḥur = athō} \\
\text{dvīyāḥ sa Suparṇō Garutmān} / \\
\text{ekāṁ sad = viprā bahudhā vadanty = Agniṁ} \\
\text{Yamaṁ Mātariśvānam = āhuḥ || (RV, I. 164. 46):}
\]

“They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, and that celestial noble-winged Garutmaṇ. Sages name variously that which is One: they call it Agni, Yama and Mātariśvan.” This is one of the grandest Ṛiks in the whole range of the Ṛigvedic hymns, whose syncretising potency is infinite. And, in fact, all the seemingly incoherent elements of the work-a-day Hinduism have been held together simply on account of the sublime notion: ekāṁ sad = viprā bahudhā vadanti, ‘Sages name variously that which is but One’—a notion which has permeated all masses. It is this notion which has principally fused all the jarring faiths of India into Hinduism which at rock-bottom is faith in one Universal God.2

The non-Aryan faiths of India also contributed to this syncretisation under the theory of

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2 This point we have already dwelt upon in Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture (Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1938-39), pp. 22 ff.
Incarnation or Re-birth. Buddha had several incarnations or re-births when he was Bōdhisattva and before he became the Buddha. The Jātaka literature bears ample testimony to this fact. Gautama is called Bōdhisattva up to the time when he attained enlightenment, that is, when he became Buddha, not only in his last earthly existence, but in all the countless existences which he experienced as man, animal or god, before he was re-born for the last time as a Śākya prince. Now, Jātaka means a ‘birth’; and there were many popular didactic tales which were deeply rooted in the soul of the Indian people, and the hero or the wise man in the story was in every case identified with the Bōdhisattva or Buddha in his previous birth, with the result that the popular tales were sublimated into Jātakas. Another non-Aryan faith is Vaishnāvism which grew in the environments of Buddhism and Jainism. It is well-known that the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu was Buddha. This was known to the Bengali poet-saint, Jayadēva, who further admits that Buddha condemned the Vedic scriptures relating to sacrifices of animals and broadcast the doctrine of kārūnya or compassion. In the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa no less than twenty-two incarnations of Viṣṇu have been specified, of whom the first was Rishabha, son of Nābhi and Mērudēvi, doubtless the first Tirthaṅkara of the Jainas. This clearly shows that Vaishnāvism, to begin with, was a non-Aryan religion which was akin to Buddhism and Jainism and which had adopted the Doctrine of Incarnation.

It will be seen that two syncretising forces were working side by side. One was belief in the Oneness of the Ultimate Spirit; and the other, the Doctrine of Incarnation. The effect of these unifying principles was marvellous. There was a confused tangled mass of Aryan and non-Aryan, Indian and non-Indian, gods and goddesses, said to be numbering thirty-three crores. They were now, in the Gupta period, placed under three categories. Of the gods, some were considered to be forms or incarnations of Viṣṇu, and some of Śiva. And all the goddesses were regarded as forms or incarnations of Đēvi, Mātrī or Ambikā. Let us take up Viṣṇu first. The following are his names that are met with in Gupta inscriptions: Ananta-svāmin, Bhagavat (No. 12 below, line 6), Chakrabhūṭi (No. 28 below, line 27), Chakragadādhara, Chakrapāṇi, Chakrasvāmin, Garuḍakētu (No. 39 below, line 2), Gōvinda (No. 28 below, line 25), Gōvinda-svāmin, Indrānuja (No. 41 below, line 1), Janārdana (No. 39 below, line 9), Madhusūdāna, Nārāyana, Purusha (No. 14 below, line 1), Śārgīn (No. 31 below, line 17) and Vāsudeva.

The Viṣṇu of the Gupta period is Vedic Viṣṇu, Purusha-Nārāyana, Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa and Gōpāla-Kṛishṇa rolled into one. Let us first turn to inscription No. 14 below which is the most important document in this connection, and consider the first verse of the record. It runs thus:

\[ Sahasra-śirasē tasmai Purushāy = āmit-ātmanē [/*] \]
\[ chatus-samudra-parīyāṅka-tōya-Nidrālaṅkē namaḥ [/*] \]

“Obeisance to that Thousand-Headed Purusha (Supreme Being) whose soul is boundless and who is Sleepy on the waters of the bed-like four oceans.” The very first quarter of this verse reminds us of the Purushā-sūkta of the Rig-Veda (X. 90), which opens with sahasra-śirshā Purushā. The second half of the verse reminds us of Manu (I. 10), where we are told: “The waters are

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1 I-3-5 to 25.
2 Ibid., V. 3. 20.
4 Ibid., No. 17, text line 26.
5 Ibid., Vol. V, No. 7, text line 12.
7 Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff., text line 4.
9 Ibid., No. 36, text line 7.
10 Ibid., No. 25, text line 1.
called nārāḥ; the waters are, indeed, the offspring of Nara; as they were his first residence (āyana), he is thereby remembered as Nārāyaṇa
t. Thus in the verse in question, Nārāyaṇa is identified with Purusha. The composite deity, called Purusha-Nārāyaṇa, however, is known as early as the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XII. 3. 4. 11) which says that Nārāyaṇa placed himself in all the worlds, in all the gods, in all the Vēdas and in all the Vital Airs, and that they were placed in him. In fact, we find Purusha-Nārāyaṇa here raised to the dignity of the Supreme Soul. It is therefore no wonder if the Purusah-sūkta itself is attributed to Nārāyaṇa, just as some hymns are to Paramātmā, Viśvakarman and so forth. In both the cases the hymns have been ascribed to the deities whose praises they sing. Further, there can be no doubt that it is on account of his being identified with (Purusha)-Nārāyaṇa that Viṣṇu himself has become known as Nīdrālū. That Nīdrālū is another name of Viṣṇu is clear from lexicons. And it is worthy of note that it occurs in inscription No. 14 below. Its first verse is thus enough to show that it is a Vaishnava record,—a conclusion which is confirmed by verse 11 which praises Vāsudēva and by line 5 of the second fragment which speaks of a temple consecrated to Kṛṣṇa. It is thus incontrovertible that Viṣṇu of the Gupta period is the Vedic Purusha-Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudēva-Kṛṣṇa welded into one. We will revert to this record again shortly.

The initial verse of inscription No. 14 below may also be compared with that of inscription No. 39 below which is as follows:

Jayati vihūṛ = chatur-bhujās = chatur-arṇavā-vipula-salīla-paryyankāh [*]\n\n*Jagataḥ* sthiy-atpati-nya[ṛ-aika]-kētur = Garuḍā-kētur [*]/*\n
“Victorious is the lord, the four-armed (Viṣṇu), whose couch is the extensive waters of the four oceans; who is the sole cause of the continuance, production, and destruction, etc., of the universe; (and) whose ensign is Garuḍa.” This is the first inscription in which Viṣṇu, or, rather Janārdana, as he has been called in line 9, is described as four-armed. Further, here also Viṣṇu has been identified with Nārāyaṇa, “whose couch is the extensive waters of the four oceans.” And, lastly, it is worthy of note that Garuḍa is associated with him. This is but natural, because Viṣṇu was originally a form of the sun, and in the Rīg-Vēda X. 149. 3, mention is made of Saviṭṛi’s strong-pinioned (suparna) Garutman who obeyed his law for ever. So this association of Garuḍa with Viṣṇu is a development from the Rīgvedic period. Inscription No. 39 below is of the time of Budha Gupta and is dated Gupta year 165=484 A.D. It records the erection of the dhwaja-stambha of the god Janārdana by Mahārāja Mātrivishnu and his younger brother Dhanyavishnu. Things were different when Tōramāṇa’s Eran inscription1 came to be engraved on the body of the stone image of Varāha. This happened when Mātrivishnu was dead and Dhanyavishnu alone alive. That was again in the first year of the reign of Tōramāṇa, the first ruler of the Huṇas who had temporarily supplanted the Gupta supremacy. The opening verse has: “Triumphant is the god, who had the form of a Boar; who, in the act of lifting up the Earth (out of the ocean), caused the mountains to shake with the striking of (his) hard snout etc. etc.” Who this god was is made clear in line 7 where Dhanyavishnu is represented to have erected the stone temple of the god Nārāyaṇa who has the form of a Boar. It is the Vājasanayi-Saṃhitā (37.5) and the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (14.1.2.11) which first speak of Īmūsha or Boar raising up the Earth at the bidding of Prajāpati. But it was only in the Gupta period that the Boar was looked upon as an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa (=Viṣṇu). This explains his identification with Gōvinda also, which name occurs in inscription No. 28 below, line 25. In the Sāntiparvan (Chap. 342, verse 68) of the Mahābhārata, Bhagavat

1 CHI, Vol. III, 1888, No. 36.
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says: “When in days of yore the Earth became submerged in the waters and lost to the view, I found her out and raised her from the depths of the Ocean. For this reason the deities adored me by the name of Góvinda.” In other words, gām( =prithivim) vindat =iti Góvindaḥ. The same story or explanation is given in the Ādiparvan (Chap. 21, verse 12).

There is, however, no evidence of an irrefragable character to show that Gòpàla-Krìśṇa was identified with Vishṇu. There is evidence enough that the story of Krìśṇa was known. One has only to read the Bhūtāri pillar inscription (No. 31 below) of Skandagupta where the Gupta king is represented to have seen his mother who was in tears, just as Krìśṇa saw Dèvaki, after destroying his enemy. But this looks like Vāsudēva-Krìśṇa. There is, however, no very clear instance of Gòpàla-Krìśṇa being taken as one with Vishṇu. Attention may again be drawn to a Mandasor inscription (No. 14 below) which refers in line 5 of its second fragment to a temple being consecrated to Krìśṇa. The question arises: whether he is Vāsudēva-Krìśṇa or Gòpàla-Krìśṇa. Verse 11 of the first fragment mentions Vāsudēva and raises the presumption that this Krìśṇa is Vāsudēva-Krìśṇa. On the other hand, we have to note that verse 3 of the same record refers to a festival of Indra that was approved by Krìśṇa. This Krìśṇa cannot but be Gòpàla-Krìśṇa, as has been pointed out in our treatment of the inscription. Because Krìśna is described in the Harivònāsas and other Purāṇas as being surrounded by cows and cowherds and is represented as lifting up Mount Gòvardhana to afford refuge to them from the havoc caused by the deluge sent by Indra, whose festival he refused to perform. We are further told in most of these Purāṇas that he thereby proved himself to be Gòvām = Indraḥ and came therefore to be known as Gòvinda. This is, of course, to justify Gòpàla-Krìśṇa also being so named. Now, in this record we are told that on the fifth of the bright half of Áśvina, while the festival of Indra as approved by Krìśṇa was being celebrated, the temple consecrated to Krìśṇa was completed. The presumption is strong that in both cases Krìśṇa is one and the same, namely, Gòpàla-Krìśṇa. In other words, the Mandasor inscription indicates that in the Gupta epoch, Vishṇu was Purusha-Nārāyana, Vāsudēva-Krìśṇa and also Gòpàla-Krìśṇa rolled into one.

When the Vedic Vishṇu, Purusha-Nārāyana, Vāsudēva-Krìśṇa and Gòpàla-Krìśṇa came to be syncretised into one and the same god, namely, Vishṇu, it is but natural that a new mythology should spring up connected with these divinities. Let us first take up Vishṇu as Vishṇu. Was he connected with any new mythological incident in the Gupta period? This is the first question which we have to ask ourselves. In this connection we have to take note of the opening verse of the Junāgadh inscription (No. 28 below). It may be translated thus: “Victorious is that Vishṇu, who, for the sake of the happiness of (Indra) the lord of the gods, snatched away the royal dignity of Bali, which was admitted to be worthy of enjoyment and which was more than once wrested (from them); who is the permanent abode of (the goddess) Lakṣmī, whose resting-place is the water-lily; who overcomes affliction and is the consummate victor.” Here the points that are most noteworthy are two: (1) the snatching away of Śrī (royal dignity) of Bali by Vishṇu and the restoration of the same to Indra; and (2) Vishṇu being described as the permanent abode of Lakṣmī whose resting place is the water-lily. The second point we will deal with later on. The first point is obviously connected with Bali, the lord of the Asuras, son of Virōchana and grandson of Prahlāda, who snatched away the power of Indra. The story connected with him has been narrated in the various Purāṇas. At the importunate entreaties of the gods and sages, we are told, Vishṇu promised to wrest back the sovereignty (Śrī) from Bali. Accordingly he was born as Vāmāna (Dwarf) and went in person to the sacrificial session initiated by Bali and made the very humble request of being granted as much space as could be covered with his three strides as Vāmāna. Bali at once and with
alacrity granted the request, but as his request was complied with, Vāmana forthwith assumed his terrific form and covered the whole earth with one step and the aerial region with the second, and placed his third step on the head of Bali and hurled him down to Pātāla or nether regions. Surely this story about Vishnu is not traceable in any one of the Vedic Sanhitas or Brāhmaṇas. It is for the first time found developed and narrated in extenso in the various Purāṇas. This clearly shows that mythology was developing about the Gupta period to suit the new syncretisations and is found narrated in the various Purāṇas. This mythological incident connected with Vishnu and Bali, also and incidentally indicates that one of the Avatāras or Incarnations of Vishnu, namely Vāmana, was known in the Gupta epoch. A second incarnation of Vishnu is also known, namely, that of Varāha, to which we have referred while interpreting the Ėraṅ inscription of Tōramāṇa. It is very doubtful whether any third incarnation of Vishnu was known in this period. In fact, various incarnations of this deity have been mentioned in various numbers in the various Purāṇas and it was not till the time of the poet-saint Jayadēva, who flourished in the court of Lakshmana Sēna that they became stereotyped with the ten incarnations of Vishnu.

Let us now take up the second point raised by the consideration of the translation of the initial verse of the Junāgaḍh inscription (No. 28 below). There Vishnu is spoken of as the permanent abode of Lakshmi whose resting place is the water-lily. This reminds us of the description of Amṛta-mañthana contained, e.g., in the Vishnu-Purāṇa:

\[
\begin{align*}
Tataḥ sphurat-kāntimatī vilīśi-kamale sthitā \mid \\
Śrīr=dēvi payasastta=tasmād=dhūta-pankajā \parallel 98 \\
Divya-māl-āmaradharā snātā bhūshana-bhūshita \mid \\
pāyatabī saras-dēvānām yayau vakṣah-śhalam Harēḥ \parallel 102
\end{align*}
\]

"Then seated on a full-blown lotus, and holding a water-lily in her hand, the goddess Śrī, radiant with beauty, rose from the waves (of the milky ocean) … Thus bathed, attired, and adorned, the goddess, in the view of the celestials, cast herself upon the breast of Hari." This suits here excellently and clearly shows that the story of the Amṛta-mañthana was known when the draft of the Junāgaḍh inscription was composed. But it was not Lakshmi alone that was brought to light through the churning of the milky ocean. Other gems such as Kaustubha, Airāvata and so forth were also acclaimed. It is true that they are not mentioned at all, e.g., in the Vishnu-Purāṇa, but they are referred to in many other Purāṇas, the principal of which is the Matsya. Vishnu seized Kamalā (Lakshmi) and the great gem Kaustubha, says the Purāṇa; and the thousand-eyed (Indra), the best of the elephants (Airāvata). Now, both Airāvata and Kaustubha have been adverted to in two important Gupta records. Thus, the Gaṅghḍhār inscription opens with an obeisance to Vishnu whose arm is apparently compared with the serpent-like trunk of (Airāvata) the elephant of (Indra) the lord of the gods. The second record that we have to note is the celebrated Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta (I) and Bandhuvarman (No. 35 below). Verse 42 thereof says: "As (is) the pure sky with the moon, the breast of Śrāṅgin, indeed, with Kaustubha jewel, so is this whole extensive town (Daśapura) decorated with this best structure." There can hardly be a doubt that even Airāvata and Kaustubha were understood in the Gupta period as having come out of the Milky Sea. The composition of the Purāṇas was in a state of transition. This is the reason why the mythological incidents, like the incarnations of Vishnu are found described in some and not in other works.

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1 See above, p. 126.
2 Chap. 251, verse 3.
We have seen how the Asura Bali was dealt with by Vishnu. But there was another
demon called Madhu who is associated with Vishnu and was in fact killed by him. In fact,
he was for that reason called Madhusudana. The second half of verse 15 of the Gaṇgdhār
inscription referred to above has the following: “when it is the time of the ending of the slum-
bers of (Vishnu) who destroyed Madhu and was a scion of Śūra.” Here three points are in-
volved. The first is that Vishnu is called Madhusudana, the second is that he falls into slumbers
which come to an end on a specific day and the third is that he is a scion of Śūra. Let us take
the third point first. Everybody knows that Śūra was the name of Yādava who was the grand-
father of Kṛishṇa.1 This is additional evidence of the identification of Kṛishṇa with Vishnu
during this period. As regards the first point, the Puraṇas represent Madhu to be killed along
with Kaitabha by Vishnu. They were demons sprung from the ears of Vishnu, while he was
asleep, and were slain by him as they were about to devour Brahman.2 Of course, the Puraṇas
differ as to how they sprung up and also how they came to be killed. These differences must
exist as new mythology was in the making. This much, however, is certain that Vishnu killed
them both and was for that reason known not only as Madhusudana but also as Kaitabha-jit.
Of course, the epithet, Madhusudana, is mentioned in the Gaṇgdhār Inscription and Kaitabha-
jit is not yet found in any Gupta record. But this ab silentio argument is no good, as all the
Puraṇas mention Madhu and Kaitabha together and as being slain by Vishnu. The third and
most important point raised is that Vishnu sleeps and is awakened from his slumbers. This no
doubt refers to the myth that Vishnu sleeps four months of the rainy season, that his slumber
commences on the 11th of the bright half of Ṭhāṭha and that it ends on the 11th of the bright
half of Kārtika. Those days have been named Sayanī and Prabodhini Ēkādaśī respectively in
the Padma-Puraṇa. This, however, seems to be a new development in the mythology of Vishnu
and has nothing to do with the myth of cosmic sleep foisted on him through Purusha-Nārāyaṇa
being identified with him. So far, so good. Another divinity, who has been merged into
Purānic Vishnu, is Purusha-Nārāyaṇa about whom we have said enough above. The third
deity that has been so merged is Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa. We have already adverted to the Bhita-
pillar inscription (No. 31 below), where Skandagupta is, after destroying his enemy, described
as visiting his mother just as Kṛishṇa did Devakī. The story about Kṛishṇa, Devakī and his
enemy Kaṁsa is too well-known to require any repetition.3 Another passage that we have to
take note of occurs in verses 16-17 of the Mandasor stone inscription of Vishnuvardhana.4
They describe one Bhagavaddoṣa as a prop to his relatives just as Uddhava was to the Andha-
kas in the proper course of duty and as one who, like Vidura, ‘looked far ahead’ even in the
devious path of Polity. Now Uddhava was Kṛishṇa’s cousin, being son of Dévabhāga, brother of
Vāsudeva. He was fond of carrying on discussions on philosophy and pointing out paths of
duty to his relatives. Vidura was the younger brother of Pāṇḍu and was considered to be
dīrgha-darśana ‘looking far ahead.’5 Sabhā-Parvan, 50.8, says that Vidura was well conversant
with the Science of Polity on which Brihaspati discoursed to Indra; and Udyoga-Parvan, 32-40,
actually sets forth, under the title Vidura-vākyā, his own views on the same subject, namely,
Polity. There is a third incident in the life of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa which is also incidentally

1 Padma-P., V. 13. 109-09; Vāyu-P., 96. 143-44; Matsya-P., 46. 1; Harivamśa-P., verses 1922-23. In this connection we cannot help praising D. R. Patil’s Gupta Inscriptions and the Puranic Tradition and Tables, etc., done under the supervision of H. D. Sankalia.
2 Brahma-Vaisvata-P., I. 4. 26-28; Padma-P., V. 37. 19 and MBh., III. 202; and Mārkandeya-P., 81. 50 ff.
3 Vishnu-P., IV. 15; V. 1-2; Padma-P., Bk. III, ch. 13; Bhāgavata, III. 1. 33; III. 2. 17; X. 3. 24 ff., MBh., I. 63.
5 Bhāgavata, XI. 4. 60-29.49, which is known as Uddhava-gītā.
6 Udyoga-Parvan, 32. 5.
referred to in the opening verse of the Tuṣāṃ Rock inscription,1 which runs thus: “Verily victory has over and over again been achieved by Viṣṇu, who is a pre-eminent bee on the water-lily, namely, the face of Jāmbavatī (but) a frost to the grace of the water-lilies, namely, the faces of (other) demon damsels.” Jāmbavatī, we know, was daughter of Jāmbavatī, ‘king of bears.’ There was a gem called Syamantaka which was given by the sun to Sātrājīt who passed it on to his brother Prasēṇa as he did not want it to go to Kṛśṇa. One quality of this jewel was to project its wearer, when good, but to ruin him, when bad.2 Prasēṇa was wicked and was killed by a lion, which was carrying off the gem in its mouth, when it was encountered and slain by Jāmbavatī. Kṛśṇa tracked Jāmbavatī till the latter submitted to him, gave up the gem and presented him also with his daughter Jāmbavatī. Jāmbavatī is described as ‘king of bears’—which means that he was the ruler of a tribe whose totem was ‘the bear.’ Even in historic times the descendants of Bāli (Vāli) had kapī or monkey on their banner.3 Both were non-Aryan or Dānava clans with the bear or monkey as their totem. Further, we have to note that in the Anuśāsana-parvan (chap. 14) of the Mahābhārata, Jāmbavatī has been called once Kapindra-putrī (verse 41) and at another time, that is, in the very next verse (verse 42) Vidyādharindrasya sutā. Her extraction was thus not definitely settled. And even on that ground she could very well be looked upon as a Dānava which denoted any non-Aryan clan. The last point we have to note is that the above feat has been put to the credit of Viṣṇu in the inscription, although it was achieved by Vāṣudēva-Kṛśṇa. This is additional evidence, if any is required at all, in support of the complete identification of the two divinities in the Gupta period.

As regards the third divinity, namely, Gōpāla-Kṛśṇa, who was merged into Viṣṇu, we have already considered the contents of the Mandosar inscription (No. 14 below) of Nara-varman which throw light on the principal incident in his life story and have pointed out how he too was lost into the individuality of Viṣṇu. We shall now discuss whether there was any Vaishnava sect in existence in the Gupta epoch. The sects that loom large in the Viṣṇuvada horizon at present are those of Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka, Vallabha, Chaitanya and so forth. But they all arose from the 11th century onwards. No scholar, not even Ramakrishna Bhandarkar in his Viṣṇuñism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, has shown on inscriptive evidence that there was any Viṣṇu sect flourishing before the 11th century, and not at all in the Gupta period. It is, however, worthy of note that there was an epigraph found at Tuṣām4 in the Panjab and belonging to the fourth or fifth century A.D. which speaks apparently of the Sātvata sect. It records the benefactions of Āchārya Sūmatrā, who was the younger brother of Āchārya and Upādhyāya Yaśastra (II). The latter pertained to the Gōtama gōtra and was a son of Āchārya Vāsudatta born of Rāvaṇī. Whether Rāvaṇī was an individual name of his mother it is difficult to say. But Rāvaṇī seems to be a metronymic, Rāvaṇa being a branch of the Vasishṭha gōtra.5 At any rate, the very fact that Yaśastra (II) is said to belong to the Gōtama gōtra is enough to show that this family of Āchāryas was Brāhmaṇa by caste. Vāsudatta’s father was Yaśastra (I), and this Yaśastra was a devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), to whom, we are told, the Ṭīga practice of the Ārya Sātvatas had come down through many generations. This makes it quite clear that this family of Āchāryas were not only Brāhmaṇa by caste but were adherents of the Sātvata sect with its peculiar type of Ṭīga.

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2 Dowson’s Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, etc., pp. 131-32.
This receives a most welcome confirmation from the Śāvata-saṅhitā, the contents of which have been so admirably summed up by R. G. Bhandarkar. Rāmānuja also sums it up succinctly as follows: "That this worship of that which is of a four-fold nature means worship of the highest Brāhmaṇa, called Vāsudēva, is declared in the Śāvata-saṅhitā: 'This is the supreme Śāstra the great Brahmo-panishad, which imparts true discrimination to sec Brāhmaṇas worshipping the real Brāhmaṇa, under the name of Vāsudēva.' That highest Brāhmaṇa, called Vāsudēva, having for its body the complete aggregate of the six qualities, divides itself in so far as it is either the 'Subtle' (ṣūkṣma), or division (vyūha), or 'manifestation' (vibhava), and is attained in its fullness by the devotees, who, according to their qualifications, do worship to it by means of works guided by knowledge. 'From the worship of the vibhava-aspect one attains to the vyūha, and from the worship of the vyūha one attains to the 'Subtle' called Vāsudēva, i.e., the highest Brāhmaṇa'—such is their doctrine. By the vibhava we have to understand the aggregate of beings, such as Rāma, Kṛiṣṇa, etc., in whom the highest Being becomes manifest; by the vyūha the four-fold arrangement or division of the highest Reality, as Vāsudēva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; by the 'Subtle' the highest Brahman itself, in so far as it has for its body the mere aggregate of the six qualities—as which it is called 'Vāsudēva.'" R. G. Bhandarkar's summary on the Śāvata-saṅhitā supports the above statement in every way and supplements it in one respect. The most important point is that the Brahmo-panishad, the highest Śāstra, reveals itself to a qualified Brāhmaṇa only, when he worships Vāsudēva as Brahma. The second important point noticeable in his summary is that "This Śāstra along with Rahasya is fruitful to those who have gone through Yogā with its eight parts and whose soul is devoted to mental sacrifice. The Yogins, who are Brāhmaṇas guided by the Vēdas and who have given up the mixed worship, are competent for the worship of the single one, dwelling in the heart." Thus the second important point noteworthy about the Śāvata sect is that there is a special type of Yogā connected with it. Now, both these points are noticeable about the Śāvata sect described in the Tuṣām record. The Āchāryas of this sect are all Brāhmaṇas and belonged to the Gōtama gōtra. Secondly, the first of these Āchāryas named Yaśastra is described not only as a devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), but also as "one to whom the Yōga practice of the Ārya Śāvatas had come down through many generations." After this agreement in important points, can there be any doubt that there was a Vaishnava sect called the Śāvatas which was in existence in the Gupta period? Further, we have to note that this Śāvata sect was, in regard to the order of succession, more akin to the Vallabha-chāri where the succession was from father to son than to the Rāmānuja, Madhya or Nimārka where the succession was from a Saṁnyāsi teacher to his Saṁnyāsi pupil. There are two more points relating to the Śāvata sect which deserve notice. The first is that one member of this family has been designated not only as Āchārya but also as Upādhyāya. What could be the distinction between the two? Anybody who has read Manu-smṛiti (II. 145) need not be told that according to this law-giver ten Upādhyāyas are equal to one Āchārya. Evidently, an Āchārya is in grade much superior to an Upādhyāya. And we shall not be far from right if we take Upādhyāya in the sense of "a priest or pontiff" and Āchārya in the sense of "a teacher." Here was therefore a line of teachers pertaining to the Śāvata sect where the Śāvata Yōga came by heritage but where there was one Upādhyāya or priest. What could his duty be? R. G. Bhandarkar, while winding up his summary of the Śāvata-saṅhitā, says: "Then follows the statement of the mystic arrangement of letters and formulae and the meditations. This work throughout contains the mystic modes of worship by means of mantras variously arranged. The allusion

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1 Vaishnavism, Saivism, etc., pp. 39-40.
3 Vaishnavism, Saivism, etc., p. 40.
at the end of chapter 66 of the Bhishmaparvan to Saṁkarshaṇa’s having sung or expounded Vāsudēva according to the Sātvata rites (Vidhū) refers in all probability to such rites as are detailed in the Sātvata-Saṁhitā.” It is possible that the duty of the Upādhyāya was to manipulate these “mystic arrangements of letters and formulae” for the benefit of the laity. The second point that we have to discuss is why this Sātvata sect was flourishing in the vicinity of the Tuśām rock whereon this inscription is engraved. Not far below this record there are incised the emblem of a chakra or discus and also a shorter inscription which means “Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat in (this) region (touched) by the feet of Bhagavat (Vāsudeva)” which is engraved just above this inscription and in characters of about the same period. It seems to be the spot that was then believed to be hallowed by the feet of Vāsudēva as Viṣṇu. That is perhaps the reason why a discus also was carved on the rock. And further this discus reminds us of a second one, sculptured along with another Viṣṇava record,1 which again is of the same age though it is found in the eastern part of India, namely, in a cave of Susunā in the Bankura District of Bengal. It may be that this cave also was another but smaller centre of the Sātvata sect, though there is no proof of an irrefragable character to that effect. Two more emblems of the discus have been found in East India, one at Gaṅga2 and the other at Nāch-nē-ki-talai3 where also was existing one Viṣṇu cave.

Iśa (No. 35 below, verse 43), Hara (No. 35 below, verse 40), Mahādēva,4 Mahēśvara.5

We have already pointed out that neither any Saṁhitā nor any Brāhmaṇa speaks of Śiva as a divinity. The word Śiva no doubt occurs, but in the sense of ‘auspicious, propitious.’ It is only in the Śvetāsvatara Upanishad that Śiva is, for the first time, found mentioned as a deity though as a form of Rudra. There were many deities of this class such as Bhava, Śarvan, Pāṣupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādēva and Iśāna who have been mentioned in this ascending order and as manifestations of Ēka-vrātya, in Book XV of the Atharva-Veda. But we now find that they have all been eclipsed in glory by Śiva, who had no existence at all in the Saṁhitā or Brāhmaṇa period and that they themselves have become so identified with him as to become his other names. Such was the unique transfusion effected in mythology in the Gupta age. Side by side with this transfusion it is natural to expect new developments also in the mythology connected with this god. Thus the very first inscription in our volume speaks in verse 9 of the Ganges being confined in the inner hollow of the matted hair of Paṣupati but afterwards liberated from the tangled mass, dashing forth rapidly and flowing in higher and ever higher masses and through many paths. The story connected with the descent of the Gaṅgā to the head of Śiva, who, to humble her pride, encircled her for long in the labyrinth of his matted locks but eventually allowed her to come out and flow to the sea and even in the infernal regions for the sake of Bhagiratha is well-known from the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 41) and the Vāyu-Purāṇa (chapter 47, verses 27 and ff.). This story is, however, unknown to the pre-Gupta period. We may now proceed to consider the first three opening verses of the Mandasōr inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana6 dated Vikrama year 589. Here Śiva is mentioned as wielding the Pīnāka bow, as indulging in laughter and vocal music, as being the Procreator of Worldly Life and with his serpent veiling the radiance of the moon. All these characteristics of Śiva are described in the Purāṇas. If we turn, for example, to the Vāyu-Purāṇa, chapter 24, we find Śiva described as Pīnākin in verse 132 and indulging in Vādyā-nṛśya and aṭṭālaśa in verses 142-43 and 145.

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 133.
4 Ibid., Vol. III, 1888, Nos. 21, text line 1; 22, text line 1; 23, text line 1; and 24, text line 1.
5 Ibid., Nos. 38, text lines 2, 4, 6, 14, 19; 39, text lines 2, 7, 10, 14, 19, 22, 31, 39, 47, 50, 53, 54, 57, etc.
6 Ibid., No. 35.
As regards the moon we find that it was one of the gems churned out of the Milky Ocean and selected by him for adornment. We now turn to a different incident which occurred during his life and is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription (No. 35 below) of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman. Verse 40 describes "the season (of spring) when Kāmadēva, whose body is purified by Hara displays his arrows, having verily attained to (his) identity, with the distinct and fresh burstingforth of the flowers of the Āśoka tree, the Kētaka, the Śīhuvāra, the pendulous Aśimukta creeper, and the Madayantikā ..." The ordinary story of Kāma as connected with Śiva is too well-known to be repeated at length. When the gods wanted a commander for their forces in their war with Tāraka, they sought the aid of Kāma in attracting Śiva to Pārvatī, whose issue alone could vanquish the demon. Kāma undertook the mission, but Śiva, being offended at the disturbance of his austerities, reduced him to ashes with the fire of his third eye, and he became Anaṅga (the bodiless one). Subsequently he was allowed by Śiva to be born again in the form of Pradyumna at the request of Rati. His friend is Vasanta, 'the Spring.' He is armed with a bow and arrows—the arrows being flowers of five different plants. This story is unknown to us from any literature prior to the composition of the Purāṇas, that is, prior, in fact, to the Gupta period. This story of Kāma referred to in stanza 40 of inscription No. 35 below is all-right so far as it goes. But stanza 13 of the same record speaks of two wives of Smara (=Kāma), namely, Priti and Rati. No authority in support of this statement has yet been adduced from the Mahābhārata or any one of the Purāṇas. Nevertheless, we have lighted upon a passage from the Matsya-Purāṇa which expatiates on the efficacy of performing the Vībhūttivādāśi-vrata, and says: "That courtezan is now the rival of Rati, wife of the god Kāma and is known as Priti."

Let us now see whether there was any sect also among the Śaivas in the Gupta times. We have in this connection to take into consideration the Mathurā pilaster inscription (No. 6 below) of Chandragupta II. It will be seen from the summary given below that there was one Udītāchārya, a Māhēśvara, who established in the Teachers' Shrine (Guru-āyatana) two Liṅgas called Upamitēśvara and Kapilēśvara called after his teacher and teacher's teacher respectively. Even the name of Kapila's teacher has been specified, namely, Pārāśara. Further, we have to note that Udītāchārya is mentioned not only as fourth in succession from Pārāśara but also tenth from Kuśika. Excluding the living teachers all the others have been described as Bhagyavat, implying that they had already been absorbed into the divinity of Mahēśvara. The question now arises: who could this Kuśika be? As early as 1906 we contributed a paper to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, where we drew the attention of scholars to a passage which is common to both the Vāyu and the Liṅga-Purāṇas. On the strength of this passage, we showed (1) that Lakulīn was the twenty-eighth or last incarnation of Mahēśvara, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyārōhana or Kāyāvatāra, which was identical with Kārvaṇ, in the Dahbhoi taluk, Baroda prānt of the former Baroda State, and (3) that he had four ascetic pupils, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The same information is contained in the Cintra prāṣasti of the reign of the Chalukya ruler Sāraṅgadeva which was last critically edited by G. Bühler in the Epigraphia Indica. The record corroborates practically all that has been said by the Purāṇas about Lakulīn. The order and names of the pupils is slightly different, namely, that these four disciples of Lakulīn became the founders of four lines for the thorough performance of the religious austerities (vrata) of the Pāṣupatas. There can

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1 Vishnu-P., I. 9. 95; Padma-P., V. 4. 51-52.
2 Matsya-P., 154. 272; Padma-P., V. 40. 265.
3 Chapter 100, verse 32.
4 Vol. XXII, pp. 154 ff.
thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of Lakulīn and that the four Āchāryas mentioned in the Mathurā record were, of course, his descendants. In the Cintra praśasti three Āchāryas are mentioned, the last of whom, Tripūrabāntaka, was a contemporary of Sārāṅgadēva during whose reign it was incised. From verse 19 of this inscription it is quite clear that these teachers belonged to the line (gōtra) of Gṛgga or Gṛgga. While the Cintra praśasti gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprang up in the line of Gṛgga, the second pupil of Lakulīn, the Mathurā record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulīn. In other words, it appears that while some descendants of Gṛgga established themselves at Sōmnāth in Kāṭhaśāvā, those of Kuśika did at Mathurā.

It is evident that the teachers mentioned in the Mathurā record pertained to the Lakulīn sect. There are two or three points connected with this sect which now require to be cleared up. We are told that Uditāchārya, who was the teacher then living, installed Upamitiśvara and Kapilēśvara named after Upamita and Kapila who were his teacher and teacher’s teacher respectively. What did Upamitiśvara and Kapilēśvara denote? As the ending ēvara shows, they denote Śiva liṅga established in memory of those teachers. But where were they put up? Certainly in the Teachers’ Shrine (Gurv-āyatana), as we are expressly told. This shows that there must have been many other liṅgas established in perpetuation of the memory of other teachers, in fact, of all teachers from Kuśika to Upamita (both inclusive). Now, if these memorials in the Teachers’ Shrine were all liṅgas, how could they be distinguished one from the other? How could we say that one liṅga represented one Teacher; and another, another? The natural surmise would be that every one of the liṅgas so put up contained the portrait of a Teacher. Is it to remain a mere surmise, or does it receive confirmation from any extraneous source? In this connection we have to draw attention to another paper on Lakulīn which we contributed elsewhere, namely, to the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.1 There, we have shown that wherever Lakulīn appears, he figures as a human being, invariably with two hands and with his characteristic sign, namely, a Lakuṣṭa or staff in his left hand, a citron in his right, and above all, with ārūdhva-mēḍhra. There are, however, two representations of his, at Kārvāṇa—the place of his incarnation as Śiva—one found in the shrine of Nakulēśvara and the other, in that of Rājarājēśvara. Both of course are liṅgas, but their characteristic feature is that they have combined, each, with a representation of Lakulīn, into one image, pointing of course to his absorption into the divinity of Śiva. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to suppose in the case of Upamitiśvara and Kapilēśvara that they were Śiva liṅgas with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them. In fact, they were merged into the godhead of Śiva. That is the reason why all the departed Āchāryas mentioned in the Mathurā inscription have been styled Bhagavat, but the living teacher, namely, Uditāchārya has been called simply Ārīya. The question that now arises is: how were the demised Āchāryas absorbed into the divinity of Śiva? In this connection we have to take note of the following passage from the Purāṇas2 adverted to above.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tatr=āpi mama tē puṭrā bhavishyanti tapasvinah} & \mid \\
\text{Kuśikaś=ch=aiva Gargaś=cha Mitraḥ Kaurushya ēva cha} & \|131 \\
\text{Yūg-ātmāmō mah-ātmānō brāhmāṇa Vēda-पārāgāḥ} & \mid \\
\text{prāya Māheśvarasa Yogam vimalā hy=ārūdhva-rētasah} & \|132 \\
\text{Rudra-lōkān gamishyanti punar=āorytti-durlabham} & \mid \\
\text{ēte Pāśupataḥ siddhā bhasm-ōddhālita-vigrāhāḥ} & \|133
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{1} \quad 1906-07, \text{pp. 179 ff.}\]
\[\text{2} \quad \text{JBBRAS, Vol. XXII, p. 154.}\]
Here have been named the four disciples of Lakulin who were the founders of the four lines of Pāṣupata teachers. They are described not only as possessed of bodies besmeared with ashes, as ārdhva-rētas, i.e., ārdhva-mādhra, but also as having practised Māheśvara-yōga and attained to the Rudra world. It is thus obvious that by practising yōga, the ascetic members of this sect hoped to be at one with Rudra or Śiva. The Yōga was also called Pāṣupata-yōga. So it is named not only in the Ēkāṁgijī stone inscription of Naravāhana but also in the Vāyu-Purāṇa, in chapters 11-15, preceding chapter 23 which describes the incarnations of Śiva. We have therefore to suppose that the ascetic teachers of the Kuśika line must have passed away like Yōgins by driving their práya-vāyu through the brahma-randhra and plunging themselves into the divinity of Śiva. This explains why all these departed teachers have received the divine title of bhagavat. Nevertheless, their earthly remembrances seem to have been preserved in the shape of portraits carved into the linga which served to distinguish them from one another along with the order of successions in which their lingas were arranged.

There now remains one important point to be considered—the date of Lakuliśa. Uditāchārya, we know, was tenth in descent from Kuśika, pupil of Lakulin. Uditāchārya thus belonged to the eleventh generation from Lakulin. Uditāchārya’s date, that is, the date of our inscription, is Gupta year 61=380-81 A.D. If we now allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakulin to 105-130 A.D. This agrees pretty closely with the view expressed as early as 1906 that Lakulin has to be placed as early as the first century A.D. Our conclusion was then based merely on the mention, in the Vāyu-Purāṇa, of Lukulin as the last incarnation of Śiva. Evidence of this type will always remain of a somewhat conjectural nature. Epigraphical evidence, on the other hand, is more accurate. We may, therefore, take it now as well-nigh proved that Lakulin flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D., about half a century later than the time so long ascribed to him.

Let us now proceed to the consideration of another type of divinities hinted in the Gupta inscriptions. In this connection two inscriptions are of great importance. The first is the Bihar stone pillar inscription (No. 41 below) of Skandagupta. Unfortunately it is highly mutilated. What, however, has been preserved may be pieced together thus. Line 8 speaks of a shrine of Bhadrāryā, whose image is apparently mentioned in line 32. The line following refers to Mātrīs or Divine Mothers led by Skanda. And the next line, or line 10, records the erection of a Yōpa or sacrificial post and refers again to Bhadrārya and other Mothers. If we piece together these scraps of information, what we gather is that in the Gupta period Bhadrā was the most pre-eminent of the Divine Mothers, that these Mothers were headed by the god Skanda and that somehow a sacrificial post was raised for the worship of either or both. We have more than once remarked in the course of this history that Hindu mythology was in the Gupta period fluctuating and that it did not crystallise till the eighth century A.D. To take one instance, the Mātrīs in the mediaeval period were either seven or eight and were stereotyped into (1) Brāhma, (2) Māheśvarī, (3) Chaṇḍi, (4) Vārahī, (5) Vaishnāvī, (6) Kaumārī, (7) Chāmuṇḍa and (8) Charchikā. This is quite clear from the fact that from the eighth century onwards they are actually found sculptured as the female forms of or Ṣaktis of Brahmā, Māheśvara and so forth. But this does not appear to be the case in the Gupta epoch, because the Bihar pillar inscription refers to Mothers mentioning Bhadrā only. And the question naturally arises: have we any list of Mothers which comprises Bhadrā at all? In this connection attention may be drawn first to the Vīshṇu-Purāṇa, V. 1 and 2, which speaks of Yōga-nidrā of the Creator of the Universe (Jagad-dhātṛ) who in this case is Vīshṇu himself. Yōga-nidrā has consequently been styled Vaishnāvī Mahāmāyā. She has been commanded by the god to transfer a number

of foetuses to the womb of Dēvakī. When Krishna is born of Dēvakī, she herself shall be born of Yaśodā, and thereafter Vāsudēva shall effect the exchange of infants. For the execution of this duty, Vishṇu promises that the people will address her, morning and afternoon, with reverence and praise, call her Āryā, Durgā, Dēgarbhā, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakāli, Kshēmā and Kshēmāṅkāri, and propitiate her with offerings of wine and flesh. As the names Durgā and Ambikā show, she was really the consort of Śiva. She cannot therefore be, strictly speaking, described as Vaishṇavī Mahāmāyā. The same string of names we find repeated in the Agni-Purāṇa, XII. 12-13. Now, if we consider these names carefully, we find that they reduce themselves to three distinct appellations. That Durgā is a name by itself can scarcely be doubted. That Bhadrakāli and Kshēmāṅkāri are amplified or periphrastic forms of Bhadrā and Kshēm(y)ā can also be scarcely doubted. That Āryā and Ambikā are synonymous terms signifying ‘mother’ can also be scarcely doubted. Āryā and Ambikā, in fact, have survived into the vernacular forms Āyā (=Āī) and Ammā. The real names are thus three: (1) Durgā, (2) Bhadrā and (3) Kshēmā, and they are mothers, that is, Āryā or Ambikā. This reminds us of a passage from the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā, (III. 58) which says: Ėša āśe Rudra bhāgaḥ suḥa svarā Ambikāya taṁ juhasva svāhā . . . . Ava Rudram=adi-mahy=aa dvēm Tryambakam, “This is thy portion, Rudra; graciously accept it together with thy sister Ambikā! Svāhā! . . . . We have satisfied Rudra; we have satisfied the god Tryambaka.”71 Here Ambikā is described as a sister of Rudra and Rudra is in the same breath called Tryambaka. This clearly shows that originally there were three Ambikās or Mothers associated with Rudra. They were Mothers of the world but only Sisters to Rudra. In later times, as mythology shuffled and re-shuffled itself, Āryā or Ambā became the name of Śiva’s wife, and Mothers multiplied themselves into seven or eight. We have already hinted that just as Bhadrakāli was an amplified form of Bhadrā, so was Kshēmākāri of Kshēmā. If any doubt remains on this point, it is removed by verse 2 of the Vasantagadh inscription of Varmalāta, dated Vikrama year 682 = 625 A.D. The second line of this verse runs thus: Kshēmāryā Kshēma-kāri vidadhātu śivam nas=satatam.2 Here Kshēmā and Kshēmākāri are mentioned together, and Kshēmā has been called Kshēmāryā like Bhadrāryā of the Bihar pillar inscription. Nay, the stanza preceding it is equally important. There Durgā is praised, and is called Yōganidrā of Dhātri (Creator) and Viśvayōni, both of which are names of Brahmā. Nevertheless, the same stanza tells us that she was the wife of Śiva. The inference is not unreasonable that Durgā, Bhadrā or Bhadrakāli and Kshēmā or Kshēmākāri were originally three different Mothers (Āryās) who later on became forms or names of one and the same goddess, namely, Durgā, and remained always connected with Śiva or Rudra.

Let us now proceed one step further and consider what is meant by the Bihar record saying that the Divine Mothers, of whom Bhadrāryā was certainly one, were led by Skanda. How Skanda was born, how he was protected by the Mātris and how he conferred powers upon them has been narrated in the Skandopākhyaṇa of the Vanaparan of the Mahābhārata.3 But in this account the Mātris named are entirely different from those anywhere mentioned, such as Kākī, Halimā, Mālinī, Brīṅhikā, Āryā, Palālā and Vaimitrā.4 Besides, here Skanda, Mahāśeṇa, Viśākha and Kumāra have all been regarded as names of one god. This could not have happened in the Gupta period. For, as we have elsewhere pointed out,5 in the Kushāna regime, one type of Huvishka’s coins bears on the reverse the three gods, Skanda, Kumāra and Viśā-

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3. Chapter 224, verses 10-16; chapter 225, verses 22-25; chapter 229, verses 14 and 15.
5. D. R. Bhandarkar’s Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp. 22-23.
kha, and, another, Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsēna. What is further noteworthy is that these names have each a figure corresponding to it. Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsēna evidently represented four different gods in the Kushāna period. And as Huvishka could not have been separated from the Gupta epoch by more than one century and a half, the four gods could not have been identified with one another or looked upon as names of the same god during the supremacy of the early Gupta kings. Nevertheless, this much is certain—that when the Bihār pillar was erected, Skanda alone, and not any other of the four gods, was associated with the Divine Mothers. As in the Amarakāśa the god has been called Agni-bhūḥ, ‘son of Agni’, the story of the Skandopākhyaṇa, that he was the son of Agni and Śvāhā may be accepted though it is mixed up with details, connected with the other gods such as Śaḍānana, later known as Kārttikeya. When Śvāhā threw the infant on one of the hills of the Himālayas, the Mothers rallied to the child and reared it up. This seems to be the story connected with the birth of Skanda-Guha as contradistinguished from that of Śaḍānana. This much of the Skandopākhyaṇa may be accepted as being known to the Gupta period. There, however, remains a third point to be discussed in connection with the Bihār pillar inscription, namely, the erection of a Yūpa. Where was the necessity of raising a sacrificial post for the worship of these Mothers, such as Bhadrārāyaṇa and others? Let us recall to memory what has been summarised above from the Vishṇu-Purāṇa. We have pointed out there that Vishṇu ordered Yogāniḍra of the Creator to transfer some extraneous foetuses, in succession, to the womb of Devakī and that if she carried out this behest (and we know that she did it), she would have the honour of being addressed twice every day by human beings as Ārya, Durgā, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Kshēmā and so forth, and, above all, being propitiated with the offerings of wine and flesh (śurā-māṁśa-āpahāraṇaṁ = cha bhakṣaya-bhōjyaiṁ = suṣṭaṁ). After this explanation one can easily understand that the post (yūpa) was erected to offer an animal sacrifice to the Mothers.

The other Gupta record that refers to the Mātrīs is the Gaṇḍhār inscription of Viśvavarma, of which verse 23 speaks of Mayūrakṣa, the counsellor of the king, having built a formidable edifice of the Divine Mothers (Mātrīs), interspersed with female ghouls (Dākīnis)—the Divine Mothers who stir up oceans with mighty gales through magic incantation. Here two things are worthy of note. The first is that Dākīnis were associated with the Divine Mothers. And the second is that the Mothers were endowed with magic powers. Let us take the first point first, namely, the association of Dākīnis with Mātrīs. The Vanaparvan (chapter 227) describes the followers of Skanda who are not only terrible but also curious-looking. Verse 8 distinguishes the female followers into two classes: Śivā and Aśivā, ‘auspicious spirits’ and ‘evil spirits.’ This suits here excellently, because the Mātrīs are the Śivā, and the Dākīnis the Aśivā, class of his retinue. The second point is that the Mothers were somehow connected with Tantra or Magic formularies. When we speak of Tantras even now, we think primarily of the ‘Great Śakti’, the ‘Great Mother’ who is one, though known by such countless names as Durgā, Kāli, Chandī and so forth. The worship of Durgā plays a great part in the Tantras and goes back to the Vedic period. “There is no doubt that this goddess and her cult do unite traits of very different deities, Aryan as well as non-Aryan. It is probable, too, that the system of the Tantras adopted many characteristics from non-Aryan and from non-Brahmanical cults. On the other hand, some essential traits of the Tantras can be found as far back as in the Atharva-veda, as well as in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads.”1 Originally, the Śakti cult was most probably saturated with wild superstition and confused occultism and disfigured by wild orgies inculcating reprehensible morals. Later on, the lofty spirituality of the Hindus sublimated the lewd and repulsive features of the cult and suffused it with a faultless social code of morality and rigid asceticism.

The above is an account of the popular divinities who were of a multifarious character and whose number was legion. The syncretising potency of the Indian mind was infinite; and so, with the advent of the Gupta regime we find these divinities being reduced to three categories. They were looked upon as forms or incarnations of Vishnu, Siva and Amba. There is nothing, however, to show that Brahmanism was responsible for this stupendous change. It is true that at present most of these gods are in the charge of Brahmana priests who alone have the right of allowing the votaries to have darsana of the deities and have turned it into a lucrative source of living. But there is nothing to show that in the Gupta period Brahmanas officiated as priests in the shrines of either Vishnu, Siva or Amba.

There can, however, be no doubt as to the Brahmanas rising to prominence shortly before the Gupta period. Every student of history knows who Ushavadata (=Rishabhadatta) was. He was a son of Dinika and son-in-law of the Mahakshatrapa Nahapana, who belonged to the Kshaharata family. Dinika, Nahapana, Kshaharata and Kshatrapa are all non-Hindu names and titles. This unmistakably points to the alien origin of Ushavadata. This is exactly in consonance with the fact that in one inscription he is called a Saka. But his name is Ushavadata =Rishabhadatta. His wife's name is Sarighamitra. These are distinctly Hindu names. This is quite in conformity with what is said of him. Thus, in one inscription, he is called tri-gô-satasahasrada, "the giver of three hundred thousand kine." He is also spoken of as having granted sixteen villages to the gods and Brahmanas. And, to crown the whole, he is described as avara-shri Brahmana-satasahasri-bhajapayitâ, "the feeder of one hundred thousand Brahmanas every year." Those charities stamp Ushavadata as a very staunch adherent of the Brahmanical religion. This also shows that the Brahmanas had begun to acquire general ascendency over the popular mind in both social and religious spheres. In other parts of India also were visible the signs of the Brahmanic supremacy. We may first turn our attention to a fragmentary Mathurâ inscription which was brought to our notice by Dayaram Sahni and which speaks of a devakula or shrine raised to the memory of the grandfather of Huvishka and the excavation of a tank connected therewith. It seems that the structure fell into disrepair in the time of this Kushana monarch and was renovated by some Bakaranapati whose name is lost. The last line, it is true, is mutilated, but it is all but certain that, for the increase of the life and strength of Huvishka, part of the administration of the benefaction was assigned to Brahmanas who were naityik-atithis, that is, who performed the Atithi-yajña daily. In other words, what the record means is that there was a feeding house attached to this establishment and that this sacred duty was assigned to Brahmanas. It is well-known that Manu (III. 69-70) enjoins the performance of Five Great Sacrifices (Pańca-mahâyajña) by the householders and that the last of these is Atithi-pûjana 'the hospitable reception of guests.' These five are generally mentioned in inscriptions in the abbreviated forms: bali, charu, Vaiśaveda, anhihira and atithi. It thus seems from the above record that the Brahmanas were entrusted with the duty of carrying out this last yajña of the householder in connection with the memorial of a departed worthy. Another sign of the growing popularity and influence of the Brâhma community is furnished by another Mathurâ inscription of the same Kushâna king. Its purport is to record the endowment of a punya-śāla or a Hall for acquiring merit through feeding and distribution of alms. It was made by a donor of foreign extraction. It was an aksayanivi, 'a permanent endowment', the capital of which could not be touched. Five hundred and fifty Puranâs were deposi-

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2 *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 402.

ted each in two śṛṇis or guilds.\footnote{Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 60-61.} Out of the monthly interest realised therefrom one hundred Brāhmaṇas were to be fed daily in the Hall and alms distributed every day at the door among the forlorn—hungry and thirsty. Further, the punya-tālā is described as prāchini and chatudīśi. The latter term means it was open to the needy and indigent coming from any one of the four quarters, whereas the first denotes that it was an ancient institution. This reminds us of a similar site which came into importance in the early Gupta period. No less than four inscriptions (Nos. 8, 17, 26 below and CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 64) have been found at Gaḍhwa in the Allahabad District which speak of grants being made for the free boarding of Sadāsattra-sāmānyā, whether they belonged to the Brāhmaṇa or other castes. Sadāsattra-sāmānyā must here denote the people who pertained to the township (sāmānyā) of Sadāsattra; and it seems that the place was called Sadāsattra, because it was a site for the perpetual feeding of the Brāhmaṇas and the poor. Both the Punyasālā of Mathurā and the Sadāsattra of Gaḍhwa clearly show that the Brāhmaṇas from the second century A. D. onwards somehow came to acquire and tighten their hold over the popular mind. The question arises: how this phenomenon took place. Did the Brāhmaṇas evince any intrinsic qualities of their own which caught the popular imagination?

Let us briefly recall to mind what we have noticed above about the Pāṣupata and Sātvata sects. In regard to the former, the Purāṇās say that the four disciples of Lakulīṣa were not only Brāhmaṇas conversant with the Vēdas but also experts in the Māheśvara (= Pāṣupata) yōga. The same was the case with the Sātvata sect connected with the Vishṇu cult. Here also the Āchāryas who flourished in the second and third centuries A.D. were not only Brāhmaṇas by caste but also experts in the Sātvata yōga. It seems that the Brāhmaṇas of this period were acquiring ascendency not so much through sacrificial performances as through new spiritual attainments or psychic performances. The practice of yōga enables a man to gain, in the first instance, freedom from worldly attachments and suppression of worldly desires and, finally, deliverance from the cycle of existence. The Yōgins are frequently, in consequence of the yōga exercises, plunged into what is known as Yōga-nidrā or ecstatic slumber; and some, by virtue of peculiar disposition and constant training, can remain for a lengthened period in a cataleptic condition without any indication of life, thereby acquiring a reputation for sanctity. As the Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to the practice of yōga and were supposed to be on the brink of the final attainment of the supreme goal, it is no wonder if they were looked upon as objects of sanctity and if thereby they soared high in the estimation of the people.

Though the influence of the Brāhmaṇas was thus in the ascendant, there is nothing to show that they were priests who were in charge of the popular divinities—Vishṇu, Śiva or Ambā, who alone could permit the people to have an actual sight of gods and turned their prerogative into an actual source of living as is the case at present. It may be contended that the Karamḍāriṇā inscription (No. 21 below) of Kumāragupta I runs counter to this supposition, because it connects the two temples of Mahādeva-Śailēśvara and Prithivīśvara, with Brāhmaṇas who had come from Ayōdhya and were conversant with Mantras, Sātras, Bhāshyas and Pravachanas. But they seem apparently to be entrusted with the duty of making the shrine a hallowed site and arranging for the procession of the idols of the gods, in a solemn, sacred manner. They were not local men, but seem to have been imported from Ayōdhya for this express purpose and maintained at the expense of the exchequer of the Śailēśvara temple which was already in existence. Even here, there is nothing to show that they were priests in actual charge of those divinities, who could allow or refuse votaries to have darśana of them. If any further evidence is needed, it is furnished by the Dāmōdarpur plates, which are five in number.
Two of these are applications from the orthodox Brāhmaṇas themselves to the state to sell them strips of land in lieu of money to be paid, to enable them to perform agnihōtra in the case of one (No. 22 below) and pañca-mahāyajñas in the case of the other (No. 24 below). The third (No. 38 below) is an application by a layman, anxious to settle down Brāhmaṇas in some part of old North Bengal. The fourth (No. 40 below) and the fifth (No. 47 below) are connected with Kōkāmukha-svāmin and Śvētavarāhā-svāmin, two primeval gods existing on the table-land of the Himālayas. The first of these was for the purchase of land by Rāhubpāla, the Nagarā-śrēṣṭhin, for erecting shrines over these divinities and two store-houses. The second of these relates to the purchase of land by one Kulaputra from Ayōḍhya on behalf of one of these gods only, namely, Śvētavarāhā-svāmin, but with a view to make provision for repairs etc. to his temple and, above all, for the establishment of the bali, charu, sattra, etc. and for the supply of the materials for the daily worship of the god. In none of these two records is there any mention of Brāhmaṇa priests though both refer to benefactions made to Kōkāmukha-svāmin and Śvētavarāhā-svāmin, the two well-known forms of Vishnu, who have been extolled in the Varāha-Purāṇa. And what is noteworthy is that there is no mention of Brāhmaṇa priests although there is express mention of the establishment of bali, charu, sattra, etc. in connection with this god, a case where reference to the Brāhmaṇa priests would surely have been made if there had been any at all associated with him. These daily rites may have been performed by a holy Brāhmaṇa associated with the god, but he certainly was not a priest privileged to take sole charge of the divinity and admit to his darśana only those votaries whom he chose to take.

We shall now turn to Buddhism and find out in what condition it was in the Gupta period. In such a case we form our estimate of the flourishing condition or otherwise of a religion from the number of inscriptions found at different centres. This is all-right so far as it goes. But argumentum ab silentio is not always a safe one. To take one instance, Vogel makes the following remark in regard to the excavations of Sārnāth: “The Gupta period (c. 300—600 A.D.) marks a revival of purely Indian civilisation...The Convent of the Wheel-of-the-Law enjoyed great prosperity in those days, as is evident from the exuberance of sculptural remains dating back to that epoch. Indeed, the great majority of the sculptures preserved in the Sārnāth Museum belong to Gupta times.”1 Though there was an exuberance of sculptural remains at the Sārnāth centre of Buddhism, pertaining to the Gupta period, there was a paucity of inscriptions in spite of the excavations undertaken there. The non-find or scarcity of epigraphic records cannot therefore be taken as a distinct sign of decadence. On the contrary, the abundance of sculptures of the Gupta epoch exhumed at Sārnāth is an indication that this centre of Buddhism was in as flourishing a condition as ever before. The truth of the matter is that when a religious centre is once established, it must continue in its undiminished glory for a number of centuries whether or not it receives any accretions in the shape of new sculptures or inscriptions. Such was the case with the Sārnāth centre, where there have been found enough of Gupta sculptures and epigraphic records to show that both were in flourishing condition in the Gupta epoch. The difficulty arises in regard to the Mathurā or the Bharhut centre. But as no excavations have been undertaken at these places, we cannot definitely say that Buddhism was in decadence at these places. This receives confirmation, e.g., from an inscription discovered a few years ago by the late Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni which we have adverted to above.2 It refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Dēvaputra Kanishka and specifies the date 84, and not 14 as taken by Sahni.3 The characters are almost exactly the same as those of the

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3 [Lüders and some other scholars read this date as 14 only. cf. Mathurā Inscriptions, ed. by Janert, p. 116; Sel. Ins., 1965, p. 518.—Ed.]
Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The date must, therefore, be assigned to the Kalachuri era and must be taken as equivalent to 332 A.D. This unquestionably makes this Kanishka almost contemporaneous with Samudragupta. There can thus be no reasonable doubt that this inscription belongs to the Gupta epoch and that if excavations are undertaken on the mound where it originally came to light, sculptural remains and epigraphic records would be exhumed in abundance, which pertain to the Gupta period. We have referred to this Mathurā inscription, because it is of great importance to the history of Buddhism of this period. There is just one expression here in the first line which is worthy of our careful consideration, which is as follows: bhagavatō Pitāmahasya Sammya[k*]samāvuddhasya sva-matasya dēvasya. This is a string of ‘attributives’ of which only one can be taken as the ‘attributed.’ The ending words sva-matasya dēvasya are rendered by Sahni as ‘(her) favourite deity,’ ‘her’ referring, of course, to the female donor, Sarīghilā, who installed the image of Buddha on whose pedestal the inscription is engraved. This cannot, however, give us the correct rendering. We have to take one of these as the ‘attributed’ and the rest as its attributives. It is safer to take the ending word, namely, dēvasya, as the ‘attributed’ here. We may therefore translate the expression thus: “Of God (dēva), the Blessed One, the Pitāmaha, the ‘Completely Enlightened One,’ (and) Sevamata.” Here two words have been left untranslated. One of these is Pitāmaha. It is worthy of note that Pitāmaha is an attributive of the Hindu god Brāhmā. It is further worthy of note that this epithet is nowhere in the Pāli literature associated with Buddha. And when it is so associated with Buddha in this record, we have to take it in its primary sense, namely, ‘the progenitor of progenitor.’ In other words, Buddha is here understood like Hindu Brāhmā as the Creator of the Universe. If this is the case, the word dēva which occurs at the end of the expression must be taken in the sense of ‘God’ and not ‘a god or deity.’ This indicates that a new sect of Buddhism had sprung up about the commencement of the Gupta period which looked upon Buddha as God and Creator of the Universe. But what could be the name of this sect? Let us see whether any light is thrown upon this point by the attributive Sva-mata which is comprised in the phraseology. In this connection we have to note of the occurrence of this term in another inscription (No. 25 below), namely, the Mankuwar stone image inscription of Kumāragupta I. There we meet with the expression sva-matāvivṛuddhasya. Here then we have two records where sva-mata is met with. What can the phrase mean? We cannot help thinking that sva-mata explains not only the origin of Sāṁmitiya, the name of a celebrated sect and school of Buddhism but also its principal doctrine. No scholar has yet been able to adduce a satisfactory etymology of the term Sāṁmitiya. It occurs for the first time in a Sārṇāth inscription of the early Gupta period, which is wrongly read as Sā[mni]tiyaṇāṁ by Vogel. It is to be transcribed as svāṁtiyaṇāṁ and corrected into svāṁtiyaṇāṁ, “Of those who propound the doctrine of sva-mata.” Svā-matiya can be easily Prakritis into Sāṁmatiya. But what can be this doctrine of Sva-mata after which the sect is called Svāmatiya? “The most important tenet of the Sāṁmitiya creed . . . . . ,” says Poussin, “is the Pudgalavāda, the belief in a pudgala, a sort of person or soul.” This suits here excellently, because one of the senses of sva, according to Monier Williams’ Dictionary, is: “the Ego, the human soul,” so that sva-mata can be taken to mean “One to whom the human soul is something approved (svāṁ mataṁ yasya sah).” We can thus make it applicable to Buddha as it has been done in the Mathurā pedestal inscription. “The relation of the Pudgala to the Skandhas is like the relation of the whole (avyayaṁ) to its part (avyaya).” The Sāṁmitiyas do not maintain that there is a soul existing in se apart from the Skandhas—just as there is no whole apart from its part, no cloth apart from

2 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 172.
its threads—but they say that a man is something more than a collection of *skandhas*; he is a *pudgala*, ‘a monk of such name, of such family, living so many years.’ All these characters, while they belong to the whole, do not belong to the parts or to the constituents; the whole is made of parts, but it is lacking neither in unity nor in continuity.” This tenet is strongly controverted not only by the other Buddhist schools but also by non-Buddhist schools. Nevertheless, the Sāṁmitiyas asseverate that ‘the doctrine of *pudgala* has been taught by Buddha’. Well might inscription No. 25 below, therefore, describe Buddha as *sva-mat-āśiruddha*, ‘uncontroverted in his doctrine of *sva* (= *pudgala*).’ Buddhāmitra who made a gift of the image of Buddha must, therefore, have been an adherent of the Sāṁmitiya sect.

It will thus be seen that the Sāṁmitiyas were so called because they promulgated the doctrine of *Sva-mata*, that is, *Pudgala-vāda* and that they looked upon Buddha not only as Pitāmaha or Creator of the Universe but also as Dēva or God. How far the orthodox history of Buddhist sects is reliable, we do not know. It may not be safe to put implicit faith in some part of it or another unless it is corroborated by epigraphic evidence. Thus, we may accept as a historic fact that the Sāṁmitiyas, who were Vātisputras, were responsible for the *Pudgala-vāda* tenet. *Pudgala-vāda* is exactly the same in signification as *Sva-mata* which alone can again explain the etymology of the name Sāṁmitiya, of which no Buddhist text or no Buddhist scholar has yet been able to give a satisfactory derivation. That they were Vātisputrikas is also clearly proved by a Sārnāth inscription.1 But now we learn from the Mathurā inscription referred to above that the Sāṁmitiyas looked upon Śākyamuni not only as the Perfectly Enlightened One, but also as God and Creator of the World. How far, therefore, they differed from the Lökottara-vādins it is very difficult to determine. What we are told according to traditional history is that whereas the Sāṁmitiyas belonged to the Thēravāda, the Lökottaras were Mahāsāṅghikas.

Let us now proceed one step further. The Sāṁmitiyas were not the only Buddhist sect that were settled at Sārnāth. For at least two inscriptions of the Sarvastivādins have been found engraved in the south chapel of the Main Shrine. The beginning of one is practically identical with the beginning of the other.2 The beginning of both is in Sanskrit and in practically identical terms and has been assigned to the fourth century A.D. The end portion, however, is different. One of these is older by about four centuries and is in Prakrit. Evidently, the first part of the earlier inscription was erased and replaced by a new one. What name was comprised in the older one it is difficult to imagine. Perhaps it contained the name of the Mahāsāṅghikas with whom the Sarvastivādins were in opposition just a century ago, as is clear from an inscription on the Mathurā Lion Capital.3 It was in the Kushāņa period that the Sarvastivādins were rising to power and spreading over the whole of North India. In this connection we have to notice another inscription4 found at Sārnāth. It is the celebrated inscription dated the third year of Kaņishka and recording the donation of Bhikshu Bala, conversant with Tripiṭaka and co-resident brother (*saddhyāvibhāri*) of Bhikshu Pushyavuddhi. He was associated in this donation, among others, with (the nun) Buddhāmitrā, conversant with Tripiṭaka. But what was the nature of his donation? It was the statue of a standing Bōdhisattva with his umbrella and its post. Further, it is worthy of note that another inscription of this Bala is known. It is the one engraved on a standing figure discovered years ago by General Cunningham at Saheţ-Maheţ (Sravasti).5 It also records the gift of the statue of Bōdhisattva

with umbrella and post, but further asserts that it was the property of the teachers of the Sarvāstivādin school. It is thus clear that Bala pertained to the Sarvāstivādin sect. Unfortunately the date of the inscription has not been preserved, but there can be no doubt that it must have belonged to the time of either Kanishka or Huvishka. There is a third inscription which we have to take note of here. It was found near Mathurā. It is dated in the year 33 and refers itself to the reign of Huvishka. It records that a Bödhisattva was set up by the nun Dhanavati, sister’s daughter of the nun Buddhāmitrā, conversant with the Tripitaka and a female disciple of the monk Bala who knew the Tripitaka. There can thus be no doubt about the identity of this monk with the monk Bala mentioned in the Sāheṣṭ-Maheṣ and Sārnāth inscriptions. The only point to notice is that here we have the seated image of Bödhisattva. Further, we have to note that all the three statues must have been carved at Mathurā, because the material used is not the buff-coloured stone of the Chunār quarries of which all other Sārnāth sculptures are made, but it is the red sandstone from the quarries near Fatehpur-Sikri. Again, it will be seen that the three images are of Bödhisattva and that, whereas one of them is seated, the other two are standing figures. As Vogel has remarked, if they had not been inscribed, no one would have hesitated to call them images of Buddha. Both the royal dress and ornaments which were hitherto thought to characterise the Bödhisattva are absent, and the figures wear only the plain attire of a Buddhist monk, such as is invariably associated with statues of the Buddha. But the inscriptions are quite explicit on the point in designating each Bödhisattva. What then are we to understand by ‘Bödhisattva’? According to Monier Williams, Bödhisattva is “one who is on the way to the attainment of perfect knowledge, that is, a Buddhist saint when he has only one birth to undergo before obtaining the state of a supreme Buddha and then Nirvāṇa.” This is what you find also in Childers’ Pali Dictionary. In fact, this is how it is generally understood by students of Buddhism. This means that the word is not applicable to Buddha. But the three statues referred to above, no one would hesitate to call as those of Buddha. According to the inscriptions engraved on them, however, they are unquestionably images of Bödhisattva. The conclusion is irresistible that Bödhisattva here means Buddha. And, as a matter of fact, the primary sense of Bödhisattva is “one whose essence is perfect knowledge”. In other words, it seems to be equivalent to Buddha. This suits here excellently. Because the term Buddha also was used by the Sarvāstivādins. We have only to turn to inscription A. II. incised on the Mathurā Lion Capital, which speaks of depositing in a stūpa a relic of Bhagavat Buddha, the Sākya sage. That this stūpa was in the possession of the Sarvāstivādins is clear from lines 15-16 of the same inscription. It thus seems that the terms Buddha and Bödhisattva were used synonymously by the Sarvāstivādins. In the time of Fa-Hien (319-414 A.D.), the Sarvāstivādins were flourishing in Pāṭaliputra also as it was here that he secured a transcript of the Vinaya rules belonging to this school such as are observed by the communities of monks in the land of Ts’in. They were also strong in the Panjab as is clear from the Shörkot (Śibipura) inscription of the [Gupta] year 83. As regards the Sāṁmityas, though they could not prosper in the pre-Christian era, they gradually attained importance in North India during the Gupta period reaching the climax in the reign of Harshavardhana whose widowed sister Rājyaśri was a Bhikshuni of this school.

We have also to take note of another Buddhist sect mentioned in a record of the Gupta

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 182.
2 Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath (1914), pp. 36-37.
4 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 141.
5 Fa-Hien’s Record of Buddhist Kingdoms by James Legge, p. 99.
period. It is the Mandasor inscription\(^1\) of Prabhākara dated Vikrama year 524 = 467 A.D. He was a feudatory of the Guptas and stationed at Daśapura, apparently as Charge d'affaires. His army officer was Dattabhaṭa, who constructed a well together with a stūpa, propā and orchard surrounding it, which, we are expressly told, were all included within the bounds of the vihāra of the Lōkottaras. The latter must be the same as the Lōkottaravāda or Lokottaravādins of the Buddhist works. The Lōkottaras, like the Chaityavādins, were an offshoot of the Mahāśāṅghikas, paving the way for the evolution of the Mahāyānaism which later spread over the whole of India. There are three more Buddhist inscriptions to account for. They were found in excavations at Sārnāth, engraved on images. One of these belongs to the time of Kumāragupta II and the other two, of Budhagupta. They have been taken as statues of Buddha, but neither the word Buddha nor Bōdhisattva occurs in any one of them. Only one (No. 34 below) of these speaks of it as an image of Śāstā. And it is very difficult to determine to which sect exactly the inscription belonged. The word Śāstā, however, is peculiar more to the Sthāviravāda than to any other Buddhist sect. And perhaps we shall not be wrong if we say that even in the later part of the Gupta period the Sthāviravāda school flourished at Sārnāth, or, rather at the place where the Buddha preached his first sermon.

We have twice pointed out above that the special feature of the religious culture of the Gupta period was the development of the Yōga philosophy and practices. It produced an enduring effect not only on the Śaiva but also the Vaishnava sects. It is, therefore, no wonder if it impressed itself strongly on the Buddhism of the period, especially of the Mahāyāna sect. In this connection we have to note the interest which the Buddhists of this sect took in the Yōga school of philosophy and which is clear from a perusal of the Life of Hieu-Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited India about the beginning of the seventh century. He had studied manifold systems of Indian philosophy in China, but the principal object of his pilgrimage was to obtain more knowledge of the Yōga-sāstra. On his way to India he met a learned Buddhist priest whom he interrogated: "Have you here the Yōga-sāstra or not?" Mokshagupta branded it as a heretical work and further remarked that no true disciple of Buddha studied it. This made Hieu-Tsiang angry who now regarded him as dirt. And he rejoined: "In our country too we have long had the Viśhāsha and Kōsha; but I have been sorry to observe their logic superficial and their language weak: they do not speak of the highest perfection. On this account I have come so far as this, desiring to be instructed in the Yōga-sāstra belonging to the Great Vehicle. And the Yōga, what is it but the revelation of Maitrēya, the Bōdhisattva next to become Buddha, and to call such a book heretical, how is it you are not afraid of the bottomless pit?" This, no doubt, refers to a comparatively late period, that is, the beginning of the seventh century. But this clearly shows that the Gupta epoch which preceded it was characterised by the renovation of the Yōga philosophy and practices which were completely in the ascendant before Hieu-Tsiang visited India. It was not Śaivism and Vaishnavism only but also Buddhism, where Yōga became a dominant branch of heretic learning. The Yōga atmosphere of the Gupta period is reflected in the sculpture of India also, to which E.B. Havell was the first to draw our attention. "Physical beauty," says he, "was to the Greeks a divine characteristic; the perfect human animal received divine honours from them, both before and after death."\(^2\) The Greek, when he attempted to realise a divine ideal, thus took for his model the athlete or the warrior. In Indian art, however, mere bodily strength and mundane perfection of form are seldom glorified. The Indian artist takes as his

\(^1\) Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, p. 12-18.
\(^2\) S. Beal's Life of Hieu-Tsiang, p. 39.
\(^3\) Indian Sculpture and Painting, Second edition, pp. 9 and ff.
ideal the Yogi who, by a system of Yuga exercises, aims at freeing himself from worldly attachments and placing himself in communion with the Universal Self. European archaeologists invariably regard the Graeco-Roman type of Gandhara as the highest achievement of Buddhist art, because it approaches nearer to the Greek ideal. Nothing is more firmly rooted in the mind of the educated European than the idea that the Greeks established aesthetic models for all times and all people. And because Indian sculptors and painters, after coming into contact with debased Graeco-Roman art, deliberately formed their ideals upon a different art-philosophy, they are classed as decadents and degenerates.
LITERARY HISTORY

Introductory

Years ago, the late Max Müller brought out his famous dissertation on the *Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature*, where he has asseverated two literary-historical propositions. The first of these is that the Indians did not manifest any literary activity during the first two centuries of the Christian era, as this country was then infested with the inroads of many foreign races. His second proposition is that the real period of the bloom of Kāvyā or Artificial Poetry is to be placed about the middle of the sixth century A.D. In fact, his theory was that the first five centuries of the Christian era were a dark age for Sanskrit literature. This theory, no doubt, held the field for a pretty long period, but has now been completely demolished by literary and epigraphic evidence of an irrefragable character. When Max Müller propounded this view, the dramas of Bhāsa (circa 300 A.D.) were not brought to light. Little was also known about the literary achievements of Aśvaghōsa who was a contemporary of the Kushāṇa sovereign Kanishka (circa 125 A.D.) and was the author not only of the Buddhacarita, Saundarananda and Sūtrālañākāra but also of the drama Śāriputraprakaraṇa. These works of Aśvaghōsa are genuine kāyas in strict conformity with the rules laid down by the sciences of Sanskrit Rhetoric. And the very fact that a Buddhist monk thought of setting forth the life of Buddha with the help of the poetic art shows how popular artificial poetry was even in the first two centuries of the Christian era. But we may proceed one step further, and consider for a while what may be gleaned on the subject from the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali who has now been universally placed about the middle of the second century B.C. On Pāṇini IV. 3. 87 there is a Vārtika which says that “an affix, in the sense of ‘made in relation to any subject’, when the thing made is ‘a book’, is dropped frequently when the book belongs to the class of Ākhyāyikās.” In illustration of this Vārtika, Patañjali cites the instances of Vāsavadattā and Saumanottarā, noticing also an exception in the case of Bhaimarathi. This means that in the time of Patañjali at least three Ākhyāyikās were known, namely, Vāsavadattā, Saumanottarā and Bhaimarathi respectively. Again, it is worthy of note that the first two of these have been mentioned by Patañjali in connection with Pāṇini IV. 2. 60. The actual gloss is: Ākhyāyikā-itiḥāsa-purāṇēḥbhyaḥ=eka ṣṭhag=ṛaktaniyāḥ. “The affix ṣṭhak comes in the sense of ‘one who studies’ or of ‘one who knows’ after (the names of) stories (ākhyāṇa) and narratives (ākhyāyikā), and after (the words) itihāsa and purāṇa.” It is in this connection that Patañjali refers again to Vāsavadattā and Saumanottarā as Ākhyāyikās but under the forms Vāsavadatti and Saumanottari (one who has studied or is conversant with the Vāsavadattā or Saumanottarā narrative). In regard to the Ākhyāṇas also he cites the forms Tāvakritika, Praiyāṅgavika and Tāyātika which mean “one who has studied or is conversant with the Yavakrita, Priyāṅgu and Yayāti stories.” It is reasonable to hold that the terms Ākhyāṇa and Ākhyāyikā used by Patañjali are identical with those employed in treatises of Sanskrit Rhetoric in somewhat later times. It is true that in those times there was a little confusion about the exact signification of Ākhyāṇa, Ākhyāyikā and Kathā. But if the Harshacharita has been styled an Ākhyāyikā and the Kādambari a Kathā, it seems that the first word signifies ‘a (historical) narrative’ and the second ‘a romance’. And, further, if it is true that some Ākhyāṇas were Ākhyāyikās and some were Kathās, as Daṇḍin and Viśvanātha assure us, Ākhyāṇa must be taken to mean ‘a story’ so as to include both ‘a narrative’ and ‘a romance’. It will thus be seen that many Ākhyāṇas and Ākhyāyikās were known when Patañjali lived and wrote and that consequently
artificial poetry was then in a highly developed condition. This is quite in keeping with the fact that Patañjali in one place speaks of Vāraṇauṁ kāvyam, that is, ‘a Poem composed by Vararuci’, and reminds us of the Raghuvansha and Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa, the Kirāṭarjunīya of Bhāravi, the Śīṣupālavādha of Māgha and the Naishadhacharita of Śriharsha—the traditional kāyas of the later period. If further evidence is required in support of this conclusion it is furnished by the fragments of verses culled together by the late Kielhorn from the Mahābhāṣya which “appear to be quotations from poetical works composed from classical Sanskrit”. Many of these exhibit “the ornate metres of the late kāya style” such as the Mālati, Prāharṣiṇi, Pramitākṣharā and Vasvantilakā. These, again, “agree, in point of contents as well as the mode of expression, not with epic works but with the court kāyas”; compare, for example, vara-tanu sampravadanti kukkanah,2 “Oh fair-limbed one, the cocks are crowing”, which evidently has an erotic flavour about it. The evidence set forth above is enough to convince an impartial mind that Kāya or Artificial Poetry prospered in the age of Patañjali.

Now, one of the chief constituents of Kāya is Alāṁkāra or Figure of Speech. It is this feature which makes poetry artificial and distinguishes principally an epic composition from a Kāya par excellence. If we take our stand upon the occurrence of a Figure of Speech in the Vedic period itself. Thus, there is a well-known text beginning dvā suparnā sayujā sakhyā which occurs not only in the Śvetāsvatara Upanishad (IV. 6) and the Muṇḍaka (III. 1. 1) but also in the Rigveda (I. 164. 20). Anybody who has studied the tenth Ullāsa of Mammaṭa’s Kāavyaprakasā will at once be able to say that the text in question is an instance of Atīlayokī, representing the first variety of it described in the words nigiry=ādhyavasānainu prkṛtasya parēṇa yat. Another Upanishadic text is apañi-pāñi Javanā grahitā which is found in the Śvetāsvatara III. 19. This is a clear instance of the Figure of Speech called Viśhāvānā. Similarly, in the Rigveda we have a philosophical hymn devoted to Jīvāna. It comprises a text commencing with uta tvah paśyan na dādari Vācham (Rigveda X. 71. 4). There can hardly be any doubt as to this being an apt illustration of the Viśēśhākti alāṁkāra. Or we may take the well-known stanza opening with chaṭvāri śriṅgā trayo asya pādāḥ. It occurs not only in the Mahānārāyaṇa-Upanishad (X. 1), Taïtītirīya-Iṣāyaaka (X. 10. 2) and Gōpātha-Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 16) but also in the Kāthaka-Saṁhitā (XL. 7), Maitrīyaṇi-Saṁhitā (XVII. 91) and, above all, the Rigveda (IV. 58. 3). Two traditional but different interpretations of this stanza have been adduced, one by Yāśka in his Nīrukta (XIII. 8) and the other by Patañjali about the beginning of his Mahābhāṣya. In both these interpretations the Figure of Speech is evidently Atīlayokī of the first variety, as that noted above. Or, we may take another philosophical stanza Indraṁ Mitraṁ Varuṇaṁ=Agniṁ=āhuḥ which is to be found not only in the Atharva (IX. 10. 28) but also in the Rigveda (I. 164. 46). This obviously is an illustration of Ullēkha which, though it not noticed by Mammaṭa, has been taken cognisance of by Viśva-nātha in his Śāhityadarpana (X. 37). It may now be remarked that there are so many varieties of Upanā, simple and complicated, noticed in Sanskrit treatises on Rhetoric, and it may, therefore, be asked whether any instance can be cited from the Rigveda of any fully developed Upanā. We can draw upon the same philosophical hymn upon which we drew for an instance of Viśēśhākti Figure of Speech. The text in question runs as follows: saktum=iva tītaunā punāntō yatra dhīrā manasā vācham=akrata (Rigveda, X. 71. 2). Evidently this aptly illustrates what is known as Pūrna-śrauti vākyagā Upanā, where the upamāna is denoted by saktum, upamēṇa by vācham, ‘the conveying comparison’ by iva, and ‘the common property’ by punantō. The instances collected here of Alāṁkāras occurring in Vedic literature are just a few out of many that are

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol XIV, pp. 326-27.
2 This may be compared to Chakkavāka-vahue āmontehi sahaṇam | uvaṭṭhi rdhi which occurs in the third Act of the Abhijñāna-Sākuntalam.
found there. It may, however, be contended that the texts quoted above are from hymns that are of religious or philosophical character. They are not from literature which may be reasonably styled Kāyya. But it may be urged against it that if the religious and philosophical hymns contain so many and so varied examples of Alahākāra, the secular literature of the period must have been as much saturated with this important element of Artificial Poetry as it was from 150 A. D. onwards.

We should now turn to the evidence supplied by Epigraphy which militates against the views of Max Müller. The idea of utilizing inscriptions in connection with the development of Artificial Poetry occurred first to the late Christian Lassen, who, in 1874, in his Indische Alterthumskunde has referred to the significance of the Girnar inscription and Harishēna's praśasti engraved on the Aśoka pillar at Allahābād. But his reference to these epigraphs is very brief and incidental, and his work left much to be desired. What flood of light inscriptions throw upon this subject was first shown systematically and at length by G. Bühler in 1890 in his learned disquisition Die Indischen Inschriften und Das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie. Therein he has selected four epigraphic records for a full and exhaustive treatment. The first is Vatsabhaṭṭi's wholly metrical praśasti about the temple of the Sun at Mandasor, dated Vikrama year 529 = 472-73 A.D. in the reign of Kumāragupta I. The second is an earlier record, but of the Gupta Age, namely, Harishēna's panegyric of Samudragupta, engraved between 375-90 A.D., on the Allahābād pillar, referred to above. The third is a still earlier inscription, namely, the Girnar inscription dated (Śaka) 72 (= 150 A.D.) in the reign of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman; and the fourth is the Nasik cave inscription, dated in the nineteenth regnal year of Śri-Puḷumāvi (circa 125 A.D.). With the help of these inscriptions Bühler has come to the incontrovertible conclusion that Artificial Poetry was in full bloom as early as even the second century A.D., that the Indo-Scythian princes, who invaded India about the beginning of the Christian era, not only began to bear Indian names in the second generation but also had distinct leanings towards Indian systems of Religion, and that they had evinced willingness to appropriate the culture of their subjects, a most vivid example of which is furnished by Poetry being described as a personal occupation with the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman. Those who are interested in the subject will do well to read and digest this classical dissertation of Bühler. We are, however, here concerned with only two of the four inscriptions treated at length by him, namely, those of the Gupta period. But we shall take them in their chronological order and show what light they shed on the literary activity of that age. All the important points noticed by Bühler will also be here duly considered, not shrinking from the criticism of this illustrious Indologist where we have an honest difference of opinion.

**Harishēna’s Panegyric of Samudragupta**

The Gupta inscription that we shall now examine is Harishēna’s praśasti of Samudragupta engraved on the Allahābād pillar. It consists of thirty-two lines and a half, with eight stanzas at the beginning, a long prose passage in the middle, and, one stanza, again, at the end. “All the three parts together,” says Bühler, “form one single, gigantic sentence.” This, how-

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2. This has been translated into English by the late V.S. Ghate and published in Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, pp. 29 ff., 137 ff., 148 ff., 172 ff., 188 ff., 230 ff., and 243 ff.
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 172. It is not quite clear what Bühler means by ‘gigantic sentence.’ He may perhaps mean the mahārāṣṭra of the rhetoricians. It is true that the Sāhityaśāstra (Bibli. Ind. edn., p. 9, sec. 7-8) e.g. defines mahārāṣṭra by quoting a verse from Bhartṛhari’s Vākyapadiya, viz.,

Contd. on page 149
ever, is not correct; and, as a matter of fact, the three parts comprise two separate sentences. The first of these covers the first eight verses. Every one of these contains the relative vocable yah or yasya. So also verse 8 also has yah, but corresponding to it is the demonstrative pronoun aya which occurs in the third line of that stanza. This shows that these eight verses together comprise one sentence. The second sentence is represented by the prose passage and the concluding verse. It commences with tasya in line 17 which is further connected with the relative pronoun yasya in line 30 at the prose passage, which, together with the concluding stanza forms one clause, the relative clause. Thus, the second sentence covers lines 17 to 31. The postscript of the author (lines 31-33) informs us that he looked upon the whole of this record as kāṣyam. It runs as follows: “And may this poetic composition (kāṣya) of Harishēṇa, the slave of the very same venerable Bhaṭṭāraka, whose mind has expanded through the favour of remaining near (hīm), who is the Śāndhivigrahika, Kumārāṇāyika (and) Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, (and who is) a native of Khāḍyaṭapāka,1 and son of the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Dhruvabhūti, lead to the welfare and happiness of all beings.” This smacks a little of self-conceit. It is true that Harishēṇa was Minister for Peace and War and was thus no small officer. It is also true that as Śāndhivigrahika he was expected to be a poet just as the Śāndhivigrahika of Chandragupta II, Viraśena Śāba, was. Nevertheless, it is somewhat strange that a poet of this early period claims for his composition the title of kāṣya, especially as it is of such a small length. Kālidāsa nowhere speaks of any one of his compositions as a kāṣya. Even Vālmiki, who is the author of the Rāmāyaṇa which has been designated the adi-kāṣya, does not call his work a kāṣya though it is a very extensive production, but is content with saying:

\[
prāpta-rājasya Rāmasya Vālmikir=bhagavān=rishih |
chakāra charitāṁ kṛṣṇam vichitra-padam=arthavat ||
\]

It is Māgha who is the first poet to call his composition a mahākāṣya. But Māgha flourished in the eighth century, and his work is much greater in length than the praśasti composed by Harishēṇa. However, taking this praśasti to be a kāṣya, let us examine it in detail, noting its good and bad points.

The first two verses of this praśasti are well-nigh effaced. Stanza 3 says; “Whose mind is surcharged with happiness in consequence of his association with the wise, who is accustomed to retain the truth and meaning of sciences,......fixed......upraised........., who, putting down obstructions to the grace of good poetry, through the very canons (ājnā) of (Poetic) Excellence, clustered together (gupta) by the connoisseurs (of rhetoric), enjoys, in the literate world, extensive sovereignty in consequence of fame for much and lucid poetry.” This is not a very happy stanza and lacks prasāda which is considered to be an essential feature of good poetry. According to Vāmana’s Kāvyalāmkāra-sūtravṛtti, prasāda is artha-vaimalyam, ‘Perspicuity of Sense’. The Sarvasvatiśāṅkha-bhavana says: Yat=tu prākatam=arthasya prasādah sā=bhidhiyatē. Mallinātha also in one place in his commentary on the Kirātārjunīya quotes prasiddha-ārtha-pada-tvam yat=sa prasādo nigadhyatē, “The use of words with well-established sense

1 [See above, p. 12, note 1.—Ed.]
is called prasāda.” This prasāda which consists in the quick, clear and easy perception of the sense conveyed by words is conspicuous by its absence in this stanza. This is the reason why its last lines have led astray, not only Fleet, but even Bühler. The latter translates them as follows: “...puts an end to the war between good poetry and prosperity and thus enjoys in the world of the learned, a far-extending sovereignty whose shining glory endures in many poems.” And, further, he draws the specious conclusion that Samudragupta is here represented to have put an end to the old antagonism between Śri and Sarasavati and which condemns the poet and the literate to a life of indigence and misery and renders the rich incapable of rendering service to Art and Learning. If these lines are translated as Bühler has done, the second half of the stanza remains utterly unconnected with the first half. Above all, his rendering fails to explain how Samudragupta has established ‘a far-extending sovereignty’ based upon his many poems by removing the opposition that exists between the Goddess of Learning and the Goddess of Wealth in the case of the other poets. The last two lines have, therefore, to be so translated as to show how he has come to enjoy this Kīrti-rājya through his own poetry. This can only be done by translating them as we have done, in other words, by saying that he rigorously followed the canons of Poetic Excellence laid down by experts in poetics. To come back to our original point, this stanza, especially the second half of it, lacks prasāda, that is, artha-vaimalya, ‘Perspicuity of Sense’. Again, the phrase sat-kāya-śrī-virādhān (line 3) of this stanza contains the Poetic Imperfection Adhikā-pada, as the words sat and śrī mean practically the same thing. The omission of any one of them would have augmented the excellence of this verse.

The case, however, is different in regard to the stanza following. It says: “(Exclaiming) ‘come, Oh worthy (son)’ and embracing (him) with hair standing on end which indicated (his) feeling, (his) father, perceiving (him) with an eye, overcome with affection (and) heavy with tears (of joy), (but) scanning the truth, said to him ‘do protect the whole earth’, while he was being looked up with sad faces by others of equal birth, (but) while the courtiers were breathing forth (cheerful) sighs.” According to the Kāvyaprādīpa, Poetry (kāya) is lōkottara-varṇanā-nilpāna-kavi-karma, ‘the production of a poet proficient in wonderful delineation.’ This definition of Poetry fits this stanza most excellently. It is therefore not a matter of surprise if Bühler has gone into raptures over it. “It is not possible,” says he, “to have a more concise and a more graphic picture of the situation. There is not a word which is unnecessary; and one believes as if he sees the scene with his own eyes, how the old Chandragupta, in the presence of his sons, each of whom hoped to have the highest fortune, and of his court who were afraid lest the choice may fall on an unworthy person, turns round to his favourite son. This verse is one of the best productions the Indians have given us, in the domain of miniature-portraits, which is their forte.” “This very example,” Bühler adds, “would also illustrate Harishena’s special care for the choice and arrangement of words”, which constitutes a merit of poetry called udāttata which the Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa explains as Ślāghya-viśeṣaṇa-yogyatvam, “compatibility of apt attributions.” This good quality of a poem is well-exhibited by the use of such words as utkarṇitai rūmabhīm, snēhayādaśreta, and, above all, udvīksitah. The preposition ud in udvīksitah indicates beautifully the feelings of nirvēda and vishāda described by the authorities on Sanskrit poetics. Here nirvēda is a sanchārī and not a sthāyī bhāva and is self-disparagement caused by ṯrṣyā or bitter jealousy manifested in the gesture, vīz, the raising of the neck involved in udvīkṣaṇa.1 Vishāda is “a loss of vigour (or despondency) arising from the absence of ex-

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1 Sāhityadarpaṇa (Nīřaya Sagar, 1936 edn., p. 146), Parichhāda III, kārikā 141.
pedients' to achieve the end devoutly wished for. Both these feelings have been superbly depicted by the preposition ud in udvīkṣitaḥ used by Harishėna with reference to the rival kinsmen of Samudragupta. Again, the word employed by him to denote rival kinsmen is tulṣya-kulaja, 'born in the same family.' This also is a most apt phrase denoting the Artha-guna or Merit of Sense called ṣājas or Vigour. This ṣājas, according to the Sāhityadarpaṇa, is svabhīpiṛayatvarūpam, 'consisting in pregnancy of meaning.' The implication conveyed by this expression is that the only qualification that Samudragupta's rivals possessed was that they were his equals in birth. Though this stanza is thus a master-piece of a poem, it is not completely free from certain foibles of composition. Thus, in line 1, we have the phrases bhāva-piṣunaiḥ and utkarṇītaiḥ, which are adjectives of rōmabhīḥ. Here utkarṇītai rōmabhīḥ without bhāvapīṣunaiḥ would have been better. Because, as the Sāhityadarpaṇa says, harsh-ādbhuta-bhay-ādibhyō rōmānēcō rōmasīkriyā, "Horripillation is a change in regard to the hair of the body, caused by joy, surprise, or fear and so on." In the present case we know that the hair of Samudragupta's father, Chandragupta I, stood on end on account of delight. Thus the phrase utkarṇītai rōmabhīḥ by itself gives rise to the vyāṣyanā or suggestion that Chandragupta's mind was replete with joy. Thus, the other phrase bhāva-piṣunaiḥ not only is superfluous but mars this implication, causing the Poetic Imperfection called guṇibhītā-yaṟaṅgīya, 'Implication of secondary type.' Similarly in line 3, we have bāṣha-guraṇā...chakshushā. Here the expression bāṣhpaguraṇā is cumbersome and detrimental to the development of the Poetic Excellence, Udātta, which has already been animadverted upon. It should have been either bāṣhp-ālasēna or bāṣha-bharītēna. Again, in the last line we meet with the word nirikṣhya which, however, goes with chakshushā in the previous line. In between stand the words yāh pīr=ābhīhiṭo. This has caused the Poetic Imperfection called Garbhītātē which is explained by the Sāhityadarpaṇa as vāky-āntarē vāky-āntar-ānupraveśī, "intrusion of one sentence into another."

In this appreciation of Harishėna's praśasti Bühler passes over stanzas 5 to 7. Stanza 7, however, merits some consideration. Here too the author has given us another example of the Artha-guna known as ṣājas which we have discussed above. The expression that arrests our attention in this verse is Pushp-āhavāy kriḍatā, 'while amusing himself at (the city) named Pushpa.' The historical sense conveyed by this stanza has been elsewhere considered at length. Here Samudragupta is represented to have quelled a confederacy that had been formed against him by four princes. Three of them met in an open battle, and killed them. The fourth prince, who was not allowed to join the other three, he managed to capture by means of his dāṇḍa or forces, while he was himself sporting at his capital Pushapura ((Paṭaliputra). Here the phrase Pushp-āhavāy kriḍatā is 'pregnant with meaning' (svabhīpiṛya) as every example of ṣājas should be. The words Pushp-āhavāy kriḍatā 'sporting in Pushpa' (flower and also Paṭaliputra) indicate with what ease he captured the fourth member of the confederacy. The expression Pushp-āhavāy kriḍatā thus forms a hētā-garhī viśēshana, 'an adjectival phrase impregnated with a purpose' which is the same thing as svabhīpiṛayatva, the characteristic of this ṣājas.

Stanza 6 also merits some consideration, not so much on account of its Excellence as on account of its one Imperfection. Line 3 of this verse has sphaṭa-bahu-rasa-nēṣha-phuḷalair, where either sphaṭa or phulla had better be deleted. Otherwise it is susceptible of what is known as Adhika-pada dāṣha.

Stanza 8 has twice received the attention of Bühler. First he turns to it for the expression śaṭi-kara-ṣuchayaḥ kirttayaḥ sa-pratānāḥ, with which he seems to have been exceedingly fancied.
He renders it by “the fame sprouting forth, shining purely like the moon.” This translation, however, is not quite satisfactory. It should have been “(his) spreading fame is as bright as the spreading rays of the moon.” Here śuchī is one word. It should be rendered by either ‘shining’ or ‘pure’, and not by both together, that is, by ‘shining purely’ as he has done. Secondly, sa-
pratānāḥ is taken by him to mean ‘sprouting.’ On the strength of this slender basis, he asserates that the whole expression “bears evidence to his (Harishēṇa’s) being aware of the well-known idea of the kirttivallī or the creeper of fame, which covers over the three worlds with its tendrils.”

The word pratāna, no doubt, signifies ‘a sprout, tendril’. But Bühl er forgets that the compound word sa-pratānāḥ is intended to be taken with both kirttayāḥ and śaśi-kara-śuchayāḥ. It should therefore be rendered by ‘spreading’ instead of ‘sprouting’. Again, it is true, as just remarked, that pratāna has also the sense of ‘sprout’ and that, consequently, pratānini signifies ‘a creeper’.

But to conclude merely from the use of pratāna that Harishēṇa is here adverting to the idea of kirttivallī is not quite justifiable. To take another instance, simantini is no doubt synonymous with vadhū ‘woman’, but not the word simanta. So, from the mere use of simanta we cannot jump up to the notion of simantini. The notion of kirttivallī here is thus a little far-fetched. How, again, can this imagery of ‘creeper’ be made applicable to ‘the rays of the moon’? Bühl er does not explain. There is, however, one fault in the body of this poem which Bühl er has not noticed. It occurs in line 3 of the verse which reads kō nu syaḥ=yō=ṣya na syāḥ=gnu iti vidushāni. Here syaṭ is repeated twice and thus gives rise to the Imperfection called Kāhita-pada-pākya. This stanza Bühl er alludes to, a second time, to prove that Harishēṇa’s composition does not at all belong to the beginning of the Kāavya period. This stanza, like stanza 3, speaks of the brisk poetical activity of Samudragupta. If even a king could be a poet, it means that Harishēṇa wrote at a time when kāavya was in full bloom, and not when it was just beginning to develop. This point, however, we will consider in detail a little further on.

It will be seen that the initial part of the prastāti consists of eight stanzas and covers lines 1 to 16. Thereafter commences the gāthā portion of the kāvyā extending from line 17 to line 30. It is comprised of very long sentences which are, nevertheless, so constructed as to permit, to the reciter and the hearer, pauses between long compounds by the insertion of shorter phrases. The views that Bühl er has expressed in regard to this prose passage are so convincing that every one of his words will be endorsed by all. His words are worth quoting even though they will make a long quotation. “In the prose part” says he, “there are inserted between the long compounds, at definite intervals, shorter phrases, in order to enable the reciter to draw his breath and the hearer to catch the sense. In the long compounds, the words are so chosen as to bring about a certain rhythm through the succession of short and long syllables; and care is taken to see that this rhythm changes from time to time. This can be best seen by a representation of the design of the compounds occurring in lines 17-22, by marking the accents as is customary in recitation. The lines in question contain only seven long compounds, the arrangement of whose syllables is as follows:

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1  - - - - | - - - -
        - -
2  - - - - | - - | - - | - - | - - | - -
3  - - - - | - - | - - | - -
4  - - - - | - - | - - | - - | - - | - - | - -
```

- - - - | - - | - - | - - | - - | - - | - -
It is obvious that the short compounds marked 3 and 7 are to serve as resting points, and
that the rhythm in 1, 2 and 4, is to remind us of the beginnings of the *Dandakas.* What Bühler
says is perfectly true and reminds us of the manipulation of long compounds followed by short
phrases for pauses such as we notice in classical samples of grandiloquent prose. This indicates
not only the extreme proficiency of Harishêya in prose composition but also the high standard
reached by the *gadya* portion of *Kāśya* literature in the fourth century A.D. The only remark of
Bühler to which exception can be taken is his use of the word *dandaka* which is, however, the
name of a metre, and not of any “prose rhythm.”

We shall consider some of the remarks which Bühler has made in regard to the individual
sentences or rather adjectival phrases occurring in this long prose passage. Thus, in line 23 is
to be found a poetic representation of Samudragupta’s fame. It is this: to adopt his translation:
“Whose fame arising from the re-establishment of many fallen kingdoms and of many extin-
guished royal races, is tired by its journey through the three worlds.” In the first place, Bühler
forgets that the text of the inscription has *nikhila-bhuvana,* and not *tri-bhuvana.* And this suits
better the fact recorded about the king in this sentence, namely, that he restored fallen king-
doms and extinct royal families, which could have existed only in one world, namely, on this
earth. And, for a court poet to say merely that the fame of his lord and master was tired by its
journey over this earth on account of this work of restoration, without telling us in a poetic
manner where or how it rested itself would not be a very dignified procedure for him to follow.
It is true that Bühler quotes a stanza from the Jain monk Hêmachandra’s *praśasti* to his
Grammar, eulogising his master, namely, the Chaulekya king Kumârapâla. But the stanza
represents Kumârapâla’s fame as having first wandered through the three worlds and then
having rested on the pale breasts and white cheeks of Mālava women. As, in Sanskrit poetry,
fame is always considered to possess a shining complexion, Kumârapâla’s fame after exhaustion
through wandering is beautifully represented as resting itself on the breasts and cheeks of Mālava women which had turned white and pale as their husbands had been slaughtered in
a battle by Kumârapâla. But, in the Allahâbâd pillar *praśasti,* if we are to adopt Bühler’s trans-
lation, Samudragupta’s fame is represented simply to have tired itself out with wandering
over the earth in the work of re-establishing lost kingdoms and overthrown royal families. No
court poet would represent his master’s fame as simply overcome with exhaustion without
showing how it rested itself. The sentence has therefore to be translated differently and somewhat as follows: "(Where) fame exerted itself with journey over the whole world caused by the restoration of many fallen kingdoms and overthrown royal families."

Though it is not possible to agree with Bühler in the interpretation of the sentence quoted above, he is quite right in remarking that the closing part of most of the long-compound attributives in lines 17-24 "comes now and then as a surprise and deviates very much from the usual track", pointing to the individuality of the style. Thus in line 20, while setting forth his conquests in Dakshināpatha, his description ends with the words sarva-Dakshināpatha-rāja-grahana-mōksh-ānugraha-janita-pratāp-ōnmiśra-mahā-bhāgasya. Similarly, his account of Samudragupta's exploits in North India in line 21 closes with anēk-ōryāvarīta-rāja-prasabh-ōddharan-ōdṛśita-prabhāva-mahataḥ. Further, in lines 22-23, Harishēṇa describes the stern control which his master exercised over the tribal chieftains and tribes, in the words sarva-kara-dān-ajñākarana-pranām-āgamana-parītākhatā-pracanda-tāsanasya. This is followed by a sentence detailing the different measures with which the independent princes on the frontier of the Gupta empire prevented him from invading their dominions. The sentence ends with ādy-upāyā-sīrā-kṛita-bāhu-virya-prasara-dharaṇi-bandhasya. This expression, like prasabh-ōddharan-ōdṛśita-prabhāva-mahataḥ cited above is unique and peculiar to Harishēṇa. And just because it is out of the ordinary run, all the previous translators were led astray. Thus, Bühler renders it as follows: "the mighty bravery of his arm which held the whole earth in bondage, received homage from etc." The most important word in this sentence is dharaṇi-bandha, which here obviously means "an earthen embankment." The prowess of his arm (bāhu-virya) is compared to a prasara, 'flow of water.' This onrush of his prowess continued to be unimpeded like a terrific flood. And the neighbouring independent kings, who dreaded his invasion of their territories, were naturally anxious to construct some barriers, i.e., earthen embankments (dharaṇi-bandha), which could arrest the further onrush of his prowess. And these barriers were of various kinds and correspond to the various measures which they adopted as Harishēṇa tells us. There are many other phrases which mark Harishēṇa's individuality not only in diction and phraseology but also in conception. In fact, the whole prose passage bristles with instances of it. It is impossible here to notice them all. We shall notice two or three only. One such is Dhanada-Varun-Āndra-Āntaka-samasya. Bühler says that this comparison occurs frequently in the epics and is used in later times by almost every classical poet. I have not, however, met with any passage in the epics, where any ruler is compared to these four Regents of the Quarters, combined either in one phrase or in one verse. The only poet who indulges in this comparison is Kālidāsa who, in Canto IX, verse 24 of the Raghuvanśa, likens Daśaratha to Yama-Kubēra-Jalēśvara-Vajrīṇā. The author of the Naishadhiya-charita, however, expresses the same idea but in the general terms: Dig-iṣa-vṛinda-ānśa-vibhūthiḥ. This comparison of a king with the Regents of the Quarters must have originated as early as the time of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, as it is Kauṭalya who first seems to have used it in his Artha-sāstra. But in the Gupta period they were not satisfied with this comparison of a king merely with the Regents of the Quarters and went so far as to identify him with Supreme God Himself. The rising up of this bold conception of kingship is traceable even in Harishēṇa's prāśasti in the phraseology (in line 28) lōka-samaya-kṛiyā-ānudhihāna-mātra-mānushasya lōka-dhāmnō dēvasya, "(who is) a human being in that he performs the rites and conventions of the world, (otherwise) God whose residence is the world." This conception which has here been expressed in many words was afterwards crystallised into the phrase Parama-dāivatvā, 'Supreme

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1 D. R. Bhandarkar's Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity (Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 1925), pp. 141 and ff.
2 Ibid., pp. 163-64.
Divinity which we find for the first time to be conjoined with the name of Samudragupta's grandson Kumāragupta, in his Dāmodarpur copper plate inscriptions (Nos. 22 and 24 below). How the king gradually came to be identified with Supreme God is a subject of discussion which is germane to Hindu Polity and has been treated in extenso in a separate chapter elsewhere. We shall conclude this survey of the individualistic prose style of Harishāṇa by taking note of the sentence with which the prose passage ends. It runs as follows:

sarva-prithivi-vijaya-janit-odaya-nyāpta-nikhil-āvanitalām Kiritim = itas = tridāsapatī-bhavana-
gaman-avāpta-lāṣita-sukha-vicharaṇām = āchakshāṇa iva bhuvā hāhur = aham = uchchhritah stambhaḥ

"this lofty column is the raised arm of Earth, proclaiming, as it were, that (Samudragupta's) Fame, having pervaded the entire surface of the world, with (its) uprise caused by the conquest of the whole earth, has acquired an easy and graceful movement in that it has repaired from here (i.e., from this world) to the abode of (Indra), the lord of the gods." What this concluding part of the prose passage tells us is that Samudragupta's Fame, which is personified as a female by Sanskrit poets, occupied the whole earth and that when she found it impossible to spread further, she went up to the palace of Indra where she roamed easily and happily. This is the first Sanskrit composition where the ascent of Fame to the higher regions or rather to the abode of Indra is spoken of. We find the following in Kālidāsa's Rāghuvanśa (VI. 77).

Ārādhām = ahrin = udadhin viṣṇuṇa bhujangamānaṁ vasatīṁ pravishṣam /
ūrdhvam gataṁ yasya na ch = ānubandhi yasah parichchhēttum = iyattay = ālam ||

"His fame, which has ascended to the mountains, has crossed the seas, entered the abode of serpents, and has gone high up, being ever-pervading, is not capable of being defined by measurement."

Here the motive attributed to the Fame of Rāghu is the same as that of the Fame of Samudragupta, namely, the sense of over-congestion caused by rigid confinement to earth and the consequent rising up to higher regions and the sense of joy produced by free and easy movement there. But in the case of Rāghu the conception is further developed, because his fame is represented not only to have spread over the whole of the earth from the lowest level of the seas to the highest altitude of the mountains but also to the nether regions inhabited by the serpents and to heaven which I suppose is to be understood by the term ārādhāṇa used in the verse. In fact, Rāghu's fame is to be taken as having extended over the three worlds. Harishāṇa, on the other hand, represents Samudragupta's Fame to have, in the first instance, occupied the whole of the earth and, then, being cramped for want of space, to have ascended, not to Tridāsapatī-bhavana or heaven, but rather to Tridāsapatī-bhavana or Palace of Indra. This is perhaps a somewhat different conception. What is intended by the court poet here is that the Fame of his master was, after his world-conquests, spread all over the earth, but, not being satisfied with this narrow compass, had to ascend to the Palace of Indra where she was the subject of talk in the whole of Indra-sābhā. Kālidāsa's conception, it will thus be seen, is more complex because he has represented Rāghu's Fame to have spread over not two but three worlds. It is more mechanical, because the original notion of Kiriti spreading over the worlds is in no wise maintained by Kālidāsa. According to him Rāghu's Fame has travelled mechanically as if she were a mere female globe-trotter. Harishāṇa, on the other hand, has displayed his particularity of expression by preserving the original idea, that Samudragupta's exploits were a subject of converse not only on earth but also in Indra's durbār, though like other poets he has personified his master's Fame and made her travel all over the earth, before
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rising up to heaven where Indra stays. This idea of the ascent of fame to the other world has persisted in Sanskrit poetry even in modern times, and the motive for this ascent is as varied as the mode of expression bombastic. Perhaps the best example of this kind is furnished by the verse of Amritadatta, describing the glory of the Kashmir Sultan Shâhâbuddin (1352-70 A.D.) which has been quoted by Bühler himself.¹ It runs thus:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Kiriti} = tê \ jâta-jâty = èva \ chatur-ambudhi-majjanat / \\
\text{atapāya dharā-nātha \ gatā \ mārtanda-mandalam /}
\end{align*} \]

"Thy Fame, Oh lord of the earth, which was, as it were benumbed with cold through its bathing in the four oceans, went up to the sphere of the Sun, in order to warm itself."

The prose passage is immediately followed by a stanza which is not only the ninth and the last verse of Harishēna’s panegyric, but forms also its conclusion. It may be translated as follows: "Whose fame (yaśas),² upraised in ever higher and higher masses, and travelling by many paths, (namely) through liberality, prowess of arm, self-restraint and out-pouring of scientific utterances, purifies the three worlds, like the yellowish white water of the Ganges, dashing forth quickly when liberated from confinement in the inner hollow of the matted hair of Paśupati (which rises up in ever higher and higher masses and flows through many paths)." Bühler is right in remarking that the phrase anēka-mārgain and upary-upari-sanchoy-śechchhrita refer both to Fame and the Ganges. Samudragupta’s Fame was anēka-mārga, that is, followed different paths, because it sprung up from different causes, such as liberality, prowess of arm, self-restraint and so forth, which formed layers one upon another till the Fame towered itself into a high eminence (upary-upari-sanchoy-śechchhrita). Bühler is, however, wrong in his application of these phrases to the Ganges. "As applied to the Gaṅgā," says he, "the adjective alludes to the Indian belief that this river is first visible in the heavens as the milk-path, then dashing through the mid-region, it falls upon the Kailāsa, and, lastly, it rushes downwards to the plains. Thus, to the looker-on, standing on the plains and looking upwards, the water of the Gaṅgā would appear to be towering in ever-rising layers." It is, however, worthy of note that Harishēna has compared the Fame of Samudragupta, not to the Ganges as a whole, as Bühler apparently thinks, but rather to that part of the Ganges which dashes forth from the matted hair of Śiva, that is, to this river at its very source. There the Ganges flows not in one uniform mass, but in manifold channels (anēka-mārga); and as her waters in these channels rush down in stupendous masses and in steep perpendiculars through the crevices and clefts of the Himālayas, they are dashed up to the skies in ever-accumulating layers which tower to a phenomenal height.

"Apart from the use of long compounds in the prose parts", says Bühler, "there is nothing very artificial in Harishēna’s language." By ‘artificial’ Bühler obviously means the frequent employment of Ānākāsas. What he, in other words, means is that Harishēna does not much indulge in Figures of Speech. Nothing, however, is more erroneous. "Of the Śabdālāmākāras," Bühler proceeds, "he (Harishēna) uses only the simplest kind of alliteration, the Varṇāmuprāsa, and even this occurs principally in the prose-parts and that, too, not many times."

² It is worthy of note that the word here used for ‘fame’ is yaśas, whereas that used in the prose passage immediately preceding this verse is kiriti. The Amarakūśa and other lexicons make the two words synonymous with each other, so that no difficulty can arise so far as this praiasti is concerned, on account of the employment of these words, one immediately after the other. In later times, however, a distinction is made between the two. Thus Rāmācharana Tarkavāgīśa, in his comment upon the Sāhityadipana, VII (page 437), quotes the following passage in favour of it: khodg-ādi-prabhac kiriti = vidy-ādi-prabhawin yaśas |
first place, there is no such term as Varṇānaprāsa known to the science of poetics. The technical word used to denote ‘alliteration’ is simply Anuprāsa, which is described by Daṇḍin as varṇa-vṛitiḥ = Anuprāsaḥ padēsau cha padēsau cha. As Anuprāsa is here defined as varṇa-vṛiti, it is possible that Bühler has jumbled the two together and invented the phrase Varṇānaprāsa. Bühler, again, is wrong in saying that Anuprāsa does not occur many times even in the prose passage. As a matter of fact, it is found copiously not only in the prose but also in the verse portion of the praśasti. Anuprāsa is of five kinds: (1) Chhēk-Ānuprāsa, (2) Vṛtī-Ānuprāsa, (3) Śrūty-Ānuprāsa, (4) Anty-Ānuprāsa and (5) Lāṭ-Ānuprāsa. Instances of almost all these varieties are found in this praśasti. To take only two, adbhut-oddhinana in verse 5 is an example of the first variety, namely of Chhēk-Ānuprāsa, and parākram-āika-bandhōh Parākramānākasya in line 17, of the last variety, Lāṭ-Ānuprāsa. “Of the Arthālaṅkāras,” Bühler further remarks, “he uses Rūpaka very often, and Upamā and Ślesha more rarely.” Nothing is farther from the fact. As Bühler admits that Harishčena is fond of using Rūpaka, no instances need be cited here. We must, however, take note of one instance he has added in this connection, namely, sādhu-asādhu-udaya-pralaya-kētu-purushasya (line 25), “of Purusha (Supreme Being), being the cause of the prosperity of the good and the destruction of the bad.” “The poetic figure used here,” says Bühler “is a Ślesha-mūlakam Rūpakam, i.e., a metaphor which is brought about by the double meaning of the words used.” Nothing is more untrue, because, in the first place, there is no Ślesha here at all, and, secondly, anybody who is well acquainted with the Science of Poetics will have no hesitation in saying that the passage just quoted is an example of Yathāsamkhya-ālāṅkāra. Again, Bühler is not correct in asserting that Harishcena seldom indulges in Upamā. As a matter of fact, the author of the praśasti not only uses Upamā frequently but displays many varieties of it. Thus amanuṣa-sadriṣṇi in stanza 5 is upamāna-luptā Upamā, Dhanada-Varṇa-Endr-Āntaka-samasya in line 26 is dharma-luptā Upamā, whereas prithivyām = apratirathasya in line 24 is dharman-ūrpamāna-luptā Upamā. The praśasti, again, is, by no means, conspicuous by the absence of other poetic figures, whatever Bühler may say to the contrary. Thus āchakṣṭhāna yva bhuvā bahuḥ in line 30, which has already been cited in extenso, represents Utpṛēkṣhā, another variety of which, namely, pratiyamāṇā Utpṛēkṣhā is noticeable not only in samiddhasya vigrāhavatā lōk-ānugrahasya in line 26 but also in saṅchaya-ōcchhritam etc., in stanza 9. Again, stanza 4, which begins with Ājy = aih = ity = upaguhya, which has rightly elicited so much encomium from the pen of Bühler and which we have discussed in full above, is itself an undoubted instance of Kāvyalinga. While this stanza represents one variety of this Figure, namely, pad-ārtha-gata, the other variety, vāky-ārtha-gata Kāvyalinga is represented by the verse preceding it, namely, stanza 3. Another poetic figure that we may note is Samuchchaya, which is found in stanza 8, beginning with dharma-prācīra-bandhaḥ. This is just a brief survey of the Alāṅkāra which are noticeable in the panegyric.

We have thus discussed the praśasti, bit by bit, from the poetic point of view, pointing out the good and the bad points of its composition. Considered as a whole, the panegyric cannot but be regarded as a Kāvya. The author’s claim to this title for his production is thus well founded. Various definitions have been given of Kāvya by writers on Sanskrit Poetics. But, perhaps, the best of these is that cited by the Kāvyaprādīpa which defines Kāvya as “the work of a poet who surpasses in delineation.” This is, perhaps, an epitome of Bhāmaha’s definition of Kāvya, namely,

\[
\text{prajñā navān-nāmēsha-sālini pratibhā matā} \\
\text{tad-anuprāpanāj = jīvēd varanā-nipūnaḥ kavīḥ} \\
\text{tasya karma smṛitam kāvyaṁ}
\]

“Imagination (prajñā) possessed of ever-new flashes is considered to be Genius (pratibhā).
Being inspired thereby (i.e. by Genius), a poet should live as an expert in delineation. His work is regarded as Kāvyā.” We have already seen what admirable skill Harishēṇa has displayed in the art of delineation whether in the verse or prose portion of the praśasti. We have also pointed out that stanza 4 which describes the court scene where Chandragupta I abdicated the throne and installed his son Samudragupta is a masterpiece of miniature portrait. Similarly, his description of Samudragupta’s numerous and varied exploits is also a masterpiece of delineation, which it is difficult to surpass in diction, phraseology and style. What stamps Harishēṇa as a kavi of no mean order is not simply the choice of words, or the manner of combining them into phrases, clauses and sentences but rather the development within the compass of this small composition, of an individualistic style of his own in accordance with the adage, “style showeth the man.” At any rate, he cannot be surpassed in the art of delineation so far as the prose part of his composition is concerned.

We shall now turn to other points connected with the Allahābād praśasti of Samudragupta. “Thus, this little composition of Harishēṇa,” says Bühler, “belongs to that class of mixed compositions which, in poetics, are called by the name of champū, while the oldest works preserved for us, such as the Vāsavānā, Kādambarī, Harshacharita and Daśakumāracharita are called by the name of ākhyāyikā or kathā ‘a narration, a romance.’” In a footnote he adds “See, for instance, Kādambarī, pp. 5-6, 53-56 (ed. Peterson); Harshacharita, pp. 162-79, 227-28, 267-71 (Kashmir edition) and especially Vāsavānā, pp. 121-29 (ed. Hall), where, in the midst of prose, four verses have been interwoven.” If we read between the lines, what Bühler means is: (1) that Harishēṇa’s praśasti of Samudragupta is Champū in composition, (2) that the Kādambarī, Harshacharita and Vāsavānā, though classed under Ākhyāyikā or Kathā, are also Champū and (3) that, in fact, any work in prose, if interwoven with verses, is a Champū. It is the last of these propositions that lies at the root of the whole of his erroneous view. If any composition, partly in prose and partly in verse, is a Champū, then such works as the Pañcha-tantra and the Hitopadēsa, nay, all dramas have to be placed under this category. But no scholar, conversant with Sanskrit Poetics, can subscribe to this astounding assertion, because Ākhyāyikā, Kathā and Champū are terms technical to this Science and must be taken in the senses assigned to them in its treatises. Thus, the Sāhityadarpanā places Kathā in the category of gadya-kāvyā and defines it as follows:

(Text)

Kāthyāyīn sarasaṁ vastu gadyair—eva vinirmitam |
kvachid=atra bhaved=Aryā kvachid=Vaktr-Āpavaktrakē ||
ādau padyair=namaskāraḥ khaladēr=vyitta-kīrtanam |

(Commentary)

Tathā Kādambarī-ādiḥ

(Translation)


"In the Kathā (Tale), the plot (vastu) is set forth in prose. Sometimes the Āryā, and some-

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1 This is a mistake for pp. 123-24.
2 Pp. 336-57 (Parichhédā VI, Kārikā 332-33).
times, the *Vaktra* and *Apavaktraka* metres may be employed. It should begin with obeisance (to some divinity) in stanzas, as also a description of the behaviour of the wicked and others.”

(Commentary)

“For example the *Kādambarī* (of Bāṇabhaṭṭa) and so forth.”

Ākhyāyikā has been defined as follows:

(Text)

Ākhyāyikā Kāthāvat syāt kavēr=vaṁs-ādi-kīrtanum /
asyāṁ=anya-kavīnāṁ cha vṛttām gadyam kvachit kvachit ||

(Commentary)

Yathā Harshacharit-ādiḥ etc. etc.

(Translation)

(Commentary)

“The Akhyāyikā (Narrative) resembles the *Kathā*. But the genealogy of the (author) poet, and sometimes an account of other poets also are given there . . . ”

(Commentary)

For example the *Harshacharita* (of Bāṇabhaṭṭa) and so forth.” . . . “Ākhyāna and others, being included under the *Kathā* and Ākhyāyikā, have not been separately mentioned. . . . The *Pañchatantra* and others are examples of these.”

It will thus be seen that *Kathā* and Ākhyāyikā are both gadya-kāvyas, in spite of their being interspersed with verses. The Kādambarī is a *Kathā* or Tale; the Harshacharita is an Ākhyāyikā or Narrative. Both these prose works are interwoven with verses, as pointed out by Bühler himself. And yet, they have been classed under gadya-kāvyā by the author of the Sāhityadarpana. The feature that is common to both is vastu or Plot which, however, is nowhere set forth in verse in these works of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. This is rendered more clear in the case of the *Pañchatantra*, which is called an Ākhyāna. Ākhyāna, again, we are informed, is included in either a Kathā or Ākhyāyikā. And, as the plot of the *Pañchatantra* is more of the type of a Tale than a Narrative, the *Pañchatantra* as an Ākhyāna falls under Kathā. But the *Pañchatantra* abounds in verses, and yet it is placed under gadya-kāvyā, for the obvious reason that its plot is nowhere given in verse. So far in regard to *Kathā*, Ākhyāyikā, and Ākhyāna. After mentioning the varieties of gadya-kāvyā, the author of the Sāhityadarpana proceeds to speak of the gadya-padya-mayāni (Kāvyāni). And the first variety thereof that he specifies is the Champā which he defines as follows:

(Text)

Gadya-padya-mayaṁ Kāvyam Champūr=īty=abhīdhīyatā ||
Yathā Dēṣarājacharitam.

(Translation)

"A Poem composed in prose and verse is designated Champū."

(Commentary)

“For example, the Dēṣarājacharita.”

Surely, the Dēṣarājacharita, which is the instance given of Champū here, must mean “the Adventures of Dēṣarāja,” whoever he was. It must, therefore, have had a plot of its own like the Daśakumāracharita. The only difference between the two is that, whereas in the latter work the plot is set forth in prose, in the case of the former it must have been done nearly half in prose and nearly half in verse.

To say, therefore, that Harishēna’s Kāvyā is a Champū simply because it is partly in prose and partly in verse is to say that the Kādambara and the Harshacharita are also Champūs in spite of the fact that they have been classed by the Sāhityadarpana under gadya-kāvyā. The critical test here, in all these cases, is vāstu or plot. This answers the question in the negative. Harishēna’s kāvyā may be partly in prose and partly in verse. But, as it has no vāstu or plot, it cannot be styled Katha, Ākhyaṭikā or Champū. But we ought not to stop here. For the very next variety which has been mentioned of the gadya-padya-maya-kāvyā in the Sāhityadarpana is Biruda which is thus defined:

(Text)

Gadya-padya-mayi rāja-stutir = Birudam = uchyatē /

(Translation)

“The panegyric of a king, in prose and verse, is styled Biruda”.

This definition suits Harishēna’s eulogium of Samudragupta so excellently that no doubt can arise as to this Kāvyā having to be designated Biruda.

We shall now discuss the Riti or the Style of Composition to which this prāśasti pertains. Bühler has no doubt that Harishēna follows the style of the southerners, or the Vaidarbhī Riti as it has been called. “The language of the verses is,” says he, “on the whole, simple, and especially the compounds of extraordinary length, which are found used by Vatsabhaṭṭī, are carefully avoided.”

“With the prose part of the panegyric, however,” Bühler further remarks, “things are quite otherwise. Here, simple words are only the exception, while very long compounds are the general rule, the longest compound (lines 19-20) containing more

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 175.
than 120 syllables.” If the Allahabad pillar praśasti answers to Vaidarbhi Riti, the chief characteristic of which is small compounds, at any rate, absence of long compounds, how is it that the prose portion of the praśasti contains big compounds, one of which again is so big as to comprise 120 syllables? He explains the difficulty as follows: “There cannot be any doubt that this contrast is intentional. Because all the manuals of poetics are unanimous on the point that the essence of elevated prose to be used in romances and stories consists in the length of compounds; while the different schools are not unanimous regarding the admissibility of long compounds in verses.” In support of this statement Bühler quotes the authority of Daṇḍin’s Kāvyadāraśa, I. 80-81. But we have just seen that the present praśasti is neither a Kathā (Tale), nor an Ākhyāyikā (Narrative) and that consequently there is no good reason why length of compounds should constitute the essence of its prose. Secondly, it is not quite correct to say that long compounds do not occur in the verses of this panegyric. Thus stanza 7 begins with Udoel-ōdita-bāhu-virya-rabhasā, and stanza 9 with pradāna-bhujā-vikrama-praśamaśāstra-vākyādhyā. Are these not long enough compounds to bear comparison with those in Vatsabhaṭṭi’s praśasti? But mere length of compounds does not constitute the essence of Vaidarbhi or Gauḍī-Riti. There are other characteristics also of these styles, which Bühler has apparently forgotten. The Sāhityadarpaṇa (IX, 2-3) thus describes the Vaidarbhi Style:

(Text)

Mādhurya-yañjakair=varnai rachanā lajit-ātmikā || 2 ||
avrīttir=alpa-vrīttir=vā Vaidarbhi Ritir=uchyatē ||

(Translation)

“A dulcet composition with letters manifesting Sweetness with few or no compounds, is designated the Vaidarbhi Style.”

One characteristic of the Style then is absence or paucity of compounds. But the other characteristic that is here specified is the presence of letters manifesting Sweetness or Mādhurya. And what are those letters? In reply to it, the Sāhityadarpaṇa (VIII, 3-4) has the following:

(Text)

Murdhni varg-āntyā-varyēna yuktāh=ṭa-tha-da-dhān=vinā ||
ra-vau laghā cha tad-vaṅktau varṇāh kāraṇatām gatāh ||
avrīttir=alpa-vrīttir=vā madhurā rachanā tathā ||

(Translation)

“All letters, excepting ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, which are preceded by the last of every series, and by r and n with short vowels, cause the manifestation of Sweetness, as also a negation or scarcity of compounds.”

The very next Style defined in the Sāhityadarpaṇa is Gauḍī. It is of the following nature:

(Text)

ējaḥ-prakāśakair=varnai=bandha āḍambaraḥ punaḥ || 3 ||
samāsa-bahula Gauḍī (IX, 3-4)
(Commentary)

Tathā chaṅchad-bhuja ity-ādi

(Translation)

(Text)

“The Gauḍī, again, is of bombastic construction with letters manifesting Īōjas and abounding in compounds.”

(Commentary)

“For example chaṅchad-bhuja etc.”

The question now arises: What are the characteristics of this Īōjas, which here is obviously a Śabda-guna and has to be distinguished from Īōjas as Artha-guna which we have considered above. The former is thus described in the Sāhityadarpaṇa (VIII, 4-5):

(Commentary)

Asya Īōjasā atr=āpi Vir-ādi śabdā upalakshaṇāni | tēnā Vir-ābhās-ādāv=apy=asy=āvasthitiḥ

(Commentary)

Tathā chaṅchad-bhuja ity-ādi
"The first and the third letters joined with the second and fourth of any series (that is to say, with any of the aspirates), such letters as are combined with r preceding or following or both, (the cerebrals) ṭ, ṭh, ḍ and ḍh, (even though uncombined with another consonant) and (the hard sibilants) s and sh serve to manifest it (Vigour); so also an ample use of compounds, and a construction possessed of bombast."

"For example chaṃchad-blūja etc."

If we now carefully consider the essential features of the Vaidarbhī and the Gauḍī Styles animadverted upon in the Sāhityadarpana, no doubt can possibly arise as to Harishēna having composed his Kāya after the Gauḍī model. The lengthy compounds with which the praśasti brims over, especially in the prose portion of it, are enough to brand it as Gauḍī. But Bühler has understood a verse of the Kāvyādarśa, wrongly we think, to mean that long compounds form the essence of prose to whatever school of composition it belongs. Even if we set aside the prose part of Harishēna’s Kāya, his stanzas, we have already pointed out, are by no means free from long compounds. But long compounds are not the only test of the Gauḍī style. Another characteristic of it is the combination of the first and third, with the second and fourth, letters of a series. If we take stanza 3, we note stabdh-ō9 and oehchhrī-9 as instances of it in line 5. In the stanza following we have uchchhwastīshu in line 7. Stanza 5, again, has adbhot-ōdbhinnae in line 9 and kēchīch = chharanao in line 10. And even if we suddenly turn our attention to the last verse, that is, stanza 9, we meet with ochchritae in line 30. As regards the occurrence of initial or subscript r or of ś and sh, the stanzas simply bristle with them. These characteristics of even the verse portion of the praśasti are destructive of Sweetness (mādhurya) which forms the essence of the Vaidarbhī, but are affluents of Vigour (Ojas) which is the peculiar feature of the Gauḍī Style. And this is just what might be expected of this praśasti, which, being mainly descriptive of the exploits of Samudragupta, cannot but preponderate with the Heroic (Vīra) and the Furious (Raudra). The language appropriate for the delineation of these Sentiments must be one which is predominated with Vigour or Ojas.

VATSABHAṬTI’S POEM ABOUT THE SUN TEMPLE OF DAŚAPURA

We now come to the treatment of the second inscription which Bühler has selected from the Gupta period, with a view to set forth the history of the evolution of Artificial Poetry in India.1 It was originally connected with the temple of the Sun erected by a Guild of Silk-weavers at Daśapura, modern Mandaśōr. Who the author of the composition was is indicated in verse 44 thereof, which unfortunately is wrongly translated even by Bühler. It may be correctly rendered as follows: ‘By Vatsabhāṭṭi was caused to be made this edifice of the Sun through the order of the Guild and through (his) devotion (to the god) and was composed with care this descriptive statement (pūrā).’ In his translation of this passage Bühler fell into a two-fold blunder. The first was in regard to the correct sense of the term pūrā. That has been indicated elsewhere in two places.2 The second blunder is in regard to the general interpreta-

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, pp. 137 ff.
2 Inscription No. 6 below, text line 5 and the concerned note.
tion of the verse. Bühler leaves the two halves of it utterly unconnected with each other. What it means is that Vatsabhaṭṭi not only composed the pūrva or 'descriptive statement' in verse, but was also in charge of the building of the Sun temple. This latter work he did in accordance with the orders of the Guild and also on account of his devotion to the divinity. This seems to be the natural sense of the verse in question. There is an inscription¹ of Varmalāṭa found at Vasantgaḍh in the former Sirohi State, Rājputānā, and dated Vikrama year 682. It speaks of the erection of the temple of Kṣhēmāryā by the Gōshṭhi of Vatākarasthāṇa. And there, we are told that the Kārāpaka selected by the Gōshṭhi was Satyadēva and that the pūrva was composed by Dhūrtarāsi and engraved by Nāgamanḍin.² The proper sense of Kārāpaka is, not "those who caused the temple to be constructed" but "persons employed in the construction of the temple," as was clearly shown by Kielhorn.³ It seems that Vatsabhaṭṭi was similarly a Kārāpaka, appointed by the Guild to see the work through, namely, that of building and re-building the temple of the Sun. Further, in the case of the temple of Kṣhēmāryā, the Kārāpaka was different from the composer of the pūrva. They are, however, the same in the case of the Sun temple at Dāsapurā, namely, Vatsabhaṭṭi. In fact, this is how we have to understand verse 44 of the Mandasōr inscription.

The composition of Vatsabhaṭṭi has been rightly described as pūrva, 'a detailed statement, specification of details.' It divides itself into the following sections:

1. The māṅgala addressed to the Sun in verses 1-3 of which the first and the third are in the form of āśish, 'blessings' and the second of namaskṛiti, 'obeisance.'
2. The mention of the migration of the Guild of Silk-weavers from Lāṭa or Gujarāt to Dāsapurā (Mandasōr), in verses 4-5.
3. A poetic picture of Dāsapurā, its lakes, edifices and situation (verses 6-13).
4. A glowing description of the Guild, the various hobbies pursued by its various members, the pre-eminence of the silk cloth manufactured by them and their desire to make some religious benefaction (verses 14-22).
5. The mention of the suzerain Kumāragupta I and of the local ruler of Dāsapurā, namely, Bandhuvarman (verses 23-30), during whose reigns the benefaction, viz. the construction of the Sun temple, was made.
6. A poetic description of the Winter Season during which and the mention of the actual date when the temple was consecrated (verses 31-35).
7. A reference to the restoration of the edifice, part of which had crumbled, with the mention of the date of this renovation and a description of the Spring Season when it was executed (verses 36-42).
8. A benediction that the temple may endure for ever (verse 43).
9. The name of the overseer-poet (verse 44).

Verse 44, referred to above, also tells us that Vatsabhaṭṭi composed his pūrva, prayatnēna, 'with effort.' This does not, however, mean that he tried "to do his best to make his composition resemble a mahākāavya" as Bühler says. This is impossible. Vatsabhaṭṭi could not have been so foolhardy as to think that his tiny composition could at all bear comparison to a Mahākāvyā such as the Raghuvamśa, Śīlapālaavadha and so forth, as they were taken to be its examples in later times. Of more modest dimensions than the Mahākāvyā, is the Kāvyā; and of still more modest dimensions is the Khaṇḍakāvyā such as the Misghadūta which is described in the Sāhityadarpaṇa⁴ as Kāvyasya =aikadēś-ānusāri: "following Kāvyā partially." The treatises on rhetoric

² Ibid., p. 192, line 12, verse 12.
⁴ Parichchheda VI, verse 329.
prescribe that a *Mahākāyya* should comprise descriptions of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons and so on. These characteristics, Vatsabhaṭṭi’s *pūrva* nicely exhibits, as pointed out by Bühler. This Vatsabhaṭṭi has not forgotten to describe the early home of the Guild, namely, the Lāṭa country in verse 4; but the town of Daśāpurā where they had permanently settled receives much greater attention and he devotes no less than nine verses, as we have seen above, in giving us a description of its lakes and buildings and showing us that it had thus become the ornament of the earth. Further, the inscription contains two dates, and thus gives Vatsabhaṭṭi an occasion to show off his poetic skill in describing the Seasons, Winter and Spring, during which the dates fall.

That Artificial Poetry was in full bloom in the time of Vatsabhaṭṭi may be seen even from the extraneous characteristics of his poem. All the verses of his composition are in ornate metres of the *Kāyya* style. Setting aside *Anusṭubh* (verses 34-37 and 44), we have *Āryā* in verses 4, 13, 21, 33, 38, 39, 41 and 42, *Drutavilambita* in verse 15, *Harinī* in verse 16, *Indravajrā* in verse 17, *Mālīni* in verses 19 and 43, *Mandākrānta* in verse 29, *Śārdulavikriṣṭā* in verses 1-2, *Upajāti* in verses 10, 12 and 28, *Upendravajrā* in verses 7-9 and 24, *Vamśastha* in verse 23, and *Vasantatilakā* in verses 3, 5, 6, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27, 30-32 and 40. Of these metres *Vasantatilakā* has been used the greatest number of times, as many as fourteen. This multiplicity of metres is not noticeable in *Mahākāyyas* and *Kāyas*, where generally two metres only are used, the principal one and the second one which last again is found only in the ending verse or verses of a canto. The manifold metres used by Vatsabhaṭṭi in his poem therefore are to be attributed to his eagerness to show that he was a master of Prosody and an expert in versification. Another extraneous characteristic of Artificial Poetry is the clustering of verses in twos, threes, fours and so forth. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* has it:

\[
\text{dvāhīyāṁ Yugamāṁ iṁ prōktanī}
\text{tribhiḥ ślokair = Viśēshakam /}314/
\text{Kalāpakaṁ chaturbhiṁ syāt}
\text{tad-ūrdhvasaṁ Kulakāṁ matam}
\]

“(A piece of Poetry, complete) in two (stanzas) is termed *Yugma*; in three (stanzas), *Viśēshaka*; in four, *Kalāpaka*; and in five, *Kulaka*.” We find this clustering of verses also in Vatsabhaṭṭi’s composition. Thus, verses 4-5 and 21-22 make *Yugmas*; verses 23-25 and 26-28 *Viśēshakas*; and verses 6-10, 31-35 and 36-40, *Kulakas*. One peculiarity, however, of Vatsabhaṭṭi, that deserves to be mentioned in this connection is that in the clustering of these verses they are of the same metre in the case of the compositions of the other poets, but curiously enough diversity of metres is perceptible in his own composition.

Let us now consider the internal characteristic of this composition which brand it as Artificial Poetry. The first and foremost of these is the Style which obviously conforms to the Gauḍī Riti, or the diction of the Eastern School as Bühler has rightly perceived. The chief peculiarity of the Gauḍī, we have seen above, is the use of long compounds. Vatsabhaṭṭi employs compounds covering not only a *pāda* or more, pretty frequently, but also sometimes the whole of a half-verse as in stanzas 4, 6, 14, 32 and 41, and once even the whole of a verse as in verse 33. There is another characteristic of the Eastern School to which Bühler refers on the authority of Daṇḍin’s *Kāsyādāra* (I. 47-50), according to which a verse composed in the Vaidarbhi Riti maintains *samanā* or uniformity in all its *pādas* but that of the Gauḍī style may have different *pādas* composed in different types of letters corresponding to the different senti-

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1 *Parichchheda* VI, verses 314 and 315.
mements. In illustration of this statement of Daṇḍin, Bühler quotes the following stanza (verse 26) from Vatsabhaṭṭī’s āraśasti:

\[\begin{align*}
Tasya=ātmajō sthairya-nay-opapampō \\
bhandhu=priyō bandhur=iva praṇāmā \\
bhandhu=ārtī-hartā nripa-Bandhuvarma \\
dviḍ-dripta-paksha-kshapa-aika-daksha
\end{align*}\]

“The first three padas,” says Bühler, “describe Bandhuvarman’s wisdom and goodness, the last his terribleness in war with enemies. Corresponding to this, the words in the first three quarters of the verse consist of syllables which are soft or light to be pronounced, in consideration of the necessity of the alliteration of the name of Bandhuvarman. The fourth pada, on the other hand, where the Raudra rasa prevails, contains only hard sounding syllables and agrees quite well with Daṇḍin’s typical illustration, Kāvyādarsa, I. 72: nyakṣēṇa kṣapitaḥ pakṣaḥ kṣatriyānāṁ kṣaṇād=īt.”

The next important internal characteristic of Artificial Poetry is the use of Alāṁkāras, which are of two kinds: Śabdālāṁkāra and Arthālāṁkāra. As regards the former we will leave aside the wrong use of the phrases Varṇāṇāśrāṣa and Padāṇāṃrāṣa by Bühler, which are unknown to treatises on rhetoric. We have already animadverted upon it. One variety of Alliteration, namely, Chhāk-āṇāprāṣa, is noticeable in almost every stanza of this poem. An instance of another variety, namely, Lāj-āṇāprāṣa is furnished by verse 26 cited above, where the word bandhu is repeated thrice. Further instances of the same variety are supplied by siddhais=cha siddhy-arthebhih in verse 1, kiṇnara-naraiḥ in verse 2, prathit-ōruwarśa vanś-ānurūpāḥ in verse 18, =anāṭha-nāṭaḥ in verse 25 and =aty-udāram=udārayā in verse 37. Of the Arthālāṁkāras, says Bühler, Vatsabhaṭṭī uses only the most familiar ones, namely Upōma, Uṭprēkṣā and Rūpaka. Nothing, however, is more untrue. Thus, stanza 5 contains an illustration of Kāvyālīnga, stanza 6 of Samāsokti, stanza 7 of Soabhāvokti, stanza 19 of Kāvyālīnga and Samuchchaya, stanza 27 of Viśeshokti, Uṭprēkṣā and Vibhāvanā, stanza 42 of Mālōpamā, and so on and so forth. It will thus be seen that a plethora of Arthālāṁkāras is noticeable in the panegyric of the Sun temple by Vatsabhaṭṭī and not simply the most familiar, Upōma, Uṭprēkṣā and Rūpaka, as Bühler gives us to understand.

If we now consider the contents of Vatsabhaṭṭī’s composition, we find that it contains many images and turns of expression characteristic of the Kāvyā style. One has only to turn to verses 7-9 where the lakes and gardens of Daśapura are described or to verses 10-13 which give an account of its buildings. In fact, one may turn to any section of this pūraṇa of Vatsabhaṭṭī—to a description of the Guild (verses 14-22), of the Winter Season when the Sun Temple was consecrated (verses 30-35) or of the Spring when it was renovated (verses 36-42),—and be convinced that Vatsabhaṭṭī wrote at a time when the science of Indian Poetics had evolved itself to an eminent degree. We may proceed one step further; Vatsabhaṭṭī was a third-rate poet. The presumption therefore is that he must have borrowed many ideas and much phraseology from the contemporary and earlier poets of great renown. Can we make good this presumption? This will also prove that Vatsabhaṭṭī lived at a time when Artificial Poetry was in full swing. Let us, however, see, in the first place, what Bühler has to say on this point. In regard to the very first two of the three stanzas which form the Maṅgala or benediction and with which the panegyric begins, he remarks: “Amongst the court-poets there is one Mayūra, in whose Śūryaśataka, a prayer addressed to the Sun, we have almost every one of the ideas contained in the verses above, repeated and with much the same form of expression.” Bühler, no doubt, tries to expiate on the point but does not seem to have made it out in a satisfactory
manner. There are, no doubt, some thoughts similar to both, but there is nothing in his argument to show clearly that Vatsabhaṭṭi was indebted to Mayūra, or Mayūra to Vatsabhaṭṭi. It is true that according to stanza 81 of the Mayūra-satāka, prayers are offered to the Sun in the morning, as Bühler has pointed out, by the Siddhas, gods, Chāraṇas, Gandharvas, Nāgas, Tāudhānas, Śādyas, Mun-indaś (chiefs of sages), and Mōkshins (seekers of emancipation),¹ and that according to verse 1 of the prastāti the same prayers are offered to the same god by such classes of beings as gods, Siddhas, Tōgins (desirous of emancipation), and Munis (sages). In the former the number of the divine and semi-divine beings that adore the Sun is much larger than those mentioned in the latter. Besides, the way in which the former adore the god is different from that done by the latter. There is thus a vague similarity of thought, but there is nothing to show convincingly that Vatsabhaṭṭi influenced Mayūra or Mayūra, Vatsabhaṭṭi. Similarly Bühler draws our attention to verse 13 which may be translated as follows: “which (town), being enclosed by two charming rivers of tremulous waves, shines like the body of the God of Love, clasped in private by (his wives) Prīti and Rati, possessed of (prominent) breasts.” The idea of a river, looked upon as a female, is a natural one and is frequently met with in Sanskrit poetry. Bühler cites two illustrations in support of it. The first is from Subandhu’s Vāsavadattā, which says of the Vindhyā mountain: Rēvayā priyatamay=ēva prasārita-vichi-hastay= ōpagūdhaḥ,² “Encircled by the Rēvā (Narmadā) as by a beloved with extending arms, namely, (extending) waves.” The second citation is from the Bṛihatsaṁhitā (XII, 6), namely, rahasi madana-saktayā Rēvayā kāntay=ēva=ōpagūdham, “Encircled by the Rēvā as by a love-sick beloved in private.” The latter of these quotations, of course, affords a more exact parallel to verse 13 of our inscription, because both contain the word rahasi and also because the former, containing, as it does, the phrase prasārita-vichi-hastayā, represents a further development of the original thought. Subandhu is, of course, later than Varāhamihira. But whether Vatsabhaṭṭi preceded Varāhamihira or Varāhamihira, Vatsabhaṭṭi, or whether they were contemporaries of each other, it is very difficult to say. Bühler, however, is right in remarking that “even though it may not be certain that Vatsabhaṭṭi lived before Varāhamihira, one would be tempted to conjecture a close connection between his verse and that of the Bṛihatsaṁhitā.” “The real fact seems to be,” he proceeds further, “that all the three poets imitated some well-known model.” Although this point cannot be properly decided, the thing is quite different in regard to verses 10 and 11, which may be rendered as follows:

(verse 10) “Where the buildings, with moving flags, full of women, intensely white, (and) extremely lofty, bear resemblance to the peaks of white clouds variegated with forked lightning”; (verse 11) “And (where) other (buildings) resemble the lofty summits of Kailāsa, with long terraces and rail mouldings, resounding with the notes of music, with works in painting set up, and adorned with waving plantain trees”;

We shall do well to compare these verses with the stanza occurring in the Mēghadūta

¹ The stanza in question is as follows: Siddhaṁ, saṁśabdham-miraṁ śrī-vidhi vibudhāiṁ = śrī-vidhi vibudhāiṁ, chāraṇaiṁ = chāraṇaiṁ, chāṭugarbhaṁ, gīyā gāndharva-mukhyaiṁ = mukhyaiṁ, aha-pātabhir, yāvadhānaiṁ = yāvadhānaiṁ, sārghaṁ śādyaiṁ = mun-indaś = mudita-tama-manō-mōkshhābhīḥ paksha-bādāṁ prāchā prāchābhyāmnāha-stutair = avata raśvair = viśvan-candya-ōdayā vah ||
where Kalidasa describes Alaká, the capital of Kubera, and to which our attention was first drawn by Bühler. It runs as follows:

_Vidyuvantam lañita-vanitáḥ s-ēndrachāpam sa-chitrāḥ_
_sāṅgītāya prahata-murajāḥ snigdha-gambhirā-ghōsham _
_antas-tōyāṁ mañi-maya-bhuvas=taṅgam=abhrāntih-āgrāḥ_
_prāśadāṁ=tvāṁ tulayitum=alāṁ yatra taś=taṁ=vishēhatāṁ _||

"Where the palaces can stand comparison with those in various particulars: these, with beautiful women, with thee possessed of lightning; these with paintings, with thee accompanied by the rainbow; these with tabors struck for music, with thee possessed of charming and deep-sounding thunders; these with crystalline floors, with thee filled with water; (and) these, as sky-scrapers, with thee occupying a high altitude."

Now, in verse 10 of the Mandasor inscription, Vatsabhaṭṭi is evidently at great pains to bring out the best possible resemblance between the clouds and the buildings of Daśapura. And it is perfectly reasonable to say that he was indebted to Kalidasa in this respect. The words taḍil-latā, abalā, atyartha-śuklāni, and adhik-ōnнатāni of this verse correspond, roughly, and, as would be expected of a third-rate poet, with vidyuvantam, lañita-vanitā, mañi-maya-bhuvāḥ, and abhrāntih-āgrāḥ respectively of the stanza from the Mēghadūta. Only sa-chitrāḥ, sāṅgītāya prahata-murajāḥ, etc., of the latter remain unaccounted for; and, to our agreeable surprise, we find similar expressions used in the very next verse, namely, gāndharasa-saṅdamuṣkhaṛāṇi and nivishāchaṭra-karmāṇi. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Vatsabhaṭṭi is here imitating Kalidasa as the ensemble of thought and imagery is complete. Of course, Vatsabhaṭṭi says something more which is not traceable in the stanza from the Mēghadūta. Whether he does it with a view to excel the prototype as Bühler thinks, or to imitate, along with it, another parallel from some other poet as we suspect, it is very difficult to say. If any further proof is required in support of the conclusion that Vatsabhaṭṭi was acquainted with the works of Kalidasa, it is furnished by verse 31 of the Mandasor inscription. It is as follows:

_Rāmā-sanātha-bhavan-ōdara-bhāskar-ānśu-vahni-pratāpa-subhagē jala-līna-minē _
_Chaṁdr-ānśu-harnya-tala-chandana-tāla-vīnta-hār-ōpabhōga-rāhilē hima-dagdha-padmē _||

"(In the season) which is pleasant in consequence of the interiors of the houses being crowded with young women (and) in consequence of the rays of the sun, (and) the warmth of fire, during which the fish lie deep in water and which is destitute of the enjoyments (caused by) the rays of the moon, flat roofs of houses, sandal paste, palm leaf fans, and garlands; and when the water-lilies are bitten by the frost."

The above stanza is an undeniable imitation of Kalidasa’s _Ritusamhāra_, chap. V, verses 2-3, as was first pointed out by the late F. Kiellhorn. These verses run thus:

_Niruddha-vālāya-mandir-ōdaraṁ_
_hutāsāṁ bhānumatā gabbastosyaḥ _
_gurūṇi vāsāṁsya=abalāḥ sa-yauvanāḥ_
_prāyantā kāle=tra janasya sēyatām _|| 2 _||

_Na chandanaṁ chandra-marichi-śītalāṁ_
_na harmya-prishṭham śarad-īndu-sundaram _
_na vāyavoh śandra-tushāra-śītalā_
_janasya chittaṁ ramayanti sāṃpratam _|| 3 _||
2. “The house interior with windows shut, fire, the rays of the sun, heavy garments (and) women possessed of youth become enjoyable to the people in this season.

3. Not sandal cool with the rays of the moon, not the terrace of a mansion beautiful in consequence of the autumnal moon, not winds chilly with thick frost, now gladden the mind of the people.”

Here doubtless hutāsanā bhūnumatā gābhasṭayaḥ and na chandanaṁ chandra-marichīśītalāṁ and na harmaṇ-prīśthhaṁ of these verses correspond to bhāskar-ānūśu-vahni-pratāpa and chanda-ānūśu-harmya-tāla-chandana ... upabhōga-rahīṭe of the inscription. And, perhaps, if we turn to the Ritusamṛtāra, Canto I, verse 8, chandana ... tyajana ... hārayaśṭī of the same easily answers to chanda-tālaviṁita-hār-āpabhōga-rahīṭe of the Mandaśrī praśasti. This common group of ideas indicates that Vatsabhāṭṭi is conversant not only with the Meghadūta but also with the Ritusamṛtāra of Kālidāsa.

But there is another stanza, namely, verse 32, which is also devoted to the description of the Winter Season. No similarity of thought or expression has been pointed out between it and the Ritusamṛtāra, or, for the matter of that, any other poem. Again, there are two stanzas in Vatsabhāṭṭi’s composition, namely, verses 40-41 which are descriptive of the Spring. No idea or form of expression comprised in them has been traced in the composition of any poet so as to establish the indebtedness of the one to the other. The same remark holds good in the case of other verses also. There are, thus, verses which describe the lakes of Daśapura, the Guild of silk-weavers and its distinguished members, the ruler of Daśapura and his suzerain, and the temple of the Sun, built and rebuilt. They are replete with a rush of images and turns of expression. It is true that in most cases they have not at all been characterised by any felicitous grace such as might be expected of a master poet. Nevertheless, the impression is created on the mind that they have must have borrowed many of them from the works extant in his time. The conclusion is thus almost irresistible that there was a considerable number of Kāvyas which were known when Vatsabhāṭṭi lived and wrote, upon which he drew as he did upon the Meghadūta and the Ritusamṛtāra, but which have now been lost to us.¹

Let us now try and appraise the poetic merit of Vatsabhāṭṭi’s composition. Bühler seems to be quite right in saying that “Vatsabhāṭṭi was not at all a man to whom we can give the credit of originality; nor can we name him as a poetic genius capable of giving new ideas. He shows the several weaknesses which characterise the poets of the second or third class, who compile their verses laboriously, after the model of the classical great poets.” That Bühler’s decision is on the whole correct may be seen from the rather free use of expletives and particles, the pretty frequent recurrence of the fault of tautology, the employment of words in their usual senses, the absence or omission of any connection between the qualifying and qualified parts of a sentence and many other faults too numerous to mention. We will take some of the stanzas one after another and try to point out a few of these faults. Thus, stanza 2 has yasya in line 1, which is apparently a possessive pronoun without a noun indicating possession. When we read the stanza and come to this yasya, the question arises yasya kim? No reply is furnished. Line 1 of stanza 3 has pratīvibhāti of which the prefix prati is meaningless. So also is su of su-

¹ In regard to Vatsabhāṭṭi, B. C. Mazumdar makes the following remarks in JRAS., 1904, p. 397:

“The text of the Mandaśrī stone inscription in 472 A.D. was composed by a poet named Vatsabhāṭṭi ... There is a striking resemblance between stanzas 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 in the inscription and the description of Śrāvī in the 2nd canto of Bhāṭṭī. That the name of the poet is Vatsa-bhāṭṭī, that the date 472 is the date when Dharasena I was reigning as a Valabhī-Rājā, that the Mandaśrī text was composed in praise of Kumāra Gupta, whose Sēnāpati and feudatory this Dharasena was, are acknowledged facts. If we accept Vatsabhāṭṭi to be the author of Bhāṭṭīkāya, many things which we cannot otherwise explain can be explained. It explains the name of the kōṭa; it explains why some forms of rhetoric, popular during the days of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin are not found in this kāya; and it explains also why the story of Rāma, as it is given in the poem, does not include the later portion.”
INTRODUCTION

kirâñ—which occurs in line 4 of the same verse. In the stanza following is found the author’s favourite word naga which is used in the rare sense of ‘a tree’ and which is met with also in verses 9 and 32. Similarly, the words prakâśam and samētya occurring in stanza 5 are both taken by Bühler as devoid of real meaning. Though they may not be exactly meaningless, they are, at any rate, redundant and clumsy. Stanza 6, again, has, in the last line, tilaka-bhütam in which bhütam is superfluous and retards from the proper development of the alânkâra. Similarly, the anta in -tir-anta-, line 2, verse 7, is redundant. Tuly-opamânâni, in line 4 of verse 10, involves the fault of tautology. If tulya is retained, upamâna is unnecessary; and if upamâna is adopted, tulya becomes superfluous. In verse 12, the word prâsâda is found in line 1 and grihâni in line 4. Propriety would expect their position to be reversed. Samētya in line 1 of verse 15 seems, according to Bühler, to have been used as an expletive. The verse, again, has such qualifying expressions as pravijîrinhita-sauhindâh, pratimânîtâh and pramuditâh, but there is no viśēshya-pada or qualified word. If we now turn to stanza 18, we find, in the first place, that pranâyinâm=upakâra-dakshâh and drigha-sauhindâs=cha mean practically the same thing and are, thus, tautologous expressions; and secondly that line 4 thereof has viprâmëha-pûram which is a kriyâ-viśēshya without any kriyâpada as its viśēshya. If we proceed to the next stanza, we notice not only that the abhi of abhinighâtî in line 4 is meaningless, but that vijitâ-vishaya-saṅgâiḥ and muktâ-râgaâiḥ are tautologous phrases. Similarly, tatas=tv in line 4 of verse 22 are mere expletives. Stanzas 20 and 25 are unpoetic. To say that a woman is not an object of beauty with her youth and complexion but stands in need of the help of ornamentation and, above all, silk attirement, as Vatsabhaṭṭi has done in verse 20, is sheer bad taste. Similarly, a first-rate poet would write bhitasya abhayâ-pradâh, and not bhitasya bandhu as Vatsabhaṭṭi has done in stanza 25. Many other faults of this nature can be pointed out in his composition, but those that have been adduced are enough to show that Vatsabhaṭṭi is a third-rate poet. It is, therefore, no wonder if he has fallen into two solecisms, as remarked by Bühler. Thus, verse 15 has nyavasanta which is Imperfect Third Person Plural of ni+vas, in the sense of “(they) lived.” But vas in this sense is always First Conjugation Parasmaiṣapa, never Ātmanepada even with any preposition. Bühler thinks that Vatsabhaṭṭi has used the Ātmanêpadi form to suit the metre. It is, however, more probable that grammar was not his strong point. This inference is strengthened by the second instance of solecism adduced by Bühler. Thus, verse 38 has (nabhaḥ) spriśam=iva, which goes with griham in the preceding one. It is true that Fleet proposes to correct it into spriśat=iva. But apart from the fact that this causes a caesura “the whole construction” rightly remarks Bühler “would not only be changed but broken up into pieces, because then the locatives in the verses 39-40 would be altogether hanging in the air.” The main question, however, is whether we at all can have such a form as spriśan. The root here is spriś, which belongs to the sixth conjugation, and the present participle Nominative Singular of this root even in the masculine gender must be spriśad, and never spriśan. And as Vatsabhaṭṭi has employed such an utterly ungrammatical form as spriśan, it confirms the conclusion that he was not well conversant with the Science of Grammar. Bühler, no doubt, supposes that “he might have been conscious of the fault but that he might have consoled himself with the beautiful principle: māśham=āpi mashaṁ kuryād=vṛitti-bhaṅgam vivarjayēl, according to which the correctness of the metrical form precedes every other consideration. It is, however, difficult to agree with Bühler in this view. None of the two instances of solecism is of such a nature as to indicate that Vatsabhaṭṭi was conscious of them. Again, to drop one mātra of māsha and alter it into masha to suit the exigencies of metre is one thing, but to employ an ungrammatical form covering many mātrās is entirely different. Similarly, to use an ungrammatical form like nyavasanta is not an unpardonable blunder, because writers sometimes confound between Parasmaiṣapa and Ātmanepada and sometimes take a root as belonging to both. But to use such
a form as *ṣṛiṣaṇ* is to murder Grammar completely. Similarly, Bühler quotes the second half of verse 30, namely, *yaḍ= bhāti pāśchima-purāya nivishṭa-kānta-chuḍāmaṇi-pratisamaṇi nayan-ābhīraṃ, and observes that here “we come across something worse, a fault in construction.” “The genitive *pāśchima-purāya,*” he further proceeds, “goes with chuḍāmaṇi, and there is no substantive which is connected with nivishṭa. The grammatically correct form should have been *pāśchima-purā, but that would not have suited the metre.” It is very difficult, however, to follow this line of reasoning and perceive wherein exactly lies the fault of construction adverted to by Bühler. The construction requires a genitive, and not a locative, so that the line may be translated: “which shines like the tucked-in lovely crest-jewel of the western ward (of the town).” Further, if *pāśchima-purā* had really been the grammatically correct form, Vatsabhaṭṭi who is so fond of expletives could have easily composed the line thus: *Yaḍ= bhāti paśchima-purā hi nivīṣṭa-kānta,* etc. There are, again, a few inconsistencies of composition which have crept into the panegyric and which have been thus exposed by Bühler. “To the category of poetical absurdities not specially alleged,” says he, “belong verses 7-8, where, at first *sarāṇśi,* ‘the lakes’ in general is used, then again *kvachit sarāṇśi* ‘the lakes in some places’ is used. Further, in verses 10-12, the poet first speaks of *grihāṇi* ‘the houses’, then again *anyāṇi* ‘other houses,’ and, lastly again of *grihāṇi* ‘the houses’ in general.”

But even a third-rate composition is not without its excellences. Vatsabhaṭṭi’s production is no exception to this rule. The inscription opens with three stanzas which form the *maṅgala* and which, on the whole, are excellent poetry. It is true that it contains ideas which are met with in the writings of the *Saura,* the *Purāṇas* and the still older works, as Bühler remarks. It may also be true that there are some similar ideas common to it and the *Sūryaśataka* of Mayūra. But this similarity of thought is not tantamount to plagiarism or even imitation of any poet, so far as we can impartially judge. In the third stanza of the *maṅgala,* the reddish morning sun is compared to the cheeks of a woman flushed with drink. Bühler quotes a passage from Bāṇa’s *Harshacharita* where the poet compares the sun-set to the cheek of a Mālava woman. “Bāṇa’s comparison,” says he, “is somewhat more nicely brought out than that of Vatsabhaṭṭi, owing to the use of the term ‘Mālava woman’ in place of the general expression *aṅgaṇā-jana*” of stanza 3 of the Mandaśor *praśasti.* Bühler, however, does not enter into further details and tell us how exactly the mention of ‘Mālava woman’ enhances the excellence of the comparison. What seems probable is that Mālava women were of fair complexion even in the time of Bāṇa and were also in the habit of drinking which suffused their cheeks with a red tint as soft as the rising or the setting sun. But Bühler forgets that Vatsabhaṭṭi was a resident of Daśapura which was then the centre of the Mālava people. The generality of men and women there pertained to the Mālava tribe. It was, therefore, natural for him to use the general term *aṅgaṇā-jana.* Anyway, the first three stanzas of the *praśasti* read quite nicely and also charmingly. We may now turn to verse 12 which is to be rendered as follows: “Where the buildings, decorated with rows of terraces, resembling lines of gods’ palaces . . . (appear) to have risen up surely by tearing open the earth.” Bühler admits that the statement here that the buildings have risen by tearing open the earth is ‘quite striking,’ but thinks that Vatsabhaṭṭi has confounded between two comparisons current in the literature of his time. “If this expression means anything,” thus argues Bühler, “it suggests a comparison of the houses with something to be found in the deep or the nether world, with something like the thousand, white-shining heads of Śeṣa. Such an image is, however, defective, when there is already a comparison of the houses with the *vimānas,* the moving gods’ palaces, soaring up high in the sky . . . . The comparison of houses with the *vimānas* of gods is not rarely found in epic works, but is still more frequently met with in the *Kāvyas.* On the other hand, that of buildings with things in the nether world comes only
now and then in artificial poetry." In support of his last statement he quotes two verses, one of which is Kālidāsa’s Rāghuvamśa, Canto XII, verse 70 and the other is Māgha’s Śī tapālavadha, Canto III, verse 33. Now, it is true that Vatsabhaṭṭi has represented some houses of Daśapura as ‘having risen up by tearing open the earth.’ But how this statement suggests a comparison with things in the nether world, such as Śeṣa or Submarine Fire, as Bühler understands it, is far from clear. We can very well suppose that there was much of uneven, undulating ground such as is found on ancient sites, e.g., in modern Broach, the old name of which is Bhuru kachchha. When there is a stretch of country presenting a succession of elevations and depressions and also when there are skyscrapers on such elevations, the latter not only appear to have come out by tearing open the bowels of the earth but also seem to be vimānas or gods’ palaces each temporarily perched upon an eminence but ready to sail again in the aerial regions. Far from there being a confusion of comparisons and a consequent defect in imagery, the idea comprised in verse 13 is as much striking as it is novel, unless we suppose that Vatsabhaṭṭi has borrowed it from a master-poet of his or earlier time.

We may now turn to verse 26 which has already been cited above and animadverted upon. The first three quarters of the same express one sentiment, and, the last, another, which is distinctly raudra. The first sentiment is developed by one type of words and the second by another, which consists of harsh-sounding syllables. On the whole, it is a meritorious performance and constitutes an excellence in his composition.

It is possible to cite a few more examples of excellence in Vatsabhaṭṭi’s poem. But they, like the ones already pointed out, are not of a high order. We may, thus, conclude that Vatsabhaṭṭi was, on the whole, an excellent and versatile versifier but was not a first-rate poet with new, original ideas. The Mandasōr inscription is rather the exercise of a Pandit who had studied the Kāvyas and Rhetoric of his time than the production of a poet of inborn talent. Vatsabhaṭṭi was not a poet even in the court of Bandhuvarman, the local ruler of Daśapura. If he had deserved and received royal patronage at Daśapura, Ujjayini or Pāṭaliputra, his performance would have been of a much higher order and would have been comparable to the praśasti of Samudragupta by Harishēna. As it is, Vatsabhaṭṭi was a mere Pandit of Daśapura with a modicum of poetic sense. And it is no wonder if he freely drew upon the Kāvyas literature extant in his time resulting in a third-rate performance. He is not even a plagiarist who could take and imbibe original ideas of a first-rate poet and couch them in his own language so as to elude detection at the hands of readers not steeped in poetic literature. Nevertheless, the composition of Vatsabhaṭṭi is of great importance historically and in a two-fold manner. First, it enables us to fix the date of Kālidāsa. As he has evidently borrowed one group of ideas occurring in a verse from the Meghadūta and expressed the same, though discursively, in two consecutive verses of his and further, as he has borrowed similarly another group of ideas contained in two verses of the Ritusanbhāra and presented them, though crudely, in one verse of his composition, the conclusion is irresistible that Kālidāsa flourished before 472 A.D., the date of the Mandasōr inscription. Secondly, there are some verses of Vatsabhaṭṭi which contain striking ideas and give the impression that here also he must have borrowed from some poets who were his contemporaries or lived prior to him. This gives rise to the inference that in his time were current a considerably large number of poetic compositions which he had studied and with which he tried to compete. It is over-evident that when Vatsabhaṭṭi lived and composed his pūrvā, artificial poetry was in full bloom with a history reaching to a remote antiquity.

The Literary History set forth above takes notice of only two inscriptions of the Gupta period. It may perhaps be thought strange that it is not based upon the works of any poets
who flourished in this period. As a matter of fact, however, no poets or poet is definitely known to have flourished in the reign of any one of the Gupta kings. What we have surmised so far is that poets like Aśvaghōsa, Bhaṣa and Kālidāsa most probably lived from the first to the fifth century A.D. But we cannot assert with certainty that any one of them flourished in the reign of any one of the princes who ruled during this age. Nevertheless, the scholar who has critically studied Vatsabhaṭṭi’s praśasti of the Sun Temple of Daśapura cannot help thinking that as he was a third-rate poet, it is no wonder if, for some imagery and turns of expression, he was indebted to the Ritusanāhāra and the Mighadūta of Kālidāsa, showing clearly that this poet was well-known and was freely drawn upon for the embellishment of his poetic composition. This point has already been dwelt upon in the political history of the Gupta epoch when we treated of the reign of Chandragupta. We discussed also about three characters, Vikramāditya, Mātrigupta and Pravarasēna, who loom so large in the first three books of the Rājatarangini. Although these books abound more with legendary anecdotes than with real incidents, yet, some of them possess historical interest and faithfully reproduce the popular tradition. The question that arises here is: how Vikramāditya, Mātrigupta and Pravarasēna have been mentioned together. It is true that this Vikramāditya has been called Harsha-Vikramāditya by Kalhaṇa. There can, however, be little doubt that he was Chandra-Vikramāditya, that is, Chandragupta II, of the Gupta dynasty, because he was the Vikramāditya living at Ujjayinī as the sole sovereign of the world and exterminating the Śakas, such as he has been described by Kalhaṇa. This description suits Chandragupta II only. We have already dilated upon this point when we gave an account of his reign. This also explains how chronologically, Pravarasēna comes close to the supreme ruler, Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. For, we have already pointed out that there was a Pravarasēna who was a son of Prabhāvatigupta, daughter of Chandragupta II. In the introductory verses to the Harshacharita Bāṇa speaks not only of Pravarasēna but also of Kālidāsa. “The fame of Pravarasēna,” says he, “has gone to the other shore of the ocean of his ‘Bridge,’ like the army of monkeys,” obviously referring to his Prakrit poem, the Sūtumandha. Just as there was a crust over the name of Vikramāditya, sovereign of Ujjayinī, who, instead of being called Chandra-Vikramāditya, was called Harsha-Vikramāditya by Kalhaṇa, there was a crust over the popular tradition about the work of Pravarasēna who is mentioned by the Kashmir poet as having constructed the ‘Great Bridge’ (Brihat-sētu) built on the Vītaṭā. There can be no doubt that this Brihat-sētu here is not a physical construction but the Sūtumandha, the celebrated composition of the king. So, one who carefully studies the first three books of the Rājatarangini cannot but be convinced that, although most of the legendary accounts mentioned by Kalhaṇa have historical interest, there can be no doubt that more or less thin crusts have grown over the popular traditions of the early centuries of the Christian era. Perhaps, the thickest has overgrown the name of Mātrigupta, who, we have pointed out above, can be no other than Kālidāsa himself. The only question that arises in this connection is how Mātrigupta and Pravarasēna came to be connected with Kashmir. But we have to bear in mind that in the Gupta epoch poetry was held in high esteem and poets were assigned high positions. Perhaps the highest office of that period was that of Sāndhivigrāhika which was held by Harishēna in the time of Samudragupta and by Śāba Kautsa in that of Chandragupta II. That Harishēna was a poet of a high order has been pointed out above by means of a critical examination of the praśasti on Samudragupta engraved on the Allahābād pillar. He has himself called it a Kāṣṭā. That he occupied not only the high administrative post of Sāndhivigrāhika, but also a high social position, is clear from the fact that he, like his father, has been styled a Mahā-Dāṇḍanāyaka. This and other points connected with Harishēna have been set forth above.

1 Rājatarangini, Bk. III, verse 354.
As regards Śāba Kautsa, inscription No. 11 below tells us that he was not only the Śāndhivigrahika of Chandragupta II but also a kavi. One characteristic of the Gupta period was that poets were immensely admired and appointed to big administrative posts. Poets are masters of diction. This gives enchantment to their composition whether it is in verse or in prose, whether it is a panegyric or a diplomatic document. It is, therefore, no wonder if the poets were selected as Śāndhivigrahikas. Kings themselves aspired to become poets. It has been pointed out above that Samudragupta himself has been styled Kaviśrōja in the Allahābād prāsāti. Unfortunately, not a single verse or poem has yet been traced in anthologies which is attributed to this king by this name. His son, we have seen, was Chandragupta, known also as Vikramāditiya. It is worthy of note in this connection that many verses have been attributed to Vikramāditiya, singly and sometimes, jointly, in anthologies, such as Saduktiśrāmīrīta, Śāṅga-dharaṁpaddhati, Subhāṣītāvalī, and so forth. Who was this Vikramāditiya? It seems tempting to identify him with Chandragupta II. But it is worthy of note that this was also an epithet borne by Samudragupta.1 Further, we have to note that in 1941 the Kathā-prastāvanā of a work called Krishnacharitam was published by the well-known scholar Rājavaiyāda. Jivaram Kalidas Shastri of Goṇḍal in Kāṭhīawār, which from its colophon appears to have been composed by Mahā-rājādhīnāya Samudragupta, designated not only Parama-bhāgavata but also Vikramātika. Whether this work or, rather, its introductory part which is published is genuine or not is a question that need not trouble us here. But it is curious that one verse ascribed to Vikramāditiya in the Subhāṣītāvalī is rujāsu nāthaḥ paramaṁ hi bhūṣhajam, which is placed under Śri-Bhagavat-svarūpa- varnana-paddhati (No. 3494). Krishṇa is known to be bhagavat. And it is not impossible to infer that this work of Krishnacharitam is a production of the Gupta monarch, Samudragupta, who has been styled not only as Parama-bhāgavata but also a Vikrama. Whether, however, this work is a genuine one as a whole, or even in greater part cannot be determined unless more of the actual work has been found.

It is not the Gupta kings alone who were poets. They had matrimonial alliances with the Vākāṭakas of the former Berar and Central Provinces. Chandragupta II had a daughter named Prabhāvatiguptā who was married to the Vākāṭaka ruler, Rudrasena (II), and had three sons, namely, Divākarasena, Dāmōdarasena and Pravarasena. Divākarasena has been called Yuvāraja, and it seems that he died without coming to the throne when his mother was queen-regent. The Saduktiśrāmīrīta2 of Śrīdharaśāsa cites a Sanskrit verse which is attributed to Yuvāraja Divākara who presumably is this eldest son of Prabhāvatiguptā. As regards Pravarasena, we have pointed out that he was the author of Rāvaṇavaha, also called Sêtubandha, a well-known Prākrit poem. Rāmadāsa, who wrote a commentary on this work, records a tradition that it was really composed by Kālidāsa at the bidding of his master Vikramāditiya and ascribed to his grandson Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. If we weigh these traditions properly, it seems that Chandra-Vikramāditiya, Pravarasena II and Kālidāsa alias Mātrigupta were contemporaries of one another.

This contemporaneity of three personages receives confirmation from a most unexpected quarter. Bhōjadēva, in his Śrīṅgārāprakāśa (Prakaraṇa VIII) says that Kālidāsa was sent as ambassador to the court of a Kuntala king, that on his return to the headquarters he was interrogated as to how the Kuntala prince was doing and that he gave the reply in the verse:3

\[
\begin{align*}
asakala-hasitavāt kṣālītān = & \text{iwa kāntyā} \\
mukulita-nayanatoād = & \text{vyakta-karn-āptalāni}
\end{align*}
\]

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2 IV, 31, 4.
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\[ pibati \ text{madhu-sugandhīya} = \text{ānarāṇi priyāṇām} \]
\[ tvayī vinihita-bhāraḥ Kuntalanām = \text{adhiśaḥ} \]

Vikramāditya, we are told, having heard \textit{pibati} with \textit{tvayī}, meaning that he was represented as sucking honey out of the lips of damsels, heckled Kālidāsa, who, with slight verbal alterations, that is, with the change of \textit{pibati} into \textit{pibatu} and \textit{tvayī} into \textit{mayī}, transformed the whole drift of the passage. This is considered to be such a clever instance of a figure of speech called \textit{Pāṭhiti}, that the verse is quoted not only by Bhōjadēva in his other work \textit{Warasvatikāṇṭhābharana} but also by Rājaśēkhara in his \textit{Kāvyamāṁsā}. But the main point about this stanza that we have to notice is that it was uttered by Kālidāsa on his return from the court of the Kuntala prince where he had been sent on embassy by Vikramāditya. That this embassy is not a mere legend but a historical incident may be seen from the fact that Kshēmēndra actually cites a verse in his \textit{Auchityavichāracharanā} from a work called \textit{Kuntēśvaradautya} which he ascribes to Kālidāsa. \textit{Kuntēśvaradautya} seems to be a mistake for \textit{Kuntalēśvaradautya}. The question now arises: who was this ruler of Kuntala? Here poet Krīṣṇa, author of \textit{Bharatacharita}, comes to our help. His work, like the \textit{Harshacharita} of Bāṇa, begins with verses in praise of the well known poets. Immediately after the mention of Kālidāsa occurs the following verse:

\[ Jalāśrayasya = āntara-gāḍha-mārgaṁ = \]
\[ alabdhaka-bandham girī chaurya-vṛityā \]
\[ lōkēśho = alaṁ kāntam = apūrva-sētum \]
\[ babandha kīrtvā saha Kuntal-ēśaḥ \]

The verse contains an undoubted reference to \textit{Sūrabandha} by a ruler of Kuntala. According to Bāṇa, however, its author was Pravarasēna. In the actually published text of it, the work calls itself \textit{Rāvanavaho} in the concluding verse. But all the colophons of its cantos speak of it as \textit{Dasamukhavaha} and attribute its authorship to Pravarasēna. Putting these scraps of information together, what we gather is that there was a king named Pravarasēna, a ruler of Kuntala, who composed a work called \textit{Dasamukhavadh} or \textit{Rāvanavadh} and also known by the name of \textit{Sūrabandha}. Further information on this point, which, however, is of a merely traditional character, is supplied by Rāmadāsa, the author of the commentary on the \textit{Sūrabandha} entitled \textit{Rāmasūrabandhāpradīpa}. He gives us two bits of tradition in two places in his commentary. One is comprised in his gloss on Book I, verse 9, from the initial line of which it appears that the work was begun by Pravarasēna soon after his coronation. In his comment on this line Rāmadāsa says:

\[ abhināvēna rājāḥ Pravarasēnēn = ārabdhā \]
\[ Kālidāsa-dvārā tasya kṛitrī = ity = āśrayaḥ \]
\[ Pravarasēnō Bhōjadēva iti kēchit \]

Similarly, one of the introductory verses to his commentary has:

\[ dhīrāṇāṁ kācyā-chārachā-chaturimā-vidhayē Vikramāditya-vāchāḥ \]
\[ yam chakrē Kālidāsāḥ kavi-kumudā-vidhuḥ Sēṭu-nāma-prabandham \]

Putting together both these statements, we learn that, according to the tradition prevalent in the time of the commentator, Pravarasēna commenced his work soon after he was installed on the throne, that he was materially helped by Kālidāsa in the work of the composition, and
that he was so helped at the bidding of Vikramāditya. It, therefore, seems that Vikramāditya, Pravarasena and Kālidāsa were contemporaries of one another. If this position is once accepted, Vikramāditya can be no other than Chandragupta II and Pravarasena the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, son of Prabhāvatigupta, daughter of Chandragupta II. But how could this Pravarasena be, on the one hand, Bhūjadēva as mentioned by Rāmadāsa, and, on the other, Kuntalēśvara as styled by Kṛishṇa? Now, Bhūjadēva need not be taken to be identical with Bhūja- dēva, who belonged to the Paramāra family ruling over Mālava, and was a patron of literature and artists. Bhūjadēva can also mean ‘a king of the Bhūjas’ or ‘a ruler of the Bhūja country’. And it is scarcely necessary to add that the ‘Bhūja country’ denotes Vidarbha, that is, the former Berar and the Marāṭhī-speaking Districts of the Central Provinces. That the Vākāṭakas were primarily rulers of this tract of land can scarcely be doubted, because almost all their copper-plate grants have been found in that region. That at a later period they were also the rulers of Kuntala can also be scarcely doubted, for there is a fragmentary inscription of the Vākāṭakas in a cave at Ajaṇṭā which speaks of Kuntala as being conquered once by Prithvī- shēna, a prince of this dynasty, and, at a later time, by Harishēna, their minister. This Kuntala is probably co-extensive with the Kannada-speaking division of South India. As in the course of time the Vākāṭakas lost their ancestral dominion, namely, the Vidarbha and adjoining country, they probably came to be known as the rulers of Kuntala; and this seems to be the reason why Kṛishṇa, who wrote the Bharatcharita, describes the author of the Sītabandha as Kuntal-ēśa, ‘lord of Kuntala.’

Whether there was any other Vākāṭaka prince who was a poet, at any rate, and composed verses, is not certain. Mahāmahōpādhya V. V. Mirashi, however, rightly says that Sarvasena of the Vatsagulma line has been known to be the author of a kāvyā called Hariuvīja, as mentioned by Anandavardhana in Dhaṇyālōka. It seems that the work was composed in Mahārāṣṭrī, but with the plot somewhat altered.

THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE GUPTA ERA

As we shall see later on in detail, Al Bērūnī, the Arab Sanskritist and historian and a protege of Mahmūd of Ghazna, furnishes us with much valuable information about five Indian eras, namely, the Vikrama, the Śaka, the Gupta or Valabhi and the two Harsha eras. And what is worthy of note here is that whereas he speaks of the tārikh of Śrī-Harish, the tārikh of Balha and the tārikh of Bikramādít, he speaks of the Shag-kāl and the Gubh-kāl. In other words, it seems that in his time the first three eras were known as Harsha-saṁvat, Valabhi-saṁvat and Vikramāditya-saṁvat, and the second two as Śaka-kāla and Gupta-kāla. Of these, the epoch of Valabhi-saṁvat, he says, was identical with that of Gupta-kāla. What we have to notice is that the Gupta and the Śaka eras were known up till his time as Gupta-kāla and Śaka-kāla. It is thus all but certain that in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. when Al Bērūnī flourished, the Gupta era was believed to be originated by the Gupta kings just as the Śaka era was by the Śaka princes.

An earlier reference to the Gupta era is comprised in the Mōrbi granthā of Jāṅka, edited

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1 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India (Appendix II), Genealogical Lists of the Various Dynasties, No. 48.
2 Ibid., No. 1712 (p. 241).
3 [For the view of Mr. V. V. Mirashi that the early Rāṣṭhrakūta of Mānnapura and not the Vākāṭakas were the rulers of Kuntala, see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 15-17. However, the possibility of the Kadambas of Banavāsi being the rulers of Kuntala referred to here cannot be ruled out.—Ed.]
4 [Chis., Vol. V, p. liv—Ed.]
by R. G. Bhandarkar. This record furnishes a clear intimation that the era was then known as the Gupta era, in the verse containing the date. It occupies lines 16-17 and runs as follows: 

\[ \text{panchāśṭyā yuteḥ tītē samānāṁ sāta-panchākāḥ} \quad \text{Gauptē dadāv-adō nṛpaḥ sūparāgē-rrka-maṇīdālē} \]

“five centuries of years, together with eighty-five, of the Gupta era, having elapsed, the king gave this, when the disc of the sun was eclipsed.” There is no difficulty in disposing finally of the whole bearing of this inscription, notwithstanding the fears of J. F. Fleet to the contrary. It is true that the first plate had been lost, before the grant was obtained for examination at all; as the result of which the genealogy of Jāṅka is not known. But that does not matter at all. It is also true that the second plate contains no name of a place. That does not, however, compel us to find it in the verse just quoted, as, no doubt, Fleet proposes to do. It is quite possible that the name of the place, or, rather, of the plot of land, granted was mentioned in the first plate. Nay, this seems very probable from the use of the word pratipāditam with which line 4 begins. Pratipāditam, of course, means ‘granted,’ so that it follows that what was granted must have been mentioned in the preceding lines. But, so far as the second plate is concerned, three lines precede it, and they contain no details of the nature of the grant. It is, thus, all but certain that these must have been set forth in the first plate. Secondly, the word actually used is pratipāditam, which is in the neuter. It cannot stand in apposition with any such word as grāmāḥ but, rather, with nivartanaḥ, indicating that what was granted was not so much a village as a measured strip of land. Fleet further argues that the real word “is not gauptē at all, but gōptē; the au being arrived at only by applying again, as a component of the vowel, a perfectly distinct and separate sign, which is in reality nothing but the single mark of punctuation after panchākāḥ, at the end of the half-verse, and which had already been properly interpreted as such. It is only by the deliberate correction of ō into au, that the name of the Guptas can be introduced into this passage…. In reply to this criticism, R. G. Bhandarkar says: “I had occasion to look into my old papers, when unexpectedly I found two impressions of the Mōrvī plate taken by Burgess, by beating a slip of thin and soft paper a little moistened into the letters by means of a small brush. In these impressions I do find an indentation on the left side of ō, which is the twelfth letter in the fourth line from the bottom, and a small faintly indented curve connecting it with the upper left hand side flourish of the letter showing that the second stroke necessary for the syllable ō did exist in the plate. As the original plate is not forthcoming. I have asked Peterson to take charge of these impressions as Secretary of the Bombay Asiatic Society, and deposit them in the Society’s Museum, where they will be available for inspection.” This places beyond even the shadow of a doubt that the correct reading is Gauptē. “But even then” says Fleet, “the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, pānchakāḥ, which it qualifies.” R. G. Bhandarkar has cited many instances from Sanskrit literature where an adjective is placed at the commencement of the second half of a śūka while the substantive which it qualifies is at the end of the first half. Fleet’s further animadversion on the subject does not, therefore, merit serious consideration. “We might, with just as much reason,” he further remarks, “correct gōptē into gōpītrē, ‘to the protector, i.e., the local governor’; and this would be even more sustainable; for the word stands immediately before dadāu, ‘he gave’, in connection with which we have every reason to look for a dative, or some other case.” As just pointed out, the reading is unquestionably Gauptē. There is, therefore, no good reason first to assume it as gōptē and then amend it into gōpītrē. Secondly, Gauptē, by no means, occupies an irregularly detached position, such as is not infrequently met with in Sanskrit literature. Thirdly, when Fleet asserts that the Mōrvī plate conveys a grant to the governor of the province, he, apparently, betrays ignorance of the contents of the record; for, it unmistakably speaks of two Brāhmaṇa brothers of the Sāndilya gātra and of the Maitrāyaṇīya sākka as the grantees. Nay, Fleet proceeds one step further in this fallacious line of
reasoning and says: “Or, again, without any correction at all, we might translate ‘the king gave this (charter) (at the village of) Góptā.’” “We might easily find its present representative in the modern name of Góp, which occurs in the case of a village, in Kāṭhiavād, above seventy-five miles south-west of Mórbē; twenty-five miles south of Navānagar or Jāmnagar; and fifty miles east of Dhiniki, where there was found the copper-plate grant of Jáinkadēva, ...” This argument is, of course, based upon the supposition that Góptē, and not Gauptē, is the correct reading, and, consequently, deserves no consideration now. It is true that he says that “Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has stated in 1889 (JBBRAS, Vol. XVII, p. 977) that he found among his papers two impressions by Dr. Burgess which show that the reading of the original is gauptē; and that he asked Dr. Peterson to take charge of these impressions, as Secretary of the Bombay Asiatic Society, and deposit in the Society’s Museum, where they would be available for inspection. I have not been able to obtain them for inspection, either from Dr. Peterson, or from the Museum. But the point is of importance, only as regards the nomenclature of the era.” This is what Fleet says in 1891. Nevertheless, in 1898-99, F. Kielhorn reads it as G[au]ptē dadā = adō nirpih. G. Bührer is more emphatic later on, and says: “it cannot be doubted that the true reading in line 17 is gauptē and that the verse ... really proves the era has been called ‘that of the Gupta’ in A. D. 904 or 905.”

An earlier reference to the era used by the Guptas is contained in the grants of the Mahārājas Hastin and Sāṅkhshōbha of the Nṛpiṭa-Parivājaka family, bearing several dates. One of these, expressed in the Khoh copper-plate inscription1 of Mahārāja Hastin is tri-shashky-uttārē = bda-satē Gupta-nīpā-rājya-bhuktāu, etc. This Fleet translates by “in a century of years increased by sixty-three in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Kings.” This is vague and dubious, for, in the first place, what is meant by “in a century of years increased by sixty-three”? Obviously, Fleet means by it “in the hundred and sixty-third year.” If this had been really the case, we should have had the Sanskrit expression tri-shashky-uttārē = bda-satatame, instead of ... satē. Obviously some such word as gatē or vyatili has to be understood after satē, and we have to translate the expression by “when a century of years, increased by sixty-three (had elapsed).” Secondly, Fleet curiously separates tri-shashky-uttārē = bda-satē from Gupta-nīpā-rājya-bhuktāu. But, as the former clause gives the year 163 (elapsed), the question naturally arises: to what era does the year belong? And if the clause following contains the word Gupta, the conclusion is irresistible that the date 163 is here intended to be a year of the Gupta era and that Gupta-nīpā-rājya-bhuktāu had better be rendered by “while the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings was continuing.” The conclusion is thus natural that the Gupta era, according to the grants of the Mahārājas Hastin and Sāṅkhshōbha, was the era originated, and not merely adopted, by the Gupta kings. This was certainly the view prevalent as early as the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. when the Guptas were still in power.

An earlier reference still to the Gupta era is supplied by two inscriptions of this period, both found at Sārnāth. One (No. 34 below) is dated Gupta year 154 and belongs to the reign of Kumāragupta II. The wording of the date is as follows: Varsha-satē Guptaṇāṁ sa-chattabh-pañcchāśad-uttārē bhūmiṁ j rakhati Kumāraguptē, etc. etc.: “When a century of years, increased by fifty-four, of the Guptas (had passed away), ... when Kumāragupta was protecting the earth.” The other Sārnāth inscription (No. 36 A and B below) is dated Gupta year 157 and refers itself to the reign of Budhagupta. The actual wording of the date is: Guptaṇāṁ sanati-kṛmaṁ satapa-pañcchāśad-uttārē [i*] satē samānān prabhaviṁ Budhaguptē prasaśati [i*]: “when a century of years, increased by fifty-seven, of the Guptas, had passed away, (and) when Budhagupta was ruling the earth ...” The rulers referred to in these inscriptions as living are Gupta kings and the years also are considered as belonging to the Gupta era. No reasonable doubt

THE GUPTA ERA

can possibly be entertained as to the Guptas having started an era of their own. And the natural conclusion is that the era must have originated with Chandragupta I, the first Mahārājādhirāja and, therefore, the first independent ruler of the dynasty. Nevertheless, it is curious, very curious, that Fleet foists the origin of the Gupta era on the Lichchhavīs of Nepal. We are, therefore, compelled to consider the arguments he has urged in support of this view. On pages 33 and 130 of his Introduction, he no doubt rightly says that the era is not the result of chronological or astronomical calculations, but owes its origin to some historical event, which occurred actually in 320 A.D. or closely to that time. He also rightly remarks that the era cannot have been established by any members of the Valabhi family, who were mere Śeṇāpatīs and Mahārājas, that is, feudatories, till about Gupta year 320. Nor can it have been, he rightly remarks, the accession of the first known Gupta prince, Śri-Gupta or his son Ghaṭotkacha-gupta, who were simple Mahārājas or feudatories, probably of the Indo-Scythic kings. The era might have been established, he rightly surmises, by Chandragupta I, who, at some time or the other during his reign became an independent king. But there are difficulties, says he, in the way of making the era date from the commencement of his reign i.e., from 320-21 A.D. One difficulty is the period to be assigned to the normal Hindu generation and the other is the period to be assigned to the normal Hindu reign. Let us take the first difficulty into consideration. The great-grandson of Chandragupta I is Kumāragupta I for whom the last certain date is Gupta year 129. Let us suppose that the latter was dead immediately thereafter. Let us also suppose that Chandragupta I was at least twenty years old when his reign commenced. We have thus to add 20 to 129. This gives 149 years to four generations, that is, thirty-seven years and a quarter to a generation, that is, nearly twelve years in excess of the accepted average maximum rate for a Hindu generation. But, on the question of generations Fleet will not base any particularly special objection, because an abnormal average rate of thirty-seven years and a half for each generation is unfortunately for him furnished by the Western Chāḷukya genealogy. We have, for example, Śaka-Saṅvat 930, as he himself admits, for the commencement of the reign of Vikramādiṭya V, and Śaka-Saṅvat 1060 for the end of the reign, and it may be safely assumed, the death, of Sōmeśvara III in the third generation after him. Let us also suppose that Vikramādiṭya was twenty years old when he began his reign. We have thus one hundred and fifty years for the four generations. This comes to an average of thirty-seven years and a half for each generation, as mentioned above. This is, no doubt, abnormal. But the abnormal, Fleet forgets, is sometimes not impossible. But this will not suit the theory with which he is obsessed, namely, that the era used by the Guptas is that of the Lichchhavīs of Nepal. He is, therefore, forced to take his stand upon the average duration of eighteen or nineteen years for a Hindu reign. For we have then to suppose that no less than a period of 129 years intervened between the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I and the end of that of Kumāragupta I, giving an average of thirty-two years. This cannot suit Fleet’s theory of the origin of the Gupta era. He is, therefore, compelled to remark: “An average of thirty-two years for four successive reigns of Hindu fathers and sons, seems, from every point of view, an impossibility. And this prevents our making the Gupta era run from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta I. And we must look for its origin to some extraneous source.”

We shall soon consider how far this extraneous source referred to by Fleet is reliable. But here we shall first see whether an abnormal duration of reign is not possible like the abnormal average rate of generation. Fleet wrote his Introduction to the Gupta Inscriptions in 1888. But in 1891 he published his Tables of the Eastern Chāḷukyas in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 12 ff., to which our attention was first drawn by G. Bühler. In these Tables we find the following reigns:
No. 8, Vīshṇuvardhana III, 37 years
No. 9, Vījayāditya I, son of No. 8, 18 years
No. 10, Vīshṇuvardhana IV, son of 9, 36 years
No. 11, Vījayāditya II, son of 10, 44 years or 48 years.

The total of the four reigns, says Bühler, is thus 135 or 139 years, the average thus comes to 33-3/4 or 34-3/4. In the presence of these indisputable facts, it is ludicrous to lay too much stress on the abnormal average rate, whether of a Hindu reign or a Hindu generation. “In my opinion,” rightly adds Bühler, “some of the social customs of the Indian royal families favoured the occurrence of a succession of long reigns. Every king had scores of queens and contracted, as his fancy dictated, from time to time, new matrimonial alliances. Each new favourite tried to have a son by all possible means, and to deprive the sons of the elder wives of the succession. Thus, there was always a good chance that a king, who lived to the age of 60 or 70, might be succeeded by a son of twenty or even younger. Of course, early excesses, revolutions and wars carried off many a ruler in the prime of life, and acted as a corrective.”

Let us now consider the extraneous source to which Fleet turns to explain the origin of the Gupta era. From the inscriptions of Nepal, an account of which he gives in Appendix IV, and the dates of which range from 635 to 854 A.D., it is clear, he remarks, that there were two separate houses ruling contemporaneously, one called the Thākuri family in the Vamāvalī and uniformly using the Harsha era, and the other the Lichchhavi family, distinctly so named in the inscriptions and uniformly using an era with the Gupta epoch. The Lichchhavi clan or tribe was of great antiquity and power. There is also evidence of relationship between the Early Guptas and the Lichchhavis. Chandragupta I married the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradēvi, for which reason their son Samudragupta has been called Lichchhavi-dauhitra. It is further indicated by some gold coins which, on the obverse, bear their figures and names and, on the reverse, the name of the Lichchhavis. Further, the Allahābād pillar inscription shows that the kingdom of Samudragupta extended up to the confines of Nepal. The Gupta kings must, therefore, have known the nature and epoch of whatever era was being used by their Lichchhavi connections in Nepal. Fleet, therefore, concludes that “in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era, dating either from a time when the republican or tribal constitution of the Lichchhavis was abolished in favour of a monarchy; or from the commencement of the reign of Jayadeva I, as the founder of a royal house in a branch of the tribe that had settled in Nepal.” Now, Fleet’s theory of a Lichchhavi era, rightly remarks Bühler, suffers from a fatal weakness, which would at once have become apparent, if he had inserted in his discussion the actual dates of the Nepal Lichchhavi inscriptions, which, in his opinion, show an era with the same epoch as that of the Guptas, instead of relegating them to Appendix IV. The earliest five of them are:

Bendall No. 1, Samvat 316, i.e., 635 A.D.
Bhagwanlal No. 1, Samvat 386, i.e., 705 A.D.
Bhagwanlal No. 2, Samvat 413, i.e., 732-33 A.D.
Bhagwanlal No. 3, Samvat 435, i.e., 754 A.D.
Bhagwanlal No. 4, Samvat 533, i.e., 854 A.D.

Out of these, the only date that admits of verification is Bhagwanlal No. 1, which, in full, runs as follows:

Samvat 300 80 6 ārya-nakshatra-yuktē chandramasi m[ū]kūrī rāṣṭrī prāṣastē bhijitē.
This gives as its English equivalent 28th April, 705 A.D., if it is taken as Gupta year. And, in fact, Kielhorn has taken all the five dates as years of the Gupta era. But, says Bühler: “The Nakshatra and Muhûrta, mentioned in [Bhagwanlal] No. 1, no doubt, come out correctly for Gupta-Samvat 386. But, as Dr. Schram informs me, they come out correctly also for northern Vikrama-Samvat 386 current and for southern Vikrama-Samvat 386 expired, i.e. either April 27, 328, or May 5, 330 A.D. and for Śaka-Samvat 386 expired, i.e. April 23, 464 A.D.” It is thus clear that this and the other four dates are possibly, but not necessarily, years of the Gupta era. Again, in the opinion of Bühler, all the circumstances of the case speak against the assumption that Mândèva ruled as late as 705 to 732 A.D. and that he had to share the small valley of Nepal with a rival king. Even admitting for the sake of argument that Fleet’s and Kielhorn’s interpretation of the five dates quoted above is correct, it would, at best, show that the era, identical with that of the Guptas, was used in Nepal from the seventh to the ninth century A.D. For the earliest Lichchhavi date found in Nepal is 316 = 633 A.D., whereas the earliest Gupta date found in India in the time of Fleet was Gupta year 82, furnished by the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II, though, now, it is Gupta year 61 contained in the Mathurà stone pillar inscription of the same Gupta king. In fact, there is no evidence to prove that this era was used in Nepal at all before the seventh century A.D. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that it could not have been established by the Lichchhavis who were ruling in Nepal and borrowed or accepted by the Guptas who were an imperial power in India and to whom Nepal was a frontier and tributary province as is clear from Harishèna’s praśasti. The natural inference is that the Lichchhavi kings of Nepal adopted the Gupta era on becoming vassals of the Guptas, just as the Nepal kings of the Thakura race adopted the Harsha era of 606 A.D., after Harsha, as Bāṇa says, “had taken tribute from the country in the Snowy Mountains, that is difficult of access.”

THE EXACT EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA

In 1881 appeared in the Indian Antiquary a translation of the article of H. Oldenberg, entitled On the Dates of Ancient Indian Inscriptions and Coins.1 Three years later R. G. Bhandarkar published in his Early History of the Dekkan, a note on the Gupta Era, which was republished also in his second edition of the work.2 In these articles, both have endeavoured to show that there was no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of the initial date of the Gupta Era given by Al Bûrûni and that such of the Gupta dates as contained enough data for astronomical calculations confirmed the statement of the Arab writer. But this remark of theirs was utterly unheeded though it deserved careful consideration, because the statement of Al Bûrûni, unfortunately, was a mixture of both truth and fiction—truth so far as the initial years of the eras were concerned, and fiction so far as the tradition about their origin was mentioned,—with the result that there was confusion worse confounded.

Let us, in the first place, see what Al Bûrûni says about these eras. According to E. C. Sachau’s translation, it runs as follows: “For this reason people have given up using them, and have adopted instead the eras of—(1) Śrī Harsha; (2) Vikramaditya; (3) Śaka; (4) Valabha; and (5) Gupta . . . The era of Valabha is called so from Valabha, the ruler of the town of Valabhi, nearly 30 yojanas south of Anhilvāra. The epoch of this era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era. People use it in this way. They first put down the year of the Śaka-

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kāla, and subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 \((216 + 25 = 241)\). The remainder is the year of the Valabha era. The history of Valabha is given in its proper place.

As regards the Gupta-kāla, people say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that when they ceased to exist this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that Valabha was the last of them, because the epoch of the era of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the Šaka-kāla.

The era of the astronomers begins 587 years later than the Šaka-kāla. On this era is based the canon Khaṇḍa-khādyaka by Brahmagupta, which among Muhammadans is known as Al-arkand.

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

1. To the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harsha,
2. To the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya,
3. To the year 953 of the Šaka-kāla,
4. To the year 712 of the Valabha era, which is identical with the Guptakāla.”

It is a pity that scholars could not differentiate the truth from the fiction which is mixed up in the passage quoted above from Al Bērūnī’s India. The truth is represented by the statement he has made in regard to the initial dates of the eras, and the fiction by the traditions current in his time which he has mentioned about the origination of these eras. It was H. Oldenberg who first clearly differentiated the one from the other. Thereafter it was R. G. Bhandarkar who laid stress upon this same point. But their view was completely set at nought. What was most tragic is that most of the antiquarians rejected both these statements and accepted what merely hung on the part of a fiction, namely, the statement of Al Bērūnī that it is the fall of the Guptas and the rising of the Valabhi dynasty, from which the Gupta-Valabhi era began. They thus accepted Šaka 242 as the year of the extermination of the Guptas and made elaborate endeavours to find out an initial date for their era which was prior to this year. But such traditions are erroneous, as has been proved in many a case. Nay, Al Bērūnī had similarly been misinformed that Šaka of the Šaka era which falls 135 years after that of Vikramāditya tyrannised over the country between the river Sindhu and the ocean till Vikramāditya marched against him, and killed him in the region of Karūr, between Multan and the castle of Lōnī. The date became famous and was used as the epoch of Šaka-kāla. But Al Bērūnī had common sense; and he rightly remarks: “Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Šaka, we think that the Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Šaka, but only a namesake of his.”

Even in regard to the era of Vikramāditya, there were more traditions than the one mentioned in epigraphic records about its origin. According to one, the era was originated by Vikramāditya; and, according to another, it commemorated the passing away of that king. In such cases the name of Vikramāditya is actually associated with some such word as kāla or samvatāsara; but in others it is associated simply with Mālavaśa. But the earlier we go, the term more frequently used is Kṛita, not to denote the era, but rather the years of that era. This whole question has been treated at length in a separate section entitled ‘Kṛita era’. The thing, however, was entirely different in regard to the epochs he has specified of the different eras. His statement in this connection represents the truth contained in the passage cited above, because it can be put to the test and found correct. Thus, the year 400

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1 Alberuni’s India, Vol. II, pp. 5-7.
Yazdajird corresponds to "the year 1088 of the era of Vikramādiya" and "to the year 953 of the Śaka-kāla." The interval between the two epochs is 135 years, which has been correctly indicated by the Arab historian and continues exactly to the present day. Why not then believe the other equation given by him? Because the same year 400 of Yazdajird corresponds not only "to the year 1088 of the Vikramādiya" but also "to the year 712 of the Valabha era, which is identical with the Gupta-kāla." Now, the Vērāval inscription of the time of Chaullukya (Vāghēḷa) Arjunādeva of Apanhilapātaka has the following: "Bōdhaka-Rasūla-Mahānimada-saṅvat 662 tathā śrī-nripa Vikrama-saṁ 1320 tathā śrīmad-Valabhi-saṁ 945 etc. etc."1 Kiellhorn has calculated this date and has found that it is equivalent to Sunday, 25th May, 1264 A.D. It will thus be seen that here, Vikrama-saṅvat 1320 is a southern expired year.2 If we now deduct from it the figure 135, we obtain 1186 as the corresponding Śaka year. Similarly, if we deduct from it 241, we obtain, according to Al Bērūni, 945 as the corresponding year of the Valabha era. And, as a matter of fact, the Vērāval inscription specifies 945 as the Valabhi-saṅvat corresponding to the years of the other eras mentioned therein. Thus, in the case of the epochs of the three eras, namely, Vikrama, Śaka and Valabhi, we find that the statements of the Arab historian prove correct. It is, thus, evident that any account connected with the origin of an era which is generally a hotbed of conflicting traditions cannot, by any means, be taken to discredit the statement of the Arab scholar regarding the initial year of that era, which was a matter of astronomical calculation and of long-standing practice among the people.

Now we have to consider the statement of Al Bērūni that the Balaba (Valabhi) era is identical with the Gupta-kāla. It is well-known that Kāṭhiāwāḍ formed part of the Gupta empire. This is demonstrated by the fact that silver coins of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta, with the Gupta dates, have been found in this province. An inscription of Skandagupta has also been discovered in Junāgad (No. 28 below) which, in two places, speaks of their era, once actually in the words Guptaṃ kāla-(gaṇanāthāli) (line 27). Their feudatories in that region were the Maitrakas, with dates ranging from 183 to 4473 and taken as belonging to the Gupta era. It is true that from 326, that is, from the time of Dharasēṇa IV onwards, the titles of Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara are coupled with their names. But all the previous rulers of Valabhi are called simply Mahārāja. Their inscriptions mention as the founder of this dynasty the Śīnāpati Bhaṭākaka (=Bhaṭārka). He is followed successively by four of his sons. The first of them is Dharasēṇa I, who is also called Śīnāpati. But his younger brother is the Mahārāja Drōṇasiṃha and his younger brother is the Mahā-sāmanita Mahārāja Dhruvasēṇa I, with 206 as the earliest date for him.4 Whether there was any meaning in the additional title Mahāsāmanita attached to his name it is somewhat difficult to say. Most probably there was none, because in some of his plates he is styled simply Mahārāja. So, we may take it that it was his elder brother Mahārāja Drōṇasiṃha, who was first raised to the dignity of the feudatory. And, as a matter of fact, we have a plate dated 183 issued from Valabhi by the Mahārāja Drōṇasiṃha who is described as Paramabhattāraka-pād-ānudhyāṭa.5 It is true that in this record he is not mentioned as a son of Bhaṭārka, nor as a Maitraka. Nevertheless, the name Drōṇasiṃha and the mention of Valabhi and of the title Mahārāja are enough to convince us that he is the first Valabhi ruler who was raised to the rank of a feudatory by some Paramabhattāraka who must be a Gupta overlord, especially as

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1 Bhandarkar's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 565.
3 Bhandarkar's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 1289 and ff.
4 Ibid., No. 1293.
5 Ibid., No. 1289; Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 18, line 1.
the Gupta sovereignty lasted till Gupta year 224. It is, therefore, no wonder if the Maitrakas dated their inscriptions according to the Gupta era and continued it till 447, the last date so far known of that dynasty. The first date where Valabhi-Sañvat is mentioned is furnished by the Ünä plate of the time of the Imperial Pratihāra Mahendrāyudha. It records a grant of his feudatory Balavarman of the Chālukya lineage and is dated Śrī-Valabhi-sañvat 574. It is worthy of note that though the era is here called Valabhi-sañvat, it was not forgotten in Kāthiāvād that it was Gupta era also. Just eleven years thereafter was issued the Mörbi plate of Jāṅka, specifying 585 as the Gaugpa year, that is, the year of the Gupta era. The Valabhi era continued to be used, as we have seen above, till Valabhi-sañvat 945—1264 A.D., more than two centuries after Al Bèrūnī lived and wrote. And the last Gupta year, as we have just seen, is 585—904-05 A.D., nearly a century before the Arab historian came to India. It is, therefore, no wonder if the Balaba (Valabhi) era was remembered as identical with the Guptakāla, up till his time.

Wherever we possess means of controlling Al Bèrūnī’s statement about the epoch of the era, it proves to be correct. Let us now turn to the astronomical calculations, and put the Gupta dates to the test, where they admit of such a verification. Let us, in the first place, take up the Ēraṇ inscription (No. 39 below) of Budhagupta which, in lines 2-3, gives the following date: Śatē pañche-shashṭi-adhikē varshānāṁ bhāpatau cha Budhagupteśā Śrībha-māsa-sūkla-dvādaśyāṁ Suragurūṁ—divasē, “when a century of years, increased by sixty-five (had elapsed) and while Budhagupta (is) the lord of the earth; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrībha; on the day of Suraguru; . . .”. Here, Fleet wrongly translates the initial part of it by “in a century of years, increased by sixty-five.” I say ‘wrongly’, because that means “in the hundred and sixty-fifth year”; but the actual word used is śata and not śata-tama. It is Oldenberg who has first rightly calculated the date to be Thursday, June 21, 484 A.D. R. G. Bhandarkar and Fleet have arrived at the same result by independent calculation. We thus see that to Gupta 165 of the Ēraṇ inscription, we have to add 241 as was the practice up till Al Bèrūnī’s time and we get 406 Śaka, to which, if we further add 78, we obtain 484 A.D. This proves the correctness of his statement. Let us now consider the dates contained in the grants of Hastin and Saṅkshōbha who belonged to the Nṛpata-Parivrājaka family. The first of these is: Šatapañcāḥ-ō(śad-u)ttarā:bda-śatē Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Mahā-Varśākha-sañvat-saṁrāt Kārttiuka-māsa-sūkla-paksha-tritiyāyāṁ,3 “when a century of years increased by fifty-six (had elapsed), the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings continuing, in the Mahā-Varśākha saṁvatsara; on the third lunar day of the bright fortight of the month of Kārttiuka.” Now, if we add to the year 156, 241+78 (=319), we obtain 475 A.D. as its English equivalent. In fact, the date has been calculated by P. C. Sengupta who makes the following remarks: “Jupiter was heliacaclly visible about October 20, 475 A.D.” The actual date of the inscription was October 18, 475 A.D.

Here on the day of the heliacal visibility, the sun was in the nakṣattra Viśākhā but Jupiter was 3°40’ behind the first point of the nakṣattra-division, the vernal equinox of the year being taken as the first point of the Hindu sphere. According to the rule of naming Jupiter’s years as given in the modern Śūrya-siddhānta, xiv, 16-17, it was sun’s nakṣattra, on new-moon prior to October 18, 475 A.D., the date of the inscription, which took place on October 15-16 of the year, that gave the name of the year. The sun was in the nakṣattra viśākhā and the year begun was consequently the Mahāvaśākha year of Jupiter.” The third date we have now to consider is:

1 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 1379.
2 Ibid., No. 1376.
4 JRASB. (Letters), Vol. VIII, p. 49.
THE GUPTA ERA

tripāśṭhya-uttarē = bha-saṭē Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau Mah-Āsvayuja-saṁvatsara Chaitra-māsa-śukla-

paksha-dvitiyāyām1 "when a century of years, increased by sixty-three (had elapsed), the enjoy-

ment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings continuing; in the Mah-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara; on the

second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra." The calculation of this
date has very much exercised both Fleet and Dikshit. But Sengupta calculates reasonably
as follows: "The year 163 of the Gupta era or 482 A.D. was similar to the year 1941 A.D. and
the date to March 30, 1941. In 1,459 sidereal years (1,941−482=1,459) there are 532,909
days, which are applied backward to the 30th March, 1941 A.D., and we arrive at the tenta-
tive date of the inscription as March 8, 482 A.D. On this date as G.M.N., we had—

Mean Jupiter = 29°58' 8".24

,, Sun =347°12' 47".11

Here, Jupiter’s heliacal setting is yet to come in about 30 days. Hence on April 7, 482 A.D.—

Mean Jupiter = 32°27' 46".22

,, Sun = 16°46' 57".02 at G.M.N.

Thus the heliacal setting of Jupiter took place in two days more according to Brahma-
gupta’s rule on the 9th April, 482 A.D. and the new-moon happened on the 5th April, 482 A.D.
when the sun was on the naksatara Bharani. Hence the year to come got its name Āsvayuja.
But the tentative date of the inscription was obtained as March 8, 482 A.D., which was 28
days before the new-moon, on about the 5th April, 482 A.D. This needs elucidation.

Here by coming down by 30 days we arrive at the lunar month of Vaśākha as it is reckoned
now. But in the year 482 A.D., i.e., 17 years before the year 499 A.D. when the Hindu scientifi-
c siddhāntas came into being, the calendar formation rule was different. In our guage year
1941 A.D. the moon of the last quarter got conjoined with Chitra or a Virginis on the 20th
January before sunrise. Hence, as pointed out before, in this guage year 1941 A.D. also, the
lunar Agrahāyana of the early Gupta period ended on the 27th January, 1941. Thus the lunar
month that is now called Pausha in 1941 A.D. was called Agrahāyana in 482 A.D. Hence the
lunar Chaitra of 482 A.D. is now the lunar Vaśākha of 1941.

The date of the inscription is thus correctly obtained as the 7th April, 482 A.D.; the Jovian year
begun was Mah-Āsvayuja year."

In the time of J.F. Fleet two more copper-plate charters of the Nripati-Parivrājaka family
were known. The dates of both were calculated by S. B. Dikshit as of others. The first of these2
gives us, for calculation, the Mahā-Chaitra Saṁvatsara, as current on the third tithi or lunar day
of the dark fortnight of the month Māgha in Gupta-Saṁvat 191. "By both the systems of
unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years between
current Gupta and current Śaka years, the Mahā-Chaitra saṁvatsara was current on the
given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current (A.D. 510-11) as the equivalent of
the given current Gupta year".3 Here, as has been pointed out above, several times, the Gupt-
Saṁvat 191 is an expired one. This charter also shows that the Gupta era began from 318-19
A.D. The second charter which we have now to take note of, and which was found at Khow,
gives for calculation, the Mahā-Āsvayuja saṁvatsara, as current on the thirteenth tithi or
lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in Gupta-Saṁvat 209 current. "By both the sys-
tems of unequal spaces, with the running difference of two hundred and forty-two years
between current Gupta and current Śaka years," says S. B. Dikshit, “the Mahā-Āsvayuja

1 CfI., Vol. III, 1888, No. 22.
2 JASRB. (Letters), Vol. VIII, p. 50.
4 Ibid., Intro., p. 114.
Samvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Saṁvat 451 current (A.D. 528-29), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

As a matter of fact, the Mahā-Āśvayuja saṁvatsara was current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in the following year, Śaka-Saṁvat 452; as well as in Śaka-Saṁvat 451..." Here also, as has been shown above several times, the Gupta Saṁvat 209 has to be taken as an expired year. Its equivalent therefore is Śaka-Saṁvat 451 expired (529-30 A.D.). After the Volume of Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions was published, two more copper-plate inscriptions of this family came to light. One of these was the Betul grant of the Mahārāja Saṁkshōha, which gives, for calculation, Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha-saṁvatsara on the tenth tīthi or lunar day of the month Kārttika in Gupta-saṁvatsara 199. Unfortunately, the lunar fortnight, to which this tīthi belonged, has not been specified. But F. Kielhorn has conclusively pointed out that it is "the 10th tīthi of the dark half probably of the pārṇimānta Kārttika of our Tables, but that possibly it may be the 10th tīthi of the dark half of the pārṇimānta Āśvina of the Tables. On the first alternative the date would correspond to Monday, the 15th October, 518 A.D., when the 10th tīthi of the dark half of the pārṇimānta Kārttika ended 8 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; on the second alternative, to Saturday, the 15th September 518 A.D., when the 10th tīthi of the dark half of the pārṇimānta Āśvina (i.e. possibly, the first pārṇimānta Kārttika) ended 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise. It will be shown now that, in either case, the Jupiter's year in which the date fell was a Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha year, as required by the wording of the original date."

"The late Mr. S. B. Dikshit", continues Kielhorn, "has fully explained that a Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha year occurs when Jupiter at his heliacal rising (i.e. his first appearance in the morning after his conjunction with the sun) is in either of the nakshatras Mrigaśiras and Ādṛa, i.e., when at his heliacal rising his true geocentric place (or true longitude), according to the equal space system, is between 53° 20' and 80°, according to the Brahma-siddhānta between 52° 42' 20" and 72° 28' 12.5", and according to Garga between 53° 20' and 73° 20'. Now, in the time immediately preceding the 15th September (and the 15th October) A.D. 518, Jupiter was in conjunction with the sun at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518, when his own true longitude was 51° 3', and that of the sun 51° 2' 52". And his heliacal rising after the conjunction took place before sunrise of either the 25th May, when his true longitude was 54° 21' (while that of the sun was 64° 23' 35"), or the 26th May, when his true longitude was 54° 35' (while that of the sun was 65° 20' 31") Whichever of the two days may be absolutely correct, it is clear that before sunrise of the 25th or the 26th May A.D. 518, Jupiter—since his true longitude in either case was more than 53° 20'—by all three systems of the nakshatras rose heliacally in the nakshatra Mrigasiras, and that, therefore, the year which then commenced was a Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha year. That year of course included both the 15th September and the 15th October A.D. 518; for Jupiter's next conjunction with the sun only took place some time before sunrise of the 17th June A.D. 519, and his next heliacal rising about the 1st July A.D. 519, when a Mahā-Paushya year commenced. I may add that, according to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, a Mahā-Māgha year commenced on the 3rd August A.D. 520, and a Mahā-Phalguna year on the 4th September A.D. 521.

The result is that the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199 which is quoted in the date must have fallen in A.D. 518, and that the date probably corresponds to Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518, but may possibly correspond to Saturday, the 15th September A.D. 518."

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3 Ibid., pp. 289-90.
Another era, which is frequently met with in the inscriptions treated of here, is known as Kṛita. In fact, the name of this era was not recognised even long after Fleet published the first edition of this volume, although it contained two inscriptions dated according to it. While discussing the sense of the passage containing the date Kṛita year 480, he makes the following remarks: ‘It leaves kṛitēśu, ‘made, done, performed,’ as a superfluous and rather unmeaning word, unless we somewhat strain its meaning by giving it the sense of ‘fully completed (years).’ In the sense of ‘(years) accomplished, i.e. expired’, kṛitēśu occurs in line 1 of the Byānā inscription of Vishnuvardhana, of the year 428, No. 59 below, Plate xxxvi C. But though this use of it is unusual, it is justifiable there, as it is not accompanied by yātēśu, ‘having gone by’, or any similar word. My first inclination about the present passage was that kṛitēśu was used in the sense of ‘made, effected, established by’; and the three aksharas preceding it contained the name of the founder of the era. But Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with whom I discussed the passage, was of opinion that kṛita could not be used in such a sense; and I am not able to quote anything opposed to his opinion.”

This clearly shows that Fleet was not sure of the meaning ‘made, effected, established by, accomplished’ which he had assigned to that word. But it was not even dreamt by any epigraphist or historian that kṛita was the name of Saṁvat-era, till 1913 when we discovered an inscription at Mandasör dated 461. Up till that time scholars subscribed to the view of F. Kielhorn that the Saṁvat was “spoken of as either the Mālava or the Vikrama era.” We are not here concerned with the inscriptions which connect it with Vikrama and its variants in one way or another. Our volume includes those which connect it with the Mālavas. But, let us, in the first place, see what Kielhorn actually says about the matter. “From about the 5th to the 9th century this era was by poets believed to be especially used by the princes and people of Mālava, while another era or other eras were known to be current in other parts of India. At the same time, considering that our earliest dates are actually from south-eastern Rājputāna and the parts of Mālava adjoining it, the employment of the word Mālava in connection with the era may be taken to point out fairly accurately the locality in which the era was first employed. What special circumstances may have given rise to its establishment, I am unable to determine at present.”

The above statement, however, contains one slip, because he says that this era used by the princes and people of Mālava was current from about the 5th to the 9th century A.D. As a matter of fact, the last date cited by him in support of his conclusion is from the Mēnālgadh inscription and is Vikrama year 1226, describing it as Mālavēśagata-vaśarā—“years elapsed of the Mālava (lord or lords)” according to Kielhorn’s translation. This shows that the Mālava era was known by this name up till the 12th century A.D., and not the 9th as supposed by him.

The question that we have now to discuss is: how this era was associated with Mālava. Now, the Gyarāsputr inscription has Mālava-kālāḥ—chharadāṁ shatśtriṅ(ṭṛiṅ).sat-saṁyutēśu—ātītēśu / navasu satēśu, that is, speaks of “936 years having elapsed according to the Mālava Era.” But what does Mālava-kāla or Mālava era mean? Let the inscriptions themselves speak about this matter. We will refer again to the Mēnālgadh inscription which has Mālavēśa-

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2 Ibid. p. 73, note 1.
3 PRAS. W. C., 1912-13, pp. 58 and ft.
5 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 346.
6 Ibid., No. 37.
INTRODUCTION

gata-vatsara-sataih dvādaśaiḥ = cha sātviniśa-pūrvakaiḥ,1 that is, “with 1226 years elapsed from the Mālava lord (or lords)”. This corresponds to a Gwalior inscription dated ekādasaśava=atīrteśu sañcata-satēshu cha ekōnapañcāśati cha gatēshu=advē(bde)shu Vikramāt // Pañcāśē ch=Aśvinē māśē krīṣaṇa-paṅkṣē...anuṭā=pi 1150 // Āsvina-bahula-paṅchamāyām, 2“When eleven hundred years had elapsed, and when (also) forty-nine years had gone by, since Vikrama, ... again in figures, in 1150 etc. etc.” This shows that the years were counted since the passing away of Vikrama. Similarly, Mālavāśa-gata-vatsara-sataiḥ of the Mēnālgaḍh record must be interpreted to mean “with 1226 years gone by since the Mālava lord.” On the other hand, the Kānaswā inscription has the following: sañcata-satair=yātaīḥ sa-pañcāśanavati-araggaiḥ saaptabhīr=m Mālavēśānāṁ, “when seven hundred and ninety-five years of the Mālava lords had gone by.”3 This indicates that the years belonged to the era started and used by the Mālava lords and not commencing with the demise of the Mālava lord as the Mēnālgaḍh inscription clearly implies. The tradition referred to in the Kānaswā record is supported by the Mandasōr stone inscription4 of Prabhākara, which, in verse 13 has: “When, in course (of time), there had elapsed a number of years, viz. five centuries increased by eight multiplied by three (i.e., 524), indicative of the fame of Mālava lineage, ...” This clearly shows that the year 524 pertained to the era originated by some Mālava dynasty. This was also the case with the Vikrama era. We have pointed out according to one tradition this era was founded to commemorate the passing away of Vikrama. But there was also another tradition according to which the era was founded by Vikrama or Vikramaditya himself. Thus, we have the copper-plate grants of the Chaulukya kings, Bhīma-deva and Tribhuvana-paladeva, containing various dates described as Śīmādadākāmāyōpādī-sañcata-sara.5 As these two traditions are in conflict with each other and are found current both in connection with Mālava-kāla and Vikrama-kāla, the conclusion is irresistible that the real origin of the Saṅvat era has to be sought for elsewhere. Nay, there is a third tradition in regard to the Mālava era which gives a clue to its genuine origin. Two of the inscriptions bearing on this point were included in the first edition of this volume and have already been noticed by Kielhorn. They both come from Mandasōr.6 Of these, the earlier one contains two dates, the first of which is expressed in the words: Mālavānām gaṇa-sthitiḥ yāte satā-chatrośṣitāḥ tri-navaty-advāhiḥ=bādānām ... . Though the credit of discovering the inscriptions certainly goes to Fleet, the late P. Peterson was the first to publish this date and demonstrate that it was a year of the Saṅvat era. The latter translates it as follows: “when four hundred and ninety-three years from the establishment (in the country?) of the tribes of Mālavas had passed away.” Fleet’s rendering of the verse is as follows: “when, by (the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninetythree had elapsed ...”8 Soon thereafter, another inscription from Mandasōr was discovered by Fleet and published, giving the date in the words:

Pañcāshāvatā satēshu śaraṇāṁ yāteshāḥ ekānna-navati-sahitēshu | Mālavā-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt ... The last phrase Fleet translated as “from (the establishment of) the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas”9, adding in a footnote: “but it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning” for the word vaśāt in the passage. Fleet, no doubt, recognised the difficulty, but was

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1 D. R. Bhandarkar: A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 346.
2 Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 41, verses 107-08.
3 Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 59.
4 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 7.
5 Ibid., Nos. 438, 451, 481, 486, 490, 526, 527 and 534.
6 CII., Vol. III, 1888, Nos. 18 and 35.
7 JBBrAS., Vol. XVI, p. 381.
not able to surmount it. F. Kielhorn tries to explain it away in his article entitled "Kānaswā Stone Inscription of Śivagaṇa" and published in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 56-57. "Now I think," says he, "that, in explaining these (what I may be permitted to call) doubtful phrases, we must start from the very word vaśāt. Vaśāt at the end of a compound ordinarily means 'in consequence of, according to, by means of, by'; in fact, it frequently takes simply the place of the termination of an instrumental case, and in the present instance its employment (due no doubt to the exigencies of the metre) shows, at any rate, that the word gaṇa-sthitiyā in the first passage must be taken to be the instrumental, and cannot be translated as an ablative case, in the manner proposed by Professor Peterson. At the same time, I do not believe that it would be permissible to supply, as was done by Mr. Fleet, the words "the reckoning from" simply to bring out the meaning of the instrumental. And the difficulty caused by the instrumental case rather tends to convince me that the word gaṇa-sthiti must have another meaning than the one assigned to it. At the end of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Avapātika-critit*, which is mentioned in our *Report on Sanskrit Mss.*, p. 30, we read: gaṇitāṅgīram 3135 akṣhara-gaṇanayā sthāpitam =iti, i.e., "the granthāgṛa by counting the akṣharas has been settled to be 3135." Here we have, in construction with each other, the word gaṇana which is etymologically related to gaṇa (one of the synonyms of which is saṅkhya), and sthāpita derived from the same root sthā from which we also have sthiti. Gaṇana sthāpityaum means "to settle or fix by counting, to reckon up," and, in the absence of anything better, we would claim for gaṇa-sthiti a similar meaning and would accordingly translate the phrases Mālava-nāṁ gaṇa-sthitiyā and Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt simply with "by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas," a rendering, which, like the original passages, would leave it doubtful whether the Mālavas spoken of should be understood to be the people of Mālava or the rulers of that country."

Kielhorn's argument is all right so far as it goes, but he has not proved that gaṇa has the sense of gaṇana, calculation, computation. It is no use saying that etymologically gaṇa is related to gaṇana and is synonymous with saṅkhya. Thus, one sense of gaṇa is "a troop of demigods considered as Śiva's attendants." How does this sense of gaṇa follow from its being etymologically related to gaṇana? Similarly, gaṇa is no doubt synonymous with saṅkhya which signifies 'enumeration, reckoning, calculation.' But saṅkhya also means 'a number'; and so does gaṇa. Consequently it was by no means certain that gaṇa and gaṇana were exactly synonymous. When, therefore, we wrote the paper on Vīkrama Era,1 we were not far from right when we said that "the word gaṇa has never the sense of gaṇana, and when placed in juxtaposition with Mālava, must signify 'a tribe' and 'a tribe' only." In fact, we held this view till K. M. Shembavanekar drew the attention of scholars to the fact that gaṇa bears also the sense of gaṇana according to the Śabdāṅgavakāśa which has gaṇas = tu gaṇanāyān svād = Ganūṛi Pramathē chayē.2 It is true that the Śabdāṅgavakāśa has not yet been published. Nevertheless, Shembavanekar has rightly pointed out that the above citation is found in the commentary of Mallinātha on stanza 35 of the Mṛgadūṭa. No doubt can thus be now entertained as to the correctness of Kielhorn's interpretation of the phrases: Mālava-nāṁ gaṇa-sthitiyā and Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt 'according to the reckoning of the Mālavas.' But, he admits that this rendering leaves it "doubtful whether the Mālavas spoken of should be understood to be the people of Mālava or the rulers of that country." The proper rendering, however, would be "of the Mālava people or the Mālava country."

It may, in this connection, be asked whether Mālava-nāṁ gaṇa-sthiti or Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti of the Mandaśūr inscriptions is the same thing as the Mālava-kāla, e.g. of the Gyārāspur inscription dated 936. *Prima facie*, this does not seem reasonable, because kāla must denote 'an era' and gaṇa-sthiti, 'settled mode of calculation.' The years of an era are calculated in a variety

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of ways. Thus, to take the Vikrama era itself into consideration in this connection, we find that there are some years which pertain to the Kārttikādi, and some to the Chaitrādi system of calculation and that both kinds of years were used over the same tract of country.\(^1\) Again, “in early times the pūrṇimānta scheme of the lunar months was more commonly followed in connection with the Vikrama era than the amānta scheme, that afterwards the amānta scheme has been gaining considerably on the pūrṇimānta scheme, and that a change in favour of a more general employment of the pūrṇimānta scheme has again taken place in quite modern times.”\(^2\) If this is the state of things in regard to the Vikrama era, the expression Mālava-gaya-sthiti cannot but point to the conclusion that the Mālava people or rather the Mālava country had its own peculiar system of reckoning the date. What was then the name of the Samvat year at that early period? This question we have now to tackle. In 1913 a third inscription\(^3\) was found at Mandasōr. The date of this record is set forth in the verse:

Śrīr-Mālava-gau-āmnātē praśastē Kṛita-saṁjñātē
Ekā-shaśtya-adhikē prāptē samāśita-chaitrasyayē\n
In this verse there are two expressions which are worthy of consideration. The first is Mālava-gau-āmnātē, which doubtless corresponds to Mālavānāṁ gau-sthityā and Mālava-gaua-sthiti-vaiāy of the other two Mandasōr inscriptions. The natural sense of āmnāyā, as given e.g. in the Amarakōśa, is sampṛadāya (=traditional usage).\(^4\) The phrase must therefore mean “traditionally handed down in the Mālava country.” The other two similar phrases are exactly in consonance with this. The word gaua is common to the three expressions and must be taken to signify ‘computation, calculation’, as has been already pointed out. The word sthiti of the other Mandasōr inscriptions is equivalent to āmnāyā of the Mandasōr inscription, because the St. Petersburg Dictionary gives ‘a settled rule or usage’ as one of the senses of sthiti, and even quotes Sanskrit texts in support of this meaning. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Mālava-gaua-sthiti being practically identical with Mālava-gau-āmnātē. So, the question arises: was what the name of this era? The reply is furnished by the second expression in the verse cited above, namely, Kṛita-saṁjñātē, which qualifies the phrase expressing the date. As the word saṁjñātē shows, the year 461, the date of the inscription, is itself intended to be called Kṛita. But, as indicated by Śrīr-Mālava-gau-āmnātē, the date is clearly a year of the Vikrama era. Obviously, therefore, Kṛita appears to be the name of the years of this era. There were at least two instances from epigraphy of the use of Kṛita in this sense before the discovery of the third Mandasōr epigraph, but its real significance was not understood, as we have remarked at the outset. They are the Bijayagadh stone pillar inscription of Vishuvaradhana, and the Gaṅgdhār stone inscription of Viśuvaradhana referred to above. In the first, the date is specified as follows: Kṛitēṣu chatursu varsha-satēśa = ashjaivinēśu 400 20 8, etc. The second sets forth the date in the verse: Tātēṣu chatursu Kṛitēṣu satēṣu saumyē = shtāṣṭi-sūtara-pādēśa = iha vatsa[rēshu]. As pointed out above, J. F. Fleet, who has edited both these records, translates the word Kṛitēṣu by “fully complete”, but admits that it involves a straining. Besides, with this meaning, the word is made redundant by yātēṣu, which is used along with it in the second inscription. But now that we know that Kṛita was the name of Vikrama Samvat, the occurrence of the term in the Bijayagadh and Gaṅgdhār records becomes perfectly clear and intelligible.

Many inscriptions have been found since the discovery of the third Mandasōr record, where the name of the era specified is Kṛita. One of these was brought to light at Nagari,

\(^1\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 400.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 401.
seven miles north of Chittorgarh in the former Udaipur State, Rājasthān. We will consider this record in detail later on. For the present, we shall only note that it is dated Kṛita 481. Others were discovered at Badāv in the former Kōṭah State, Rājasthān. They are engraved on three separate Tūpha pillars and bear one and the same date, namely, Kṛitēhi 200 90 5 Phālguna-śuklasya paṁchē di. This has been translated as follows by Altekar: “On the fifth day of the bright half of Phālguna (of the year) 295 by Kṛita (years).” The meaning of the phraseology “(the year) 295 by Kṛita (years)” is not at all clear to us and, we are afraid, it may not be clear to anybody. It had better be rendered as follows: “On the fifth day of the bright half of Phālguna when 295 Kṛita years (had passed away).” On this day the Tūpha pillars were set up by the three brothers Balavarddhaṇa, Sōmadēva and Bālasimha. They were the three sons, no doubt, of Bala, but are themselves styled Maukharis and Mahāśenāpatis as correctly pointed out by N. P. Chakravarti. The Maukharis thus pertained to a class of nobility or feudal lords called Şenāpatis such as those mentioned in the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscriptions of the southern Ikshvāku rulers and flourishing in the south-eastern part of Rājputāṇa. To say, therefore, that “Şenāpatis, the title by which Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, was known even to posterity, is a humbler title than the one given to Bala in our records” and that “Bala, therefore, may well have been more than a general” is an assumption, pure and simple, without any foundation in fact, and it is not clear how the statement was allowed to stand as it is, by the Editor, though he corrected the translation which altered the sense completely. Two more inscriptions have been found at Banālā in the former Jaipur State, where Kṛita has been mentioned as the name of an era. They were discovered by the late Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, but were edited by Altekar in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume XXVI, pp. 118 and ff. They are also Tūpha pillar inscriptions. The earlier is dated Kṛitēhi 200 80 4 Chaitrā-śukla-pakshaya paṁchadaśi and is translated thus by him: “The full-moon day of (the month of) Chaitra of the year 284 by the Kṛita (reckoning).” The latter is dated Kṛitēhi 300 30 5 Jyēṣṭha-śukla-pakshaya paṁchadaśi and is translated by Altekar thus: “The fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month of) Jyēṣṭha of the year 335 by the Kṛita (reckoning).” “The year 284 or 335 of the Kṛita (reckoning)” conveys no sense especially in consequence of the use of the term Kṛitēhi, which is in the plural and in the instrumental. Here also was expected some constructive criticism from the Editor of the Epigraphia Indica. But this has somehow escaped his attention, important though it is. It is best to translate the expression by “when 284 or 335 Kṛita years (had passed by).” But the earliest of these epigraphs was the one found at Nāndsā in the former Udaipur State and is dated Kṛita 282.

All the early inscriptions ranging between 282 and 480, referred to above, record years which are called simply Kṛita and do not make the slightest mention of Mālava or Mālavas. These two points are of great importance. The first is that these years are in no way connected with Mālava, whatever that may mean. The second point is that the years are by themselves called Kṛita and are nowhere spoken of as belonging to any era. It is true that we have such expressions as Kṛitāyōr = duayōr = vvarsha-śatayōr = duyaśitayōh 200 80 2, Kṛitēshu chaturśu varsha-śatēshv = astācimēshu 400 20 8, Yātēshu chaturśu Kṛitēshu satēshv saumēśh = ashaśōtātā-tātā-padēśv = iha vatsarēśh, and so on and so forth. In such expressions, the suspicion is

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1 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, etc., No. 5.
3 Ibid., p. 32.
5 Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 6 and 32.
6 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 47.
7 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 120 and 123.
likely to arise that as Kṛita is here in apposition to varsha or vatsara, the former may, after all, be an adjective of the latter. And, as a matter of fact, there was a time when we took the word Kṛita as an adjective of varsha or vatsara and propounded the theory that kṛita here meant ‘made’ or ‘artificial’ and referred to an era invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of calculating dates.\(^1\) There was, however, no evidence in support of it, and there was nothing in this suggestion which could inherently command acceptance. But this theory which we once propounded is now controverted by the Yaśa pillar inscriptions found at Badvā\(^2\) and Barānālā.\(^3\) There, the word Kṛīṭēhi occurs alone and by itself without being preceded or followed by varsha or vatsara. This shows even without the least shadow of a doubt that Kṛīṭēhi stands for Kṛīṭaiḥ and means Kṛīṭaiḥ (gataiḥ) “when the Kṛīta years (had elapsed).” In other words, Kṛīta by itself denotes the Kṛīta year, and the Mandasōr inscription of Naravarman (No. 14 below) was correct in calling the years 461 (passed) of its date as Kṛīta, which was, in fact, the designation (saṁjñā) of these years. Things were, however, changing soon after Kṛīta 480, the date of the Gaṅghārā inscription. With the Kṛīta year, the name Mālava came to be associated in one form or another. At first, both the names were in juxtaposition with each other. Thus, in the Mandasōr inscription of 461, we find Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāta and Kṛīta-saṁjñāta associated with this year. This point we have already dilated upon and need not, therefore, engage our attention here. The Nagari inscription which was first brought to light in December 1915 sets forth the date as follows: Kṛīṭēṣu chaturṣu varsha-satēṣu-ekāṣitya-uttarēṣu-asayaḥ Mālava-pūrvāyāṁ [400] 80 l Kārttika-śukla-paṁchamayāṁ.\(^4\) The first portion of the date speaks of four hundred and eighty-one Kṛīta years having passed. There can, thus, be no doubt that this 481 is a year of the Vikrama era. The second portion of the date may be rendered as follows: “when the detailed specification (of the date) according to the Mālavas was this, namely, 481, on the 5th day of the bright half of Kārttika.” We have elsewhere pointed out\(^5\) that the word pūrvā has a specific sense of ‘detailed description or specification’ and is used in connection with the setting forth of dates. The Bijayagadh inscription of Vishňuvardhana, e.g., has Kṛīṭēṣu chaturṣu varsha-satēṣu-ashtāvimśēṣu-400208 Pālguna-bahulasya pāṇchadasyāṁ-ētasyāṁ-pūrvāyāṁ, “when four centuries of Kṛīta years increased by twenty eight, i.e. 428 (had passed), on the 15th of the dark half of Pālguna, when this was the specification (of the date).” If we compare ētasyāṁ-pūrvāyāṁ of this epigraph with the corresponding Mālava-pūrvāyāṁ of the Nagari record we cannot help thinking that the Mālavas had a different mode of reckoning, possessed of one or two peculiarities of its own. As pointed out above, on the authority of Kielon, while some years of the Vikrama era pertain to the Kārttikādi, some others pertain to the Chaitrādi, mode of reckoning; and in the earlier times, the pūrṇimānta scheme of lunar months was more commonly followed than the amānta. And, strange to say, the phrase Mālava-pūrvā or Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthiti we find mentioned only in connection with the months of Āśīva, Kārttika and Pausha to the beginning of Vasanta season, that is, the month of Chaitra, when somehow a new year has to commence or an old one to end. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the Mālavas having a specific mode of their own for the computation of the years. What characteristics it exactly combined it is difficult to determine from the scanty evidence at our disposal at present. This much be taken as certain, that not only the titīṣa but also the years were affected thereby. We can, therefore, safely reiterate that Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthityā or Mālava-gaṇa-sthitī-vaśāt must

\(^{1}\) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 163.


\(^{4}\) D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, etc., No. 5.

be taken to mean simply "in accordance with the mode of reckoning of the Mālavas." Gaṇa here cannot but mean gaṇanā, for which we have the authority of the Śabdāṇavakāśa, as shown above. The word gaṇa here cannot, thus, signify a tribal oligarchy, and it is not, therefore, at all reasonable to infer that Mālava-gaṇa in these expressions stands for the Mālava oligarchy and that this tribal oligarchy was somehow responsible for the origination of Kṛita years. In course of time, the meaning of Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti was forgotten. Even when Kielhorn first pointed out the correct sense of this phrase, he left it doubtful whether the Mālavas spoken of here were the people of Mālava or the rulers of that country. But the word āmāta in the phrase Mālava-gaṇa-āmāta leaves no doubt as to these Mālavas being the people of Mālava. Nevertheless, as time passed, the term Mālava was gradually understood in the sense of "the rulers of the Mālava country." The earliest example of this change is that supplied by the Mandasor stone inscription2 of Prabhakara, which, in point of date, is between the Mandasor record (No. 35 below) of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman dated 493 and employing the phraseology Mālavanām gaṇa-sthitiḥ and the Mandasor epigraph3 of Yaśodharman-Vishnuvardhana dated 589 and using the expression Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāḥ. The inscription of Prabhakara, as we have seen above, sets forth its date as follows: "when, in course (of time), there had elapsed a number of years, viz., five centuries increased by eight multiplied by three (i.e., 524), indicative of the fame of the Mālava lineage (vaṇīśa) . . . ." This means that the Vikrama era originated with some Mālava dynasty. It is, no doubt, possible to argue that vaṇīśa of this record is somehow connected with gaṇa of the other Mandasor inscriptions. But, this argument cannot hold water. Because gaṇa denotes a tribal oligarchy, whereas vaṇīśa signifies a royal family. Besides, the word vaśāḥ in the phrase Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāḥ clearly shows that gaṇa can here mean neither 'a tribal oligarchy' nor 'a royal family.' It can mean gaṇanā, 'computation', as Kielhorn has rightly remarked; and we have an authority in support of this equation, as we have pointed out. Besides, if this era had been founded by a member of a royal family of Mālava, the phrase Mālava-kāla would have been prevalent much earlier than Vikrama year 943, the date of the Gvārāspur inscription, wherein it occurs for the first time. Besides, the name current for this era before Vikrama year 589 was Kṛita, as is quite clear from the Mandasor inscription of Naravarman. There, the term saṃjñāta 'named' occurs, and what is further noteworthy is that Kṛita is not the name of an era so much as the years of that era. So, what we have to notice here is that between Vikrama years 493 and 589 a double change was coming over the nomenclature of this era. It was, on the one hand, connected with Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti, "the mode of reckoning of the Mālavas" which is quite reasonable and, on the other, with the Mālava-vaṇīśa, 'the Mālava lineage', which is somewhat curious. The latter idea was gradually gaining ground over the former. It, however, took more than two centuries and a half for it to develop into a full-fledged tradition. Thus, the Kanasa inscription4 of Śivagana sets forth its date as follows: Saṅvatsara-śatair = yātalī sa-paṁchanavātarta-aroggalāiḥ saptabhir = Mālav-ṛṇānāṁ, "when seven hundred, joined with ninety-five years, of the Mālava lords had gone by." Lastly, the Menaṅgaḍh inscription5 has Mālav-ča-ga-la-vatsara-śatai dvaḍaśaish = cha svaṁvīśa-pūrṇakaith, "when 1226 years had gone by since the Mālava lord." This places a second tradition before us. The years of this era did not pertain to any originated by the Mālava family or the Mālava kings but rather reckoned from the event of the death of some Mālava king. The same traditions prevailed in later times under a different form. This Mālava king, the people identified with Vikrama or Vikram-

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 57.
2 D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, etc., No. 7.
3 CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 35.
5 JASB., Vol. LV, part I, p. 46.
āditya, which was the epithet, apparently of Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. And the era was now generally known as Śrīnād-Vikrama-nṛśa-kāla, Śrī-nṛśa-Vikrama-saṁvat, Vikrama-saṁvat and so forth. But what is meant by these expressions? Exactly what was denoted by Mālavēśa? Thus, the copper-plates of the Chauluksya king Bhāmadēva II give one explanation, as follows: śrīnād-Vikramāditya-ōṭpādita-saṁvatsara-, “the year (of the era) originated by the illustrious Vikramāditya.” But that was not the only tradition prevalent about the association of Vikrama with the era. Because we meet with such expressions as Śrī-Vikramatō gatēśu, gatēśa-abdēśu Vikramāt, Vikramārka-gatē kāle, and so forth. If any doubt arises about the correct interpretation of these expressions, it is set at rest by what Amitagatī says in setting forth the date of his work the Subhāṣhitaratnasañādōhā as follows: samārūdha-pūta-tridaśa-vasatiṁ Vikrama-nṛpē, “after king Vikrama had ascended to the pure dwelling of the immortals.” There can, therefore, be no doubt as to this era having been established to commemorate the passing away of the eponymous founder of the era. But what were these traditions in their incipient stage? In the case of the Mālavēśa traditions, we have seen that their inchoate form was indicated by the wording Mālava-vanśa which is found in the epigraphic record of Prabhākara. Mālava-vanśa developed, on the one hand, into Mālavēśa-gata-vatsara-śataiḥ, and, on the other, into saṁvatsara-śataiḥ = yātalaiḥ ... Mālavēśaśānāṁ. What was the inchoate form in the case of Śrīnād-Vikramāditya-ōṭpādita-saṁvatsara and gatēśa = abdēśu Vikramāt? The incipient form of these traditions seems to be preserved in the wording of the Dhōlpūr inscription¹ as follows: vasu nava = uśṭha varṣa gatasya kālasya Vikrama-ākhyasya, “when the time called Vikrama had gone by, namely, the years 898.” This, Kielhorn explains as follows:² “autumn (ṣarad) in India was pre-eminently the Vikrama-kāla” or war-time. And it is only one step further that Vikrama-kāla should be connected with the year (ṣarad) itself, as that term has also the sense of ‘the year.’ Afterwards, when the origin and the true meaning of the terms Vikrama-kāla and Vikrama-year had been forgotten, the people interpreted these terms after the manner of their own age, and, Vikrama being a well-known name of famous kings, they naturally connected the era with a king of that name who would be supposed, either, like their own kings, to have counted the years from his accession or to have otherwise given occasion for the establishment of the era. Had it been founded by a king Vikramāditya in 58 B.C., it is strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years afterwards. Again, had it been invented in memory of some great king, the name of that king would surely have been prominently mentioned many a time before Vikrama year 1050, the date of Amitagatī’s Subhāṣhitaratnasañādōhā. Besides, nothing has yet been brought to prove the existence of a king Vikramāditya in the century preceding the birth of Christ. An attempt was no doubt, sometime ago, made to revive this theory, and proof was adduced to show that there was a king of the name of Vikramāditya in the first century before Christ. It was first broached by C. V. Vaidyā in an article published in the Indian Review, December 1909. The same view has been put forth by Haraprasad Shastri in his paper on the Mandasor inscription of Naravarman,³ forgetting, however, to mention the name of Vaidyā. It has, therefore, become necessary to reconsider this question and find out how far their evidence is trustworthy. They both rely on a verse from Hāla’s Gāthā-saptāṣati (verse 64) which runs thus:

Sarnvāhaṇa-suha-raya-tosīṇa dentēṇa tuha karē lakkham |
chalanēnā Vikkamāicheha-chariam = anusikkham tissā ||

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 407 and ff.
³ Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 329.
Evidently this verse makes mention of Vikramāditya and refers to his munificent nature. And as Häla, the author of the Gathásaptāśati, is ordinarily spoken of as a Śatavāhana, and as this name occurs in the Purāṇas, and is placed there before that of Gautamiputra Sātakaṁśi who, we know, lived about 125 A.D., it is argued that the work was composed about the beginning of the first century after Christ. And when such a work alludes to Vikramāditya, it is concluded that there was really a king of this name living in the first century B.C., as reported by the tradition. Hence, both Vaidya and Haraprasad Shastri hold that the tradition gives a correct account of the origin of the Vikrama era and that it was, therefore, initiated by a king called Vikramāditya.

Now, even supposing for the moment, that there was such a king as Vikramāditya living in circa 57 B.C., it does not necessarily follow that the era was founded by him. It is true that even in inscriptions the era is associated with the name of Vikramāditya. But these are records of a late period, and, in fact, it is in Amitagati’s Subhāṣīṭaratnasamānđōha composed in Vikrama Śaṅvat 1050 that we hear for the first time of a prince Vikrama in connection with it; and from the actual wording of the date by this Jaina author it seems that the era was believed in his time not to have been founded by Vikramāditya but rather started to commemorate his death. All earlier inscriptions going back to the first quarter of the third century A.D. give an entirely different name for the era. What that name is has been stated above, namely Kṛita, and it is sufficient here to say that they give no even the least inkling of its being associated with Vikramāditya. If this is what epigraphy tells us, it is rash to assume that the era was known to be connected with this king even long prior to Vikrama year 1050. And if, as we know from epigraphy, this era had an altogether different name and had absolutely no connection with Vikramāditya it is not reasonable at all to infer that it was established by him.

But, is it a fact that the Gathásaptāśati was such an early work as has been assumed? In the first place, that its author, Häla, was a Śatavāhana is a mere tradition and must be set aside like all other traditions about the ancient litterateurs of India. Introductory verse 13 of Bāṇa’s Harshacharita, no doubt, speaks of a Śatavāhana having composed a Kōśa of songs, but there are no grounds to suppose that this Kōśa is Häla’s Saptāśati, as has been well pointed out by Weber. The internal evidence afforded by the work points, on the other hand, to a much later date for its composition. Only two points may be here noticed. The first is the reference to Kṛishṇa and Rādhikā contained in verse 1. 89, and the second to a week-day, Tuesday in 3. 61. The earliest mention of Rādhikā that we have been able to trace is in the Pañcāhatantra which was compiled in the fifth century after Christ. Similarly, the practice of citing the week-day in dates or for other general purposes came into vogue in the 9th century though the earliest instance of its use is found in the Ėrān inscription (No. 39 below) of Budhagupta dated 484 A.D. And we shall not be far wrong if we assign Häla of the Gathāsaptāśati to the commencement of the 6th century. If we take this to be his period, there is nothing strange in our finding a verse, in his anthology, descriptive of the liberality of Vikramāditya. Because, whether we take this Vikramāditya to be Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty with R. G. Bhandarkar or with his grandson Skandagupta with K. B. Pathak, he cannot be pushed later than 475 A.D. And it is quite possible that after the death of this Vikramāditya, his generosity stuck to the memory of the people and became the subject of

2 Ueber des Saptagatakam des Häla, pp. 2-4.
4 JRAI, 1912, pp. 1044-45.
5 JBBrAS, Vol. XX, p. 398.
6 Meghadūta (2nd edn.), Introduction, p. xi.
encomium with subsequent poets. Thus, we find a reference to Vikramāditya's liberality not only in the work of Hāla but also in one of the introductory verses (verse 10) of the Vāsavadattā by Subandhu, who has to be placed about the close of the 6th century A.D. at the latest.

Let us now turn to the second question, namely, the determination of the meaning of the term Kṛita. It has been pointed out above that the earliest inscriptions of the Vikrama era record years which are called simply Kṛita and that Kṛita is always in apposition with varsha or vatsara. We had thrown out two suggestions, according to one of which Kṛita meant 'made' or 'artificial' and referred to an era invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of computing dates. There was, however, nothing in this suggestion which could inherently command acceptance. The second suggestion we will consider here again, because it has somehow escaped the notice of scholars. Before we do so, let us see what theory has been propounded by Altekar when he wrote his articles on the Bādvā and Barṇālā inscriptions.

He suggests that the era was known as Kṛita because it was founded by some individual of that name. It is true that Kṛita as a personal name was not familiar to later Indian history and literature, but the case was different in earlier times. "Kṛita was the name of one of the Viśvēdevas; Vāsudeva had given it to one of his sons from Rōhini; a pupil of Hiranyābha was known by that name; and fathers of Upārīchara and Haryavana were christened by it. What inherent improbability is there in postulating that the so-called Vikrama era may have been originally started by a king named Kṛita?" In the same breath he says that "According to the Viśvarūpa, Kṛita has also the sense of fruit or reward. This meaning seems to be connected with one of the Vedic meanings of the word,—'booty'. At the time of the founding of the era, a king named Kṛita may probably have scored a memorable victory and won great booty (kṛita). To commemorate the victory an era was started called Kṛita named after its founder and his great achievement." What these last two sentences exactly mean it is somewhat difficult to understand. Altekar probably means that there was a king, who, because he scored a victory and won great booty (kṛita), was, therefore, called Kṛita and that the era was called Kṛita after this founder to commemorate the victory which gave him not only Kṛita or booty but also the consequent name Kṛita. Nevertheless, he admits that his theory is only a tentative one and that "so far we have no evidence whatsoever of a king named Kṛita having flourished by the middle of the 1st century B.C." "It is also true" he continues, "that an era named after king Kṛita should be known by a taddhita expression like Kāra-varsha or saṁvatsara, on the analogy of the expression Gaṇṭ-ādē varsha-śata-trayē varttamānē occurring in the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja." Altekar adduces a two-fold reason. "The authors of early inscriptions," says he at first, "were not particularly strong in Sanskrit (as is, for instance, evidenced by the present inscriptions) and the expression Kṛita (saṁvatsara) for Kāra (saṁvatsara) is quite possible in their compositions." By "the present inscriptions" he, of course, means the Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Tāpas. But what is the language of these records? On page 46 he says: "The language of the record may be described as incorrect Sanskrit." He has apparently forgotten that this represents the Gāthā dialect or the mixed Sanskrit in which the Buddhist works and the inscriptions of the Kushāna period were composed. We shall, however, consider the earliest Kṛita date, namely, of the Nāndśa record which reads as follows: Kṛitayōr—dvayōr—varsha-śatayōr—dyaśatayōh 200 80 2 Chaitra-pūrṇamāṣy = aṣyām = pūrvavāyām, "the full-moon day of Chaitra after two centuries of Kṛita years (and) eighty-two (had passed away)—this, being the specification (of the date)." Does not the language of this date represent chaste Sanskrit? And yet we find here, not Kāra-varsha, but Kṛitayōr . . . =varsha-śatayōr. Here Kṛita stands exactly in apposition with the group of years, showing

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 50.
2 Ibid., p. 46.
clearly that these are not the years, started by a king called Kṛita, but assuredly as years named Kṛita. Or, we may take the Bijayagadh pillar inscription which is the next earliest Sanskrit inscription and is dated, as follows: Kṛitesha chatursha varsha-śatēṣha = ashtāveśaśeṣha 400 20 8 Phālguna-bahulaṣya paṇḍadaśyāṃ = tāyāṃ pāroṣāyāṃ. The language of this date also is Sanskrit, pure and simple. And here also Kṛita stands in apposition to the group of years, namely 428, unmistakably proving that they are not the years of any era originated by Kṛita but most certainly the years themselves styled Kṛita. As these two are the earliest Sanskrit records where the years have been named Kṛita and not Kārta, it is not clear what Altekar means by saying that as the authors of the early inscriptions were not particularly strong in Sanskrit, the expression Kṛita for Kārta is quite possible in their compositions. Further, as a matter of fact, the term Kārta is nowhere yet found employed in Indian epigraphy in place of Kṛita. And, further still, in the Mandasār inscription of Naravarman, as he himself admits, "it is expressly stated that Kṛita was its proper name, though it was traditionally handed down among the Mālavas." It is true that this statement is confusing though he is right in saying that the name was Kṛita. But he creates confusion by assigning the name Kṛita to an era. In the record in question it is the years (461) that have been styled Kṛita. And this confusion has become worse confused by his remark that the era was traditionally handed down among the Mālavas. As a matter of fact, the Mālavas were connected, not with the founding of the era, but with the computation of the years which are now known as those of Vikrama. This point we have already expatiated upon and it need not now detain us here.

Let us, therefore, turn again to the important question of the determination of the meaning of Kṛita. We shall now consider or rather re-consider the second suggestion which was put forward by us, which, strange to say, was not known to Altekar when he wrote his learned articles on the Baḍvā and Barnāḷā Yūpa inscriptions, although the articles containing our view was published as early as 1932 in the Indian Antiquary. He refers to it only casually on page 90 in his popular article in the Vikramālinky Number published by the Nāgari Prachārīṇī Patrika in Sārīvat 2000 Vikrama. What we contended in that article may be set forth here again, as our theory has not yet been well controverted and not at all upset.

Enough attention has not been drawn to the importance of 'the Brahmin Empire' established by the Śūrgas sometime before the Christian era. K. P. Jayaswal was the first to bring this subject to our notice in two papers on the Brahmin Empire. In the second of these, he has quoted a passage from the Harivaṃśa attached to the Mahābhārata where Pushyaimitra and his revival of Brahmanism have been clearly hinted at. Soon after reading this paper we happened to light upon Chapters 190-91 of the Vanaparan of the Mahābhārata which describe the Kaliyuga and its atrocities. We are told that during the Kali Age the Śūdras will be the preachers and Brāhmaṇas the hearers, that the earth will be adorned, not by shrines of gods, but by Buddhist stāpas (śāna) and that India itself would be overrun by the Mlecchhā hordes. This has been described as the character of the Kaliyuga, but Kaliyuga will gradually, we are told, develop into a sandhi period before the Kṛitya era is ushered in. In regard to the Kṛitya era, we are informed that a Brāhmaṇa named Vishnuyaśas will be born as Kalki in the town of Sambhalā in a Brāhmaṇa family and that he will be not only a supreme ruler (chakravartin) but also a righteous conqueror (dharma-vijñā). He will exterminate the Dasyus, perform a great Horse Sacrifice, give back the earth to the Brāhmaṇas, establish the worship of triṣūlas, śaktis and deer-skins, and will usher in the Kṛita Age (Chapter 191, verses 1-9).

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 31.
This description suits Pushyamitra excellently, as he was a Brāhmaṇa, a supreme ruler, a righteous conqueror, and celebrated a horse sacrifice and re-established the Brahmanic religion. Nay, the account of the Kaliyuga preceding the advent of Kalki lays stress on the predominance of Buddhists and the Śūdras becoming the preachers exactly as is done by the Harīcāṇḍa, according to which this state of things was ended by Sēnāni dvija, who, as shown by Jayaswal, cannot but be Pushyamitra. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the case of the Mahābhārata also, Pushyamitra is intended by the description of Kalki. The only difficulty that may be raised is that Kalki is spoken of as a personage to come. But Jayaswal has already told us that the Purāṇas “clearly say that he did flourish.”1 Thus, the Mātsyapurāṇa says that the Buddha was born as the ninth (avatāra) and that Kalki, Vishṇuyaśas, the leader of the Parāśāras will be the tenth incarnation at the close of the Kaliyuga. Then follows a description of his conquest, but, at the end, we are told that “Time having passed, that king (or god, dēva) disappeared.” This is exactly the conclusion which is forced upon the mind of the scholar who reads the Kalki-Purāṇa.2 This clearly shows that according to some authorities the Kalki incarnation of Vishṇu has come and gone. This means that the Kali Age also has passed away, giving rise to the Kṛita, which is, therefore, now going on. If this line of reasoning has any weight, Pushyamitra becomes the inaugurator of the Kṛita Epoch which began with 57 B.C.

It is true that Pushyamitra has been assigned to circa 80 B.C. on the strength of the dynastic lists and regnal periods specified by the Purāṇas. The testimony of the Purāṇas may perhaps be utilised when there is nothing of an irrefragable character to contradict it.3 Unfortunately, the recent discovery of a Śuṅga inscription in Ayōḍhyā runs counter to the above date of Pushyamitra. It refers to the reign of Dhanadēva, son of Phalgudēva and Kauśiki, who was Lord of Kōsala. But the most important point about it is that Dhanadēva says that he was sixth in descent from “Sēnāpati Pushyamitra, who twice performed the Aśvamedhā sacrifice.” Now, N. G. Majumdar rightly says in regard to this epigraph that the alphabet is “almost the same as in the records of the Northern Kshatrapas (first century A.D.).”4 Daya Ram Sahni, who edited this inscription last, also remarks that it “on palaeographical grounds must be assigned to about the first century A.D.”5 In fact, if any scholar frees his mind from any bias created by the date already assigned to Pushyamitra on the strength of the Purāṇas and considers impartially the palaeography of the Ayōḍhyā inscription, he cannot but come to the same conclusion, viz., that the record belongs to the first century A.D.6 We have seen that Dhanadēva was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra, and if we assign 25 years to a generation, an interval of 150 years must have separated the two. Further, supposing Dhanadēva lived about 75 A.D., Pushyamitra has to be placed circa 75 B.C. It is possible that he first seizing power about this time, but he must have been engaged in internecine warfare for a pretty long period before he could put down the Mīchchha rulers and establish himself as an indisputable paramount sovereign. That he was engaged in warfare for a long period is shown by the fact that he celebrated the horse sacrifice, not once, but twice. The first horse sacrifice must have been celebrated after he established his power. But it

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2 Bengali edn., p. 3, 89, 102, etc.
3 D. R. Bhandarkar’s Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 58 and note 1.
5 Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 57.
6 The most knotty phrase in this Ayōḍhyā inscription is Pushyamitraya shashṭiḥena qualifying Dhanadēva. This expression is interpreted by some scholars as denoting Dhanadēva as “the sixth son of Pushyamitra” (JBOBS, Vol. XIII, pp. 247-49). But this places Pushyamitra not about the middle of the first century B.C., but about the middle of the first century A.D., which is highly improbable.
seems that it was soon after called in question by a number of enemies who had arisen. These were, however, put down, and he re-established his supremacy, which was signalised by the second performance of the horse-sacrifice. Although he thus first came to power in 75 B.C., it was not till 57 B.C. that he became an undisputed supreme ruler and a righteous conqueror (dharma-vijaya). So the Kṛtyayuga must have been ushered in by him when his power was established for the second time and placed on a firm footing.

Now only one difficulty remains in regard to the theory that the so called Vikrama Saṃvat years are years of the Kṛta era. It may reasonably be asked how Kṛta in such a case stands in opposition to varsha. We would rather have Kṛta-vatsarāh or Kṛtāḥ vatsarāḥ. It seems that we have a parallel for such terminology in the Śaka era. It is well-known that the years of this era have once been called Śaka-nṛipati-rājy-ābhishēka-saṃvatsara,¹ but that they are generally Śaka-saṃvat. It is true that there are some inscriptions, where Śaka seems to stand apparently in opposition with Saṃvatsara as Kṛta does. Thus, a grant of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty has the following: Śri-Sakē trayōdaś-ādhika-triṣāṭ-āṭṭara-sahasrē gatē.² If we proceed to an earlier period, the Paithāṇ plates of the Dēvagiri-Yādana Rāma (= Rāma-chandra) have: Sa(Śa)kē cha ekaḍaśaṣu triṇavaty-adhikēśu = aṭṭē śiṣu 1193³ etc. Similar is the case if we go up to a still earlier period. Thus the Kokaṇṭhur plates of the Kalachuri Mahārājādhi-rājā Sōma (= Sōmeśvara) give the date: Tviṇavaty-adhika-sahasratamē Śakē⁴ etc. If any inscription from Northern India is required in support of our proposition, it is supplied by that of Sōmavāṁśi king Karnaṇāja of Kākairā, bearing the date Chaturddās-āṭṭarē s=īvam=ekādaśē satē Śakē.⁵ In all these cases Śakē has been used in the sense of “the years of the Śaka era, i.e., (Śaka-saṃvat-saṃvēshu)” which means that the original sense of Śaka-nṛipā-kālā is completely forgotten. If we want an idea about the Vikrama era in a similar deteriorated sense, it is supplied by the Delhi (Sīvalik) pillar inscription of the Chāhāmāna Viṣaladeva Vigravarāja, one date of which is Saṃvat śṛi Vikramādiyē 1220 etc. etc. This naturally puzzled even the scholar who edited them, namely, F. Kielhorn, who in a note below says: “One would have expected here Viḥramādiyē”.⁶ Kṛta had, however, been ever since 282 (226 A.D.) the name of the year and not of any epoch or era. And it continued to be so till Vikrama year 461 in a Mandāšor inscription as shown above where the years have been explicitly called Kṛta (Kṛita-saṁjjñitāḥ). There is, therefore, no reasonable ground against the supposition that Vikrama years were, from the beginning, known as the name of years and not of any epoch.

This theory about the origin of the Vikrama era has, no doubt, been propounded with all the air of plausibility and speciousness. But it cannot commend itself to the sober judgement of any savant. It is true that an era was started by Kalki who is believed to have ushered in the Kṛta Age. The question, however, arises: when did it commence? In this connection we may notice a couplet which occurs not only in the Vāyu, Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas but also in the Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan, Chapter 190, verse 91, and which runs as follows:

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\text{Tadā chandaśaḥ}\text{ cha sūryaḥ}\text{ cha tathā Tiṣṭhya-Brihaspati} \\
\text{eka-rāśaḥ samēsyaṁ tadā Kṛta-yugaṁ bhavēt} \\
\]

“And then when the Sun, the Moon, and Brihaspati will, with the constellation Pushya, be together in the same sign (rāśi), the Kṛta Age will begin again.”

We have above referred to this chapter from Vanaparvan while expatiating on the rise of

² JBRRAS., Vol. IV, pp. 115 and f.
³ F. Kielhorn’s List Insers. South India, No. 369.
⁴ Ibid., No. 288.
⁵ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 185 ff.
Kalki, and the ushering in of the Kṛita Age. Now, P. C. Sengupta who has made the necessary calculations has come to the conclusion that this Kṛita began with 63 B. C., and not with 57 B. C. It is possible to argue that Pushyamitra re-established his power in 63 B. C. but started an era of his own in 57 B. C. which began the Kṛita years. But another calculation of the same data is possible. Thus, according to Harit Krishna Deb, "A.D. 424 (November 20) 425 (November 16) conforms to their requirements." This agrees with the Jaina tradition to which R. Shamastra has drawn our attention. Further, he remarks as follows: "From these facts I am led to believe in the existence of a historical personage Kalki, king of Pātaliputra, who, born in 402, started an era after his own name in 428 and who, championing the cause of the Brāhmaṇas against the Huns, the Jainas, and the Buddhists for about 40 years, died in A.D. 472." It is thus clear that according to the Jaina tradition, that is, according to some Indian tradition at any rate, the Kalki era was originated in 428 A.D., and not in 57 B.C., as surmised by us. To associate the name of Kalki with the foundation of the Vikrama era and to assert that it originated the Kṛita Age in 57 B.C. has not even the background of any Indian tradition. Besides, there is a veritable disorder and jumble of traditions about the origin of the Vikrama Era. This has been pointed out by us in detail before. What is, however, important to remember in this connection is that all the early inscriptions of the Vikrama era, ranging between 282 and 480, record years which are called simply Kṛita and do not make the slightest reference to 'Mālava' or 'Vikrama.' It is true that Śaka once or twice and Śri-Vikramādiya only once are used to denote a year of the Śaka or Vikrama era. But this we find done long long after the era had been in vogue, and not at all about the commencement of it. Hence, if we are again allowed to weigh between the two theories propounded by some scholars, we cannot help saying now that the interpretation of the word Kṛita proposed at first is more reasonable than the second one, namely, that it was really Kṛita, 'made', that is, invented by the astronomers for the purpose of reckoning years and that it somehow caught the imagination of the people who, therefore, began to use it and actually styled it Kṛita, 'invented'. When we broached the theory, we were unaware of what Al Bīrūnī had said about the eras that were prevalent in India. The Arab historian says that in his time the eras adopted by the Hindus were four in number, namely, those of (1) Śri Harsha, (2) Vikramādiya, (3) Śaka and (4) Valabha, also known as Gupta, because the epoch of both these eras is "241 years later than the Śaka-kāla." Besides these, there were four more eras of the astronomers, because the authors of them considered them "as the most suitable to be used as cardinal points in astronomical and other calculations, whence calculation may conveniently extend forward or backward." It is worthy of note here that the eras of the astronomers were considered suitable not only for astronomical but also for other calculations. This raises the presumption that in some provinces the eras of the astronomers were used by the people also. This fits the Vikrama era excellently because in the earliest period when this era is found to be in vogue, it bears no name of its own, but, on the contrary, its years are called Kṛita, 'made', invented by the astronomers of a province for the use of their astronomical calculations and adopted by the people for their calculations. This province seems to have been South-eastern Rājputāna and Mālāvā, and that appears to be the reason why these Kṛita years were regarded as Mālava-gan-amālata, "traditionally handed down according to the reckoning of the Mālavas." This is quite clear from another inscription which speaks of four hundred and eighty-one Kṛita years as having passed and as Mālava-pārcayaṁ—this being the detailed specification (of the date) according to the Mālavas."

4 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
To sum up, the evidence points to the almost irresistible conclusion that the Vikrama Samvat was originally an era started by an astronomer or astronomers of Malwa which was afterwards accepted by the people. Another instance of an era invented by the astronomers and foisted upon the people is what is called the Sri-Harsha era by Al Beruni. It is exactly four hundred years prior to the era of Vikramaditya. Surely no king of the name of Harsha is known to have lived about 457 B.C. "His era" says he, "is used in Mathura and the country of Kanauj. Between Sri Harsha and Vikramaditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian calendar I have read that Sri Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramaditya."1 The Arab historian ends this description by saying: "In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information." The uncertainty, however, disappears the moment this Harsha is taken to be Harsha who was a contemporary of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang, and was living 664 years after Vikrama (≈607 A.D.) and onwards and whose era was invented in his honour by the astronomers of his court by antedating, by the round number of 400 years, the Vikrama Samvat, the earliest popular era of that time. Al Beruni no doubt says that Sri Harsha era was used in Mathura and Kanauj. But not a single date has so far been verified as a year of this era, whether beginning from 457 B.C. or from 607 A.D., as has been so well pointed out by D.N. Mookerjee.2

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1 Sachau, Alberuni's India, p. 5.
2 NIA, 1940, pp. 244 and ff.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

ALLAHABAD STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRA GUPTA

This inscription\(^1\) appears to have been first brought to the notice of the public in 1834, when, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III, pp. 118 ff., were published a translation by Captain A. Troyer, Secretary of the Sanskrit College, and a transcript by Madhav Rao Pandit, Head Librarian of the same College, accompanied by a lithograph (*ibid.*, Plate vi), which was reduced by James Prinsep from a copy commenced by a brother of Lieutenant T. S. Burt, of the Engineers, finished by a Munshi, and revised by Lieutenant Burt himself. In the same volume, pp. 257 ff., the Revd. W. H. Mill, Principal of Bishop’s College, who was then Vice-President of the Asiatic Society, working from the same lithograph, published a revised version of the text and translation, followed, at pp. 339 ff., by a supplementary paper containing the first genealogical tree of the dynasty. His version, however, though it was an improvement on that of Captain Troyer, still fell very far short of exhibiting the original completely or accurately: (1) in his misreading lines 11 and 21, in such a way as to introduce into the translation and genealogical tree, without any foundation whatever in the original, the independent princess Samhārikā, with a daughter, name unknown, who was the wife of Samudragupta, (2) other mothers-in-law of the same king, and (3) a royal issue expected at the date of the inscription, and (4) in his treatment of line 30, where, instead of *āchākhāya ima bhūvo bāhur=ayam=ucchhristah stambhah*, “this lofty column (is) the raised arm of the earth, proclaiming as it were, (the fame of Samudragupta),” he read *rōma-charmanah ravi-bhūvo bāhur=ayam=ucchhristah stambhah*, and translated “of this child of the Sun, though clothed in hairy flesh, this lofty pillar is the arm,” which led him to refer Samudragupta and his dynasty to the Solar race, a mistake that sometimes seems to have been not even yet completely eradicated. In 1837, in the same *Journal*, Vol. VI, pp. 969 ff., James Prinsep gave a fresh and much improved lithograph of the inscription and its alphabet (*ibid.*, Plate lv), reduced from impressions on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own version of the text and translation. His rendering of the inscription still failed to represent the original with any real approach to accuracy and completeness. But it was a very great improvement on the two versions that had preceded it; especially in avoiding the leading mistake of Mill, pointed out above. In fact, it remained the best version for a long time, except that in 1872, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, pp. cxcvi ff., Bhau Daji notified, from a copy on cloth made by Bhagwanlal Indraji, some corrections in the historical part, in the names of the kings and countries conquered by Samudragupta. The whole of the inscription, thereafter, was systematically and almost accurately deciphered by J. F. Fleet from the original column and published in *CII*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 1 ff. And to this English scholar goes the credit of first making the standard text of this epigraphic record ready for being handled for historical purposes by all scholars and antiquarians eager to understand and interpret Ancient India. Fleet’s transcript had been so well done that hardly any corrections in the reading were made by Bühler, when, two years later, he published a revised version of the same inscription in *Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, pp. 39 ff. and 88 ff.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) In dealing with this and the other inscriptions edited by the late J. F. Fleet in his *CII*, Vol. III, 1888, the late D. R. Bhandarkar has largely followed the introductory remarks of the former scholar.—Ed.

\(^2\) The English translation of this booklet, by Prof. V. S. Ghate, has appeared in instalments in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 29 ff., 137 ff., 172 ff., 188 ff., 230 ff., and 243 ff.
The round monolith sandstone column, thirty-five feet in height, on which this inscription is incised, cannot be later than the third century B.C., as is clear from the famous edicts of Aśoka on it.\(^1\) It now stands in a conspicuous position inside the Fort at Allahābād. It is doubtful, however, whether the column was originally erected at this place. As has been suggested by General Cunningham,\(^2\) it was first set up at the ancient Kauśāmbī, now represented by the village of Kōsām\(^3\) on the left bank of the Yamunā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahābād, and was still at that place when the present inscription was engraved. He further suggests that it was afterwards moved from there to Allahābād by one of the early Musalmān kings of Delhi, perhaps Firūz Shāh, just as the two Aśoka columns now at Delhi are known to have been brought there by him from their original positions at Meṛaṭh and in the Śivālik hills. The point in favour of the former supposition is that the column contains a short Aśoka edict addressed to the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbī.\(^4\) The latter supposition seems unlikely, because Delhi was the capital of Firūz Shāh, not Allahābād, which, on the other hand, was founded, or refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar. It is more likely that this ruler\(^5\) removed the pillar from Kōsam to Allahābād,—an inference supported by the records of his favourite Bīrbāl and of his son Jahāngir inscribed on it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 6' 8" broad by 5' 4" high,\(^6\) commences on the north of the column, towards the north-east, and in the longest part, line 30, runs all round the column, except for a space of about 1' 9". The bottom line is about 6' 0" above the point where the column starts from its present pedestal. There is a large crack in the column, from above the first word of the first line, and extending down to the beginning of the fourteenth. And the upper part of the inscription has suffered very much, partly from some of the mediaeval inscriptions, which are so abundant on the column, being engraved on and between the original lines here, and partly from the peeling off of the surface of the stone in several places. But nothing of historical nature appears to have been lost; except, perhaps, after the mention of Nāgasēna in line 13, and in connection with the mention of Pushapapura in line 14. A few letters, again, have been damaged or destroyed by the peeling off of the stone near the beginning of line 23, and in the centre of lines 23, 24, 31, and 32: but, except in line 32, the letters can be supplied without any doubt. The really important part of the inscription, the historical and genealogical passages commencing with line 19 and ending in line 30, is fortunately in a state of excellent preservation, and is decipherable without the slightest doubt from beginning to end. The size of the letters, by which is meant, here and throughout, the height of such letters as ch, d, p, m, b, v, etc., which are formed entirely within the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below, varies from $\frac{7}{10}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$.

\(^1\) It is generally assumed that the pillars on which Aśoka's edicts are engraved were set up by him. It is, however, doubtful whether they were all so chiselled and put up in his time. Thus Pillar Edict VII ends with the following: "This Dhanma-liṇī should be inscribed where stone pillars and stone tablets are found, so that it may endure." (D.R. Bhandarkar, Asoka, 1932, p. 356. See also CII, Vol. I, 1925, p. 137). Similarly about the close of the Rupnath Minor Rock Edict, Aśoka says: "Here and far off where there is any stone column, have it engraved on the stone column." (D. R. Bhandarkar, Asoka, 1932, p. 370. See also CII, Vol. I, 1925, p. 169). This seems to show that the pillars were already in existence and were well-known before his edicts were ordered to be inscribed on them.

\(^2\) CII, Vol. II, 1877, p. 39


\(^4\) CII, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 159-60, Plate facing p. 159; see also in continuation of the end of line 10 of the present inscription in the plate which contains part of Aśoka's edict where the second word ḫaḍ[m] bhīṣṭhā is quite clear.

\(^5\) Ibid., Introduction, p. xx.

\(^6\) [In this Volume, the measurements are given in feet and inches.—Ed.]
ALLAHĀBĀD STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. By ‘Gupta alphabet’ is meant, of course, the alphabet that was prevalent in Northern India from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the sixth century A.D. The test letters of this variety are m, l, s, sh and h, and are met with in records from Allahābād eastwards including East Bengal, such as Nos. 8, 17, 22, 24, 26 and so forth. Thus, the curved bottom and the left hook are flattened into one elongated base of m of this eastern variety. Similarly, the left limb of l undergoes a change, and is turned sharply down. The letter s has a loop at the end of its left vertical line, instead of the usual curve or hook. The left limb of sh consists of a loop attached to the slanting central bar. About the letter h, Bühler says “The base stroke of ha is suppressed, and its hook is attached to the vertical and turned sharply to the left.”

These test letters of the eastern variety are of an entirely different nature from those found in Central India in such inscriptions as Nos. 2, 8, 11 and so on. As regards those found in the western part of the U.P., we notice a variable admixture of both, in such records as Nos. 7, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17 and so forth. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that this eastern variety originated in Eastern India. As was pointed out by us elsewhere, an inscription has been discovered at Mathurā3 dated in the 14th year of Kanishka’s reign, which contains the typically eastern Gupta forms of the three letters m, s and h. It is possible to maintain that Kanishka of this record is Kanishka of the later Great Kushāṇa, or the Kushāṇaputra dynasty, who, most probably, originated the Kalachuri era. In that case, the date of the inscription becomes equivalent to 263 A.D. This brings the record sufficiently close to the time of the rise of the Gupta power. Again, we know of an inscription found at Gaḍhā (Jasdan) in Kathiawar of the time of the Mahākṣatriya Rudrasena. It is dated 127 (or 126), and, as it is to be referred to the Śaka era, we obtain 205 A.D. (or 204 A.D.) as its equivalent in the Christian era. If we carefully examine the facsimile of this record published in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVI, (plate facing page 237), we find that the letters m and h are incised sometimes in the Eastern Indian, and sometimes in the Central Indian, variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is thus clear that these eastern forms of the letters were in existence as early as 205 A.D., the date of the Jasdan inscription, that is, certainly more than a century prior to the rise of the Gupta power. It would be the height of absurdity to call them Gupta characters at all, and, above all, to style them as the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, when the Jasdan record is not only of the pre-Gupta period but is far removed to the south-west of Pātaliputra. Nevertheless, it cannot possibly be gainsaid that when the Gupta sovereignty was established, the five characters referred to above, namely, m, l, s, sh and h, became somehow the test letters of the alphabet prevalent in Eastern India and differentiated it from that of Central India, whereas in the western part of U.P. was perceptible a varying intermixture of both the varieties so far as these five characters are concerned. We can therefore safely assert that the characters of this inscription represent the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet.

There are other palaeographic characteristics which are peculiar to this inscription. Thus, there are two letters, which, after the cave inscriptions period, lay for a long time in disuse

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1 Indian Palaeography, 1939, p. 65.
2 Ep. Ind., Vo. XXI, pp. 2 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff. This may also be compared to the inscription figuring in Mahabodhi, Plate XXV where m, l, s and h are found to be typical of the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. In the A. R. ASI., 1922-23, p. 169, the date 64 of the record has been referred to the Gupta era. But we have said elsewhere (A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 170, note 4), that although the characters resemble those of the Gupta period, the dating and language are in the Kushāṇa style and that it would be safer, therefore, to assign the date to the Kalachuri era.
4 [These eastern forms of m and h are found in the Mathurā inscription of Kanishka’s 4th regnal year corresponding to 81-82 A.D. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 9 ff. and plate.—Ed.].
in the southern alphabets, and were not revived for a considerable time after the present period; namely, the ś, as distinct from l, exhibited in kriḍatā, line 14, Davāka, line 22, and vrīḍita, line 27; and the lingual dh, exhibited in virāḍha, line 18. On the other hand, in the l which occurs in vyāluṣita, line 8, Kauṇālaka, line 19, Sāṁhalaṅka, line 23, and laṭīta, lines 27 and 30, they include a letter which properly belongs exclusively to the southern alphabets and languages; and its occurrence here seems to furnish an unconscious piece of evidence to the effect that the conquests attributed to Samudragupta in the south of India were actual facts. In sābhā, line 18, Vishnuṅgopa, line 19, and gō-tata, line 25, the vowel o is formed in a rather peculiar way, which, so far as the right-hand stroke is concerned, is followed also in the vowel a as attached to the same consonants, e.g., in jāsana, lines 23 and 24, and Gāṅgaṁ, line 31. In respect of r in combination with a following y, we have to notice that, as in the case of other consonants, the y is doubled and the r is written above the line, e.g., in vṛṛya, line 13; whereas, in a somewhat later development of this alphabet in Central India, it became the custom, as in the case of y in conjunction with the other letters, to write the r on the line, with a single y attached below it, e.g., in maryādayā, lines 6-7, and kuryā, line 12, of the Majhgawam plates of the Mahārāja Hastin.\(^1\) The characters also include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 4, and 8 only in the preserved portion of the inscription. It must have contained forms of the numerals 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 9, as well, which are lost to us.

The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as the end of line 16, and the rest is in prose, except that in lines 30 and 31 there is one more verse thrown in. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in parākkrama, line 17, kkrīya, lines 27 and 28, and vikkrama, line 30; (2) the doubling of the consonant following r, as in ta[tva]ṛṛtha-bhartuḥ, line 5, kṛṛti-, line 6, utkṛṛmitai, line 7, and so forth; (3) the doubling of dh (by d as required by the rules) in conjunction with a following y and v, in addhyāya, line 16, and sādhvo-asādhu, line 25; and (4) the use of the southern l, in the instances pointed out above.

The inscription is non-sectarian, being devoted entirely to a recital of the glory, conquests, and descent of the Imperial Guptā king Samudragupta. It is not dated. Its great value lies in the abundant information which, in the conquests attributed to Samudragupta, it gives us as to the divisions of India, its tribes, and its kings, about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This, however, has received a detailed treatment in the historical chapters which form part of the Introduction to this volume. Fleet thinks that this record describes Samudragupta as deceased and that it must, therefore, belong to the time of his son and successor Chandra-gupta II and must have been engraved soon after the accession of the latter. He has gone even to the length of calling it “Allahabad Posthumous Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.” This view, however, is based on an erroneous interpretation of a passage in lines 29-30 as was pointed out soon after (1890) by no less a scholar than Bühler in his Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie, p. 32 ff. It has again been discussed and controverted in the Introduction to this volume. This record is of extreme importance for the history of Kāya literature also, to which our attention was first drawn by Bühler.\(^2\) This subject also has received consideration at some length in the Introduction.

In connection with Samudragupta, there is mentioned in verse 7 (line 14), a city named Pushpa, which is spoken of in such a way as to indicate that it was his capital. Pushpapura, Pushpapuri and Kusumapura, all meaning ‘the town or city of flowers’, were names of Pāta-liputra which is now represented by the modern Pātnā in Bihār, on the Ganges, but which

\(^1\) CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 107-08, Plate XIV.

\(^2\) See also A. A. Macdonell, A History of Sanskrit Literature, 1925, p. 320; A. B. Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, 1928, pp. 76-78, 300 and 332.
originally stood at the confluence of this river with the Šōn, spread lengthwise along the bank of the latter, as is known to us from Megasthenes and Patañjali. This junction is now near the Cantonment of Dinapore, about twelve miles above Patna. But it is well-known that these rivers have changed their courses considerably during the many centuries that Pātāliputra has fallen into ruins. It is also well-known that formerly the Šōn joined the Ganges immediately below the modern town of Patna. The tradition of this junction is preserved among the villagers to the south-west of Patna, where they still point to an old channel called the marā or dead Šōn.

The antiquity of the name Kusumapura, is vouched for by Hiuen Tsiang, who speaks of the city under both names, K’u-su-mo-pu-lo, or Ku-su-mo-pu-lo, which he also explains by the Chinese Huwa-kong or Huwa-kung, ‘flower-palace’ and Hsiang-hu-kong-sh’ing, ‘city or royal precinct of the scentedflowers; and Po-ch’ a-li-tsu-ch’ing, ‘the city of Pātāliputra.’ He tells us that Kusumapura was the more ancient name of the two. And, though this point cannot be proved, there is no reason to controvert that the synonym Pushpapura or Pushpapuri was in use in early days. As a matter of fact, both these forms are found in Daṇḍin’s Daśākumāracharita which “probably dates from the sixth century A.D.” The name Pushpapura occurs also in Viśākhadatta’s Muda[rā]kṣha which has been ascribed by some scholars to 800 A.D. and by some to 400 A.D. Kālidāsa also mentions Pushpapura as the capital of Magadh in the Raghunāṭa, and this poet, as we have seen above, was most probably a protégé of Samudragupta’s son, Chandragupta, also known as Vikramāditya. Pushpapura was thus certainly known as a synonym of Pātāliputra even early in the Gupta period. Verse 7 of our inscription may, therefore, be taken as furnishing good grounds for locating Samudragupta’s capital at Pātāliputra. Nevertheless, Fleet has drawn our attention to the following points which run contrary to this view: “(1) Until the time of Skandagupta, no inscriptions of this dynasty have been found anywhere in the neighbourhood of Pātāliputra. (2) Though Pātāliputra is mentioned, under its own proper name, in two of the inscriptions of Chandragupta II, yet neither of these passages connects the city with him, as his capital. And (3) Hiuen Tsiang mentions another ancient Kusumapura,—for which the synonym Pushpapura would be equally acceptable,—far distant, and quite distinct, from Pātāliputra. He tells us that the old capital of Kanyakubja, or Kanauj, was originally called Kusumapura. And, though he is not absolutely specific on the point, yet the way in which he describes how the town came to be invested with the name of Kanyakubja seems to indicate that he understood Kusumapura to be the ancient name of the very site, which, in his time, was called Kanyakubja. A capital here or anywhere in this neighbourhood, would be far more in accordance with the localities at which all the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty exist; and still more so with a selection of a column either at Allahabad or at Kausāmbi, to contain the record of the conquests of Samudragupta, by whom the power of the family was brought to maturity and was placed on an extensive footing.” Let us now consider, briefly, of course, the arguments urged by Fleet against the identification of Samudragupta’s Pushpa with Pātāliputra. He says that Kusumapura was another name also of Kanyakubja and that its synonym, Pushpa, which is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription, had better be taken to denote this place rather than Pātāliputra. And, in support of his first state-

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5 Canto VI, verse 24.
ment he quotes the authority of Hiuen Tsiang. But the Chinese traveller does not say that Kusumapura was another name of Kanyåkubja in his time but rather in some pre-historic period. Many instances of old towns bearing many names in pre-historic times are known, especially from the Pāli Buddhist jātakas. Thus Bārāṇasi, we are told, was called Surundhana in the Udaya Birth, Sudassana in the Chullasutassåma, Brahmavaddhana in the Soñandana, Pupphavati in the Khañḍahale, and Ramma City in the Yuvanajaya Birth. This does not mean at all that Bārāṇasi was known by all these names in historic times. We may, therefore, take it that Kanyåkubja was never known as Kusumapura in any historic period and that Kusumapura or its synonym Pushpapura was another name of Pātaliputra alone, so far as we know. The mention of Pushpa in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription thus points to the natural inference that Pātaliputra was the capital of Imperial Guptas. Up till 1888 when Fleet brought out his volume on Gupta Inscriptions, it was no doubt true that all the records of this dynasty, not excluding those of the time of Skandagupta, were found far to the west of Pātaliputra, giving rise to the presumption that their capital was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Allahâbâd or Kausåmbi where the inscription-pillar originally stood. But, since then many copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Kumâragupta I and Budhagupta have been found which have been discovered equally far to the east of Pātaliputra in such distant districts of Bengal as Rajshahi and Dinajpur. So, the argument based on the find-spots of the Gupta epigraphs and urged against Pātaliputra being the capital of the Gupta empire has no grounds to stand upon. And, as a matter of fact, there are two inscriptions of Chandragupta II where Pātaliputra is mentioned, as pointed out by Fleet himself. One of these is the Gañḍhārī inscription of Gupta Year 88 (No. 8 below). It is true that this is a highly fragmentary record, and, consequently, although line 12 contains the name Pātaliputra, nothing has been preserved there which could have thrown light on this point. Such is not, however, the case with the other record, namely, the Udayagiri cave inscription (No. 11 below), which introduces to us Virasêna Śâba, Minister for Peace and War. He had come thither, as we are told, along with his lord and master, Chandragupta II, in the course of the latter’s dig-vijaya; and while they were temporarily encamped there, he caused a cave to be made and dedicated to the god Śambhu. This is no doubt the Udayagiri cave where the record has been engraved. And it is while specifying details about this Virasêna that the inscription tells us that he was ‘an inhabitant of Pātaliputra.’ “The natural inference is”, says Bühler correctly, “that the town was the capital of the empire.”

We have also to take note of two geographical divisions mentioned in this inscription, namely, Āryåvarta and Dakshinåpatha, which correspond roughly to Northern and Southern India. The name Pratyanta also occurs, but it is doubtful whether the Pratyanta States were then excluded from Āryåvarta. It is possible that geographically they were considered integral parts of this division though politically they were on the frontier of Samudragupta’s empire. As regards Āryåvarta, Manu distinguishes it from Madhyadêsa. The latter denotes the land bounded by the Himålayas in the north, the Vindhyas in the south, Prâyâga or Allahâbâd in the east, and Vinañåna, or the place where the Sarasâvati disappears, in the west. And Āryåvarta is defined as the land between the Himålaya and the Vindhya on the one hand, and between the eastern sea and the western sea, on the other. Āryåvarta is generally understood to mean “the abode of the noble or excellent ones,” and with this agrees one dictionary

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2 D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 50-51.
4 Manusmriti, Chapter II, Verses 21-22.
sense of āvarta, namely, "a crowded place where many men live close together." Anyway, Āryāvarta of Manu corresponds to what we now understand by Northern India. In earlier times, however, it did not denote such a wide region. Thus Patañjali (c. 150 B.C.) speaks of Āryāvarta twice, once in connection with Pāñini II, iv, 10 and another time with VI, vi, 109, but each time specifies the same boundaries. Thus, according to this grammarian, Āryāvarta was bounded on the west by Ādarśa, on the east by Kālaka-vana, on the north by the Himālaya and on the south by Pāriyātra. In later times Pāriyātra, no doubt, denoted the western half of the Vindhya, but here it seems to be intended for the whole of the Vindhya. The western boundary of Āryāvarta was Ādarśa. Bühler has pointed out that the correct reading here must be Ādarśa, which, later on, when its identity was forgotten, was changed into adarśana, to bring it on a par with the Vinaśana of the Manusmṛiti, that is, the disappearance of the Sarasvatī as just pointed out. Bühler, however, seems wrong in thinking that Ādarśa was the name of a mountain range, because there is no authority for this statement. Varāhamihira, on the other hand, speaks of Ādarśa as a country and places it in the Northern Division. And it is the people of this country, no doubt, who are represented by Adraśītai of Arrian and the Adrestai of Diodorus. They appear to be settled somewhere between the Rāvī and the Beās in the Panjab, as is quite clear from the statement of these classical authors. As regards the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta, there is some doubt as to the correct form of its name. Scholars have so far taken it as Kālaka-vana in the sense of 'the Black Forest.' But there is also another good reading, viz., Kālakā-vana, meaning 'the Kālakā Forest.' The Purāṇas know of only one Kālakā, namely, the daughter of the Asura Vaiśvānara who was married to Marichi (Kaśyapa). She and her sister Pulomā, who was also married to Marichi, "bore him sixty thousand Dānavas, called Paulōmas and Kālakēyas, who were powerful, ferocious and cruel." It is very difficult to say which of the two readings is the correct one: Kālaka-vana or Kālakā-vana. In favour of the former reading it may be urged that similar to Kālaka-vana on the border of Āryāvarta we have the Black Forest or Schwarzwald, a mountain range of southwest Germany. But, in this case, the suffix ka in Kālaka is superfluous. At any rate, we should have expected the reading Kāla-vana from at least one manuscript. As a matter of fact, the reading Kāla-vana is not traceable even once, wherever the passage about Āryāvarta is found, whether in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya or in the two Dharmasūtras, Baudhāyana and Vasishtha, to one of which Patañjali is undoubtedly indebted. The reading Kālakā-vana appears thus to be preferable to Kālaka-vana. This accords with the fact that the ancient name of Bihār was Prāchya, which was the country of Asuras. It is natural that a wild region or vana associated with Kālakā, herself an Asura princess and mother of several Asura warriors, should be somewhere in Bihār on the outskirts of Āryāvarta. Another name like Kālakā-vana is Daṇḍakāranya. Both are called vana or aranya as they were flanked by mountain ranges which were overgrown with dense jungle and which presented an almost insurmountable barrier to Aryan emigration, eastward or southward. Whatever the correct reading may be, whether it is Kālaka-vana or Kālakā-vana, this much seems almost certain that it is represented by the modern Jhādkhanḍ, a tract "which lay to the south of Gayā, to the east of Shāhābād, to the north of Bhāgalpur, and to the west of Bankūra and Midnapur."

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1 Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, sub voc.
4 McCrindle, Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 116, note 1.
6 This point has been developed by us in our paper Aryan Immigration into Eastern India, published in ABORL, Vol. XII, pp. 108 ff.
It has already been hinted that Patañjali borrowed his definition of Āryāvarta from one of the Dharmasūtras. As a matter of fact, the same definition occurs both in the Baudhāyana1 and in the Vasishṭha2 Dharmasūtras. And, as Patañjali sometimes quotes phraseology met with in the Baudhāyana,3 the inference is not unreasonable that he was indebted to this Dharmasūtra for his definition of Āryāvarta. We may, therefore, take it that from the time of Baudhāyana up till that of Patañjali, Āryāvarta was bounded on the west by Ādarsā, apparently a country situated between the Rāvi and the Beās, and on the east by Kālaka-vana or Kālaka-vana which corresponds to the modern Jhāḍkhanḍ. Let us now see how far Āryāvarta had spread in the time of Samudragupta. The Allahābād pillar inscription, no doubt, speaks of Āryāvarta in connection with certain princes whom Samudragupta violently uprooted. But that does not mean that this province did not extend beyond the kingdom of the easternmost or westernmost prince specified in the list of these Āryāvarta rulers. Other kingdoms or countries mentioned there must be passed in review in this connection. Thus, among the tribes that acknowledged the political domination of Samudragupta are the Madrakas whose country with its capital Śākala (=Sialkot), as we have seen above,4 lay between the Rāvi and the Chenāb. It thus seems that in the time of Samudragupta, Āryāvarta had extended more westward, that is, gone beyond the Ādarsā country which was situated between the Rāvi and the Beās. Similarly, the political supremacy of this Gupta monarch had spread over such frontier provinces as Samataṭa, Ďāvaka and Kāmarūpa of which the first was doubtless bordered by the sea on the east.5 It will thus be seen that Āryāvarta in the fourth century A.D. was much wider in extent than even in the time of Patañjali and corresponded rather to the Āryāvarta of the Manusmṛti, according to which it was bounded on the east and the west by the seas.

The second territorial division that engages our attention is Dakshināpatha. Originally it was with reference to the Middle Country (Madhyadēśa) that the terms Dakshināpatha and Uttarāpatha seem to have been coined. What this Madhyadēśa was according to Manu, we have already seen, when we spoke of his definition of Āryāvarta. Madhyadēśa is not unknown to Buddhist literature also. It is there called Majjhimadesa. The only difference between the two was that the easternmost point, at any rate, of this Middle Country in Manu’s time was Prayāga, whereas it had extended nearly 400 miles eastward when the Buddha lived and preached.6 It was in regard to this Madhyadēśa that the two territorial divisions, Dakshināpatha and Uttarāpatha,7 came into vogue. The term Dakshināpatha has been pretty frequently used in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇa.8 But that does not enable us to fix even approximately the time when this name first came into use, as these works have been recast more than once. In such a case we are helped more by the Pāli Buddhist, than by the Sanskrit Brahmānic, literature.9 One of the oldest Pāli works, the Suttaṅg Tal, speaks of a Brāhmaṇa guru called Bāvarin as having left the Kosal country of his patron king, Pasenadi (Prasenajit), and retired to a place on the Gōdāvari in the Assaka (Āṣmaka) pro-

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2 B.S.S., No. XXIII, I, 8, p. 1.
3 Notice e.g., the phrases kumbhkidhānyā orāḷūpa of Baudhāyana (I, i, 5, p. 2) in his definition of the fishtas which occur also in Mahābhārata, Vol. III, VI, iii, 109, p. 174. See also JBBRA, Vol. XVI, p. 335.
5 Ibid., p. 22.
6 D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 44.
7 Uttarāpatha and Dakshināpatha denote literally ‘Path or Road Northward and Southward.’ But they are intended apparently to mean ‘the Northern Region and the Southern Region.’
9 The author of the Periplus also speaks of Dakhinabadēśa=Dakshināpatha (Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 143), which shows that the name was popular in the first century A.D.
vince in Dakkhinapatha (Dakshinapatha). The story tells us that Bāvarin sent his sixteen pupils to wait upon the Buddha; and the route has been described by which they traversed from their settlement in Asmaka. They first went to Patiṣṭhāna (Pratishṭhāna) of the Mūlaka country, then to Māhishmati, and so on. It will thus be seen that the Asmaka country and Bāvarin’s settlement on the Gōdavari were to the south of Pratishṭhāna, or Paśāṇ in Aurangabad District, Maharashtra State, the principal town of the Mūlaka province. Dakshinapatha thus, in the Buddha’s time, stretched so far south as to contain not only Mūlaka but also Asmaka.

The same appears to be the case with the term Uttarapatha. One Buddhist Jātaka speaks of certain horse-dealers as having come from Uttarapatha to Bārāṇasi or Vārāṇasi. Uttarapatha cannot here signify Northern India, because Vārāṇasi itself is in Northern India. Evidently it denotes a country at least outside and to the north of the Kāśi kingdom whose capital was Vārāṇasi. As the horses of the dealers just referred to are called saṁdhava, it clearly indicates that they came from the banks of the Sindhu or the Indus. We have seen that according to Manu, the Sarasvati formed the western boundary of Madhyadēśa. It was thus with reference to the Middle country that the name Uttarapatha also was devised. Up to the seventh century A.D., we find the term Uttarapatha used in this sense. Thus, when Prabhākaravardhana, king of Sthānīśvara, sent his son Rājyavardhana to invade the Hūna territory in the Himālayas, Bāṇa (c. 625 A.D.), author of the Harṣa-charita, represents him to have gone to Uttarapatha. As the Hūna territory has thus been placed in Uttarapatha, it is clear that Prabhākaravardhana’s kingdom was excluded from it. And as Sthānīśvara, capital of Prabhākaravardhana, is Thanesar and is on this side of the Sarasvatī, his kingdom is naturally presumed to be included in Madhyadēśa, with reference to which alone the Hūna territory seems to have been described as being in Uttarapatha. Similarly, the poet Rājaśekhara (880-920 A.D.), in his Kācyamūtsā, places Uttarapatha on the other side of Prithūdaka, which, we know, is Pehoa in the Karnal District, Haryana, that is, on the western border of the Middle Country. It is therefore clear that the terms Dakshinapatha and Uttarapatha came into vogue only in regard to Madhyadēśa. It must, however, be borne in mind that although Uttarapatha in Northern India denoted the country north of Madhyadēśa, in Southern India about the time of Bāṇa the term denoted Northern India. Thus Harṣa-vardhana, Bāṇa’s patron, has been described in South Indian inscriptions as Sovereign of Uttarapatha which must here signify North India.

There are many other localities and countries mentioned in the Allahābād pillar inscription, especially in connection with Dakshinapatha. These have been already dealt with above in the Introduction.

**TEXT**

[Metres: Verses 2, 3, 5 and 8 Sṛdg∂rā; verses 4 and 7 Sārdūlavikrīḍita; verse 6 Mandākrāntā and verse 9 Prithvī.]

1 [Yaḥ⁴ kulyaiḥ svaiātasaᵽ.]
2 ya(?sy)a(?)...........[ṣu 1*]
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

3 Pu(?)-ṇtv.............tra.............
4 spāh(?)-ra-dva(?)..............kṣaṁ sphuṭ-ōddhva[m*]sita......
..............................pravatītii[1 2*]
7 [Ā*]r̥y-[ai]h=īty=upaguhya bhāva-piṣumār=utkarnnātī rōmabhīḥ sābhīyēḥ =ūcchhavaisīteśu tulyakula-m[a][1*]-ānan-ōdvi[kṣhi]ta[*][h] [1*]
9 [Dri]ṃstvā kārmāṇy-an[ā]ṇkāṇy-amanuja-sadṛśāṇy=aḍbhut-ōdbhūnā-cinmābhā bh[a]vair=āsvāda[ya] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ [1*] [ch]i[t] [1*]
10 vyry-ōttaptās=cha kēchchḥ=chharanat[ā]m-upagatā yasya vṛttē pranāmē=py=[ar][ri][i][?] t=i[?]=t[i]i[1*] [5]
11 Saṅgrāmē'[h]u sva-bhuja-vijitā nityam=ucch-chāpakāṛā śvāḥ-svō mānapra ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ [1*]
12 tō[sh]-ōttungha sphuṭa-bahu-rasa-nēchha-phullār=mmanōbhīḥ paścāttāpamī va ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ 1*]
13 Udvel-ōdita-bāhu-vyrya-rabhhasād=ēkēna yēna kṣaṁnād=unmūlyā=Āchyu[t]-Nāgasēnā-G ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ 1*]
14 daṃḍair=grāhayañ=aiva Kōtā-kula-janī Puṣhp-[ā]havē kṛdhata śūryē [nē ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ 1*] [7]
15 Dha[rmm]-prāchira-bandhaḥ śaśi-kara-āuchayaḥ krittayaḥ sa-pratāna vaidushyaṃ tattva-bhēdi prāsaṃ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ [1*][*]
19 Kauṣalākula-Mahēndra-Māhākāntāraka-Vyāghrajara-Kauṛākula-Maṇṭa-

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1 Read -kāvyā-śrī-viraudhān.  
2 Restore it to viśkritaṃ. [Dr. V. Raghavan would restore it to viśāde (JOR, Vol. XVI, p. 160) while Dr. Sircar restores as viṁśi (Sl. Int., 1965, p. 263). —Ed.]
3 Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, however, reads śdh=īty=upaguhya (JC, Vol. XIV, p. 143).  
4 [Better read pāki tsvam=urtvām=iti. See the article on Chandragupta's Abduction, Ibid., pp. 141 ff.—Ed.]
5 This is Bhūs̥her's reading which is preferable to Fleet's: ma[m?] sy[ād]=vāsa[m?]na[m?].  
6 Restore it perhaps to Guṇapānī=ājau samēti=āgātān. [Sircar would restore as Guṇapānī-dd[ī]=nṛśpān saṅgarē (Sl. Int., 1965, p. 264, note, 1)—Ed.]
7 [Fleet reads maṛi.—Ed.]
8 Fleet corrects Kauṛākula into Kairalaka, for which, he thinks, the word in the text is obviously a mistake. He, no doubt, says that "it is easy to see how the engraver, or perhaps the writer from whose draft he engraved, formed kauṛākula, by mistake for kairalaka, through a stroke on the right of the k in kai and of the ra." One slip of stroke is intelligible, but not two, which are presupposed in the engraving of Kauṛākula, wrongly for Kairalaka. It is true that Fleet also maintains that "though kurāla occurs in the sense of 'a light bay horse with black legs,' it is not known as the name of a country or a city." But it has been pointed out (see above, Introduction, p. 15) that this Kurāla can easily be identified with Kunāla of the Aihohe inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.) and both with the modern Kollēru (Collair) lake.
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raja-Paishṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatt-1-Airandapallaka-
Damana-Kāśichāyaka-Vishṇugōp-Āvamuktaka-

20 Nilarāja-Vaṅgēyaka-Hastivarma-Pālakak-Ūgrasena-Daivarāśtrakara-
Kubera-Kausthalapuraka-Dhanaṇjaya-prabhṛiti-sarvva-Dakshinā-
patha-raja-grahaṇa-mūkṣh-ānugraha-jamita-pratāp-ōmnira-mahābhāγyasya

21 Rudradēva-Matila-Nāgadatta-Chandrarvaṃma-Ganapatinaṅga-Nāgaseṇ-
Āchuyaṇandī2-Balavarm-ādy-anēk-Āryāvarta-raja-prasah-ōḍhdhara-
ṇa-ōdvritta-prabhāva-mahataḥ-parīchārakṛti-sarvva-ātavika-rajasya

22 Samata-Taṭavaka-Κāmarūpa-Nēpāla-Kartṭīripur-ādi-pratyanta-nṛpatibhir-
Mālav-Ārjunāyana-Yaudhēya-Mādrak-Ābhrā-Prājuna-Sanakā-
nika-Kāka-Kharaparik-ādibhiḥ-cha sarvva-kaṇḍāna-ājñākaraṇa-prañām-
āgamanā

23 parītōṣha-prachanda-āsanasya anēka-bhrasṛta-rājy-ōtsanna-rāja-vainśa-prati-
sthāpana-ōḍbdhūta-nikhilā-bh[uvana-vi[cha][ra]na-[sra]-yaśasaḥ Daiva-
putra-Śahī-Śahānushahī-Śaka-Murunḍaiḥ Saimhaḷak-ādibhiḥ-cha

24 sarvva-dvīpa-ōsibhir-ātmanivēdana-kanyōpāyanadāna-garutmadāna-sva-
visaya3-bhukti-sa[ṃ]-[y]āchan-ādy-upāya-sēva-krita-bāhu-vīrya-prasara-
dhāraṇī-bandhasya prithivīyam4-apratirathasya

25 scharita-sāt-ālaṅkṛt-ānēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ōsiktibhiḥ-cha ravaṇa-tala-pramṛśṭḥ-āny-
narapati-kīrtēḥ sādhv-asādh-ūdaya-pralaya-hētu-purushasya-āchintyasya

1 This is not an easy passage to deal with. Bhaū Dājī renders it by “Śvāmidattā of Pishṭapura, Mahēndragiri
and Kudda” (JBBRAS, Vol. IX, p. xcvi), where Kudda is a mis-reading for Kūṭṭra. But “this is not admissible” as Fleet correctly remarks, “because it would require mahēndragirīka in the text, instead of mahēndragiri,” as it
actually exists. It is possible to find the final ka in the text as it stands, by dividing the words into Mahēndragirik-Auṭṭāra. And, as a matter of fact, the passage has been translated by Bhagvanlal Indraji thus: “Śvāmidattā of Paishṭapura Mahēndra-Giri and Auṭṭura” (BC., Vol. I, Part i, p. 63). Even then this procedure is open to
the objection that we should have had Mahēndragirīka instead of Mahēndragirir. “If mahēndragirir is to be taken as
one word and as denoting the mountain”, it is possible, says Fleet, to render the passage by “Śvāmidattā of Pishṭapura
and of Kūṭṭra on Mahēndra,” “And it might be supported by the fact that we have a Kūṭṭra on almost the
same range of hills as that to which the Mahēndragiri belongs; viz., the ‘Kailashottā and Kylasottā’ of the
map (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 107; Lat. 19° 14’; Long. 83° 36’ E.), which represents Kailāsa-Koṭtha and Kailāsa-
Koṭṭra and seems to be a place of importance. But the objection to this interpretation is that none of the other
kings’ names, mentioned in this inscription, is coupled with more than one locality. “This leads us”, remarks
Fleet correctly, “to connect Śvāmidattā with Kūṭṭra only, and to find the name of another king in connection
with Pishṭapura. The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, Paishṭapura-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭ-
ra-Koṭṭam-Svāmidattā; and to translate, ‘Mahēndragir of Pishṭapura and Śvāmidattā of Koṭṭra.’” It is a great pity
that Fleet did not stick to his first inclination, and divided the words following Manṛarja into Paishṭapura-Mahē-
ndra and girīKauṭṭra-Svāmidattā and translated them as “Mahēndra of Pishṭapura, Svāmidattā of Koṭṭra on
the hill”. The reason he specifies in support of this view is that “though girī or gir is a very common termination
of proper names in the present day, ........ is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of
Gōśāvis; and even among them it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Daśānāmi-Gōśāvi
[see H. H. Wilson’s Works (Rost’s edition), Vol. I, p. 202; Molesworth, Marathi Dictionary, s. v. gir; and Monier
Williams, Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v., gir]. I think, therefore, that, in the absence of any other analogous instance,
it would in all probability be incorrect to accept it as a suitable termination for a king’s name.” Fleet’s view,
however, sets the rules of grammar completely at naught. The cūddhi in Kauṭṭra clearly shows that the word
girī preceding it is to be connected with Mahēndra. If girī had really formed part of the name of the country whose
ruler Śvāmidattā was, we should have had Gatrikāṭṭarsa instead of GirkaKauṭṭra. Besides, it is not necessary to
take girī here as a suffix similar to that of girī or gir of Gōśāvis, as he has done. It is best to understand the whole
of Mahēndragiri as the proper name of the ruler of Pishṭapura. Instances are not unknown of names of sacred moun-
tains being adopted as individual names whether in ancient or modern times (see above, Introduction, p. 15).

2 Fleet and others take Achyuta and Nandi as names of two different Āryāvarta rulers. But here, Nandi
had better be taken as a surname of Achyuta (see above, Introduction, pp. 10 and 20) like Naga of Gaṇapati.

3 Read -vaśīya-

4 Read prithiyāyam =
bhakty-avanati-mātra-grāhya-mṛidu-hṛidayasya = anukampāvatō = nēka-gōṣata-sahasra-pradāyinaḥ


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1 [Fleet reads manitra in place of sattra. —Ed.]
2 Read -ābhuyapagato-
3 It is possible to argue, as V.A. Smith once did (JASB., Vol. LIII, Part i, p. 119, and note), though he gave up the view subsequently (EIH, 4th edition, 296, note 1), that the name here intended is Śrīgupta, and not Gupta. Gupta, it may be contended, is a mere past participle meaning ‘protected’ and cannot stand as a proper name by itself. Śrīgupta, on the other hand, signifies ‘protected by Śrī (goddess of prosperity),’ and can make a suitable individual name. And, as a matter of fact, the Chinese pilgrim I-sing, who was in India in the second half of the seventh century, mentions ‘a great king’ (mahāraja), Śrīgupta, who lived about 500 years prior to him (JRS, N.S., Vol. XIII, p. 571; Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 110). In regard to the first of these arguments it has been pointed out (see above, Introduction p. 2) that Gupta can stand very well as a proper name. Secondly, if the name of the grand-father of Chandragupta I had been Śrīgupta and not Gupta, we should have had this in line, not Śrīgupta, but Śrī-Śrīgupta; in other words, the honorific śrī would certainly have been prefixed to the individual name Śrīgupta. Thus, as pointed out by Fleet, we have such instances as mahādeyam Śrī-Śrīmatyam = utpannah in line 2 of the Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivajagupta II (CII., Vol. III, 1888, Plate XXIX B); Śrī-Śrīpathayāṁ pari, in verse, in line 6 of the Bayānā inscription of V.S. 1100 (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 10), and Śrī-Śrīpathayāṁ, in prose, in the Bayānā inscription of V. S. 1503 (Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 239). Similarly, we should have had in this record mahāraja-Śrī-Śrīgupta-praputrasa, which wording, however, does not occur even once in any Gupta inscription.

The third argument which relates to the mention of an actual king called Śrīgupta by I-sing has also been set forth at length and disposed of (see above, Introduction p. 3), where it has been pointed out that this Śrīgupta was at least one century prior in time to the grandfather of Chandragupta I and cannot, thus, be identified with the latter. The question that now arises is whether the name Gupta here is a full name or an abbreviation of some fuller original name. In this connection Fleet cites the authority of Bühl to show from Sanskrit literature that shortening of names was in popular use in ancient India and was allowed even by the grammarians, Kātyāyanas. Thus, the latter's sāriṅka 4 on Pāṇini VII, 3, 45 shows that in his time Dēvaka and Yajñaka were well-known short forms of Dēvadatta and Yajñadatta. Similarly, Bühl correctly adds the instances of the popular shortening of such common nouns as mṛīgendhī into nābhi, and, of such proper nouns as Satyabhāmā into Satyā or Bhamā. Likewise, Fleet on his own initiative cites many instances of such abbreviated names from inscriptions. When he gives Vikrama and Mahendrā as short forms of Vikrāmādiyā and Mahendrādityā—the titles of the Gupta and other sovereigns—such a procedure is intelligible enough and cannot possibly be objected to. When, however, he adverts to the use of mere Samudra, Chandra and Kumāra for Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I on the gold coins of these Gupta monarchs, his view may rightly be called in question, because in these cases Gupta is a family name and not part of the proper name, as Fleet apparently supposes.

Thus, Samudragupta, Chandragupta and Kumāragupta are full names of these sovereigns of which the first part, namely, Samudra, Chandra or Kumāra, is a proper name, and the second part, namely, Gupta, is their family name. Thus, when the father of Chandragupta I is named Ghatōtkacha, we can very well understand that in this case his proper name alone has been mentioned without the clan name Gupta being affixed to it. But what about Gupta? Is it the proper name or the family name? If we accept the former supposition, his full name becomes Ghatōtkacha which sounds very fanciful. On the other hand, it seems more natural to suppose that Ghatōtkacha's father is here denoted by his family name alone. Instances of this nature are not unknown. Thus, above the relievo figure of a prince in the celebrated Nānāgāhā cave the following name is labelled: "the Kumāra Sātavāhana" (Lüders' List, No. 1118). Now Sātavāhana is known to be the name of a royal family ruling over the Deccan. Nevertheless, a prince of this dynasty has been here mentioned, not by his individual, but family, name. It is quite possible that the father of Ghatōtkacha has been similarly referred to in the Gupta records by his family name only, apparently because he was a person of no importance. This point has already been dealt with (see
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29 Licchhāvī-dauhitrasya mahādevyāṁ Kumāradēvyaṁ उत्पाण्यसया mahā-
rājādhirāja-Śrī Samudraguptasya sarvag-prihi-vijaya-janit-ōdaya-vyāpta-
nikhil-āvanitāṁ kṛttim-ītas-tridāsapatī-  
30 bhavana-gaman-āvāpta-lalita-sukha-vicharanāṁ आचक्षान्वा iva bhuvō bāhur- 
ayam-uchchhiratih stambhaḥ [1*] yasya i2 Pradāna-bhuja-vikramra- 
prasāma-śastrāvāky -ōdayair-ūparyyupari - sañchay - ochchhiratam-anēka-
mārgaṁ yaśaḥ [1*]  
31 punāti bhuvana-trayaṁ Paśupatēr-jaat-āntar-guha-nirōdha-parimoksha-śighram 
iva pāṇḍu Gāngām [payah] [ii 9*] Etach-cha kāyam-ēśhām-ēva 
bhāṭṭāraka-pādānāṁ dasuya samīpa-parisarpaṇ-anugraha-ōṁmilita-matē̄  
32 Khāḍyāṭapākikāya3 mahādaṇḍanāya-Śrīvabhūti-pitrasya sāndhivigrhaḥ- 
=āstu t  
33 Anuśhītītam cha parambhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuḍhyātēna mahādaṇḍanāya- 
Tilabhaṭṭakēna 1 [1 *]  

TRANSLATION  

(Verse 3) Whose mind is surcharged with happiness in consequence of his association 
with the wise, who is thus accustomed to retain4 the truth and purpose of (any) science . . . .
fixed . . . . upraised . . . . who, removing impediments to the grace of good poetry through 
the very injunction (aśī) of (poetic) excellence (guṇa) clustered together (guṇita) by the 
experts, enjoys, in the literate world, in an attractive fashion, sovereignty, in consequence 
of fame for copious lucid poetry.5  

(Verse 4) (Exclaiming) ‘Come, oh worthy (one),’ and embracing (him) with hair standing
above, Introduction, p. 3). [And yet, some authors and writers continue to take the name of the first king of 
the dynasty as Śrīgupta and not as mere Gupta; see, for instance, A. S. Altakar, Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the
Bayana Hoard. (1954). Introduction, p. c et passim. The whole question has been clinched and it has been 
shown, beyond any doubt, that the name was Gupta only, which is also one of the thousand names of God 
Vishnu, whose worshippers the Guptas were: Gukūy Gahārū Gahanā Guptā=Chakragādādharā (verse 58 of the
137 ff., and its Hindu version in the Nāgari Prachārīni Patrikā (N.S.), Year 54 Samvat 2006), pp. 1 ff.—Ed.].

1 Read =uterpanasya.  
2 This daṇḍa is unnecessary. 
3 [Dr. Sircar would restore the reading as Khaḍyaḥāṭapākikā, Sol. Ins., 1965, p. 268, note, 1.—Ed.]. 
4 Attention may be invited to Pāṇini II, 2, 15 śṛṇānā kārtari. And, as bhakti here is part of the compound, 
it has to be taken as śṛṇ-pratyaṇ-śānta, denoting śāchāḥśa. 
5 The translation of this stanza by Fleet is anything but clear. Bühler renders it as follows: “The order of the 
possession (i.e., of Samudragupta) of the true meaning of the Śāstras whose heart is highly happy at the association 
with the good,—multiplied as its power is, by the virtues of the wise—puts an end to the war between good poetry 
and prosperity and thus enjoys, of the world of the learned, a far-extending sovereignty whose shining glory 
endures in many poems.” (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 177). The first half of Bühler’s translation also is vague, at any 
rate, not sufficiently intelligible. In the second half he notices too learned an allusion to the well-known allegory 
about the discord between the Muse of Poetry and the Goddess of Wealth; but it leaves the third and fourth 
lines of this stanza utterly unconnected. He has failed to explain how Samudragupta has established kirtirīḍya on 
account of his own poetry, by removing the discord between Śrī and Sarasvati in the case of other poets. [Dr.
V. Raghavan, who has discussed in detail this stanza as well as stanza 8 of this inscription, translates it as follows: “Of him whose mind found its proper delight in giving itself up to the lady of Intellect and who was the master of 
(the soldiers called) the truths of Śāstras, the celebrated and prolific Poesy (of that king), having excellent literary 
productions as its treasury, having removed literary flaws by (following) the rules of the literary excellences 
enumerated by the learned (critics), (having destroyed all opposition by the command of the six guṇas of statecraft 
advocated by the wise counsellors), enjoys the kingdom of fame in the ‘wide’ world of scholars.” JOR, Vol. XVI, 
p. 161. The verb bhunakti in the original obviously stands for ‘enjoys’ as it has been translated by all. In that case, 
the correct form should have been bhunakīt and not bhunakti, according to Pāṇini I, 3, 66—bhujā=navant.—Ed.]
on end and indicating (his) feeling, (his) father, perceiving (him) with the eye, overcome with affection, (and) laden with tears (of joy), (but) discerning the true state (of things) said to him 'so protect (thou) the whole earth', while he was being looked up with sad faces by others of equal birth, (but) while the courtiers were breathing cheerfully.1

(Verse 5) Beholding whose many super-human actions, some felt the thrill of marvel and burst into horripilation, some relishing with feeling . . . . some afflicted with his prowess sought (whose) protection after performing obeisance; . . . .

(Verse 6) (Whose enemies), whose offence was always great, being conquered by his arm in battles . . . . day by day . . . . pride . . . . (develop) repentance with their minds filled with delight and expanding with much and evident pleasure and affection.

(Verse 7) By whom, with the impetuousity of the prowess of (his) arm, which grew to overflowing, having singly and in a moment uprooted Achyuta and Nāgāsena and [Gaṅapati]2 come together in a battle (against him) thereafter, causing, indeed, the scion of the Kōta family to be captured by (his) forces, (while) amusing himself at (the city) named Pushpa, while the sun . . . . the banks . . . .

(Verse 8) (Being) the enclosing structure of Dharma (Sacred Law), (his) multifarious sprouting fame is as bright as the rays of the moon; (his) erudition pierces down to Truth . . . . quiescence . . . . , the course of (his) wise utterances is worthy of study; (his) again is poetry which outdistances the greatness of the genius of (other) poets. What excellence is there which does not belong to him? So has he alone become a fit subject of contemplation with the learned.3

(Lines 17-18) Of him (who) was skilful in engaging in hundreds of battles of various kinds, whose only ally was valour (parākrama) through the might of his own arm, and who

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1 For Bühler's translation of this verse, see Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 176. "This verse," says Fleet, "seems to indicate that Chandragupta I specially selected Samudragupta, from among several brothers, to conquer the land and to succeed him on the throne." This means apparently that Samudragupta was selected by his father to ascend the Gupta throne in course of time after his death. This seems to be supported by what he says further, namely that "a clear indication of some such custom of selection is afforded by the epithet tat-parīkṛta, "accepted (as his favourite son and chosen successor) by him (Samudragupta)," which is always applied to Chandragupta II, in the genealogical passages; e.g., in lines 9-10 of his Mathurā inscription," (No. 10 below, Plate X). It is, however, very doubtful whether Fleet's view is correct. The words nikhilam pañyay evam wavam iti "So do (thou) protect the whole earth," are, in my opinion, a clear indication that Chandragupta I retired from the arduous life of a king and became a ānāprastha by putting Samudragupta in charge of the uśī or earth which he had conquered and held (see above, Introduction, p. 8). Compare the last verse of the third canto of the Rāghuvanśa. [In this connection, attention is invited to the article on Chandragupta's Abdication in IC., Vol. XIV, pp. 141 ff. and the translation given there, on p. 146, which runs as follows: "with hair erect, indicating affection, when father embraced him, saying: "come, come!", those present in the court felt exhilarated, while the rival claimants looked at him with sullen faces. Their eyes laden with tears and sparkling with emotion, father cast a piercing glance at him and thus spake to him: "protect thou the whole earth!"—Ed.].

2 This is a translation of the restored part of line 13. Originally the name must have been Gaṅapa in this stanza. The name, however, is identical with Gaṅapati who, we know, was a Nāga prince of much power and influence. For the identification of this ruler and others mentioned along with him, and, above all, for the formation of the Nāga confederacy against Samudragupta, see above, Introduction, pp. 8-11.

3 Bühler translates the stanza as follows: "He alone is worthy of the thoughts of the learned! Because what excellence is there, which would not be his? He has made firm the barrier of law, his is the sprouting fame that shines purely like the rays of the moon, his the wisdom which pierces down to the truth, his the self-control . . . . his the poetic works which multiply the spiritual treasures of poets." (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 178). [Dr. V. Raghavan translates the stanza as follows: "Wide spread fame, pure as the rays of moon and having the fence of Dharma, piercing scholarship that comprehends the truth (of things and sūtras); . . . . study of the belles-lettres; and poetry which throws into shade the genius of (other) poets; — what excellence is there which is not in this king; he who is the one person who is (thus) contemplated upon by the learned." JOR., Vol. XVI, p. 162.—Ed.].
(has thus) the epithet Parâkrama, whose body was most charming, being covered over with the plenteous beauty of the marks of hundreds of promiscuous scars, caused by battle-axes, arrows, spikes (satku), spears (sakti), barbed darts (prasa), swords, iron clubs (tôma), javelins for throwing (bhîndipâla), barbed arrows (nârâcha), span-long arrows (vaitistika) and many other weapons.

(Lines 19-20) Whose magnanimity blended with valour was caused by (his) first capturing, and thereafter showing the favour of releasing, all the kings of Dakshinâpatha such as Mahêndra of Kôsâla, Vyâghrarâja of Mahâkântâra, MañÇarâja of Kurâla, Mahêndragiri of Pishôpura, Svâmîdatta of Kôttûra, Damana of Éranâpallâ, Vishnûgôpa of Kânchi, Nilarâja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vêngi, Ugrasena of Pâlakka, Kubëra of Dévarâstra, and Dhanâjaya of Ksthalapura.

(Line 21) (Who) is great through the extraordinary valour, namely, the forcible extermination of many kings of Áryâvarta such as Rudradêva, Matila, Nâgadatta, Chandravarman, Gânapatinâga, Nâgasena, ÁchyuTa-Nandin and Balavarman; who has made all the kings of the forest regions to become his servants.

(Lines 22-23) (Whose) formidable rule was propitiated with the payment of all tributes, execution of orders and visits (to his court) for obeisance by such frontier rulers as those of Samataç Dāvâka, Kâmarûpa, Nêpâla, and Kâtripura, and, by the Mâlavas, Árjunâyanas, Yaudhêyas, Mâdrakas, Êbîras, Prêrjunas, Sanakânikas, Kâkas, Kharaparikas and other (tribes).

(Line 23) (Whose) fame has tired itself with a journey over the whole world caused by the restoration of many fallen kingdoms and overthrown royal families.

(Lines 23-24) The unimpeded flow (prasara) of the prowess of (whose) arm (was arrested) by an earth embankment (dharanî-bandha) put up by means of service through such measures

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1 The word anka in Parâkkram-ânka is synonymous with lââchhana (epithet) as in Srîkânda-poda lââchhana occurring in the description of Bhavabhûti about the beginning of all his dramas. One commentator, Ghanâsîma, explains the term either as syavahâra (nickname), anka (epithet) or bîruda (laudatory appellation), and, in support of his position, quotes lââchhaham syavahâr-anka-bîrudehuh iti Rudra-Kélavau. This suits here excellently so that we can safely take this passage to mean that Parâkrama was an epithet of Samudragupta. In fact, we find this appellation given to him on some of his coins (Allan, Catalogue of Indian Coins—Gupta Dynasties, 1914, pp. 1-5; Smith, Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 102).

2 In regard to vaitistika Fleet says: "The word is not explained in the dictionaries. It must be a derivative from viśasti, a long span, measured by the extended thumb and little finger." Nevertheless, the St. Petersburg Dictionary explains the word by "a span-long (arrow)" and cites some references to it from the Mahâbhâratâ (BURL, critical edition), Drôñâ-Parvan, Chapter 98, verse 50, p. 540 and has the following: "those, indeed, are the arrows of the span measure and used in close fight."

3 The expression -grânâya-mâksâh-ûngrahâ- of the text may aptly be compared to the phrase grihita-prati-muktasya used by Kâlidâsa in the Raghuvansha (IV, 43) to show that Raghuv was a righteous conqueror (dharma-vijay). See above, Introduction, p. 33.

4 Notice that the name of every country in Dakshinâpatha is marked with syôddhi in the first vowel and ends with the suffix ka. To take one instance, Kausalaka is formed as follows: Kusâlamâna râjâ Kusâalâ (Pâñini, IV, 1, 168); and then anupamîta Kusâla Kusâlakâ (Pâñini, V, 3, 76) which accords with mîksâh-ûngrahâ of the text excellently; otherwise Pâñini V, 3, 74 may be made applicable. For the identification of the names of kings and countries included in Dakshinâpatha see above, Introduction pp. 12-20.

5 For the identification of some of these Áryâvarta rulers, see above, Introduction, pp. 20-21.

6 Some of the frontier countries and tribes mentioned here will be found identified above, see Introduction, p. 22.

7 This passage has been translated by Fleet as follows: "whose binding together of the (whole) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (his) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as........." Bühler renders it by "the mighty bravery of his arm which held the whole earth in bondage, received homage from the inhabitants of all countries, in various ways, such as........." (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 178). Both the scholars have misunderstood the meaning of the phrase dharanî-bandha. The prowess of Samudragupta's arm was as unimpeded (contd. on p. 218)
as self-surrender, offering (their own) daughters in marriage and a request for the administration of their own districts and provinces through the Garuḍa badge,¹ by the Dēvaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi and the Śaka lords² and by (rulers) occupying all Island countries, such as Siṃhāla and others.

(Lines 24-26) He was without an antagonist on earth;³ he, by the overflowing of the multitude of (his) many good qualities adorned by hundreds of good actions, has wiped off the fame of other kings with the soles of (his) feet; (he is) Puruṣa (Supreme Being), being the cause of the prosperity of the good and the destruction of the bad⁴ (he is) incomprehensible;⁵ (he is) one whose tender heart can be captured only by devotion and humility; (he is) possessed of compassion; (he is) the giver of many hundred-thousands of cows; (his) mind has received ceremonial initiation for the uplift of the miserable, the poor, the forlorn and the suffering; (he is) resplendent and embodied kindness to mankind; (he is) equal to (the gods) Kubēra, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama; (his) Ayukta officers are always engaged upon restoring wealth (titles, territories, etc.) to the many kings conquered by the might of his arms.

(Lines 27-28) (He) has put to shame Brihaspati⁶ by (his) sharp and polished intellect, as also Tumburu, Nārada and others by the graces of his musical performances;⁷ (his) title of ‘King of Poets’⁸ has been established through (his) many compositions in poetry which were a means of subsistence to the learned people;⁹ (his) many wonderful and noble deeds are fit to be praised for a very long time; (he is) a human being, only as far as he performs the rites and conventions of the world, (otherwise he is) God whose residence is (this) world.

(Lines 28-30) This lofty¹⁰ column, (is) the raised arm of the earth, proclaiming as it were,

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¹ Fleet’s rendering of this passage is: “offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa-tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, etc., (rendered) by……………” Bühler’s translation is: “causing themselves to be presented to him, offering daughters and other presents, and requesting him for a decree with the Garuḍa seal for the possession of their country” (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 178). For a full explanation of the different parts of this passage, see above Introduction, pp. 26-30. [The words garumadaksaka, īśana, vishaya and bhakti in the original seem to be technical terms, the first two standing for ‘Garuḍa Seal’ and ‘copper charter’ respectively and the latter two for territorial units ‘district’ and ‘division’ respectively. See the article on Seals of Ancient India in The Indian Archives, Vol. XIV, p. 41.—Ed.].

² Who these foreign contemporary monarchs were has been discussed above, see Introduction, pp. 26-30.

³ [Or, say Apratiratha, God Vīṣṇu himself, on earth. JNSI., Vol. IX, pp. 137 ff.; Nāgari Prachārīṇī Patrikā (N.S.), Year 54, (Satnvat 2006), pp. 1 ff.—Ed.].

⁴ [Another significant allusion to Samudragupta being God Vīṣṇu on earth: paritrāṇāya sādhānāṃ vināśāya cha dushkhritām (Bhagavadgītā, Chapter IV, verse 8). For an elaborate discussion see Nāgari Prachārīṇī Patrikā, op. cit.—Ed.].

⁵ [Allusion is again to Samudragupta being an incarnation of Achintya, God Vīṣṇu. Ibid.—Ed.].

⁶ See above, Introduction, pp. 43-5.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ [This rendering has been objected to by Prof. Jagan Nath Agrawal who would translate as—‘which were ‘fit to serve as the sources of inspiration for the learned.’ See the Bhāratva Vidyā, Vol. IX (The Munshi Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume), Part I, p. 277. This accords well. We may thus take the word upājaśya of the original as standing for ‘model’.—Ed.]

¹⁰ It is possible to propose an alternative translation which will be something like this—“This column has been erected as an arm of the earth” etc. But this presupposes that the pillar had fallen and was set up again in the time of Samudragupta. Here is what Prinsep thinks: “That it was overthrown, some time after its first erection……by order of the great Asoka in the third century before Christ, is proved by the longitudinal or random insertion of several names…………in a character intermediate between” those of the Asoka and the Gupta inscriptions. (contd. on p. 219)
that the fame having pervaded the entire surface of the world with (its) rise caused by the conquest of the whole earth, has acquired an easy and graceful movement in that it has repaired from here (i.e. from this world) to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods—(the fame) of that prosperous Samudragupta the Maharājādhirāja, son of the prosperous Chandragupta (I), the Maharājādhirāja, born of the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi, (and)

Of one of these names, he remarks—"Now it would have been exceedingly inconvenient if not impossible to have cut the name,.........., up and down at right angles to the other writing, while the pillar was erect, to say nothing of the place being out of reach, unless a scaffold were erected on purpose, which would hardly be the case since the object of an ambitious visitor would be defeated by placing his name out of sight and in an unreadable position" (JASB, Vol. VI, p. 967 f). "But this particular name," says Fleet, "with several of the others referred to by him, is in characters that are certainly of considerably later date than the Gupta inscription; and none of the names are in characters that are any earlier than the inscription." Nevertheless, there are some letters which look earlier than those of the Gupta period. See e.g., the three characters which are engraved between lines 6 and 7 just at the beginning of these lines which are clear even in Plate I of Fleet's volume and which are symbols for integers. The first is clearly 20 and the second 7. The third is somewhat indistinct. And they apparently belong to the Kshatrapa or Kushāna period. Nevertheless, I agree with Fleet in adopting "a translation that does not bind us to either view."

1 Bühler takes vihsaraṇa in the sense of 'path' and observes that "the synonyms charaṇa, gamana and yaṇa are given in this sense in the Petersburg lexicon" (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 174). But it is very doubtful whether any one of these words with the preposition vi can signify 'a path.' Secondly, if the primary sense of vihsaraṇa, 'free movement, ramble' can fit here, it is unnecessary to go in for the secondary one.

2 It is clear from this translation that what has gone to the abode of Indra is, not Samudragupta, as Fleet gratuitously assumes, but his Fame. This Fame, having already pervaded this world, had perforce to ascend to heaven to attain further scope. This is a poetic fancy often indulged in by Sanskrit poets. See, Introduction, p. 12.

Fleet translates this passage thus: "This lofty column (is) as it were an arm of the earth, proclaiming the fame,—which, having pervaded the entire surface of the earth with (its) development that was caused by (his) conquest of the whole world, (has departed) hence (and now) experiences the sweet happiness attained by (his) having gone to the abode of (Indra) the lord of the gods, etc. The points where he has gone wrong are: (1) the addition of (has departed), and (2) the rendering of vihsaraṇa by 'experiences,' and, above all, the insertion of 'his,' that is, of Samudragupta, before 'having gone.' Bühler's translation is as follows: "This high pillar is, as it were, the arm of the earth raised up, which announces that the fame of Samudragupta, the illustrious lord of great kings, greatly augmented by the conquest of the whole earth, filled the whole surface of the earth, and found a happy, happy path in that it wandered from this world to the palace of the lord of gods' (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLIII, p. 173). This rendering is a great improvement upon that of Fleet. Bühler is quite right in suggesting that the word uchchhīra goes not only with the pillar but also with the arm of the Earth. He is, however, wrong in taking vihsaraṇa in the sense of 'path.' It is true that charaṇa like its synonyms gamana and yaṇa has this sense as we find it in the Petersburg lexicon, but none of these words with the preposition vi is given in that sense in any lexicon or is known to possess it.

3 Śri, 'auspiciousness, glory, prosperity,' and śrīmat, 'possessed of auspiciousness, glory, prosperity,' are frequently used as honorific prefixes to the names of deities, sacred works, holy men, eminent persons or well-known places, and have to be rendered accordingly. They can thus be safely rendered 'holy' in the case of gods, 'saintly,' of priests, teachers, etc., 'famous' of towns, and so forth. It is doubtful whether Fleet is correct in translating the word by 'glorious' in the case of paramount sovereigns and their wives, and 'illustrious,' of feudatories. It is best to designate them all by either 'glorious' or 'prosperous' without any invidious distinction such as never was intended in the case of rulers by the mere use of this honorific prefix. There is no such rule as that of using śrī before a consonant and śrīmat before a vowel, as Fleet thinks, for we meet with expressions not only like Śrī-Ādiyapunamādeva as in Mandar Hill Rock Inscription (CII, Vol. III, 1888, No. 45, p. 212, line 1), but also like Śrīmat-Svarṇputravasuddhadeva ....... śrīmaṭ-Vallabhanandadeva (Int. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 251, line 39) as Fleet himself has pointed out. Nor can it be suggested that only śrī, not śrīmat, is used in the case of paramount sovereigns. Such a suggestion has been ably controverted by Fleet with a number of instances to the contrary.

4 Fleet takes it as equivalent to Maharājādhirāja and renders it by 'supreme king of Mahārājas.' It had better be understood to mean Mahā-rājādhirāja, "the great over-king of kings." For the political significance denoted by this title, see above, Introduction, p. 2.

5 Mahādevī seems to have here used as the title of a wife of a paramount sovereign. It is curious that while derivatives of rāj ‘woman’ or Mahārājan and Mahārājādhirāja have been coined as titles of supreme rulers, neither rājī nor its derivatives, but Mahādevī is employed to denote their queen-consorts. The term rājī was certainly in existence during this period, but signified ‘the wife of a ruler (rājñi)’ and was not used as a title. Hence we find (contd. on p. 220)
daughter's son of the Lichchhavi, son's son of the prosperous Ghaṭotkacha, the Mahārāja and the son of the son's son of the prosperous Gupta, the Mahārāja. Whose

(Verse 9) fame, ever ascending higher and higher masses, and travelling by many paths, (namely) by liberality, prowess of arm, sobriety and utterance of scriptural texts, purifies the three worlds, like the white water of the (holy river) Gaṅgā, dashing forth rapidly when liberated from the confinement in the inner hollow of the matted hair of Paśupati, (which rises up in ever higher and higher masses and flows through many paths).³

(Lines 31-32) And may this poetic compositor (kāya) of Harishēṇa, the servant of the very same venerable Bhaṭṭāraka, whose mind has been enlightened through the favour of dwelling near (him), who is the Sāndhivigrahika, Kumārāṇīya (and) Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, (and who is) a native of Khāḍyaṭāpāka,⁵ and son of the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Dhruvabhūti, lead to the welfare and happiness of all beings!

(Lines 33) and (it) was executed by the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Tilabhaṭṭaka who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka.

No 2 : PLATE II

ÉRĀṆ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRA GUPTA

This inscription was first brought to notice by Alexander Cunningham in 1880, in the Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. X, p. 89, from which it seems that he discovered it in 1874-75 or 1876-77, when, as Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, he

both the terms rājini and Mahādevi used in conjunction with the name of the wife of a paramount sovereign, compare, e.g. Paramabhaṭṭārakā-rājini-Mahādevi-Konaṭīni of the Mandar Hill rock inscription of Ādityasena (CH., Vol. III, 1888, p. 212). In the later part of the Gupta period, however, Mahādevi was applied even to the wives of Mahārāja, e.g., throughout the Kārtīkāla grant of Jayanāha (Ibid., p. 118).

¹ Note the spelling of the tribal name here; it is Li-cheha-ri. Elsewhere, e.g., in line 3 of the Bhithari pillar inscription of Skandagupta (No. 31 below), it is Li-chehhi-ri, where the vowel in the second syllable is i instead of a.

² From the Gupta period onwards Mahārāja was applied only to feudatories, not to paramount sovereigns. See above, Introduction, p. 2.

³ Bühler translates this stanza as follows: “And the glory of this (ruler), which rises up in layers one above the other, through his generosity, his bravery of the arm, his self-control, and his perfection in the science of letters and which follows more than one path, purifies the three worlds, like the white waters of the Gaṅgā, which rises up in ever higher floods, follows more than one path, and dashes forth rapidly, freed as it is from the imprisonment in the inner hollow of the braid of hair of Paśupati.” (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 173).

⁴ Fleet renders it by “the slave of these same feet of the Bhaṭṭāraka” and Bühler by “the slave of the feet of this same lord” (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 172). Both these scholars seem to have forgotten that the plural of pāda is often added to proper names or titles in token of respect. In such cases pāda cannot be translated by “the feet (of).” If the latter sense had been intended, we should have had, not bhaṭṭāraka-pādāṇāṁ but bhaṭṭāraka-pādayoh. In the very next line, Tilabhaṭṭaka, who was entrusted with the engraving of the record, speaks of the king as Paramabhaṭṭāraka which is practically equivalent to Bhaṭṭāraka-pādāḥ of Harishēṇa. But who is intended by Bhaṭṭāraka-pādāḥ? Fleet thinks that he was not Samudragupta but his son and successor Chandragupta II. But the word eva in ēṣāṁ = eva which immediately precedes Bhaṭṭāraka-pādāṇāṁ clearly shows that it must denote the king who has been the subject of the panegyric up to the inditing of the colophon by Harishēṇa. This king, of course, is Samudragupta, as Bühler also understood him to be. Fleet has correctly pointed out that whereas mere Bhaṭṭāraka has been applied to feudatory Mahārājas, Paramabhaṭṭāraka is coupled with Mahārājādhirāja in the Gupta epoch.

⁵ [See above, page 215 note 3, according to which the meaning would be ‘the head of the superintendents of the royal kitchen.’—Ed.].

⁶ [Can this name Tilabhaṭṭaka be an error for Tilakabhaṭṭa?—Ed.].
undertook tours in Bundelkhand and Mālavā. It was, however, edited critically for the first
time by J. F. Fleet in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vo. III, 1888, pp. 18 ff. The text of it was
140 ff. and afterwards by Dasharatha Sharma in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIV,
pp. 27 ff., and then by Prof. Jagannath, in the same journal. ¹

Eraṇa, the ancient Airikīna, is a village on the left bank of Binā, eleven miles to the west
by north from Khurāi, the chief town of the Khurāi Tahsil of the Sagar District in Madhya
Pradesh. The inscription is on a red-sandstone squared block, that was found a short distance
to the west of the well-known ruined temple of Varāha, the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, in
which there is the inscription of Tōramāṇa.² The original stone is now in the Indian Museum
at Calcutta.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 9-½" broad by 3' 1" high,
is in a state of fairly good preservation; but it does not give a very clear lithograph, in con-
sequence of the whole surface of the stone being full of holes more or less large. It is only a
fragment; six entire lines, as shown by the numbering of the verses, have been broken away and
lost at the top of the stone, and an indefinite number at the bottom; and also an entire pāda
of each successive verse has been broken away and lost at the commencement of lines 25 ff.
In addition to this, from one to three letters have been destroyed at the commencement of each
extant line, as far as line 24, by whetting tools on the edge of the stone. As far as line 24, each
line contains one pāda of a verse; but the lines that follow contained originally two pādas each;
this shows that the inscription was of an irregular shape, with probably some sculptures on the
proper right side of the stone above the first halves of lines 24 ff. The average size of the letters
is about ½". As is indicated especially by the form of m, the characters belong to the southern
class of alphabets. They include, in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical
symbols for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is written in verse
throughout, and the stanzas numbered by figures. In respect of orthography, the only points
that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before h, in
paribhāṣajya, line 26; and (2) the doubling of k and dh, in conjunction with a following r, in
vikrama, line 13 and parākkrama, lines 17 and 21; and in ddhruvam, line 12.

The inscription is one of the Imperial Gupta king Samudragupta, whose name is
recorded in line 10. Whether any of his ancestors were mentioned in the lines preceding it,
we do not know, as lines 1-6 have been completely destroyed. Lines 25 onwards record the
object of the inscription and refer to something that was erected at Airikīna, i.e., Eraṇa. And
lines 11-24 contain the description of the prowess, etc., of a king who can be no other than
Samudragupta as the name of no other prince is found in any one of these intervening lines.
We have, therefore, to take it that it was this Gupta monarch that was responsible for the
erection of something referred to in the inscription. Judging from its shape and appearance,
the stone was originally an integral part of some temple. And Cunningham has suggested that
"if it was attached to any of the existing ruins, the most probable would be the old temple of
the colossal Viṣṇu, with its massive capitals and mouldings, which were discarded at a later
date for pillars of a more highly ornamented style."³ And the lacunae of lines 26-27 can be
easily filled so as to give this result, as may be seen from notes on page 222 (of the Text).⁴ The
date of the inscription, if any was recorded, is broken away and lost.

¹ JIH., Vol. XIX, pp. 27 ff. See also PHIC (1951), pp. 62 ff., and JOI., Vol. XX, pp. 51 ff.
⁴ See also note 1 on page 224 (of the Translation), below.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

TEXT

(Metre: Vasantatilaka throughout)

(Lines 1 to 6, containing the whole of the first verse and the first half of the second, are entirely broken away and lost.)

7  [— — — — — — — —]² suvarṇa-dānē
8  [— — — — — — — —] rita³ nṛpitayah⁴ Prithu-Rāghav-ādyāḥ [ii*] 2
9  [— — — —] babhūva Dhanad-Āntaka-tushṭi-kōpa-tulyāḥ⁶
10  [— — — — — —] ma-nayēna⁷ Samudraguptaḥ [i*]
11  [— — — — — —] pārthuva-gaṇas= sakalaḥ prithivyām
12  [— — — — — —] [sva]-rāja-vibhava-[ddh]rutam=āsthītō= bhūt [ii*] 3
13  [— — — — — —] [va]¹⁰ [bha]kti-naya-vikramma-tōṣhitēna
14  [yō] rāja-sābda-vibhavair= abhishēchan-ādyaiḥ [i*]
15  [— — — — — —] jītaḥ¹¹ parama-tushṭi-puraskṛitēna
16  [— — — — — —] vō¹² nṛpatir = apratīvāryya-vīryyaḥ [ii*] 4
17  [— — — — — —] jśya¹³ paushā-paṛakkrama-datta-sūlkā
18  [Hasty-a]sva-ratna-dhana-dhānya-samriddhi-yuktā [i*]
19  [— — — — — —] n¹⁴ = grīhēšu mudītā bahu-putra-pautra-
20  [sa?]ṛkramiṇī kula-vadhūḥ vratiṁ¹⁵ nīvishā [ii*] 5
21  [Yasya=ō]ṛjitaṁ samara-karmma-paṛakkram-ēḍhāṁ
22  [— — — — — —] [ya]ḥāḥ su-vipulam= paṛibambhrāmūti [i*]
23  [— — — — — —] ji¹⁷ yasya ripavaś = cha raṇ-ōṛjītāni
24  sva]pn-āntarēsv= api vicintya paritrasa[n]ti [ii*] 6
25  [— — — — — — — — — — —]¹⁸ [-]pta[?]ḥ¹⁹ sva-bhōga-nagar-Airikinā-pradeśē
26  [— — — — — — — — — — —]²⁰ [sāṃst]hāpitas= sva-yaśasah paribṛjhan-āṁ
27  [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] [— — — —] vō nṛpitir= āha yadā [— — — —] [i*]

¹ From the original stone.
² The lacuna may possibly be filled up with yēn=ārthi-kalpa-viṣapēna.
³ Restore it to sanvaṣṭita.
⁴ The letter te in this word was first omitted by the engraver who later inserted it faintly and in a smaller size below the line at its proper place.
⁵ Restore it to rājā.
⁶ With the exception of lines 9 and 10, the other lines of this inscription, as far as line 24, contain exactly a pāda of each verse. Lines 25 ff. contained exactly two pādās of each verse.
⁷ This may be restored to [sac-aga]ma. Dr. Sircar restores ac parakrama (Sel. Ins., 1965, p. 269).
⁸ Restore it to ajjujaya. Dr. Sircar restores as yari ꜜpṛyā (ibid.).
⁹ Restore it to yēna. Dr. Sircar restores as paryasta (ibid.).
¹⁰ Restore it to pīr=āiva. Dr. Sircar restores as tētēna (ibid.).
¹¹ Restore it to sanvānitaḥ.
¹² This may be restored to [Bhū-sāśa]vah. Dr. Sircar restores as sō= yari dhruva (ibid.).
¹³ Restore it to śir=āvya. Dr. Sircar restores as Dattāśya (ibid.).
¹⁴ Restore it to nītyati—
¹⁵ Read kula-sadār=vratini.
¹⁶ This may be restored to sakram or śuklam. Dr. Sircar restores as Prīthvyaḥ (ibid.).
¹⁷ Restore it to [karmā]ti. Dr. Sircar restores as kāryāṇa (ibid.).
¹⁸ This may perhaps be restored to bhuktāni nīdārṣayāta as Adhyāta-pāda-piṭhē-.
¹⁹ Restore it to prāttahā.
²⁰ This may perhaps be restored to dēv-ālaya=cha kṛitā=āvra Janārdanaśya.
²¹ Read paribṛjhan-. 

1 Read kula-sadār=vratini.
ERAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

G. S. Gai

From photograph
TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 6, containing the whole of the first verse and the first half of the second, are entirely broken away and lost.)

(Verse 2) ...............in the giving of gold ...........(by whom) Prithu, Rāghava and other kings (were outdistanced.)

(Verse 3) ..........there was a (king), Samudragupta, who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada and Antaka in joy and wrath1 (respectively), through (his excellent knowledge and) policy; (and) (by whom) the whole tribe of kings upon the earth was (through mere mandate) set up firm with their own sovereignty and wealth.

(Verse 4) (Who) became a king of irresistible prowess,2 (Indra on earth), being (honoured) with the title and glories of a king, consecration by besprinkling, etc., surely by (his father), urged by supreme joy, being satisfied with (his) devotion, policy and valour.

(Verse 5) (The Goddess of Wealth), whose purchase price was provided by his manliness and prowess, who was possessed of an abundance of (elephants), horses, gems, money and grains, who passed over to (his) many sons and grandsons, settled down in (his) family, being (always) contented, as a wife of good birth, observing the vow (of chastity);3

(Verse 6) Whose deeds in battle (are) mighty, being fired with prowess; (whose brilliant and) very extensive fame is always circling round about; and whose enemies are terrified, when they think, even in dreams, of (his) vigorous (deeds) in battle-fields;

(Verse 7) (Having arrived, with a view to show his devotion to the feet of Achyuta) at a

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1 Compare the customary expression Dhanada-Varun-Endra-Antaka-sama-occurring in line 26 of No. 1 above, lines 2-3 of No. 10 and line 2 of No. 16 below.

2 This agrees with the suggestion of John Allan that in the couplet of the Avamēdha type "the last word is apratisāryavastya, a known epithet of Samudragupta." (Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, Intro., p. cxi; p. 21).

3 This verse is taken by Fleet to refer to Samudragupta's wife, Dattadevi. But the expression pauvasa-parā-krama-dattaśālā cannot possibly apply to her. Obviously, the whole stanza refers to Śrī (Goddess of Wealth) which word must have stood originally at the beginning of the verse and of line 17, but has now been obliterated.

4 Bhūga signifies 'enjoyment, use.' This enjoyment may be of a village or of a country. In the former case it becomes 'possession, usufruct,' and in the latter, 'rule, sway.' Both the senses are met with in epigraphy. In fact, a village is represented as being enjoyed in an eightfold manner, sāṭhā-bhūga. Thus the Naḍūpurā grant of Anna-Vēma speaks of that village being granted by that king "together with.......the eight enjoyments" (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 292). Similarly, the Koṅkudurī plates of Allaya-Doḍḍa refer to the s-aṅkra-bhūga-bhogā grant of the Gumpiṇī village (ibid., Vol. V, p. 59, lines 46-17). What these eight bhūgas are reputed to be has been explained by Mr. G. V. Ramamurti who edited these plates in ibid., p. 57, note 4. Even the derivative word bhūgika in the sense of 'one who enjoys the bhūgas' is found in inscriptions. Thus a Śaṅkhēdā inscription has at the end the following: likhitam ch-ātra Śāndhivaṅgahikēn-Ā(ṇ)ādiya-bhūgikēna (ibid., Vol. II, p. 20, lines 9-10). As Śāndhivaṅgahika is the official designation of Ādiya, Bhūgika must be taken to be his personal title indicative of his zemindary. Similarly, the Koṇṭur inscription of the Rāṣṭraṅga Amoghavarsha I was drafted by Vālabha-kāyastha-vanisa-jātina dharmaśikaraya-sīthāna Bhūgika-Vatsarājena etc., (ibid., Vol. VI, p. 33, line 57) "by Vatsarāja born in the race of Vālabha Kāyastha, who held the office of Dharma, i.e., of the Judge, and was a Bhūgika, i.e., a Zemindar" But the word bhūga occurs in epigraphic records also in the other sense, namely, "a tract or country enjoyed by way of rule or sway." The derivative bhūgika and the compound word bhūgapati are also met with in this sense. Thus the Śātārā grant of the Eastern Chālukya Vishnuyardhana has Śrinivala-bhūge-Anāgaly-agrāharaśya (Ind. Ant., Vol.XIX, p. 309, line 18). Again, the Vadanār plates of the early Kalachuri Bhūtarāja have Vafanagara-bhūge Bhāṭṭeśvarā-Patytāsana-Kānijaṇāṁ eka grāmāṁ etc. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 34, line 19). Exactly in the preceding line in the same inscription occurs rāja-sāmanta-bhūgika-cīrahapati-etc. And the question arises in what sense we are to take this word bhūgika. As it comes immediately after rāja and sāmanta, it seems to signify 'a zemindar.' On the other hand, as it immediately precedes cīrahapati, it appears to denote some officer set to govern a bhūga, a territorial division apparently more extensive than vishaya. But it is worthy of note that in line 23 of the same Vadanār grant we have āgni-nripati-bhūgapatikāḥ. It will thus be seen that in one and the same record we meet with both (contd. on p. 224)
place named Airikīṇa, the town of his own district, (the virtuous one) has set up (here a temple of Janārdaṇa) for augmenting his own glory.1

(Verse 8) .......................... when the king said...
(The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.)

No: 3 : PLATE III

NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA:
THE YEAR 5

This plate was unearthed at Nālandā in 1927-28 in Monastery Site No. 1, near the copperplate of Dēvāpāla. In 1935 it was transferred to the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where it is at present deposited. A preliminary note on it was published by Hirananda Sastri.2 He was good enough to send me a photo and an estampage of the same to enable me to edit it in the Epigraphia Indica. But on examining the same carefully I found that I could not agree with my friend that this was a fabrication. Nor could I agree with J. F. Fleet that the sister Gayā Plate (No. 4 below) of the same king, namely, Samudragupta, was a spurious one. I, therefore, made the following remark: “Like No. 1540, Sastri thinks this also to be fabricated. But one ungrammatical clue, which is common to both, is not enough to stamp either as spurious. On the other hand, the alphabet of this plate is really of the time of Samudragupta, though that of No. 1540 is of the 8th century”.3 As this inscription was to be finally published in that journal, I was collecting further information on the point. This was a laborious task involving some amount of thinking and some expenditure of time, when I was agreeably surprised to find that the record had been published by A. Ghosh.4 Mr. Ghosh frankly admits that in deciphering the text he had received much valuable help from N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. He also tells us, and quite correctly as I knew beforehand, that some portions were more legible before that plate was chemically treated. Mr. Ghosh was soon followed by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar with a note printed

bhōga and bhōgapati. It therefore seems natural to take the first to mean ‘a zemindar’ and the second, ‘the head of a bhōga.’ Precisely the same is the case with the Sarsavāni plates of the early Kalachuri Buddhārāja where also the terms bhōga, bhōga and bhōgapati are found in lines 18, 19 and 24 respectively in exactly the same senses (ibid., Vol. VI, p. 298). Of these, line 19 has Bharukachchha-vishaya-āntaragata-Gurajjā-bhōgī Brihamnārī-putyāsanna-Kumārī-veda ēka granāth. This clearly shows that in Gujarāt and in the time of the early Kālchuris bhōga as a territorial unit was smaller in area than vishaya. This agrees with the fact that in the Khalīmpur plates of the Pāla king Dharmapāla bhōgapati is placed between vishayapati and shashīdīhākṣita (ibid., Vol. IV, p. 249, line 44), and that in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of Lalitaśūra, bhōgapati ranks after vishayapati (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 179, line 13). It will thus be seen that bhōgīka by itself means ‘a zemindar’ and is not identical with bhōgapati. Nevertheless, bhōgīka is distinguished from Bhōgika-pāla or Bhōgika-pālaka who apparently is an officer and is the same as bhōgapati (Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 21, line 9 and p. 23, line 4, Vol. V, p. 41, No. II, line 27). Now, in the inscription which we are dealing with, bhōga appears to have been employed to denote some territorial division. But whether it is a vishaya or a sub-division of vishaya it is difficult to decide. It is, however, worthy of note that, in line 7 of Ėrāṇ Stone Boar Inscription of Tōramāna (CIL, Vol. III, 1888 No. 36, pp. 138 ff.), Airikīṇa is mentioned as the name of a vishaya. It is quite possible that the bhōga of the inscription under review has been used synonymously with the vishaya figuring in the inscription of Tōramāna.

1 “The lacunae in this verse,” says Fleet, “render it impossible to say whether here, and below, sea, ‘his own’ refers to Samudragupta, or to some feudatory of his, who may have been mentioned here.” But the lacunae can very well be filled up as shown in the footnotes to lines 25 and 26 of the text so as also to throw light on the object of the inscription and bring it in conformity with Cunningham’s suggestion that the inscribed stone was originally attached to some temple which enshrined the colossal Vishṇu found in the ruins of Ėrāṇ (p. 221 above).

3 A list of the Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 290, note 1.
in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 135 ff., where, however, he gives neither the text nor the translation of the inscription, but proclaims the spuriousness of the plate.¹

The Plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 10" by 9". The inscription had already suffered considerably in lines 4-6, and particularly in line 7 in the effacement of letters when it was examined, but after chemical treatment these lines, and especially line 7, developed actual perforations. The record has thus been in a much damaged condition. Nevertheless, the text can be restored to a large extent by a reference to the Gayā plate of the same monarch as far as the place where the details of the donee and the place-names begin. No seal was found along with the plate, but it is not unlikely that it was attached to that portion of the proper right side which is now broken, that is, near the commencement of lines 7-8, as in the case of the Gayā plate. The weight of the plate, as it is, is 45 tolas. The average size of letter is 1/4". The *characters* belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet such as is represented by the Allahābād Pillar Inscription, the test letters being *m, s, k* and so forth. They include in line 10, forms of the numerical symbols for 5 and 2. The *language* is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In respect of *orthography*, we have to notice (1) the doubling of *r* throughout, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *praputra*raśayā, line 3, *daudhitṛasayā*, line 4; *pitṛr=*, line 6, =*traividyayā*ṣya, line 8, and so on; (2) the doubling of consonants following *r* e.g. in *sara*va, line 1, *mēdḥāḥartur=*, line 3, and so forth; (3) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, *Viditam=bō*, line 6, *sahībat*, line 10; (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *mahāvalādhikriya*, line 11; and (5) the use of *upadhānyā*ya in such cases as *utpānnaḥ=parama*, line 4 and *ch* =*aitāḥ=prabhṛti*, lines 8-9.

The inscription is one of Mahārājāḍhirāja Samudragupta of the Imperial Guptā dynasty; and the charter recorded in it is issued from his camp situated at Ānandapura. It is *dated*, in numerical symbols, in the *year 5* on the second (solar) day of the month Māgha. It is a non-sectarian inscription; the *object* of it being to record the grant of two villages to a Brahmāṇa Jayabhāṭṭisvāmin by name, styled *Traividyā* in subsequent lines. The grant was written at the orders of Gōpasvāmin, the Akṣapataλādhikṛīta, Mahāpiliṇḍi and Mahābalādhikṛīta. At the end occurs the name of the prince (kumāra) Chandragupta, apparently as *Dīta*, as stated by us long ago in the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.

There is another plate of Samudragupta, namely, that found at Gayā,² which agrees with the present one as far as the genealogical portion is concerned. Whatever remarks Fleet passes in regard to the former applies to the latter also. Thus in regard to the Gayā Plate Fleet says: "The inscription itself, however, is undoubtedly spurious. This is shown conclusively, if by nothing else, by the fact that from *učekhētuḥ*, line 1, to *daudhitṛasayā*, line 5, the epithets of Samudragupta are uniformly in the genitive case; the draftee of the inscription was copying from a grant of Chandragupta I or some other descendant of Samudragupta; he only then recognised that this construction would not suit a supposed inscription of Samudragupta himself, which was required in accordance with the seal that was to be attached; and he promptly thus adopted the nominative construction, *utpānnaḥ...Samudraguptah*, without taking the trouble to correct the preceding passages."³ Fleet’s criticism was not quite unjustifiable, because the palaeography and the general appearance of the Gayā Plate pointed to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. as being its reasonable age. Such is not, however, the case with the present grant, which according to its palaeography "shows Gupta forms throughout";⁴

¹ Dr. Sirca cites the indiscriminate use of *b* and *v* as one of the reasons for its spuriousness. [Contr., see Dr. G.S. Gai’s article in *JGJRI*, Vol. VI, p. 308—Ed.].
² See inscription No. 4, below.
as Mr. Ghosh has correctly remarked. Nevertheless, like Fleet he takes a firm stand on the fact that like the Gayā Plate “it has the same ungrammatical construction of the genealogical portion (....uchchhittuh ....... apratirathasya ....napaṭatrasya ....putrasya ....daḥcitrasya ....u-lpanah Samudraguptah.) If the plate be regarded as genuine, it is puzzling why the secretariat of Samudragupta should have committed such a silly error in giving the genealogy of its master. I find it difficult to explain away this error as accidental and am, on the whole, inclined to think that the genuineness of the present plate is not above suspicion”.¹ Not long ago this matter attracted the attention of a ‘tyro’ like (Miss) Sakuntala Rao Satrī,—especially the silly error of Samudragupta’s secretariat which puzzled Mr. Ghosh. “These puzzles, however,” she rightly says, “are furnished by not a few copper-plate grants which have been taken as genuine. Thus to take a fresh instance, the Bāsim Plates of Vākāṭaka Vindhyāśakti have .. Chaturāśvamēdhāyājinas=samrāja [h*] Vṛishnivṛiddha-sagōtrasya ....śri-Pravarasēna-pautrasya ....śri-Vindhyāśaktī.”² This inscription has been edited by both Dr. D. C. Sircar³ and Prof. Mirashi⁴ who have freely corrected śri-Pravarasēna-pautrasya into śri-Pravarasēna-pautrasya and śri-Sarvasēna-pautrasya into śri-Sarvasēna-pautrasya. How was then this ungrammatical construction in the genealogical description of Vindhyāśakti tolerated in the secretariat of this ruler? Did it not, as a matter of fact, mislead Mr. Y. K. Deshpande and Dr. D. B. Mahajan who originally edited the record?⁵ Do they not describe Vindhyāśakti as “a samrāj who performed four Aṣvamedhas” and the other sacrifices and his grandfather merely as Śri Pravarasēna without any kingly epithet”? Can error further go? Nevertheless, this silly error was caused in the composition of the genealogy of Vindhyāśakti for which the secretariat of the master was solely responsible. And what is the most silly error is that the gōtra of the master’s family given in the Bāsim Plates is Vṛishnivṛiddha, and not Vīśnurvṛiddha which is invariably given in the other Vākāṭaka grants and which is the correct form of the gōtra given in the standard works on Gōtras and Pravaras. Is any sane scholar therefore prepared to consider the Bāsim grant as a spurious record like the Nālandā and Gayā Plates?

A similar slip to that pointed out by Fleet in the description of genealogy but opposite in character is supplied by the Vakkalēri Plates of the Chālukya Kirtivarman II in lines 8-11, which run as follows: Śri-Kirtivarman-prathivivallabhamaḥārājya = tasya = ātmajas = samarasakasaktasakalottārāpathēsvarā-Śri-Harshavarddhana-parājya-ōpātta-paramēśvarasadbhas = tasya Satyāśraya-Śri-prathivivallabhamaḥārājādhārāja-paramēśvarasaya priya-tanayasya.⁶ As has been shown by F. Kielhorn, the above draft should be corrected into Kirtivarmanma .............. -mahārāj-ātmajasya .............. Harshavarddhana-parājya-ōpātta-paramēśvarasadbhasa Satyāśraya- ............... -paramēśvarasaya, etc. There are thus two slips here in the genealogical portion set forth. But the first of these slips occurs in two other Chalukyan Plates, both found at Nērūr.⁷ The truth of the matter is that when there are many long compounds in the genealogical portions of a grant, there is every likelihood of a jumble being created by some of these compounds ending in the genitive case and some in the nominative case when all should have been in one and the same case. And it is but natural that the same jumble should appear in both the grants as the draft was composed in one and the same office, namely, that of the Aṃkhapalādhiḥkṛita Gōpasvāmin. There is thus no definite evidence to show that the Nālandā grant is a spurious record.

¹ Ep. Ind., p. 51.
⁵ PHIC, Third Session (1939), pp. 449 ff.
NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRA GUPTA: THE YEAR 5
NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: YEAR 5  

TEXT


2 dita-yaṣaśo⁵ Dhanada-Varun-Ēndr-Ānta-samasya⁶ Kṛṣṭānta-parāśor⁷ = nyāy-āgat-āneka-gō-hiraṇya-kōtī-pradasya⁸ chir-ōtsa[nn]-ā-

3 svamēdē-āhartturd = mMa⁹hārāja-śrī-Gu[pta*]-prapauttrasya¹⁰ Mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭō-tkacha-pauttrasya¹¹ [Mah]ārā[jadh]jirā[ja]-[śrī]-Chāndragupta-puttra-


6 Ėvaṃ = ch = āha vidita[m]t ≅ bō¹⁵ bha[va]tva = ēshau¹⁶ grā[m]au [mayā mā]tā-pittror = ātmāna[s] = cha puṇy-ābhivṛddha]yē Jayabhaṭṭi-vāmīn-[ige-

7 ................. [s-ōparika]r-ō[ddēśān] = āgrāharatvēn = ātisṛṣṭaḥ¹⁷ [i*] tad = yuṣmabhīr = a[s]ya

8 cha āti[v]a vidyaśya śrōttavyam = ājñā¹⁸ cha kartavyā [sarvē cha samu]chitā grā- [ma*]-pratyāy[ca] na hira[n]yādavō dēyā[li*] [i*] na ch = aitāḥ = pra-


10 [sy]ād = iti — --- — —²⁰ Sambat²¹ 5 Māgha-di 2 nibaddha[m*] [i*]

11 [Anyā]-²²-grām-ākhapata[la]dhiṣikṣita-mahāpūpati-mahāva[ba]lādhikṣita-Gōp[a]s vām-

12 [Dūṭaḥ Kumā*]ra-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ [i*]

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¹ From an impression and photograph supplied by Hiranand Sastri.
² Expressed by a symbol.
³ Read ēṣay-ōchāhētā.
⁴ Read ṛathāḥ.
⁵ Read ṛājāḥ.
⁶ Read —Antaka-samāḥ. Mr. Ghosh reads —Antaka-, but there is no ka here.
⁷ Read —parāśur—.
⁸ Read —pradās—.
⁹ Read —āhartā Ma.
¹⁰ Read —prapauttṛō.
¹¹ Read —pauttṛō.
¹² Read —puttṛō.
¹³ Read —dauhitrṛō.
¹⁴ Mr. Ghosh reads Krimilā which does not seem to be warranted by any estampages. Kriwilā, however, is practically the same thing as Krimilā.
¹⁵ Read viditam = vō.
¹⁶ Read = ētav.
¹⁷ Read ēśtava.
¹⁸ Read śrōttayam = ājñā.
¹⁹ Read āgrahār—.
²⁰ There are four short horizontal strokes here.
²¹ Read sanvita.
²² [The reading seems to be anu.—Ed.]
²³ Read śvāmy-āḍēśā.
TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Öhm! Hail! From the great camp of victory, containing ships, elephants and horses and situated at Anandapura.

(Lines 1-5) The prosperous Samudragupta, the Mahārājādhirāja, and ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), who is the exterminator of all kings; who has no equal adversary on earth; whose fame is tasted by the waters of the four Oceans; who is equal to (the gods) Śhanna, Varuṇa, Indra, and Antaka; who is the very axe of Kṛitānta (Death); who is the giver of many crores of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who is the performer of the Śīvamēdhā sacrifice, that had long decayed; who is the son of the son’s son of the prosperous Gupta, the Mahārāja; the son’s son of the prosperous Ghaṭōtkacha, the Mahārāja; (and) the son of the prosperous Chandragupta, the Mahārājādhirāja, the daughter’s son of the Lichchhāvi (and) born of the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi — addresses to (the officers) attached to the Treasury of the two villages; (1) Bhadrāpushkaraka pertaining to the Vāvirikbhyara district (and) (2) Pūrṇanāga pertaining to the Krīvīlā district, and says as follows:

(Lines 6-7) “Be it known to you! For the sake of augmenting the spiritual merit of (my) parents and of myself, these two villages have been granted by me as agrahāra, with the assignment of the uparikara ... to Jayabhāṭṭa-svāmin ...

(Lines 7-10) You should therefore listen to this Traiśikya (conversant with the three Vēdas) and be obedient to his commands; and all dues in accordance with the customary law of the village should be paid, such as (the find of) gold and so forth. And, from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artisans, etc., of other villages should not be allowed to enter by this Traiśikya; (for) otherwise there would be a forfeiture of the Agrahāra.

(Lines 10-12) Registered (in) the year 9; the day 2 of Māgha. Drawn up by the order of Gopasvāmin, Mahāpilāpati, Mahābaldhikṛita, the Akṣopaṭalādhhikṛita of Anyagrāma. The Dūtaka, the prince śri-Chandragupta.

No. 4 : PLATE IV

GAYĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: THE YEAR 9

This inscription is from a copper-plate that was obtained years ago by General Cunningham at Gayā the chief town of the Gaya District in the Bihar State and was apparently first brought to notice by him in 1883, in his Book of Indian Eras, page 53, where it is entered as being dated in the year 40. J. F. Fleet obtained the original plate, for examination, from General Cunningham, and published it in the CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 254 ff.

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1 In the Śatāvāhana period we meet with the expression sēṣyē vējayaṁtīyē vijayaḥkadhācārā (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 71, line 1), the first two terms of which stand apparently for mahā-nau-hasty-aśa of this grant, which describes the components of vajjayanti sēṣyē. The grants of Harshavardhana contain practically the same phraseology, such e.g. as, mahānau-hasty-aśa-jayya-skandhācārāt śri-Vardhamānanākṣyā (ibid., Vol. IV, p. 210, line 1). The word vāsaka however does not occur. In the Pratihāra chapters the phraseology runs as follows: śri-Mahādeva-samāvāna-mānēka-nau-hasty-aśa-ratha-pattā-sampanna-skandhācārāt (ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 17, line 1). Here the word sampanna is without doubt met with, but the phraseology has become too big and bombastic. There is greater resemblance in the initial part between the grants of Samudragupta and Harshavardhana. Even the epithets of Samudragupta were not forgotten in the 7th or 8th century A.D. and were actually assumed by the Kalachuri king Śaṅkarāgana (ibid., Vol. VI, p. 298, line 9). It is, therefore, no wonder that the initial part of the grants of the former king is found in those of the latter.

2 The word nibaddha is traceable as early as in the Śatāvāhana grants engraved in the Nasik caves (ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 73, line 12).

3 The ‘Gaya’ of maps, etc. Indian Atlas, sheet No. 104, Lat. 24° 48’ N.; Long. 85° 3’ E.
The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 8” by 7 1/8”. It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About half-way down the proper left side, the plate has laminated rather seriously; and there is also a small crack just below this place, and another in the top of the plate, in the word vāsakāti; but, except at these places, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plate is fairly thick and substantial, and the letters, which are shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver’s tools throughout. Onto the proper right side of the plate, there is fused a seal, oval in shape, about 2 1/8” by 3/4”. It has, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, Garaḍa, represented as a bird, standing to the front, with outstretched wings; and, below this, a legend in five lines, which, being also in relief, is so worn out, that nothing of it can be read except a few disconnected letters here and there, and Sam[u]dra[gh[u]p[tah], very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct recital of the genealogy, after the fashion of the Aśāgaḍh seal of Śravaṇarman and the Sōṇpat seal of Harshavardhana.² The weight of the plate, with the seal, is 2 lbs. 10 oz. The average size of the letters is 3/16”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols for 9⁹ and 10. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In line 3-4, we have, instead of the usual expression utsanna, the word uchchhanna, which, as used here, is, according to Sir Monier Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary, a Prakrit corruption of the Sanskrit utsanna.¹ In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of t throughout, in conjunction with a following r, e.g. in prapattraśva, line 4; pittiva, line 8; and sagāttrāya, line 9; (2) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in Ayōḍhya, line 1; (3) the occasional use of b for v, in bō, line 8, and sambat, line 14; and (4) the use of v for b in vrahmanā, lines 7 and 10; vakritva, line 9; and svarahmanacharini, lines 9-10.

The inscription purports to be of the Imperial Gupta king Samudragupta, and to record a charter issued from his camp at the city of Ayōḍhyā.¹ It purports to be dated, in numerical symbols, in the year nine (A.D. 328-29), on the tenth solar day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month of Vaiśākha (April-May). It is a non-sectarian inscription; the object of it simply being to record the grant to a brāhmaṇa, ostensibly by Samudragupta, of the village of Rēvatikā in the Gayā vishaya.

The legend on the seal of this grant is in characters which present a very different appearance to those of the body of the inscription; as also does the copper of the seal, as compared with the substance of the plate; and the seal is in all probability a genuine one of Samudragupta, detached from some other plate. The inscription itself, however, is spurious, according to Fleet. His remarks on the subject have been quoted in the previous inscription. “It is difficult” says he “to suggest any definite time for the fabrication of this grant; on the one side, some of the characters are antique, e.g. the forms of k, p, m, and r, and particularly h; on the other side, others are comparatively modern, especially the sh in valatkaushabhyaṁ, valatkaushabhyaṁ.

² Ibid., pp. 231 ff.
³ The symbol which Fleet takes to be meant for 9, was interpreted by Cunningham as 40. But it certainly is not 40. It resembles most the decimal figure 2. But the day of the month is distinctly marked by a form of the numerical symbol for 10. This shows that the sign here also is intended for a numerical symbol; and the only symbol to which it approximates, is that for 9.
² The modern Ayōḍhyā or Ajeōdhia (the ‘Oudh or Ajeodhia’ of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 87), Lat. 26° 48’ N., Long. 82° 14’ E., on the south bank of the river Ghagra or Ghogra, about four miles north-east of Faizabad, the chief town of the Faizabad District in Uttar Pradesh.
⁴ See note 3 above.
line 7-8. But it has the general appearance of having been made somewhere about the beginning
of the eighth century A.D. Points which may hereafter serve to fix its date more definitely
are (1) the use of the Prakrit corruption ucekhanna, in line 3-4; and (2) the opening expression
mahā-nau-hasty-aśva, etc., in line 1; the only other instances of similar expressions being in
line 1 of the Déō-Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II,1 and in line 1 of the Dighwā-Dubauli
grant of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla,2 of A.D. 761-62; and of the Bengal Asiatic Society's
grant of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla,3 of A.D. 794-95.4

TEXT

1 Ōm Svasti Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jayaskandāvārāj(d) = Ā(A)yōddhyā-vāsakāt =
sarvā-raj-ōchchheittu[h*] pri-
thīvyām = apratirathasya chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yasa[s†]* Dhanada-Varuṣ-
Ēndr-Ā.
2 nta-ka-samasya Kritānta-paraśār = nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiranya-kōti-pradasya chir-
ōchchha-
3 nī2-āsvamēdh-āharttu[h*] mahārāja-śri-Gupta-prapauthrasya8 mahārāja-śri-
Gaṭāṭkacha-pauthrasya9
4 mahārājādhirāja-śri-Chandragupta-pauthrasya10 Lichchhiv-dauhitrasya11 mahā-
dēvyā[r†]* Ku-
māra-radēvyām = utpanna[h*] paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śri-Samudra-
guptaḥ Gayā-vaishayika-Rēviṭki-grāme vrā(brā)hmanā-purōga-grāma-vala-
tkaushabhyām = āha | Eva ch = ārth[a[r†]*] viditambō(m = vō) bhavatv = ēsā(sha)
grāmō mayā mātipitrō = ā-
tmanās = cha puny-ābhivṛddhaye Bhāradvāja-saṅgīṭrāya Va(bus)hrīchāya sav[r]a
(bra) āmachā-
6 riṇē vrā(brā)hmanā-Gopādēvasvāmin13 s-ōparika-ōdēśēn = āgrahāratvēn = āti-
7 srishtatah [r†] tad = yushmābhīr = asya śrōtvaya = ājē na cha karītvāyā sarvve cha14
sa15-muchitā grāma-pra-
tyāyā mēya-hiraniy-ādayō dēyēh [r†] na chē(ch = āi) tat-prabhrity = ētad-āgrahāri-
kēna(n = ē) nyad-grā-

1 CIH, Vol. III, 1888, No. 46.
2 Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 112; See also D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 40.
5 From the original plate.
6 There is a mark over the letter ēa, which may be only a rust-mark, but which renders it a little doubtful
whether yasī-đhanadā was engraved, or yasī dhanada with an omission of ēa. The other inscriptions, however, show
that the correct reading is yasīsā dhanada, etc.
7 The other inscriptions all read utsanna. Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, suggests that
uncekhanna, which, in the sense of 'uncovered', is a regular derivative from ud+chhad, and it is in the sense of 'destroyed,
fallen into disuse', a Prakrit corruption of utsanna, from ud+sađ.
8 In order to render the inscription capable of translation, read prapautraḥ. And, at the same time, correct
all the preceding genitives into nominatives.
9 Read pautraḥ.
10 Read putraḥ.
11 Read danautraḥ.
12 This mā was first engraved closer to the margin of the plate, and then, being indistinct there, was repeated.
13 [The reading is Gomād ścāvāmin—Ed.]
14 Sa was engraved here. and then corrected into cha.
15 Cha was engraved here, and then corrected into sa.
GAYA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: THE YEAR 9

From photograph

G. S. Gai
VIDĪŚĀ STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS OF RĀMAGUPTA

13  mādi-karaṇa-kūṭumba-kārūk-ādayah pravēṣayitavyā ma(a)nyathā
niyatamā(m = a)gra-
14  hār-ākṣhēpa[ʰ] syād = iti [ʰ] Sama(mva)ṭ t 9 Vaisākha di 10 [ʰ]
15  Anya-grām-ākṣapātalādhiṅkṛita-Dyūta-Gopāsvāmi-ādēśa-liṅkitaḥ² [ʰ]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) ṢOm! Hail! From the great camp of victory, containing ships, elephants and horses and situated at Ayōdhya.

(Lines 1-7) The prosperous Samudragupta, the Mahārājādhiraja...addresses to the preeminent (officers) attached to the Treasury of the village and the Brāhmaṇas in the village of Rēvatikā belonging to the Gayā district.

(Lines 8-11) “And be (this) matter known to you! For the sake of augmenting the spiritual merit of (my) parents and of myself, this village has been granted by me, as an agrahāra, to a religious fellow-student, the Brāhmaṇa Gopāsvāmin,³ of the Bhāradvāja gōtra (and) the Bahvṛicha (ākkhā).

(Lines 11-14) You should therefore listen to him; and (his) commands should be obeyed. And all dues in accordance with the customary law of the village should be paid, such as can be measured, gold, and so forth. And, from this time forth, the tax-paying cultivators, artisans etc., of other villages should not be allowed to enter by this Agrahārika; (for) otherwise there will be a lapse of the agrahāra.”

(Lines 14-15). The year 9; the day 10 of Vaisākha. Drawn up by the order of the Dūtaka Gopāsvāmin, the Ākṣhapātalādhiṅkṛita of Anyagrāma.

No. 5 A, B and C : PLATE V

VIDĪŚĀ STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS OF RĀMAGUPTA

These three inscriptions, called here A, B and C, are engraved on the pedestals of three Jaina images which were discovered at the Durjanapura village in the Vidiśā District of Madhya Pradesh in 1968. They are now kept in the Museum at Vidiśā. The three images containing the inscriptions were found while clearing a field in the above village with a bulldozer which has caused damage to them and to the inscriptions on the pedestals. While the inscription on A is well-preserved and complete, that on B has suffered damage in the last two lines and the inscription on C is completely effaced, though some words and letters can be traced with difficulty in the first two lines with the help of A and B. Two of these inscriptions were first published by Dr. G.S. Gai in the JORI., Vol. XVIII (1969), pp. 218 ff. and plates while all the three inscriptions were edited by him in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 46 ff. and plates.

The inscriptions are in Gupta characters of about the 4th century a.d. The alphabet closely resembles that of the Sāṃchi inscription¹ of Chandragupta II dated in the Gupta year 93 and to some extent that of the Ėraṇ inscription² of Samudragupta. The individual letters like u, k, g, n, p, bh, m, j, l, ś, s and h appearing in the inscriptions on A and B are very similar to these letters in the Śāṃchi inscription. The letters like j, r, l and s also resemble those in the Ėraṇ inscription of Samudragupta. And the letters m, r, l and h are of the so-called

¹ As regards the interpretation of the first symbol, see page 229 above, note 3.
² Supply utēkhi = yam, or any similar words.
³ [See p. 230 note 13 above.—Ed.]
⁵ Ibid., pp. 18 ff. and plate.
southern or western variety of the Gupta alphabet as in the case of the Sāñchi inscription. The medial i in these records has, however, more flourish than in the Sāñchi inscription where it is just a circle on the top of the letter. Such a feature appears in earlier records like the Nāndā Yūpa inscriptions\(^1\) of the 3rd century A.D. Thus, from the palaeographical point of view, these records can be assigned to about the 4th century A.D. and this dating is supported by the stylistic features of the Jaina images bearing the inscriptions. The prabhāvali of the images is not so much developed and stylised as in the case of the Buddha images at Sāñchi attributed to the 5th century A.D.\(^2\) The fact that only chakra is represented in the centre of the pedestals of the images and not the characteristic lāñchhanas of the respective Tirthanākaras also indicates the early stage in the development of Jaina iconography.

In respect of orthography, it may be noted that the consonant following r is doubled in Sarpaśēna (A) and that the class-nasal is used in the words Chandraprabha (A), Pushpadanta (B) and Chandrakṣhama\(^\circ\) (A and B). The language of the three records is Sanskrit.

The two inscriptions on A and B contain 4 lines each and give identical text in the first two lines except the name of the image. The inscription on C also appears to be in 4 lines with a similar draft. While the record on A states that the image of Chandraprabha was caused to be made by Mahārāja dhīrāja Rāmagupta, that on B refers to the making of the image of Pushpadanta by the same ruler. The name of the image in C appears to read Padmaprabha. The record on A further informs us that this act of Rāmagupta (viz. the making of the image of Chandraprabha) was done on the advice or at the instance (upadesa) of Chēlla-kśamaṇa, son of Gōlakṣānti and disciple of Ācārya Sarppasēna-kśamaṇa and the grand-disciple (i.e., disciple’s disciple) of the Jaina teacher who is described as pānipāṭrika-Chandrakṣham-ācārya-kśamaṇa-śramaṇa. This description is also found in the record on B which gives the name as Chandrakṣhaman-ācārya instead of Chandrakṣham-ācārya. The epithet pānipāṭrika indicates that the Jaina monk was eating with his hands as bowl. In the record on B the name of the person at whose instance the image was made as well as that of his immediate teacher and also the names of parents, if any, are lost in the damaged portion at the end of the record. This portion in the inscription on C is completely effaced and nothing can be made out.

The importance of these records lies in the fact that they refer to Mahārāja dhīrāja Rāmagupta. From the assumption of the title of Mahārāja dhīrāja, Rāmagupta must have been an imperial ruler and since the records have been assigned to the 4th century A.D., he must be regarded as an imperial king of the Gupta dynasty holding sway over the Vidiśā region. If this identity is accepted, then these inscriptions will be of unique importance since they furnish the first epigraphical mention of Rāmagupta of the imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha.

The controversy regarding the existence and historicity of Rāmagupta is well known to all the scholars of Indian history and particularly of Gupta history. This controversy has been going on for about half a century, ever since the discovery in 1923 of the portions of the Sanskrit drama called Devīchandraguptam by Viśakhadatta and it gained fresh momentum after the discovery of some copper coins ascribed to Rāmagupta in 1951 and afterwards.\(^3\)

From the evidence of the drama Devīchandraguptam and other literary sources and epigraphic references of later period, scholars have tried to reconstruct the story of Rāmagupta.

\(^1\) Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVII, pp. 232 ff. and plate.
\(^2\) Monuments of Sanchi, ed. by Marshall and Majumdar, Vol. II, plate LXX.
VIDIŚĀ STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS OF RĀMAGUPTA

A

B

C

G. S. Gai  From photographs
somewhat as follows: He was the son of Samudragupta and elder brother of Chandragupta II and succeeded his father to the throne. He was besieged by a Śaka ruler and was placed in such a difficult position that to effect his escape and for the safety of his subjects, he had to agree to surrender his queen Dhruvadēvi. But his brother Chandragupta could not tolerate this ignominious arrangement and offered to go to the enemy’s camp in the guise of the queen with a view to killing the enemy. He succeeded in this plan and was raised in the estimation of his people as well as in that of the queen while the reputation of Rāmagupta suffered which resulted in the enmity between the brothers. Ultimately Chandragupta II murdered Rāmagupta, succeeded to the Gupta throne and married queen Dhruvadēvi.

This ingenious reconstruction of the story of Rāmagupta was considered by some scholars as incredible and unbelievable. They doubted the existence and historicity of Rāmagupta himself in the absence of any epigraphical records mentioning his name and also of coins prior to their discovery in 1951. Even after the discovery of the copper coins of Rāmagupta, some scholars did not accept his identification with the imperial Gupta king in the absence of any imperial title but took him to be a local ruler in the Vidiśa region.¹

In the midst of these conflicting views, it was considered wise to suspend one’s judgement. In fact Majumdar and Altekar said “we must suspend our judgement upon the historical character of Rāmagupta, his fight with the Śakas, and the strange event which deprived him of his throne, life and the natural affection and fidelity of his wife.”²

Under these circumstances, the discovery of three stone inscriptions in the Vidiśa region, two of them clearly mentioning the name of Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta, is undoubtedly of great significance. As indicated above, the third record also seems to mention this ruler. And, as stated above, they establish the existence and historicity of Rāmagupta as an imperial ruler of the Gupta dynasty.

**TEXT³**

**Inscription on Image A**

1 Bhagavatō=rhataḥ Chandraprabhasya pratim=ēyaṁ kāritā ma-
2 hārājādihrāja-śrī Rāmaguptēna upadēsāt=pāṇipā-
3 trika-Chandrasekham⁴-āchāryya-kshamaṇa-śramaṇa-praśīshya-āchā-
4 ryya-Sarppasēṇa-kshamaṇa-śishyasya Gōlakāntyā-satpūtṛ(pu)trrasya
  Chēlla-kshamaṇasya-ēti ||

**Inscription on Image B**

1 Bhagavatō=rhataḥ Pushpadantasya pratim=ēyaṁ kāritā ma.⁵
2 hārājādihrāja-śrī Rāmaguptēna upadēsāt=pāṇipātrīka-
3 Chandrasekha[ṇāchā]r̥yya⁶-[kshamaṇa]-Śramaṇa-praśi[shya]⁷ . . .
4 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ti⁹

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² *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, 1946, p. 164.
³ From impressions.
⁴ The two letters kṣa and mā are slightly blurred.
⁵ The formation of this letter m is rather peculiar inasmuch as the head is curved into a downward stroke.
⁶ This letter is slightly damaged.
⁷ Inscription on image A reads Chandrasekha-āchārya.
⁸ Only a portion of the letter sh is preserved.
⁹ This line is completely effaced.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

Inscription on Image C

1 Bhagava[tō] = rha[tah] [Padma][prabhasya pratim = एयाः
kā]ritā mahā[rājā] dhīrā[ja]-
2 śrī-[Rāmaguptē]na i u[padēsāt = pā]bhi-[pātri]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) This image of Lord Chandraprabha, the Arhat, has been caused to be made by the illustrious Mahārājādhīrāja Rāmagupta under instruction from the mendicant Chēlla, who is the good son of Gōlakāyānti, the disciple of the teacher Sarpasēna, the mendicant (and) the disciple's disciple of the teacher Chandrakshama, the mendicant and monk, who took a vow to use his palms as a bowl.

No. 6 : PLATE VI

MATHURĀ PILASTER INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II : THE YEAR 61

This inscription, which I published for the first time, in 1933, in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff., is engraved on a tiny pillar originally attached to a well situated in the Chandul Mandul Bagichi near Raṅgēsvāra Mahādeva temple at Mathurā. It was discovered there by one Bholanath, a dealer in antiquities, in July 1928 and removed to his place. Later, it was taken possession of by the local Police authorities and was lying in their custody in the mālgudām (godown), Mathurā. Thereafter, it was secured by the Director General of Archaeology in India and transferred to the Curzon Museum at Mathurā where it is kept now, bearing the number 1931. In January 1931 Hirananda Sastri, the then Government Epigraphist for India, visited the Museum and took some impressions of the inscription. He was so good as to send me two excellent stampages, one plain, in one whole piece, and the other inked, in two parts. It is on these stampages that my transcript of this epigraph was based, when I first edited it. The transcript remains practically unaltered in this second account of the record.

The inscription is really engraved on the shaft of a tiny pillar, which is octagonal. The inscribed portion covers only five of its faces, which are well dressed, the remaining three being left rough. The top and the base of the pillar have each four sides, only one of which is well-dressed. While the well-dressed side of the top is sculptured with a trident, that of the base has a standing figure, apparently, of Lakulīśa. This shows that our sculpture is not

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1 This record is badly damaged and effaced.
2 Traces of visarga marks can be seen on the impression.
3 Traces of these letters can be seen on the impression.
4 Faint traces of the letters ma and pē can be seen on the impression so that the word can be restored as Rāmaguptēṇa.
5 The letters in the brackets have been restored with the help of the other records.
6 The remaining letters in this line are completely effaced.
7 The letters in this line and the following are completely effaced.
8 The name of the image appears as Pushpadanta in B and as Padmaprabha in C.
9 I.e. to eat and drink only from his hands.
exactly a pillar, but rather a pilaster, the rough undressed faces of which were covered, and concealed from view, by some parts of an edifice, possibly the Teachers' Shrine, referred to in the record. The pilaster was already an integral part of this shrine, when the inscription was engraved. This may be seen from the fact that the lines of the record run irregularly and that the second half of the Aryā verse with which it should have ended could not be engraved as no space was available for it on the shaft. This is possible only when the pilaster is in situ and the engraver had to suit himself somehow to the exigencies of the case.

The writing occupies five of the faces with which the pillar is adorned, and is spread over a surface, about 2' 3" broad by 1' 6½" high. The record, on the whole, is not badly preserved. It may seem that some portion at the end is gone, as the last line contains only the first half of a verse in the Āryā metre. But, as will be seen subsequently, the second half of this Āryā verse could not be engraved, as there was no space available for it between the top and the base of the pillar. The case, however, is different in regard to the third of the five sides of the pillar, on which the record is engraved. Almost the whole of this part of the inscription is abraded and completely destroyed. This, indeed, is a grievous loss, because part of the most important matter contained in this interesting record is thus irrevocably lost to the historian, as we shall see in the sequel. The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout, except for an Āryā verse at the close, only half of which could be engraved. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are: (1) the doubling, throughout, of v (lines 5 and 10), of y (lines 8, 12, 14, 15) and of t (lines 3), except in the word kirti, in conjunction with a preceding r, and (2) the use of the jīvahāliya in line 12.

The characters belong to the early Gupta period when they were practically identical with those of the Kushāṇa records. This is particularly significant inasmuch as our inscription is found at Mathurā, from where a number of Kushāṇa epigraphs have already come to light. In fact, it would have been well-nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushāṇa record, had it not contained the name of a Gupta king. Detailed remarks on this subject will be found in the article published in Epigraphia Indica mentioned above, while dealing with palaeography. There are, however, some minor palaeographic peculiarities in our inscription which call for notice here. The end m in siddham, with which the inscription begins, looks, however, like the eastern variety of the Gupta m, though in all other cases it is represented by the other—earlier—form of the letter. That it is the ending m is indicated by its tiny shape. The h in mahārāja in line 1 is represented by a character which looks like n. Possibly its right limb remained unincised inadvertently. Though n is engraved in all other cases with the base-line bending slightly lower down on either side, the n in gurvēyatanē in line 10 has a distinct loop on the left as in the later form of that character. This, however, is not unknown to the Kushāṇa records. The way in which components of the conjunct mbō are joined in sambōdhanai (line 12) is worth noting. The rare n in visākhā (line 13) and the Kushāṇa forms of a and ā in lines 5 and 8 are also worthy of note. Similarly, the character for the numeral 60 in line 4 does not resemble any of the Gupta period shown by Bühler in cols. IX-X of his Tafel IX, but comes very close to that in column V of the Kshatrapa period ranging between the 2nd and the 3rd century A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Imperial Gupta king Chandragupta, son of Samudragupta. The titles coupled with each name are worth noting. They are bhavāraka, mahārāja and rājādhīrāja. The first of these, namely, bhavāraka is associated pretty frequently with the names of the Gupta sovereigns. But the other title which they almost invariably assume is mahārājadhirāja instead of what we have in the present record, viz., mahārāja rājādhirāja, an exact replica of mahārāja rājādirāja which the Kushāṇa kings bore. It is quite natural in Mathurā, which formed one of the most important districts of the Kushāṇa kingdom and
where numerous Kushāṇa epigraphs have been unearthed. How far this formulary was peculiar to Mathurā we do not know; for, in the second Mathurā inscription of this king, neither his name nor his titles have been preserved.

The date of the inscription is 61, which, of course, has to be referred to the Gupta era. It is rather unfortunate that the important words in lines 3-5 which contain the details of the date have been effaced. The first part of it tells us to what regnal year of Chandragupta this date corresponds. It is a serious loss that this part has not been preserved. The second part tells us to what kāla or era the year 61 belonged. It is all but certain that Gupta-kāla was engraved. But nothing would have been better if the word Gupta had been preserved beyond all doubt.¹ Then again, the name of the month also has been destroyed. Fortunately for us, the word prathamē has been preserved immediately after the specification of the month. This shows that in the year 61 there was an intercalary month. On the evidence of Jaina works the late K. B. Pathak has proved that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding (expired or current) Śaka years by adding 241.² Thus, if we add 241 to 61 of Gupta year of our inscription, we obtain 302 Śaka = 380 A.D. We do not yet know whether this Gupta year is current or expired. We leave it undecided for the time being. Now, if we refer to page 42 of Table X of the Indian Chronology by Swamikannu Pillai, we find that there was an additional month only in A.D. 380, and none in 378 or in 381-82, and that in A.D. 380 Āśāḍha was the intercalary month. The lacuna before prathamē can thus be easily filled up with Āśāḍha-māsē. We thus find that the month of our date must be Āśāḍha. We also find that the date of our record was a current Gupta year. Because the intercalary month came only in A.D. 380 current, the Gupta year 61 must therefore be also a current year. The earliest date we had for Chandragupta II before the discovery of this record was Gupta year 82, supplied by an Udayagiri cave inscription of his feudatory chieftain of the Sanakāṇika family (No. 7 below). But the date furnished by our epigraph is 61, which is thus twenty-one years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. The latest known date for this Gupta sovereign is 93 (No. 9 below). Therefore, Chandragupta II must have had a reign of at least 32 years.

After the specification of the date, the inscription introduces us to a teacher who was a Māhēśvara or devotee of Śiva and was called Uditāchārya. His pedigree is given. But unfortunately the name of his teacher is not clearly preserved. It is, however, pretty certain that it was Upamita. The latter, again, was a pupil of Kapila, and Kapila, a pupil of Parāśara. We have thus a list of Māhēśvara teachers extending over four generations. In fact, Uditāchārya has been mentioned as chaturthha or fourth in succession from Parāśara. This is intelligible and quite all right, as it is in an unbroken order. But Uditāchārya has been also specifically mentioned as daśama or tenth in descent from Kuśika. As no names of the intervening teachers have been given and Uditāchārya is specified as tenth in succession from Kuśika, the only possible inference is that Kuśika, though he did not originate any new doctrine or sect, must have been at least the founder of a line of teachers. We have already dealt with this point elsewhere,³ but what we have to note here is that while the living teacher Uditāchārya is called merely an Āśya, all the others, namely, Upamita, Kapila, Parāśara and Kuśika, have received the supreme designation of Bhagavat, which is generally associated with personages who are supposed to have attained to the rank of divinity.

The object of the inscription is to record that Uditāchārya, who was the Māhēśvara teacher living, established two images, called Kapilēśvara and Upamitēśvara in the Guru-āyatana. The

¹ [For other views about the restoration of this lost portion, see Sel. Ins., 1965, p. 277 and Journal of Ancient Indian History, Vol. III, 1970, pp. 113-17—Ed.]
² Ind. Ant. Vol. XLVI, p. 293.
³ See above, Introduction, pp. 133-35.
second part of these two names, i.e., ṭivara, shows that it was the liṅgas that were installed. The first part of these, i.e., Upamita and Kapila, are the names of the teacher and the teacher's teacher of Uditāchārya. It therefore seems that the latter established two liṅgas, one in the name of Upamita and the other in the name of Kapila. We have numerous instances of persons setting up idols of Vishnu or Śiva either in their own name or in their father's or mother's name. It is therefore no wonder that Uditāchārya put up two liṅgas in the name of his teacher and teacher's teacher. What is, however, noteworthy here is that he installed the liṅgas in a place called Guru-āyatana which can only mean "the Teachers' Shrine." As none of the gurus of the line to which Uditāchārya pertained was then alive, the Guru-āyatana can only denote the place where the memorials of the gurus were established. And we know from this inscription what sort of memorials were set up by Uditāchārya in the names of his gurus. They were liṅgas called individually after them. The inference is reasonable that Guru-āyatana was a place where liṅgas were installed in the names of all the teachers who preceded Uditāchārya.

But what was this Guru-āyatana like exactly? As has been pointed out above, we have epigraphic evidence to show that in the Kusāṇa times devakulas or shrines were raised to the memory of the departed kings. The custom seems to have persisted in India up till the Rajput period. Thus at Māṇḍor, six miles north of Jodhpur, we have a number of structures, commemorative of the various kings of the Rāṭhpū family of this place, which look like temples and which are known locally as déclām (=devakula). The term Guru-āyatana, however, occurring in our inscription does not indicate the different memorial structures existing side by side and separately in one huge enclosure as is customary in Rajasthan. It denotes rather one huge edifice comprising different memorial structures to the different teachers. It is thus more like the pratīmā-griha, described by Bhāsa in his drama Pratīmānāṭakā, which is "a royal gallery of portrait statues" pertaining to the different princes of the Ikshvākū family. Guru-āyatana may thus be taken as a shrine comprising the liṅgas set up in the name and to the memory of gurus of that lineage to which Uditāchārya belonged. It may be contended that the resemblance here is not complete unless we could show that these liṅgas were identical with or contained the portraits of the departed gurus. It has to be admitted that there is some force in this contention. For, in line 10, immediately after Guru-āyatana, we have the two letters guru which were originally followed by at least five letters that have unfortunately been effaced. It is worthy of note that guru is again engraved immediately after Guru-āyatana and it may be asked whether the letters destroyed cannot be restored so as to answer to this presumption. We do not think we shall be very wide off the mark if we restored the lacuna to guru-pratīmā-yutau. The liṅgas, established, not only were named after the gurus Upamita and Kapila but must also have borne their portraits.

Further, it is worthy of note, that the inscription specifically mentions Uditāchārya as dasaṇa or tenth in descent from Kuṣika and fourth from Parāśara. While the teachers intervening between Parāśara and Uditāchārya are mentioned and are only two, those between Kuṣika and Parāśara are not mentioned at all though they were no less than five. In fact, there was no

1 Thus the Gurjara-Pratihāra prince Mathanadeva founded an image of Śiva (Siva) called Lachhbhusavāra after his mother Lachhbhusā (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 266, line 8). The shrine of Siva established near a monastery by Nēhalā, queen of the Kachchhūri king, Yuvarāja I—Kēyāvarashha, is styled Nēhalēsvara (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 262, line 32). Similarly, the god Narāyana for whom a temple was built at Dēgānī by the Kadamba queen Kamaladēvi was called Kamala-Narāyana (Bm. Gac., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 569). Kēśava, a general of the Chaulukya king Jayasindha instituted Gēga-Narāyaṇa for the good of his mother Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 159, lines 7-8). Likewise, Allu, son of Vāillabhata, constructed a temple of Vishnu called Vāillabhāttaśvāmī (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 159, line 6).

2 Introduction, p. 138; JRAIS., 1924, p. 403, lines 1-3; A.R. ASL., 1911-12, p. 124, line 3.

3 PRAS., W.C., 1906-7, p. 31, para 21.

need of mentioning Kuśika at all unless he was the most important personage of the line to which Uditāchārya belonged. We are therefore compelled to infer that Kuśika, though he may not have propounded any new religious system, must have at least originated a line of teachers to which pertained Parāśara, Kapila, Upamita and Udita. Who could this Kuśika be? Years ago I had occasion to point out who Lakuli was. I then drew attention to a passage which is common to both the Vāyu-Purāṇa and the Liṅga-Purāṇa. On the strength of this passage I showed (1) that Lakuli was the last incarnation of Mahēśvara, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyārōhaṇa or Kāyāvatāra which was identical with Kārvāṇa, in the Dabhōi tāluk, Baroda District, Gujarat State, and (3) that he had four ascetic pupils, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The same information is contained in a stone slab inscription, which originally belonged to a temple at Sōmanātha in Kāṭhiāwād, but is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra in Portugal. The inscription is thus known as the Cintra praṇasti of the reign of the Chaulukya ruler Sāraṅgadeva, and was last critically edited by G. Bühler in Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 277 ff. This inscription corroborates practically all that has been said by the Purāṇas about Lakuli. The order and names of his pupils are, however, slightly different in this epigraphic record, being Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha and Maitrēya. But this much is certain that in both Kuśika remains unaltered in name and also stands first in order. The Cintra praṇasti, however, tells us one thing more, namely, that these four disciples of Lakuli were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāśupatas. There can thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of Lakuli and that the four Āchāryas mentioned here were, of course, his descendants. In the Cintra praṇasti three Āchāryas are mentioned, namely, Kārttikeyāsī, Vālmikīrāsī and Tripurāntaka, the last of whom was a contemporary of Sāraṅgadeva during whose reign it was incised. Verse 19 of this inscription distinctly tells us that these teachers belonged to the line (gōtra) of Gārgya. While the Cintra praṇasti thus gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprang in the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakuli, our present record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakuli. It appears that while some descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Sōmanātha in Kāṭhiāwād, those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurā.

If the teachers mentioned in our inscription belonged to the Lakuliśa sect, it clears up two or three points of our inscription which would otherwise have remained obscure. The first is how the liṅgas, if they were installed as memorials to Upamita and Kapila, could also contain their portraits. The second point is why all the dead teachers of this line, namely, Kuśika, Parāśara, Upamita and Kapila, have been styled bhagavat. The third is why the living teacher Uditāchārya has been called ārya. Let us now take up the first point: how could the liṅgas, put up in memory of Upamita and Kapila, also comprise their portraits? I have alluded above to the paper on Lakuliśa which I wrote for the JBBrAS., Vol. XXII, pp. 151 ff. in 1906. Not long after, I contributed another on the same subject to the A.R. ASI., 1906-07, pp. 179 ff. This latter contained copious illustrations of the figures of Lakuli whether on the door jambs and friezes of shrines, on the outside walls of temples, or in separate sculptures. I have shown that wherever Lakuli appears, he figures as a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic signs, namely, a lākuta or staff in his left hand and a citron in his right.

1 JBBrAS., Vol. XXII, pp. 154 ff.
2 It does not seem likely that the whole line of teachers descended from Kuśika were settled at Mathurā. We have already noticed that Uditāchārya, the teacher living at the time of this record, has been mentioned as chaturtha or fourth from Parāśara and dasama or tenth from Kuśika and whereas all the teachers from Parāśara onwards are specified, those intervening between him and Kuśika have not been mentioned at all though they were not less than five. It thus seems that the Pāśupata Āchāryas at Mathurā were a branch of the Kuśika line established by Parāśara.
There are, however, two representations of his which are singular, and they are both found at Kārvān, the place where this last incarnation of Śiva came off and also passed away. Here we have two lingas with the portraits of Lakuli sculptured in front. One of these is in the temple of Naklēśvar and the other, in that of Rājarājēśvar, both at Kārvān. If they were mere lingas, how could they be distinguished one from the other? How could we say that one linga denoted one āchārya, another linga another āchārya and so on? It will thus be seen that the Śiva linga has been combined with the representation of Lakuli into one image. It may be asked: What could be the meaning of this? Now, the Purāṇas and the inscriptions are unanimous in saying that Lakuli was the originator of certain austerities and religious practices called the Pāśupata or Māheśvara yōga, which his pupils disseminated. And it is well-known that when a yōgī passes away, he does not die like an ordinary mortal with his last breath going out of his earthly nostrils, but rather by a yōga feat which enables him to pass it through the brahma-randhra, that is, by breaking through his human skull. It is only in this manner that he is absorbed into Brahman, if he is a Vedantist, or into Śiva, if he is a Pāśupata or Māheśvara. But as Lakuli was a worshipper of Śiva, we have to suppose that the two sculptures from Kārvān represent obviously the absorption of Lakuli into the divinity of Śiva. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in the case of Upamitēśvara and Kapilēśvara, we had not mere Śiva lingas set up here but rather lingas with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them, as is the case with Lakuli in the two images of Kārvān. Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuśika, must have been experts in the Pāśupata yōga. We have therefore to presume that they too must have passed away like the yōginīs by driving away their prāṇa-vāyu through the brahma-randhra. They must have thereby merged themselves into the godhead of Śiva. This alone can explain why all these departed ascetics of the Lakuli sect have received the divine title of bhagavat. The teacher, Uditāchārya, who was still living and who was not yet absorbed into Śiva, was not to, and, in fact, cannot, be honoured with this supreme title. He has, therefore, been merely styled ārya. Here it may be asked whether even this title has at all any significance of its own. In this connection my attention had been drawn by my late lamented friend Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, to a verse in the Cintra praśasti.1 It is with reference to Tripurāntaka, the ascetic-teacher of the Gārgya line, who has been referred to above. He was a contemporary of the Chaulukya king Śāraṅgadēva, during whose time the inscription was engraved. The verse runs thus:

Iha sākhād = Umākāntaḥ śirmaḥ Gaṇḍa-Bṛihaspatiḥ
Āryam = ēnaṁ vinirnāya ṣaśṭhaṁ čakrē mahattaram [8] 34

“Here the illustrious Gaṇḍa Bṛihaspati, visibly the husband of Umā, having made him an Ārya, appointed him sixth Mahattara.”

What the verse says is that Gaṇḍa-Bṛihaspati, who was apparently the State Officer in charge of the religious monuments, made Tripurāntaka an ārya and then appointed him sixth Mahattara. Bühler who edited the inscription was himself not sure whether Ārya and Mahattara referred to officers, or were mere titles. The second alternative is considered by him as more probable. Personally, however, I think that Mahattara denotes an officer, and corresponds possibly to the modern Mahant, the head of a religious order. As regards Ārya, it is worthy of note that Hēmachandra’s Abhidhānachintāmaṇi gives it as a synonym of prabhā, “a master, an owner.”2 This fits excellently not only in the Cintra praśasti, but also in our record. For in the first case we know that Tripurāntaka built five temples of which he legitimately could be an Ārya or owner. In the second case we have seen that Uditāchārya raised two

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2 Marka-kāṇḍa, paryāya I (verse 23).
memorial structures to his gurus in the 'Teachers' Shrine', of which he must, doubtless, have been an ārya or owner.

TEXT

1 Siddham [f] Bhavaturaka-maharajā-rājādhipi-rāja-srī-Samudragupta-sa-
2 tputrasya bhavutarakama[harajā]-rājādhipi-rāja-srī-Chandragupta-
3 sya vijā-rājya1-saṁvata[ra]-...kāla ... ānuvarttamāna-saṁ-
4 vatsarê ēka-shaṁbhiṭhe 60 l ... [pra]thamē śukla-divasē paṁ-
5 chamyāṁ [f] aryam purvya[yāṁ] [bhaha[vat-Ku]ṣikād-daśāmēna bhagava-
6 t-Parāśārācha=chatu[rth]ē[na] [bhagavat-Ka]p[ila]-Vimala-śi-
7 shya-śhīyēna bhagavad-[Upa]mita-vimala-śhīyēna
8 āryy-ōdī[ta]chāryyē[na] [sva]-pu[ny-ā]pyāyana-nimittām
9 gurūnāṁ cha kirtī-[artha]m-Upamitēśv[a]ra-Kalēśvarau
10 Gurvāyatanē guru. ... 4 pratishṭhāpitō n=a-
11 tat=khyāt-yartham=abhili[kē]ya[tē] [atha] mahēśvarānāṁ vi-
12 jñaptih=kiyātē sambōdhanaṁ cha yathā-kā[le]n=āchāryyā-
13 nāṁ parigrāham=iti matvā viśākha[m] pūjā-pura-
14 skāra[m] parigraha-pārimrtyāṁ kuryād=iti vijnaptir=iti [*]
15 Yās=cha kirtty-abhirōhānā kuryā[n]=yās=ch=ābhilikhitaṁ=uparyy=adhō
16 vā² sa pāmtchabhīr=maḥ[ā]pātakair=uppātakaiṁ=cha samaṇyuktas=syāt [*]
17 Jayati cha bhagavā[n=Daṇḍa]ḥ² rudra-daṇḍō=gra-[nā]yakō nityā[m] [*]

TRANSLATION

Luck¹⁹

(Lines 1-5) In the year 61 according to the era (of the Gupta kings), in the victorious reign of the Bhavaturaka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja, the prosperous Chandragupta, the good son of the Bhavaturaka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja, the prosperous Samudragupta—on the fifth of the bright half of the first (Āśāḍha).

1 Read vija-vā-rajiya.-
2 This may be restored to Gupta-nipa-raju-kāl.- [See above, p. 236 and note 1.—Ed.].
3 The lacuna may be filled up with Āshāḍha-māśē-
4 This may perhaps be restored to guru-pratimā-yutau.
5 The ā in ā is quite clear at the back of the uninked estampage. Correct the word, however, into pratishṭhā-
pitau.
6 Read māhēśvarānāṁ.
7 Read uchchhindāya or some such word after vā.
8 Read bhagavān=Daṇḍaḥ sa.
9 The word Siddham occurs frequently at the beginning of ancient inscriptions, Prakrit or Sanskrit. It is translated by Stevenson by 'To the Perfect one.' Later, on the analogy of an inscription (CASIR., Vol. V, Pl. xli H) which commences with Siddhiḥ Śrīh Sārīvat, Bühler takes siddhān as the neuter nominative of the passive perfect participle and as an equivalent of siddhiḥ and translates it by 'success' (Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 273). Thereafter, on the analogy of jitate hāgavatā of the Gadhvā inscription of Kumāragupta I (No. 26, below) and the grant of the Pallava Yuvanmahārāja Vīshnupūrabvarman (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 51), Fleet takes siddhān as the remnant of some such phrase as siddhān hāgavatā, "perfection or success has been attained by the Divine One" (CII., Vol. III, 1888, p. 25, note 4). But he forgets that, as we do not meet with jitaṁ as the abbreviated form of jitate hāgavatā, we do not find siddhān hāgavatā as the fuller form of siddhān. And further what jitate hāgavatā means is explained in an amplified form by the verse with which the Tūsā inscription (CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 269-70) begins, to which Fleet himself has drawn our attention. On the other hand, the commencement of Patañjali's Mahā-
hāṣya there occurs the following passage which is worthy of note in this connection:

maṅgalaḥ tiṣṭhāḥ maḥatāḥ śastra-vaṃśaya maṅgala-arthaṁ siddha-sabdāṁ=adih pravṛttā mangalā-dīni hi śastraṁ pratishthā vṛtā-parashakāyā cha bhavanty=āyustam-paraśakāryā ca ch=āddyatāraḥ=cha siddhā-artha yathā syur=iti. "An auspicious teacher, desirous of success, employs the word siddha at the very outset for the purpose of auspiciousness to the great volume of (his) scientific treatise, because scientific treatises commencing with auspicious utterances (contd. on p. 241)
MATHURĀ PILASTER INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: THE YEAR 61
MATHURĀ PILASTER INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: YEAR 61

(Lines 5-10) When this was the specification of date,¹ (the liṅgas) Upamitēśvara and Kapilēśvara (comprising the portraits of) the teachers were installed in the Teachers’ Shrine. Ārya Udāțchārya, tenth from the Bhagavat Kuśika, fourth from the Bhagavat Parāśara, a stainless disciple’s disciple of the Bhagavat Upamita (and) a stainless disciple of the Bhagavat

stand on two feet like a heroic man or like a man of longevity, and because the readers (also) may attain to (their) object.” As Patañjali passes this remark in connection with the first cārtika: siddhi śabd-artha-saṃśuddhi and as the word siddha of this cārtika is in the locative, it seems that according to Patañjali this word ending in any termination provided it is placed at the beginning of a work. Such was the magic value of the word siddha. In the ancient period, however, the word that was generally employed was sidhan or sidhan and it was so employed by all Hindus—Buddhists, Jainas and Brahmanists—sometimes along with auspicious signs like the swasti and others (e.g., in the inscriptions of Jumna caves, ASI, Vol. IV, Pl. XLVIII and ff.). It is true that the word is thus connected with siddhi in the sense of ‘superhuman powers’. It is, however, better to leave it untranslated. At any rate, if it is necessary to translate it, ‘luck’ is the best rendering of it. In later times sidhan was being gradually replaced by siddhi and even by such a personal word as siddhi-datta as, e.g., in Bengal. The word sidhan has not, however, completely fallen into disuse and is still generally employed at least in Mahārāṣṭra.

¹ The word pāra occurs in many inscriptions and appears to have been used in a sense afterwards lost to it. The expression asīyam pāra-bhūyāṇ or etèsādāh pāra-bhūyāṇ is met with first in the Kusāna, and, afterwards in the Gupta, inscriptions. In the first group of records where it occurs also in various Prakrit forms, the phrase has been translated by Bühl as “on this (date specified) as above” (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 381 ff. and Vol. II, pp. 202 ff.). And he has been followed by Lüders (Int. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 36 ff) and Vogel (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 176). In the case of the Gupta records, Fleet has in every case added the foot note: ‘supply tithau.’ This no doubt seems to receive support from the specification of the date found in some plates of the later Chaulukya kings of Anahilapataaka, namely, asīyam saṃvatara-maśa-pasha-citra-pārveśāyaṇ tithau with slight variants (see D. R. Bhandarkar’s A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 451, 455, 478; cf. also No. 241). But here the word tithau actually occurs in the text. And, as a matter of fact, what that tithi has been specified in every one of these Chaulukya records. And it seems not a little suspicious that in all cases where the phrases asīyam or etèsādāh pārveśāyaṇ is used, whether in the Kusāna or Gupta records, there is not a single instance where the word tithau is employed as in the specification of the date in the Chaulukya grants just referred to. Next, what we have to note is that no tithi has at all been specified in any one of the Kusāna epigraphs, and that, on the contrary, there is evidence that the days mentioned there are solar (compare e.g., Nos. 16, 20, 29, 32 and so forth of Lüders’ List of Brāhmi Inscriptions, etc., where the number standing after dī or dīcasa exceeding fifteen which is the maximum number of a paksda). What then becomes of the word pāra occurring in the Kusāna records? The word tithau cannot possibly be understood after it, because none of them makes mention of any tithi. It is true that in the Gupta inscriptions tithis are mentioned in the specification of dates, but it does not follow that in the expression asīyam pāra-bhūyāṇ when it occurs in any one of them, we have to understand tithau as Fleet has invariably done. If this view is accepted, how is it possible to interpret the expression asīyam—dīcasa-pāra-bhūyāṇ which is found in line 7 of No. 16 below. We cannot possibly understand tithau after it as Fleet has done in the foot note attached to it. First because no tithi has been actually specified in this record. And secondly because the word dīcasa here must mean the day intervening between sunrise and sunset, and may sometimes comprise more than one tithi. We have therefore to seek for some other meaning for pāra. Let us find out in what other inscriptions the word occurs. Thus, it is found in verse 12 on p. 192 of Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, and, above all, in verse 44 of the celebrated Mandsor inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarma (No. 36 below), where, however, Fleet remarks: “supply praśāsti.” This is a curious proposal, because at one time the word tithau and at another the word praśāsti is understood by Fleet after pāra. The question arises: why not take pāra as a substantive as seems natural instead of taking it as an adjective? Because it is rather strange that in all these cases which are many, we find that we have to supply either tithau or praśāsti after it. That pāra is in such cases used as a substantive may be seen from the following which occurs in CEI, Vol., III (1888), No. 36, pp. 158 ff, evan rāja-varsha-maśa-dinaḥ etèsādāh pārveśāyaṇ viva-lakshaṇaḥ-yukta-pārveśāyaṇ. In this sentence the word pāra has been used, not once, but twice. We are, therefore, compelled to take both these pārveśa, at least the first of them, as a substantive. And further it seems that the word was used probably as translated in the sense of ‘detailed description or specification’. The phrase may therefore be translated as follows: “when, in this manner, with the regnal year, month and day, this was the detailed order (of the date), the detailed order being invested with its own characteristics”. That pāra had such meaning appears also from the Nagari inscription (Bhandarkar, List of Northern Inscriptions etc., No. 5), where we meet with asīyam Mālama-pārveśāyaṇ, “when this was the detailed order (of the date) according to the Mālavas”. In all other records, therefore, where asīyam or etèsādāh pārveśāyaṇ occurs, we had better, for the same reason, translate it “when this was the detailed order (of the date)”. [For further discussion on pāra, see B. Ch. Chhibra, Saropā Bhāratī, pp. 108 ff.; and D. C. Sircar, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, p. 123.—Ed.]
Kapila, for the commemoration\(^1\) of the preceptors and for the augmentation of the religious merit of himself.

(Lines 10-16) (It is) not written for (my own) fame, but for beseeching the worshippers of Mahēśvara. And it is an address to (those who are) the Āchāryas for the time being. Thinking them to be (their own) property, they should preserve, worship, and honour (them) as (their own) property. This is the request. Whosoever will do harm to these memorials or (destroy) the writing above or below, shall be possessed of the five great sins and the five minor sins.

(Line 17) And may divine Daṇḍa be always victorious, whose staff is terrific and who is the foremost leader.

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No. 7 : PLATE VII

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: THE YEAR 82

This inscription appears to have been first brought to notice in 1854 by General Cunningham, in his Bhilasa Topes, pp. 150 ff., where he published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (ibid., Plate xxi, No. 200). In 1858, in his edition of Prinsep’s Essays, Vol. I, pp. 246 ff. note 4, E. Thomas published his own reading of the text, accompanied by a translation by Professor H. H. Wilson. And, finally, in 1880, in his CASSIR., Vol. X, p. 50, General Cunningham published his revised reading of the text, and a revised translation of it, accompanied by a fresh lithograph (ibid., Plate xix). It was thereafter edited critically by J. F. Fleet, in CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 21 ff. accompanied by Plate II B.

**Udayagiri**\(^2\) is a well-known hill, with a small village of the same name on the eastern side of it, about two miles to the north-west of Bhelāsi,\(^3\) the chief town of the Vidiśā District, Madhya Pradesh. On the eastern side of the hill, a little to the south of the village, and almost on the level of the ground, there is a cave-temple, which from its containing this inscription, General

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\(^1\) Kirti in lines 9 and 15 should be distinguished from khyāti in line 11. K. T. Telang (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, p. 36, note 13) first brought to notice, on the authority of Bhagwanlal Indraj, that in certain connection kirtana has the meaning of 'a temple'; e.g. in line 18 of the Khaēpāta grant of Anantadeva, dated Šaka-Saṁvat 1016 (ibid., p. 34), which he was himself able to add the 'Dudali' inscriptions of Īvalabdhj (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 289), and the Udayagiri inscription, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1993 (ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 185). On the analogy of these authorities, there is every reason for allotting the same meaning, when required, to kirta, which is a derivative from the same root. But the words kirti and kirtana are hardly to be actually translated by 'temple', or by any other specific term; they denote generally 'any monument, or work, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it'. This is in accordance with the etymology of the words, from the root kri, 'to mention, commemorate, praise'. And the particular work referred to may have been a temple, as in the instances quoted above; a memorial, as in the present case; or a tank, as in Nos. 44, 45 of CII., Vol. III (1888), p. 212, note 6.

Another passage in which kirti has the same meaning, though we have no information now to as the specific nature of the work referred to, is in lines 4 ff., of an inscription on the right-hand side pier in the porch of the temple of Vaiḍayana as at Deoghar in the 'Saṁtal' Parganās in the Bengal Presidency, edited by Rajendra la Mira in the JBSAS., Vol. LI, part i. [See the article on Kirti—Its Connotation by B. Ch Chhabra in Siddha Bhārati, Vol. I, pp. 38 ff. and Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 184.—Ed.].

\(^2\) Spelt as Udayagiri in Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXIV, p. 108, and described as "situated in 23° 32' N. and 77° 46' E., between the Betwa and the Besh rivers." See also Atlas, ibid., Vol. XXVI, New (Revised 1931) edition, pl. 27.

\(^3\) The 'Bhilsa or Bheha' of maps, etc., spelt Bhilsa in the Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol. VIII, p. 105.
UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: THE YEAR 82
Cunningham has named "the Chandragupta Cave." The inscription is on the upper part of a smoothed and countersunk panel, about 2' 4-½" broad by 1' 6" high, over two figures, one of the four-armed god Vishnu, attended by his two wives; and one of a twelve-armed goddess, who, according to Fleet, is some form of Lakshmi. Cunningham, however, seems to be right in taking her to be Mahishasuramardini, as she is represented as holding the buffalo-demon by the heels and treading upon his head, which are sculptured on the face of the rock, outside the cave and a few feet to the north of the entrance to it. On the south is another figure of standing Vishnu.

The writing which covers a space of about 2' 3-½" broad by 4-⅞" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation. The surface of the rock has peeled off in some places; but no letters are entirely destroyed, except the g of Chandragupta in line 1, and in line 2, the first two aksharas of the name of the Mahārāja whose gift is recorded. The average size of the letters is about 9". The characters belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet, and combine with a 'box-headed' variety, peculiar to Central India; but, in this inscription, there are no instances in which enough remains of the square centre of the tops of the letters to show distinctly in the lithograph. The ending m is indicated by the usual character of the letter but engraved diminitively, once in siddham and another time in ēkādaśyāṁ, both in line 1. Line 1 also includes forms of the numerical symbols for 2 and 80. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice, is the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following y, in anuddhyāta, line 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. It is dated, partly in numerical symbols and partly in words, in the year eight-two (400-01 A.D.), and on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āśādha. The cave appears to be a Vaishnava one, as on both sides of the entrance there is a figure of standing Vishnu. And the object of the inscription is to record the excavation of the same as a temple to that god, and not the mere gift of the two sculptures above which it is engraved, as Fleet has understood it,—by a Mahārāja of the Sanakāni tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Chandragupta II, but whose name, in line 2, is now illegible. His grandfather was the Mahārāja Chhagalaga, which name, according to A.M.T. Jackson, 'has a Turki look'.

TEXT

1 Siddham 116 Saṁvatsarē 80 2 Āśādha-māsa śuklē(kl-ai)kādaśyāṁ [*] paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhi7-śri-Chandra[gl]upta-pād-ānuddhyātasya 18

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1 CASIR., Vol. X, pp. 49 ff., and PIs. xvi and xvii.
2 The wording here is saṁvatsarē 80 2 which has to be understood as saṁvatsarē dś-āśādham. The current year is therefore to be understood. If 'eighty-two' had been expired, we should have had saṁvatsarasāha instead of saṁvatsarē.
3 The vowel in the fourth syllable of this name is short i here, but it is long in the same word in the Allahābād pillar inscription (No. 1 above), p. 213, line 22.
5 From inked stamper.
6 The virāma is indicated by two vertical strokes below which is placed the m of siddham. The miniature size of this m shows it to be mute.
7 Read mahārājādhirāja.
8 Each one of these lines ends with a horizontal stroke, looking like the numerical symbol for 1. Fleet, however, takes it to be a virāma, which is a mistake, as the virāma in this record is represented by a vertical stroke as may be seen from those occurring immediately after siddham. The horizontal stroke may have been inserted here to indicate the ending of a line.
2 mahârâja-Chhagalâ-gautrasya mahârâja-Vishnûdâsa-putrasya Sanakâni-
kasya mahâr[âja] . . . lasy1 =âyam dêya-dharma2

TRANSLATION

Luck! In the year 80 2, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month
Ăśâdhâha, (is made) this, the religious benefaction3 of the Sanakânikā,4 the Mahârâja . . .
dhala (?), the son’s son of the Mahârâja Chhagalâga; (and) the son of the Mahârâja
Vishnûdâsa, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja, the glorious
Chandragupta (II).

No. 8: PLATE VIII

GAḌHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: THE YEAR 88

This inscription, and the following two inscriptions of Kumâragupta, Nos. 17 and 26,
are on a stone that was discovered in 1871-72 by Râjâ Śiva Prasâd, and were first brought
to notice by General Cunningham in his CASIR, Vol. III, p. 55 and Vol. X, p. 9. It was
afterwards re-edited by J. F. Fleet in CII, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 36 ff., Plate IV B.

Gaḍhwâ, which means literally ‘a fort,’ is the name of several villages in the Arai and
Bârâ Pargaṇâs in the Karchhanâ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahâbâd District, Uttar
Pradesh. The particular Gaḍhwâ, where these inscriptions were found, is in the Bârâ Pargaṇâ,
eight miles to the west by south from Bârâ, and one and a half miles south of the village of
Bhatgaḍh. It is entered in the map simply as a “Fort.” The stone containing the inscriptions
was found built into the wall of one of the rooms of a modern dwelling-house inside the
enclosure of the fort; and is a rectangular sandstone fragment, measuring about 9-1/2” broad
by 4” thick and 2’ 6-1/2” high. It is now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

The stone is inscribed on three faces,—on the front, as it stands in the Museum, and on
the two sides. It is entire towards the bottom; but the top of it, containing two or three lines
of writing, has been broken away and lost. In addition to this, the sides now contain only
about half of each line of the inscriptions engraved on them; and this, with the unfinished
roughness of the present back of the stone, shows that about half of it has been pared away,
in adapting it to some other purpose than that for which it was originally intended.

On the front of the stone, towards the top, traces are visible of eleven lines of writing,
each of about thirteen letters, in characters of the same period with those of the inscriptions
that are now published. But no part of this inscription, which seems to have been quite
distinct from those on the sides, can be read; and the traces of it that remain are not worth
being photographed.

1 The letter preceding lasyā, which is partially preserved, is taken by Fleet as ghā. But this ghā is quite unlike
ghā in Āśâdha in line 1. The original name seems to have consisted of four letters.
2 Fleet takes this symbol as double danga. But this is clearly one horizontal stroke between the two dots of the
visarga of dharma.
3 Monier Williams in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary renders dēya-dharma by ‘the duty of giving, charity’; Dowson,
by ‘votive offering’ (e.g., JRAS., Vol. V, p. 184); Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indrâji, by ‘meritorious gift (or benefaction)’
(e.g., ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 83); and Senart by ‘a pious gift’ (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 76, Nos. 7-8). The word literally
means ‘a religious gift (dharma), which is fit to be given’. It had better be translated with R. G. Bhandarkar by ‘a
4 See p. 243 above, note 3.
Gāḍhwa Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II: The Year 38

G. S. Gai

From photograph
The inscription of Chandragupta II now published, is on the upper part of the present proper left side of the stone, and the writing covers a space of about 4" broad by 14-½" high. It was originally brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text of lines 10 to 17 in the CASIR, Vol. III, p. 55, with a lithograph of the whole (ibid., Pl. xx, No. 1). The first two entire lines, and the last half of each of the remaining lines, have been broken away and lost. The remnant of the inscription, however, is fairly well preserved and easy to read. The average size of the letters is ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are practically of the same type as those of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, pp. 203 ff. above, Plate I. We use the word 'practically' because m, l and h are, in all cases, of the eastern variety. But s in two instances is of the western type, s in divasa-, line 3 and in -ska(ndḥ)anām, line 17, all other cases of this character presenting the eastern. Further, the characters include in lines 7, 11, and 16, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 10, and 80. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography, the only point requiring notice is the doubling of y and v after the anusvāra, in sāhyavāka, lines 8 and 9, and -sāhvatsarē, line 11.

In the first part of the inscription, lines 1 to 9, the date and the name of the king are entirely broken away and lost. So also the name in the second part. But, in the latter part, lines 10 to 17, we have the date, in numerical symbols, of the year eighty-eight (406-07 A.D.). And this, coupled with the epithet Paramabhāgavata in line 10, followed by the beginning of the title Maharājādhirāja, shows that the inscription, in this part, certainly belongs to the time of the Imperial Gupta king Chandragupta II. And the first part is so plainly engraved by the same hand,—and is, moreover, not separated by any dividing line,—that it must certainly be allotted to the same reign, and supposed to be of practically the same contents. Both the parts seem to record the gift of ten dīnāras as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a suttira, or charitable almshouse, apparently by a woman who was the wife of Mātridāsa, Chief of House-holders and an inhabitant of Pātaliputra. The contribution was made over to a Brāhmaṇa whose name is lost but who bore the surname of Sadāsattrā-sāmāṇya, the first part of which is apparently the old name of the place where the inscription was originally engraved and was so called because it was a place of perpetual almshouse.

**TEXT**

*First Part*

1 [Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-rājya]-
2 [saṁhvatsarē . . . . . . . . . . ayāṁ]
3 divasa-ppūrvvāyāṁ . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
4 ka-Mātridāsa-pu[t]ra . . . . . . . . . [puny-ā]-
5 pyāyan-ārtthaṁ rachi[t]a . . . . . [sa]-
6 dāsat[t]ra-sāmāṇyaya(nya)-brāhmaṇ[a] . . .
7 dīnāraṁ=-datsuabhī 10 . . . . . . . . [t]i
8 Yaś=-ch-aināṁ dharmma-skanda[ndha]ṁ [vyuchchhindyaṭ=sa paṅcha-mahā
pātakaṁ saṁ]-
9 yyukta[h*] syād=iti [t]i

*Second Part*

10 Paramabhāgavata-mahā[rājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-rā]-
11 jya-saṁhvatsarē 80 8 . . . . . . . . . . . .
12 pūrvvāyāṁ Pāṭā[ta]liput[t]rē . . . . . . . . . [grī]-

augmenting (her own spiritual merit) ... organised ... a Brāhmaṇa of the township of Sadāsatra¹ ... by ten dināras (or in figures) 10.

(Lines 8-9) And whosoever (breaks up) this bit of charity⁸ shall become infected (with the Five Great Sins).

Second Part

(Lines 10-12) In the year 80, of the (dynastic) rule of the prosperous Chandragupta the Mahārājādhirāja, an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva) ... (on this lunar day characterised by the week day).

(Lines 12-16) Pātaliputra ... the wife of (the chief of) the Householders ... (for the purpose) of augmenting (her) own spiritual merit ... a Brāhmaṇa of the township of Sadāsatra ... ten dināras, (or in figures) 10.

(Lines 16-17) (And whosoever) breaks up (this bit of charity) shall become infected with the Five Great Sins.

No. 9: PLATE IX

SĀNCHĪ STONE INSCRIPTION ON CHANDRAGUPTA II: THE YEAR 93

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the JBAS, Vol. III, pp. 438 ff., where was published a lithograph of it (ibid., Plate xxviii), reduced by James Prinsep

¹ The word sāmānya in the sense of 'community' is of common occurrence in inscriptions. We have thus Śrī-Valabhit-virṇīrggata-tach-Chāturvidya-sāmānya-Vātasyāna-sagōtra, in lines 44-45 of the Baroda plates of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakaṭa prince Karka Suvarnaqṣavarśa (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 160), Śrī-Varṇavat-sādastava-tat-Trācīrya-sāmānyaya-Kuṅjita-sagōtra, in the Bagumrā plates of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakaṭa prince Kriṣṇārāja Akāḷavarsa (ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 69), Gīrinagara-virṇīrggata-Saḍāballa-agrahāra-sādastava-tach-Chāturvidya-sāmānyaya-Śrāvyana-sagōtra, in line 19 of the Nausāri plates of the Gurjara Jaṭābhāṣa (III) (ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 78), and so forth. Trācīrya and Chāturvidya of these records have been taken to stand for Tridēti and Chaturvedi of the modern day. It thus seems that sāmānya was here used in the sense of 'surname or family name.' On the other hand, we have to take note of somewhat dissimilar instances of the employment of this word. Thus, we have e.g., Bhārataditya-gōtra-sāmānya-charaṇa, Kājōpa-gōtra-sāmānya-charaṇa, etc., in lines 25-26 of some Brāhmaṇa grants in the Mudiyantar plates of the Bāna Malladēva-Nandivarman (ibid., Vol. XV, p. 175). It is not at all impossible that here the Gōtra served as a family name as is still the case in U.P. and Panjab. Another instance that we have to note in this connection is Kāliṅkaṇgarag-sāmānyaya Gaṅga-sagātrēya, occurring in line 10 of the Parā-Kimedi plates of the Gaṅga Indravarman Rājaśīhā (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 134). Here also it is quite possible to argue that Kaliṅkanagara has been used as a surname of the Brāhmaṇa grantee, a practice which is still common in Madras and Mysore. In fact, this phraseology may be compared to Unibarakṛṣṭa-kulaśaṅkhāyā by which occurs in the Haidarabad plates of Chalukya Pulakēśuṇ and to which we drew attention in Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 72. Here Unibarakṛṣṭa is unquestionably the name of a village, which is taken as a family name of the grantee; in other words, kulaśaṅkhāyā here seems to be synonymous with sāmānya. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from supposing that the word sāmānya signifies primarily 'a community' or 'township' and is secondarily used to denote 'surname' or 'family name.' The same must be the sense in which the word has been employed in our inscription. Sadāsatra must, therefore, be taken to be the name of the place where this inscription and those bearing numbers 17 and 26 were engraved. And, as they all speak of endowments being made to one and the same sattā, whether for feeding Brāhmaṇas or people of other castes, it is not unreasonable to surmise that this locality, which abounded in such charitable houses was for that reason called Sadāsatra. If any instances of such significant names are required, they are furnished by Pushkara so called because it contains (three) lakes (puhkāra) as well as by Anūpa and Jāṅgala so named because they were originally or are even now watery or marshy (niṣpo) and arid and unfertile (jagala) countries.

⁸ It is somewhat difficult to understand what dharma-saṅkhā means. Skanda means 'a troop, multitude, quantity, aggregate'; 'a part, division (especially a division of an army or a form of military array)'; 'a chapter, section (of a book, system, etc.).' In these circumstances Dharma-saṅkhā must mean either 'a mass or aggregate of charity' or 'a bit, part or section of charity.' The latter sense seems preferable.
from a copy by B. H. Hodgson. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it is a very imperfect one; especially in showing no traces whatever of the first six or seven letters of each line, all the way down. And in 1837, in the same Journal, Vol. VI, pp. 451 ff., Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, reduced from copies on cloth and paper made by Captain Edward Smith, of the Engineers (ibid., Plate xxv). It was edited critically for the first time by J. F. Fleet, in CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 29 ff., Plate III B.

Sāñchi, or Sāchī, is a village about twelve miles to the north-east of Diwāṅgañj, the chief town of the Diwāṅgañj Tashīl or Sub-Division of Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh. It is sometimes called Sāñchī-Kānākhēḍā, through its name being coupled with that of another small village immediately to the north of it.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 6-3" broad by 1' 9" high, is on the outer side of the top rail in the second row, outside and on the south side of the eastern gateway of the Great Stūpa. The inscription is very well preserved, except that two or three letters are destroyed and quite illegible near the commencement of each line as far as line 8. The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{5}$. The characters belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet and approximate most closely to, in the present volume, those of the Mandaśor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, No. 36 below, Plate xxxvi, and, elsewhere, those of the Aihole inscription1 of the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II of Śaka-saṁvat 556 (634-35 A.D.). They include, in line 11, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 4 and 90. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the dental s, instead of the visarga or the upadhrmāṇya, in conjunction with p, in yasas-patāka, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year ninety three (411-12 A.D.), on the fourth day, without any specification of the lunar fortnight, of the month Bhādrapada (August-September). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the grant, by Āmrakārdava or Āmrakārdava, son of Unāña, of a village called Īsvara-vāsaka, and a sum of money, to the Ārya-Saṁgha, at the Great Buddhist Convent of Kākanādabōṭa, for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps. Āmrakārdava was presumably an officer of Chandragupta II. He describes himself to be an anuvivin or dependent of this king, to have achieved victories in many battles, and, above all, as selling off three rājakulas or palaces which have been named. It seems that Āmrakārdava was something like a quartermaster entrusted with the duty of the making out of camp and assignment of quarters. It further seems that Chandragupta’s establishment, apparently at Vidiśā, broke up before Bhādrapada of the Gupta year 93 when he retired from the world and that consequently Āmrakārdava had to sell off the palaces which had been occupied by the king and his party. With the money so realised which was apparently the king’s own half, the village of Īsvara-vāsaka was purchased for feeding monks and burning lamps for the acquisition of virtues by Chandragupta Dēvarāja.

The Kākanādabōṭa Convent, says Fleet, is the Great Sāñchī Stūpa itself. But a vihāra, which is a place of residence for monks, is always distinguished in Buddhist literature from a thūpa or stūpa, which is an object of worship. The remains of many monasteries were exhumed by John Marshall during his excavations at Sāñchī. But none of them is earlier than the seventh century A.D. In some places, however, he lighted upon traces of older monasteries on which the later ones were erected. Anyhow the Mahāvihāra referred to in this record has not

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.
yet been identified. What Kākanādabāṭa exactly means or denotes we do not know. Never-
theless a shrewd guess may be hazarded. It is worthy of note that Kākanāva and other Prākṛt
forms of Kākanāda occur in five inscriptions connected with Sāñchi and Andhēr Stūpas. Two
of these, associated with Sāñchi Stūpa No. I, utter an imprecation against any one who takes
away or causes to be taken away an arch (tōraṇa), railing (vēḍikā) or stonework (selakama)
from this Kākanāva’ and causes it to be transferred to another āchariya-kula (Lüders’ List
Nos. 340 and 350). Bühler, on the suggestion of Jacobi, translates the term āchariya-kula,
by ‘temple of the teacher’; and Lüders follows him. But the word, on the analogy of
dēvakula and rājakula had better be rendered by ‘the seat or establishment of a teacher.’ It thus
seems that some site near Sāñchi Stūpa No. I formed the establishment of one Teacher, which,
again, was known as Kākanāva (=Kākanāda). This sense which we have attached to the word
does not run counter to the text of a third inscription found at Sāñchi Stūpa No. I which,
His translation, however, is faulty, and we have to accept that of Fleet and Lüders,
namely, “The measuring-staff of Bhagavat at Kākanāya” (loc. cit., No. 200). There are two
more records which mention Kākanāda. One of these is engraved on the steatite box of Andhēr
Stūpa No. II. Fleet correctly reads it Satpurisasa Gōtiputasa Kāknāda-Pabhāsasana Köṭiṇa-gotasa
(CII, Vol. III, 1888, p. 31) and Lüders correctly renders it by “(Relics) of the saint
(sapurisa) Gōtiputa (Gauntiputra) of the Köṭiṇa (Kauṇḍinya) gota (gota) who illuminated
(? pabhāsana) Kākanāva” (loc. cit., No. 681). The only doubtful word here is pabhāsana, which
means ‘illuminator.’ And, prima facie, this appears to be the correct sense, because Kākanāda,
being the site of an Āchārya-kula, was already a holy place. And if there was a teacher here
who was an illuminator of Kākanāda, he must naturally have been looked upon as sapurisa
(=satpurusha) or saint whose relics were worthy of being enshrined in a stūpa close by, namely,
at Andhēr. But the fifth or the last record which we have now to notice seems to cast some
doubt on this point. It is engraved on the inner circle of the steatite box in Sāñchi Stūpa No. II.
According to Cunningham it reads: Kāknāva-pabhāsasāhāna dānam (Bhilsa Topes, p. 288,
No. 2); and Lüders translates it by “Gift of The Pabhāsasāhas of Kākanāva” (No. 659).
It is well-known that Cunningham’s readings of inscriptions in this volume are very often
faulty and the Plates, being mere eye-copies, cannot be considered as very reliable. In these
circumstances it is permissible to compare these two records, one with the other, and suspect
that what he reads as pabhāsasāhana is a mistake for pabhāsanakāna and further infer that
Pabhāsana or Pabhāsanaaka may, after all, be the name of the line to which the Āchāryas of
Kākanāda pertained. Anyhow, this much is certain that Kākanāda is the name of the site
occupied by the Āchārya-kula connected with Sāñchi Stūpa No. I.

What then does Kākanādabāṭa mean? It is worthy of note that the whole expression
Kākanādabāṭa-śri-mahāvihārē occurs in the Sāñchi stone inscription1 of the year 131, which also
is engraved on a railing of and is connected with Sāñchi Stūpa No. I. In this connection Fleet
says: “It is not quite certain what meaning is to be allotted to bōta in this name; but it is
probably another form of pōta, ‘the foundation of a house.’ This does not help us at all in under-
standing the term Kākanādabāṭa. It is true that in a footnote Fleet remarks further that
bōta occurs again as part of a proper name in Raṅkabōta, in line 8 of the Khoh Copper-plate
inscription2 of Mahārāja Jayanātha and viṭa as territorial name, in line 6 of the Khoh Copper-
plate inscription3 of Mahārāja Sarvanātha. We have also Bōtaka, as a proper name, in a

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2 Ibid., No. 27, p. 122.
3 Ibid., No. 29, p. 131.
Valabhi plate (CII., Vol. III, 1888, p. 166, line 25). This also does not help us because we know that Kākanāda of Kākanādabōta denoted a particular place; in fact, it denoted the site of the Āchārya-kula to which pertained Sāṅchī Stūpa No. I. Kākanādabōta must therefore have signified the bōta of this site, or of Kākanāda as it was then called. Now, the term bōta has been preserved, so far as we know, in Marāṭhī and Hindi, and means ‘a finger; a finger’s breadth.’ If this sense is really intended here, Kākanādabōta seems to have been so called, because it looked like a finger of the Kākanāda locality.

TEXT

1 [Siddham]1 Kā[kanā]dabōta-srī-mahāvihārē śila-samādhi-prajñā-guṇa-bhāvit-çındri[yāya parama-puṇya-
2 kṣhē3 ... tāya chatur-ddig-abhyāgatāya śramaṇa-puṅgav-āvasathāy = āryyaasaṃghāya mahārajaḥdi-
3 rā[ja-śrī]-Chandragupta-pāda-prasād-āpyāyita-jivita-sādhanaḥ anujīvi-satpurusa-sadbhāva-
4 vṛi ... 4 jagati prakhyāpayan anēka-samar-āvāpita-vijaya-yaśas-patākaḥ Sukuli-
5 dēśa-Na-
6 shṭi ... vāstavyaḥ Undāna-putr-āmrakārddavō Maja-śarabhaṅg-āmrarāta-
7 rājakula-mūlya-krī-
8 taṁ dē ... r.5 Īśvarvāsakaṁ pañcha-maṇḍalya6 pranipatya dadāti pañcha-
9 viṁśatī = cha7 dīnā-
10 rān ...... ḫ6 [i*] yad-aruddhēna mahārajaḥdhirāja-srī-Chandraguptasya Dēvarājā iti pri-
11 yā-nā[ma] ..... [y = ē] tasya9 sarvga-guṇa-saṁpattayē yāvach = chandādityau tāvat = pañcha bhikshavō bhumi-
12 tāṁ rā[na*]-griṅhē cha dipakō jvalatu [i*] mama ch-āpar-ārdhaṁ = paṅch =
13 aiva bhikṣavō bhumijatāṁ ratna-griṅhē cha dipaka ī[t] [i*] [Tā]d = ētata-pravṛttanā ya uchchhindyaṁ = sa gō-brahma-hatyayā
14 saṁyukto bhavēt = pañcabhūḥ = cha = āna-
15 ntaryyair = iti [i*] Sāṁ10 90 3 Bhādrapada-di11 4

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-7) Luck! To the venerable (Buddhist) confraternity, in the prosperous Great Convent of Kākanādabōta, in which the organs of sense (of its members) have been perfected

1 In the original, this word, which is very much damaged and hardly recognisable, stands above the first two letters of line 1.
2 These two letters have been supplied from line 2 of the Sāṅchī inscription of the year 131, CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 62, Plate xxxviii, where they are quite distinct.
3 Fleet wrongly reads this letter as kṛi. It is clearly kṣhē; and the whole can be safely restored to parama-puṇya-
4 kṣhetra-maṇḍya which also makes good sense, as may be seen from the translation.
5 This may be restored to prittakām.
6 This may be restored to deṣadārmmanā.
7 Fleet corrects it into pañcha-maṇḍalya[m*], which is wrong.
8 Read viṁśatīn cha.
9 The lacuna may be filled up with aksaḥya-nivitaḥ.
10 We might supply the lacuna with priya-nāmadhēyam bhavatī = ētasya.
11 See p. 246 above, note 1.
12 That is, dinē or divāsi. As di has been joined to Bhādrapada-, the word properly denotes the solar day, from sunrise to sunrise, with which a week-day name would be coupled; not the lunar tīthi, which may coincide with, more or less may differ from, the solar day and week day.
Sāñchi Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II: The year 93

G. S. Gai

From photograph
by such qualities as piety, meditation and wisdom; which is considered to be the highest field of merit; which has gathered together from the four quarters of the world; (and) which is the abode of most eminent Śramaṇas, having prostrated himself in a circle of five (limbs), Ámrakárđava, son of Undāna whose means of subsistence has been augmented through the favour of the feet of the Māhārājādhīrāja, the prosperous Chandragupta (II), who is proclaiming to the world the faithful spirit of a dependent who is an excellent man, whose banner of fame was the victories achieved in many battles, (and) who is an inhabitant of (the town of) Nashī... in the Sukuli country—gives Iśvaravāsaka... purchased with the price of the palaces Maja, Šarabhaṅga and Āmrarāṭa; and twenty-five dīnāras (as a permanent endowment);

(Lines 7-9) with the (first) half of which, let five (Buddhist) mendicants be fed, and let a lamp burn in the jewel house, as long as the moon and the sun (endure), for the attainment

1 The Pali form of puya-kṣhetra is pañña-kkhetan which is thus explained by Childs in A Dictionary of the Pali Language: "field of merit, epithet of the Saṅgha or Buddhist clergy, because men acquire merit by showing kindness or charity to them."

2 According to Fleet, "paṭāca-manḍali is evidently the same as the Paṭāchālī, Paṭāchā∀ay, or Paṭācī, of modern times, the village-jury of five (or more) persons, convened to settle a dispute by arbitration, etc." The words that are, however, found regularly used in inscriptions are (1) paṭāchālī or Paṭāchālīka in Nepali inscriptions, No. 4, line 11; No. 7, lines 13 and 15; No. 10, line 16; No. 13, line 20 (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 168, 170, 173 and 177); and (2) paṭāchakula in Gujarati and Rajasthani inscriptions (D.R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 565, 587 and 631); from which is derived the word paṭācholi prevalent still in Rajasthani and signifying 'a member of the Panch,' and of which the abbreviated form paṭācha is found prefixed to the names of some people, though Kielhorn feels inclined to take it as "equivalent to paṭāchakulī (paṭācholi) which occurs as an epithet of two persons (father and son) in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., Vol. II, p. 96" (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 106-07). The term paṭācha-manḍali means 'a group or aggregate of five,' which does not run counter to the sense Fleet has attached to the word. This does not, however, seem to be the sense intended here, because, in the first place, the word actually engraved is paṭāca-maṇḍalay which Fleet wrongly corrects into paṭāca-maṇḍalay[im*]; secondly, idiom requires that we should have paṭāca-maṇḍalīn prāṇapāya instead of paṭāca-maṇḍalīn prāṇapāya as Fleet has it, if Ámrakárđava really prostrated himself before the Panch; and, thirdly, the verb daddāti in line 6 goes with Aryanagāya in line 2 which is in the dative and there is no necessity of supposing any intermediate body like the Panch, the word standing for which is paṭāca-maṇḍalay[im*], which, again, is not in the dative but locative. What then could be the meaning of paṭāca-maṇḍalay here? In this connection our attention was drawn many years ago by Rev. Mr. Siddhartha to the word paṭācā-paṭātthē or paṭācā-paṭātthām which is explained in Childers' Dictionary as follows: "Setting down or fixing of five things...Paṭācā-paṭātthēṁ vandati, to salute with the five rests, v.e., to prostrate oneself before a superior so completely that the forehead, elbows, waist, knees, and feet rest on the ground..." Paṭāca-maṇḍalay prāṇapāya of our text corresponds to this Pāli phrase and may be taken to mean "having prostrated himself in a group of five (so that his five limbs touched the ground)."

3 Dēśa denotes primarily 'a country' and secondarily 'a kingdom'; so also, rāśtra and viśaya. The last two terms again denote a division or sub-division of a kingdom for administrative purposes according to the different times and the different parts of India where they were used. Here, however, dēśa stands for 'a country' as the term vāstraya following it shows.

4 Mulya means 'price, worth, a sum of money given as payment.' It cannot be equivalent to akṣhayya-niśi, as Fleet takes it; because akṣhayya-niśi means 'a permanent endowment,' if mulya at all has that sense. Again, Fleet translates Maja-Śarabhaṅga-Āmrarāṭa-rājakula by "Maja, Šarabhaṅga and Āmrarāṭa of the royal household" which yields no good sense at all. Rājakula must here be taken in the sense of 'a palace.' Maja, Šarabhaṅga and Āmrarāṭa thus seem to be the names of the palaces which were occupied by Chandragupta II while he was encamped at Vidiśa during his expedition of conquest.

5 Akṣhayya-niśeṇa may be supplied on the analogy of line 3 of the Sāṃchī inscription of the year 131 referred to on p. 249, note 1 above.

6 This must refer to the income realised from Iśvaravāsaka after paying off the state revenue. This income must be equal to the interest on twentyfive dīnāras, as the object served by both was exactly identical.

7 This is the literal meaning of rataṇ-grīha," says Fleet. "It seems to denote the Śīla itself, as the abode of the three rataṇas or 'jewels or precious things,' v. e., (1) Buddha; (2) Dharma, the Law or Truth; and (3) Saṅgha, the community or congregation." Fleet, however, forgets that the Buddha was one of the three rataṇas and that consequently rataṇ-grīha can reasonably denote the shrine of the Buddha. In fact, the term rataṇa was employed to denote not only the Buddha but also Boddhisattvas. See, e.g., the passage where the Saddharmagṛpāṇa has explained (Contd. on p. 252)
of all virtues by the Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Chandragupta (II) whose favourite name is Dēvarāja;¹

(Lines 9-10) with the other half, which is mine,² let the same number of mendicants be fed, and let (a lamp) burn in the jewel-house.

(Lines 10-11) Whosoever breaks up that same arrangement, shall become infected with the killing of a cow or of a Brāhmaṇa³ and with the five sins that cause immediate retribution.⁴

(Line 11) (In) the year 903, (on) the day 4 of Bhādrapada.

No. 10: PLATE X

MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

This inscription was discovered in 1853 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in his first Archaeological Report, which, originally printed in 1863 as a supplement to the JBASt., Vol. XXXII, pp. iii to cxxix, was in 1871 reprinted, with the addition of Plates, as CasR., Vol. III, p. 37, and Plate xvi, No. 24, wherein he published a reduced lithograph of it, showing the completion of the lines as arranged by him. It was thereafter edited critically by J. F. Fleet, in CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 25 ff. accompanied by Plate III A.

The inscription is on a red-sandstone fragment, about 10" broad by 11-½" high, cracked across the lower proper right corner, which was found, with its face downwards, forming part of the pavement immediately outside the Katrā gateway at Mathurā, the chief town of the Mathurā District in Uttar Pradesh. The original stone was for a long time in the Provincial Museum at Lahore, but has now been transferred to the Curzon Museum, Mathurā.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the stone, about 10" broad by 11-½" high, is in a state of very fair preservation. It is only a fragment, the first line has been almost entirely destroyed, and an indefinite number of lines have been almost entirely broken away and lost at the bottom of the stone; and, in addition to this, from one to nine aksharas have been broken away and lost at the commencement of the lines, except in lines 8 and 9. The size of the letters varies from ¾" to 2". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They are of radically the same stock with those of the Mathurā pillar inscription of Chandragupta II, No. 6 above, but with some minor differences in details. The only character of the eastern Gupta

¹ Prinsep rendered this passage so as to make Dēvarāja to be another name of Chandragupta II. But says Fleet: "This may be correct. But we have no other authority for giving him this second name." He, therefore, filled up the lacunae in such a way as to give the translation: "for the perfection of all the virtues of him who, having the familiar name of Dēvarāja, is a minister of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta." Prinsep's surmise, however, turns out to be correct. For, since Fleet wrote, two grants of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatī-Guptā have been found (CII., Vol. V, pp. 5 ff. and pp. 33 ff.) which show that her father who is elsewhere called Dēvagupta is here called Chandragupta (II), son of Samuddragupta. This was pointed out by us long ago in Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 160-61.

² Obviously Amarakārāda is here speaking of himself.

³ It is worthy of note that the slaughter of a cow is here considered to be as heinous as that of a Brāhmaṇa.

⁴ Paṭhaka añANTyayo is the same as the Pāli Paṭhakkāññaro-kammam which is thus explained by Childers: "Five sins that bring with them immediate retribution...They are the six Abhijñāsas minus the last or last but one." And Abhijñāna is further explained as follows: "Crime, deadly sin...They are six: Matricide, patricide, killing an Arhat, shedding the blood of a Buddha, causing divisions among the priesthood, following other teachers."
MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

G. S. Gai

From photograph
alphabet which is noticeable here is m, which is practically identical with that of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta except in that there is a slightly marked curve in the left downward stroke of this letter. The other test characters, namely, l, s and h are of the western Gupta variety. The language is Sanskrit; and the extant portion of the inscription is in prose throughout. The orthography does not present anything calling for remark.

The inscription is one of the Imperial Gupta king Chandragupta II. His name does not occur in the portion that is extant. But the instrumental case putrēṇa in line 9, immediately after the mention, in the genitive case, of Samudragupta, shows that the genealogy was continued down to, and ended with, his son and chosen successor (parigrihi), whose name came in line 11 or 12, and who is known from the subsequent records to have been Chandragupta II (e.g., line 19 of No. 33 below). The date of the inscription, if any was recorded, and the subject of it, were in the portion that has been broken away and lost.

TEXT

1 . . . [Sarva-rāj-ōchhēttuh prīthiv[ām = apratiratha]-
2 [sya chatur-udadhī-salī]-āsvādita-ya[saśo Dha]-
3 [nada-Varun-Endr-Āntaka-sa]-masya Kṛtānta-[paraśōh]
4 [nyā-γ-āgat-ānēka-gō]-hiraṇya-kōṭi-prada[ṣya chir-ō]-
5 [tsanv-āvamēdh-āhartur-ṃma]-hārāja-śṛi-Gupta-propau[t]r[asya]
6 [mahārāja-śṛi-Ghatōṭka]-cha-paurtrasya mahārājādhir[āja]-
7 [śṛi-Chandragupta]-pu[t]rasya Lichchhavi-daughtrasya mahā[de]-
8 [vyām Dumara]-dē[vyām = utpannasya mahārājādhirā]-
9 [ja-śṛi-Samudraguptasya] putrēṇa tat-parigri-
10 [ht]-fē[n]a mahādev[y]ām Dat[t]-adē[v]-[y]ām = ut[pan]-[n]-ē-
11 [na2] paramabhāgavatēna mahārājādhirāja-śṛi]-
12 [Chandraguptēna] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

(The rest of the inscription is entirely broken away and lost.)

TRANSLATION

(Lines 11-12) [By the prosperous Chandragupta, the Mahārājādhirāja, an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva),]

1 From the original stone. The passages that have been broken away are supplied from lines, 24, 26, 28 and 29 of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta (No. 1 above), and from lines 1 to 4 of the Bhūtari pillar inscription of Skandagupta (No. 31 below).

2 These two lines have been added to show how the original record must have continued.

3 Bhāgavata literally means 'a devotee of Bhagavat,' and consequently Parama-Bhāgavata 'an ardent devotee of Bhagavat.' The term is employed as an epithet of any god or object of worship; thus, it is applied to Śambhu (Śiva) in line 5 of No. 11, below; to Śvāmi-Mahāśēna (Kārttikēya), in line 7 of No. 16, below; to Viṣṇu, in line 6 of No. 40, below; to Varuṇavāsin (the sun), in line 13 of Deo-Baranark inscription (CII, Vol. III, 1888, No. 46); to Dādhi-karṇa, lord of serpents, in line 3 of No. 18, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 390; to the Buddha, in line 6 of Sānchi Stone inscription (CII, Vol. III, 1888, No. 62) and to Jīnēndra, in line 1 of the Alkōj inscription of Pulakesī II (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 4). But it seems to denote Viṣṇu or rather Vāsudēva when used by itself, as in bhagavat-pāda, lines 8-9 of the Khōkh plates of the Mahārāja Jayañātha of the year 177 (No. 27, CII, Vol. III, 1888) Similarly, bhāgavata denotes 'a devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva)' when there is nothing in the context to give it any other application; thus, in the celebrated Bensagar pillar inscription, the Greek ambassador (Yōnā-dīta), Heliodōra (Heliodorus), calls himself Bhagavata in connection with the erection of the pillar by him as a Garaṇa-dhēva in front of the shrine of Vāsudēva, god of gods (A.R. ASI, 1908-09, p. 128). Similarly, the term bhāgavata occurs in line 7 of the Khōkh plates just referred to. The term could, however, be affixed to the name of any other god to denote devotees of that god. Thus, the Mahābhāṣya, Verse 2.76, speaks of Śīla-bhāgavaṇas in the sense of 'devotees of Śiva, the bhagavat.' As regards Parama-Bhāgavata, it is a technical sectarian title, analogous to Parama-Māhēṣvara (e.g., No. 38 of CII, Vol. III, 1888), Parama-Brahmāsya (e.g., line 39 of the grant of (Contd. on p. 254)
Amma II, Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 16; also in Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 237, line 83). Other similar epithets, but not formed in quite the same way, are Paramáditya-bhakta (e.g., in line 10 of No. 38 of CII, Vol. III, 1888); and Paramá-Bhagavati-bhakta (e.g., Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 18, lines 3 and 5-6); also Ay usanta-Mahiśvara and Ayusanta-Svändi-Mahábhairava-bhakta, e.g., Chamam Copper-plate inscription of Pravarasena II, lines 9 and 4 (CII, Vol. III, 1888, No. 53); and Ayusanta-Bhagavajabhakta, in No. 40 below, line 6, and Éran Stone inscription of Tóramána, line 4 (CII, Vol. III, 1888, No. 36). In the mediaval period the epithet Paramá-Vaishnava is also met with (e.g., Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 17, line 11). Whether it is exactly identical with Paramá-Bhágavat is, however, not quite clear. The same is the case with Paramá-Pálapata which also occurs in epigraphic records (e.g., line 8 of the Verawal inscription of Arjunadevi, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 242), like Paramá-Mahábhairava. These two epithets may, however, stand for two different sects of Saivism. Similarly, in the Neulpur plate of Subhakara of the Kara family, while this king is called Paramá-Saugata, his own father Sivakara is styled Paramá-Táthágata (Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 3, lines 3-5 f.). This also may indicate two different sects of Buddhism. In later times, again, a person may be an adherent of two alien sects; thus, in a Pithuparam inscription, Mallapadéva describes himself as both Paramá-Bhágavata and Paramá-Brahmana (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 237, lines 82-83); similarly, Vaidyadéva of Prágyôdihish calls himself both Paramá-Mahábhairava and Paramá-Vaishnava (Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 333, line 47).

1 The word parigrhitá must here mean 'selected' or 'accepted', as Fleet first pointed out (CII, Vol. III, 1888, p. 12, note 1). And further we must assume that what is meant here is that Chandragupta was selected by his father as heir-apparent, no doubt, from amongst his many brothers, some of whom were senior to him in age. Surely in the Gupta period the practice of the nomination of the yuvrajá was prevalent. Thus, at Basáhr, many seals have been recovered of the time of Chandragupta II, which relate to the offices connected with the administration of the yuvrajá (ASL, A.R., 1903-04, pp. 107 ff., Nos. 4, 6, 11 and 12). Generally, the choice fell upon the eldest son, but he was not recognised as yuvrajá unless he was formally anointed. The yuvrajá had the status of a Mahárajá as in the case of Goivindagupta, son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvasvámin (ibid., p. 107, No. 1: Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, p. 3). It seems that Chandragupta II was not the eldest son of Samudragupta and is, therefore, spoken of as being selected (as heir-apparent) by the latter. The necessity of stating it was all the greater in his case, as his elder brother, Káchagupta (or Rámagupta), stood for some time in the way of his ascending the Guptas throne after the demise of these two.

2 The epithet, sarva-ráj-jñácchátrá, occurs on the reverse of some gold coins, hitherto always classed in the Imperial Gupta series (Allan, Cat. of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, Intro., p. cx and pp. 15-17; Smith, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 96 and 100), which have on the obverse the name of Kácha, as Fleet rightly points out, “in the place where the king’s name usually stands on coins,” with the marginal legend Kácha gám=avaijyá diwák karmabharm=uttamaimar=jjayati, “Kácha, having conquered the earth, wins heaven by (his) most excellent deeds.” Further, Fleet correctly remarks, “There is nothing distinctive in this epithet, sufficient to show that it belonged only to the Early Gupta Dynasty (and, in that dynasty, to Samudragupta).” Numismatists, however, are now absolutely certain that these coins belong to the Imperial Gupta series, but while some of them assign them to his predecessor and brother called Kácha. We have also pointed out (Introduction, pp. 50-51) that Kácha must be the original and correct form of Ráma-(gupta), the elder brother of Chandragupta II, who usurped the Guptas throne but who was ultimately ousted by the latter. It is true that kácha ordinarily signifies ‘glass, crystal; the string of the scale of a balance; alkaline salt, black salt; wax; wax; etc.’ as Fleet tells us, but he also says that Kácha was used as an individual name and has actually been mentioned as the name of two rulers, Kácha I and Kácha II, in one of the inscriptions in the Ajanta caves (ASWT, Vol. IV, p. 129, lines 4 and 6; CII, Vol. III, 1888, p. 27, note 4).

3 Kritánta-parásu is one of the epithets applied to Samudragupta on some of his gold coins (Allan, Cat. of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, Intro., pp. 1xxii, ff. and cx; and pp. 12 ff.; Smith, Cat. of the Coins of the Ind. Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 96 and 104).

4 Fleet renders this phrase by “who was the restorer of the aśvamedha-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance.” This translation, though it is not an impossible one, cannot be the correct one for the reasons specified above (Introd, pp. 37-38). With it we have to compare the legend Aśvamedha-parásu-kramaḥ on some of the gold coins of Samudragupta. Its interpretation has also been discussed above (Introd, p. 37).
UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

(Lines 5-8) who was the son of the son’s son of the prosperous Gupta, the Mahārāja; the son’s son of [the prosperous] Ghatotkacha, [the Mahārāja]; (and) the son of [the prosperous Chandragupta (I)], the Mahārājādhikāra, the daughter’s son of the Lichchhavi; (and) born of the Mahādevi Kumāradēvi.

No. 11: PLATE XI

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

This inscription appears to have been discovered by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in his Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. X, pp. 51 ff., where he published his own version of the text, and a translation of it by Raja Siva Prasad, accompanied by a lithograph (ibid., Plate xix). This rendering of the inscription was followed for a long time, except that in 1882, in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 312, E. Hultzsch pointed out some errors in the last line as published. The inscription was thereafter critically edited for the first time by J. F. Fleet in CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 34 ff. and Pl. IV A, and his treatment has remained the standard version though his text and translation have been slightly revised by G. Bühler in the Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. V, pp. 226 ff.

The inscription is on the back wall, a little to the left as one enters, inside a cave at Udayagiri, in the Vidiā District of Madhya Pradesh which is known as the “Tawā Cave”, from the resemblance of the large flat stone, on the top of the rock in which it is excavated, to a gigantic tawā, or ‘griddle for baking cakes.’

The writing which covers a space of about 3’ 7" by 1’ 2", has suffered a good deal from the peeling off of the surface of the rock on which it is engraved; but the general purport of it remains complete, and nothing of historical nature appears to have been lost. The size of the letters varies from 3’ to 1½”. The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, and are of radically the same type as those of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, pp. 203 ff., above, Plate I. They include in the numbering of the verses, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, the inscription is in verse throughout, and the verses are numbered. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of the jhāmāliya and upadhmaṇya in ‘ṣjhaka= kavih = Pātalī’, in line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the time of Chandragupta II, of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, whose name is recorded in line 1. As no date is given, there might be some doubt as to whether the Chandragupta mentioned here is the first or the second of the name. But the fact that the inscription records that the Chandragupta mentioned in it came in person to Udayagiri, coupled with the existence at Udayagiri of the inscription of the year 82, No. 7, pp. 242 ff., above, which is proved by its date to be one of Chandragupta II, shows that the king mentioned here is Chandragupta II, not his grandfather, Chandragupta I. It is a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it is to record the excavation of the cave as a temple of the god Śambhu (Śiva), by the order of a certain Virasēna, surnamed Śāba and pertaining to the Kutsa gōtra, who was one of the ministers of Chandragupta II.

TEXT

[Metre: Śūka (Anusūṣṭubh) throughout]

1 Siddhām[1*] [Ya]d=a[r]m[tar]jyōtīr=ark-ābhām=ru[rv]v[ām]–[1*]–[1*]–[1*]–[1*]–[1*]
– [1*]–[1*]–[1*]–[1*]–[1*] 4vyāpi Chandragu[pt-ākhya]m=adbhutam [1*] 1

1 From inked stampages.
2 In the original this word stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.
3 This has probably to be restored to [="asulabhām niśāha*].
4 The gap may perhaps be filled up with ["at=swādh hiṣāya*].
2 Vikram-āvakraya-kritā dāsya-nyagbhūta-[pā]rtthiv[ā] [i*] — — m=anuśaṁrakkā
   dharmma — — — — — — [ii*] 2
3 Tasya rājādhirāj-archer=achin[t]yō — — — [rmma]nāh [i*] anvaya-prāpta-
   sāchivyō vyā — — — −[n*]dhñ[i*]v- [i*]grah[c] [ii*] 3
4 Kautsaś=Śaba iti khyātō Virasēnāh kul-ākhayaā [i*] sabd-ārttha-nyāya-lōkajñāh·
   =kavih= Pāṭaliputraēkā [i*] 4
5 Kṛṣṇa-prīthvi-jay-ārthēnā rājā=āiv=ēha sah=āgataḥ [i*] bhaktyā bhagavataś
   =Śambhōr=gguhām=ētām=akāraya[t] [i*] 5

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Luck!
(Verse 1) That inner light, which shines like the sun, (which is difficult to find among
men) on earth, which pervades (the heart of the learned) and which is wonderful, has the
appellations of Chandragupta (II). 5
(Verse 2) (The earth), which is bought by the purchase-money of (his) prowess, 6 (and)
in which the princes have become humbled with slavery, is attached with reference (to him),
(by being protected with) righteousness (and good policy).
(Verses 3 and 4) He, who has attained to the position of minister, through hereditary
descent, of that saint-like over-king of kings 7 of inconceivable (but magnanimous) action,
and has been entrusted with the Office of Peace and War, is Virasēna, of the Kutsa gōtra,

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1 Fleet reads this as māna, but it seems more like m=anuśaṁrakkā. May be restored to [prīthvi yaj*] m=anuśaṁrakkā.
2 May be filled up with [sannaṇaṇa-pāliśa].
3 Bühler restores it to ṭ[ṭ]ata)-[ka][rmaṇaḥ]. Better to restore it to ṭ(dara)-[ka][rmaṇaḥ.
4 Fleet restores it to caudritā-sādhipravāhah, which makes no sense and which, as Bühler says, “introduces a
metrical mistake.” He, therefore, proposes Jacoby’s restoration: caudritā śādhipravāhah. The part of the rock after
the last letter ha is well preserved, and if there had been a visarga, it surely would have been preserved. Besides,
what is required here is a word denoting an office and used in the locative. Again, the second letter of caud is
completely gone, and what is preserved of the intermediate one is more like sri than like pri. Perhaps this line is to
be restored to caudritāḥ=sādhipravahah.
5 As Fleet says, “there seems to be intended a play on the words ‘sun’ and ‘moon’, the latter of which (chandra)
forms part of the king’s name.” By “inner light” we have to understand, I suppose, “the light of knowledge.”
6 The word used for “prowess” is viśkrama, and the word arka has already been used in the preceding verse. They
together make Vikramarka which is equivalent to Vikramaditya, a title which is frequently coupled with the name
of Chandragupta II on his coins. It is not impossible that the two components of his title have been explained each
in one verse.
7 It is worthy of note that Chandragupta is here called rishi. It shows that he was not a mere ruler, but that
there was something of the speculative or spiritual in him. This agrees with the fact that he has been called antar-
ājyotir in the very first verse. As regards rājādārājā, it was a title of paramount sovereignty, occurring, as was
pointed out by Fleet, in its Prakrit form i.e., rājādhiraśa, on some coins of Maues, Gondophares, etc. (Gardner and
Poole, Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, pp. 68 ff. and pp. 103, 109-110). The same, however,
having been read as Rajatirajya by Whitehead in his Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, pp. 98 ff. and pp. 146
ff.). Rajatirajya is obviously identical with Rājātirajya occurring in the sense of paramount sovereign but coupled also
with Mahārājā in some inscriptions of the earlier Great Kushānas (Lüders, A List of Prakrit Inscriptions, Nos. 56,
60, 62, 72, etc.). By the early Gupta period, these conjoint titles seem to have been supplanted by the single Mahā-
rajādārājā, except in No. 6 above, where, as pointed out before, the name of Chandragupta is coupled with the two
titles: Mahārājā and Rajadārājā, exactly like Mahārājā Rajatirajya of the Kushāna kings. But this is obviously due
to the fact that the record was put up at Mathurā where the influence of the Kushāna chancellory still persisted.
From the Gupta period onwards Rājādārājā occurs only in metrical passages, where it was inconvenient or impossible
to introduce the prefix mahā; thus, in addition to the present passage, in line 6 of the Mandāsor inscription
of Vaiśādharman and Vīshnupardhana (CHI, Vol. III, 1688, No. 35) and in the derivative rājādārājā, in line 24
of the Junāgadha rock inscription of Skanda-gupta, No. 28 below, in line 2 of which we also have, again for metrical
reasons, another variation of the title, namely Rājarājādārājā.
UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II
known by the family-name of Śāba, conversant with Grammar, Polity, Logic and Popular Usage and Custom, a poet, an inhabitant of Pātaliputra.  

(Verse 5) He has come hither with that same king who is desirous of conquering the whole earth and has through devotion caused to be made this cave to the divine Śambhu.

No. 12: PLATE XII

MEHARAULI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA

This inscription was first brought to notice in 1834, in the *JASB*., Vol. III, p. 494, where James Prinsep published a lithograph of it (*ibid.*, Plate xxx), reduced from a facsimile made in 1831 by Lieutenant William Elliot, 27th Regiment N. I. This lithograph was not accompanied by any details of the contents of the inscription; and it does not represent a single letter of the original correctly, and is quite unintelligible from beginning to end. In 1838, in the same *Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 629 ff., James Prinsep published a much improved lithograph (*ibid.*, Plate xxxiii) reduced from an ink-impression made in the same year by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Engineers; and, with it, his own reading of the text and a translation of it. And finally, in 1875, in the *JBBRAS*., Vol. X, pp. 63 ff., Bhau Daji published a revised version of the text and translation, including the correct reading of the king's name as Chandra, with a lithograph which appears to have been reduced from a copy on cloth made by Bhagwanlal Indraji. But it was critically edited for the first time by J. F. Fleet in *CII*., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 139 ff., along with Plate XXI A.

Meharauli, or Mehbarauni—an evident corruption of Mihirapuri,—is a village nine miles almost due south of Delhi, the chief town of the Delhi District. The inscription is on the west side of a tapering iron column, sixteen inches in diameter at the base and twelve at the top, and twenty-three feet eight inches high, standing near the well-known Kutb Minār in the ancient fort of Rāy Pithorā within the limits of this village.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 9½" broad by 10-1½" high, is in a state of excellent preservation throughout, owing, of course, to the nature of the substance on which it is engraved. The bottom line of the inscription is about 7' 2" above the stone platform round the lower part of the column. The engraving is good; but, in the process of it, the metal closed up over some of the strokes, which gives a few of the letters a rather imperfect appearance in the lithograph; this is especially noticeable in the *y* of the opening word *yasyā*, and in the *r* of

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1 Fleet's translation of verse 4 is hopelessly bad. That given by Bühler is much better. Saṅdhīvīgraḥa, I take in the sense of *Saṅdhīvīgraha-adhikarana* occurring in some post-Gupta inscriptions (e.g., in Nos. 1209, 1312 and 1313 of D. R. Bhandarkar’s *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*). *Lōka* has, according to Bühler, the same meaning as *Vārttā*, which is explained by Kauṭalya thus:

*Kṛṣṇa-paśupātyā saviyā cha vārtā 1*

*dhānya-paśu-hiranyas-kupya-saviyā-pradānād-

*aupākārīkī (Arthāśāstra, 1. 4. 1-2),

“Agirculture, cattle-breeding and trade constitute vārtā. It is serviceable inasmuch as it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce and free labour.” It is safer, however, to take *lōka* in the sense of *lok-dehāra*, ‘Popular Usage and Custom’, in other words, ‘Law’, with which it was absolutely necessary for a minister to be conversant. As regards *śaḍ-ārthā* it is best to split it up into *Śaḍa*, ‘Grammar,’ and *Artha*, ‘Polity’ as Bühler has done, though Kiellhorn has taken it in the sense of “the science of words and their meanings, i.e., grammar” in line 13 of the Junāgadh rock inscription of Rudradāman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 48 and note 2), because it seems more reasonable to take every one of the words forming the compound *śaḍ-ārtha-nāyā* as denoting one particular science as it can bear that meaning. And here *Śaḍa* by itself can denote *Śaḍa-śāstra*, ‘Science of Grammar’; and similarly *Artha* by itself *Artha-śāstra*, ‘Science of Polity’. Besides, the study of *Artha-śāstra* was, by no means, slack or neglected in the Gupta period. On the contrary, it was very much alive. It was indispensable for a king or minister to make himself thoroughly acquainted with it.
urasā in the same line. The size of the letters varies from \( \frac{3}{16} \) to \( \frac{3}{8} \). The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet; and, allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1 above, Plate I. But, as a distinguishing feature, we have to notice the very marked matrās, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters, which we also observe in the Bilsād stone pillar inscription of Kumāragupta I, No. 16 below, pages 267 ff. and Plate XVI. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before \( \tilde{t} \), in prāṇu, line 6; (2) the doubling of \( t \), in conjunction with a following \( r \), in śatrū, line 1; and (3) the very unusual omission of the second \( t \), which is formative and not due to the preceding \( r \), in mūrtā for mūrttyā, and kirttyā for kirttyā, line 3.

The inscription is an eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named Chandra, as to whose lineage no information is given. Nevertheless, as pointed out above, it must belong to Chandragupta II when he abdicated the throne and settled down as Vānaprastha at Vishnupada. It is not dated. It is a Vaishnavya inscription; and the object of it is to record the erection of the pillar, which is called a dhvaja, or ‘standard,’ of the god Vishnū, on a hill called—Vishnupada. We are expressly told that this pillar was erected by Chandra whose mind was fixed upon Vishnū with devotion. This also shows that Chandra was alive at that time. And this further agrees with the fact that in Gupta inscriptions he has been styled Bhāgavata.

“As regards this hill named Vishnupada, and the question whether it should be identified with that part of the Delhi Ridge on which the column stands” says J. F. Fleet, “the actual position of the column is in a slight depression, with rising ground on both sides; a position which hardly answers to the description of its being on a giri or ‘hill’. And this, coupled with the tradition that the column was erected, in the early part of the eighth century A.D., by Anaṅgapaṇa, the founder of the Tōmara dynasty, lays it quite open to argument whether this is the real original position of the column, or whether, like the Aśoka columns at Delhī, and possibly the Aśoka (and Gupta) column at Allahābād, it was brought to where it now stands from some other place. But the fact that the underground supports of the column include several small pieces of metal “like bits of bar-iron,” remarks Fleet further, “is in favour of its being now in its original position; as they would probably have been overlooked, and left behind, in the process of a transfer.” But as a matter of fact such was precisely the case with the Delhi stone column of Aśoka which was removed from Topa (Ambala District, Panjāb) along with the foundation stone. It is possible that this iron pillar also was removed from

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2 Prinsep allotted this inscription to the third or fourth century A.D.; and Bhai Daji, to a period later than the time of the Guptaas. Fergusson (Indian Architecture, p. 508), drawing special attention to the Persian form of the capital, expressed a conviction that the inscription is of one of the Chandraguptas of the Early Gupta dynasty, and consequently belongs to A.D. 363 or 400. Fleet’s own impression at first, on independent grounds, was to allot it to Chandragupta I.

3 Compare dhvaja-stambha, ‘flag-staff,’ as applied to the Eran column in line 9 of No. 39 below. There is another iron column, at Dhar, the ancient Dharā, now the chief town of the Dhar District in Madhya Pradesh. But there is no ancient inscription on it (A.R. ASI, 1902-03, pp. 205 and ff.).

4 Gg., Vo. I., p. 171.

5 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 28, and Plate v.

6 GII., Vo. III., 1888, pp. 140-41.

7 D. R. Bhandarkar’s Aśoka (2nd ed.), pp. 215-17.
MERAULI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA

G. S. Gai

From photograph
Vishṇupada along with foundation materials by the same Sultan Firoz Shah, to beautify his capital town.

TEXT

[Metre: Śārdūlavikriṅḍita throughout]

1 Yasya-ōdvarttayaḥ praṭipam=urasā śatrūn=smṛtyā śagatān=Vaṅgēshva= āhava-varttinā=bhūlikhātā khadgaṇa kirttir=bhujē [i*]
2 tīrvā sapta mukhāni yena samarē Sindhōr=ṣītā Vāhlikā5 yasya=ādy=āpy=adhi- 
vāsyatē jalanidhir=ṣvīrīya-ā-nilāir=ddakṣiṇāha [i 1*]
3 Khinnasya=eva visṛjya gām narapatē=ggām=āśrītasya=ētarān mūrt[t*]yā 
karmma-jit-āvaniṁ gatavatāḥ kirt[t*]yā sthitasya kshitau [i*]
4 sāntasya=eva mahāvane hutabhujō yasya pratāpō mahān=n=ādy=āpy=utsṛjati 
pranāsita-ripōr=yyatnasya śeṣaḥ kṣhitim [i 2*]
5 Prāptēṇa sva-bhuj-ārijiitaḥ=cha suchiraḥ=ch=aikādhīrāyaṇ kshitau Chandr- 
āvēnā samagra-chandra-sadṛśīṁ vaktra-śīrṇām bibhratā [i*]
6 tēn=āyaṁ pranidhāya bhūmpitāṁ dhāvēṇa Vīśṇō4 matiṁ prāṇṣur=Vishṇu-
padē girau bhagavatō Vishṇō=dhvajaḥ sthāpitaḥ [i 3*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) On whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the Vaṅga territory, he dashed back with his breast the enemies who, uniting together, came upon (him); by whom crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu the Vāhlikas were conquered in battle; by the breezes of whose valour the southern ocean is still perfumed;

(Verse 2) Who, the king, quitting this gō (earth), as if dejected, has resorted to another gō (intermediate region);7 who, though he has, in body,8 gone to the land (avani) conquered for (religious) rites, has remained on earth (kṣiti) by fame; (and) whose great pratāpa (valour), (though it is now) the conclusion of the exertion of (him) who had destroyed his enemies, does not yet leave the earth like the pratāpa (heat) of the conflagration in a great forest (though it has now) subsided;

(Verse 3) by that king, who acquired sole supreme sovereignty on earth by his own arm and for very long (and) who having the name Chandra and bearing beauty of face like that of the full-moon, with devotion having fixed (his) mind upon Vishnu, this lofty flag-staff of the divine Vishṇu was set up on the hill, Vishṇupada.8
BASĀRClAY SEAL INSCRIPTION OF DHRUVASVĀMINI

This seal was discovered by the late T. Bloch, when, as Superintendent, Archeological Survey, Eastern Circle, he was excavating the ruins of Basār or Basārī in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar, in the months of December, January and February of 1903-04. Two more specimens also came to light during the excavations, but they were broken and very indistinct. He published the reading of the text, and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph in A.R. ASI, 1903-04, p. 107, No. I and Plate XL, I. The significance of its contents was afterwards considered by us in 1912 in Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, p. 3. The seal is now deposited in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The seal is oval in shape, marked by a single border-line preserved in the right half, and measuring 2-½" by 1-¾". The upper part is occupied by a seated lion facing right, with a horizontal line below, now faintly preserved; and the lower, by the inscription which consists of four lines. The characters, on the whole, belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet, because, though s is of the eastern type characterised by a loop on the left, m, and h are unquestionably of the western variety. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. Orthography calls for no remarks.

The seal is one of Mahādēvi Dhruvavāmini, wife of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta and mother of Mahārāja Gōvindagupta. That this Chandragupta is Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty can scarcely be doubted, because his chief queen was Dhruvadēvi as we know from other Gupta records. The only point of doubt that may be raised is that whereas the latter speak of her as Dhruvadēvi, the present seal gives her the name of Dhruvasvāmini. But the term dēvi here is synonymous with svāmini. And if any proof is required in support of it, it is furnished by the grants of the Uchchakalipa family, one of which1 gives the name of Jayanātha's wife as Muruṇḍadēvi and two as Muruṇḍasvāmini.2 For the same reason Dhruvadēvi must be taken as exactly identical with Dhruvasvāmini. Secondly, it is worthy of note that Dhruvasvāmini has been described not only as wife of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta but also as mother of Mahārāja Gōvindagupta. This means that both the father and the son were living when the seal of Dhruvasvāmini was being used and that while the former was the sovereign, the latter was serving as the governor of a province under him. As Basārī has been correctly identified with Vaiśālī,3 the capital town of the Lichchhavi principality, which is practically co-extensive with the northern part of Bihar, and as it was on account of the Lichchhavis that Chandragupta I became master of Pātaliputra and rose to political eminence, it seems natural to infer that Vaiśālī was the seat of the Yuvarāja government. And it receives confirmation from the fact that many seals were picked up by Bloch during his excavations at Basārī which belonged to officials connected with the Yuvarāja.4 This leaves no doubt as to Vaiśālī having been the seat of the Yuvarāja, at any rate, during the earlier period of the Gupta supremacy. And from other seals found on this site it appears that Vaiśālī was the head-quarters (adhish-thāna) of not only Vaiśālī-vishaya or Vaiśālī District but also of Tira-bhukti or Tira Province.5 It therefore appears that when her seal was impressed upon the clay pieces, Dhruvasvāmini

2 Ibid., Nos. 29 and 31.
3 Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, ed. by S. N. Majumdar, p. 717.
4 A.R. ASI, 1903-04, pp. 107-88, Nos. 4, 6, 11 and 12.
BASĀRH CLAY SEAL INSCRIPTION OF DHRUVASVĀMINĪ

G. S. Gai

From photograph
was living at Vaiśāli with her son, who was then Yuvarāja and the ruler of the Tira-bhukti. Further, we have to note that Gōvindagupta was not the only son of Chandragupta (II) and Dhruvavāmīni. They had a second son named Kumāragupta (I), several inscriptions of whom have been found. Whether Gōvindagupta succeeded his father and, if so, how long he reigned are questions which naturally arise here. But these have been discussed elsewhere, in the Introduction, pp. 72 ff. above.

**TEXT**

1 Mahārā[ jā* ]dh[i*]r[āja-śri*]-[Chandra][gupta*]-
2 [pa*]mih[ā*]r[āja*]-śrī-Śi[ō*]v[i*]nda-[gupta*]-
3 mātā mahādevī-śri-[Dhru]-
4 vasvāmīni [*]

**TRANSLATION**

The prosperous Dhruvavāmīni, the Great Queen (Mahādevī), wife of the prosperous Chandragupta, the Mahārājādhirāja, (and) mother of the prosperous Gōvinda-gupta, the Mahārāja.

No. 14: PLATE XIV

**MANDASŌR INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN: THE KRĪTA YEAR 461**

This inscription is in two fragments. The larger was found early in 1912 in the property of Lala Jayashankar, a pleader of Mandasōr, while some of his men were cultivating one of his fields near the Fort gate and not far from the village of Šoḍi. It was immediately taken possession of and put for safe custody in the house of the Subah of Mandasōr. In October 1912 the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri saw the stone and with the permission of the Subah had it removed to the house of the Lala where he was staying and where he deciphered the inscription. The stone was lying in the Lala’s house when in February 1913 I visited Mandasōr and inspected the record. A careful examination of the fragment left no doubt in my mind that the original stone was purposely and neatly cut out after line 9 for being used in some building. In 1922-23 M. B. Garde, then Superintendent of Archaeology, picked up the other fragment in Mandasōr, but he does not say from where exactly. The first account of the larger fragment setting forth its historical and chronological importance was published by me in the Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for 1912-13, p. 58 and in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 161 ff. I intended editing the record along with the text and translation in the Ep. Ind., but as the late Haraprasad Sastri was himself anxious to publish it there, I forwarded to him the inx-impressions which I had taken with my own hand. And this he did in Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, pp. 315 ff. and Plate. As regards the second smaller fragment of the inscription, Garde published a small notice of the same in the A.R. ASI, 1922-23, p. 187. Neither of these fragments seems to have been handled, even in part, by any other scholar except R. G. Bhandarkar, who, in 1913, gave out his own interpretation of verse 2 in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 199-200.

Mandasōr or Mandasaουr, more properly, Dasōr, is the chief town of the Mandasōr District of the former Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh. It is situated on the bank of the Siwana river, a tributary of the Śirā, and on the Ajmer-Khandwa branch of the Western

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1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 3.
Railway. How Dasār came to be called Mandasār has been explained variously. Perhaps the best explanation is that given to me in 1897 when I first visited Mandasār. Then a learned Brāhmaṇa told me that originally there was also another village close by called Man and that Mandasār thus consisted of the two place names—Man and Dasār. Many instances are known of such composite names; e.g., Sāṅchi-Kāñkākhēḍā. The original stone fragments are now lying at the State Museum, Gwalior.

The larger fragment bears nine lines of writing, each containing one anushṭubh and a half or forty-eight syllables. Thus there are thirteen verses and a half on this fragment. Chisel marks are noticeable on all sides. The writing covers a space about 1' 6-1/2" broad by 7-1/4" high. The size of the letters varies from 1 1/4" to 3 1/4". The characters belong to the Mālāwī variety of the Western class of Gupta alphabet. This is indicated by the test letters m, s, sh and h, and also by the right limb of which is a long vertical stroke bent towards the left. These differentiate the western from the eastern alphabet of the Gupta period. Other palaeographic peculiarities that are worth noticing are: (1) the occurrence of the long initial i in idrīk- in line 4, which may be compared with the short initial i found in the Allahābād and Kāhāūn inscriptions (Nos. 1, above and 20 below) and the long i in the Sāṅchi inscription (No. 9, above); (2) the occurrence of the initial i in ekā- in line 2; (3) the ringlet at the bottom of th instead of a crossbar in the middle, as in manārathē, line 4; (4) the bipartite y in ṭopachay- in line 4, which, however, is tripartite in all other cases; (5) the letter s, the left limb of which is as much a convex curve as the right; (6) a concave curve in the beginning of the left limb of p, ph and sh, as e.g., in paryanka-, line 1; phaladani, line 7, and purush-, line 1; (7) the medial a placed lower down about the middle in the case of a and m, as in Āśōja- in line 3, and sasya-mālīni in line 3; (8) medial i expressed sometimes by a loop and sometimes by a curve on the left; (9) medial u expressed in three different ways, by a hook attached to the bottom turned towards the left as e.g., in samudra-, line 1 and pushpair, line 3, or by a curve on the right rising up vertically to the height of the letter as e.g., in suklaya, line 3 and duhitur, line 9, or, in two cases of r, by a curve attached to the bottom rising up on the left and intersecting the letter about the middle, as in chāru- line 7 and kārṇikāha, line 9, but not in purushā, line 1. The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, the inscription is in verse. There is one mistake due to the mason's carelessness, viz., svac-kulasya=atha instead of svac-kulasya=atha in line 8; two due to the scribe's ignorance, e.g., prāvik-kāle instead of prāviṣṭ-kāle in line 2 and -viddud-dīpa- instead of -vidyad-dīpa- in line 6; and one, a solemicity, for which apparently the composer is responsible, viz., the use of śīr̥- twice instead of śīr̥- as the first part of a compound word, as in śīr̥-Mmālava-, line 1 and śīr̥-mabhārāja-, line 5.1

In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding r, e.g., in paryanka-, line 1, =saiṇavārdhi-, line 4, and so forth; (2) the doubling of k in conjunction with a following r in Sākrasya, line 2 and vikramē, line 4, but not in vikrānta-, line 5; (3) the use of anusvāra instead of saṃdhi, in =alaṅkṛitā and paṅcchamyām in line 5, and =saiṇhvāra-, line 6, but not in saraṇa=gataḥ, line 7; and (4) the use of guttural nasal instead of anusvāra before h, in Sākąvarmanas = and =Śīvha-vikrānta, line 5.

The inscription is of the time of a prince named Naravarman, who was a son of Sīhavarman and son-in-law of Jayavarman. It is dated, in words, when four hundred and sixty-one years had expired (verse 2), on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina (verse 5). The era has not been specified, but the years just referred to have been named Kṛita

1 In these and in similar other instances the retention of visarga in śīr̥ is justified according to the grammatical rule a-ñantatāṁ=na su-līpah (Śiddhānta Kaumudi with Bālamārṇavā, 1910 Edn., p. 201). Cf. also the expression śīr̥-mabhārājā-śarīrakasya in the Crystal Intaglio Inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 275 ff.) where also it has been regarded by the editor as a mistake for śīr̥ mahārājī, etc.—Ed.]
and are mentioned as being handed down traditionally in accordance with the reckoning of the Mālavas. But, as shown elsewhere, these years have to be referred to what is now known as the Vikrama era, commencing with 57 B.C.; and the result for the present inscription is 404-05 A.D. The object of the record is not very clear so far as the larger fragment goes, but something is mentioned as having been given by one Satya, who was apparently of the bania caste and was a grandson of Jaya and a son of Varanaṇaviddhi through Jayamitra. From the smaller fragment, however, it appears that there was a shrine of Krishna adjoining an orchard and that it was this orchard which was apparently given by Satya. It is thus a Vaishnava record, a conclusion which agrees with verse 1 where obeisance is paid to Purusha and verse 11 which praises the god Vāsudeva. It further seems from the smaller fragment that the upkeep of the orchard was entrusted to a Brāhmaṇa whose name is gone but who belonged to the Gārgīyaṇa gōtra. It is true that this stone belonged to the present Mandasōr; but that it belonged also to the old and original Daśapura is clear from line 2 thereof where it is spoken of as a town (pura) named (Daśa) which is two times five (i.e., ten).

As was first pointed out by us,1 Jayavarman, Siṃhavarman and Naravarman mentioned in this inscription belonged to a family of feudatory chieftains ruling over Daśapura and were succeeded by Viśavarman and Bandhuvarman known from Gandhārī2 and Mandasōr3 inscriptions respectively. Among the various epithets of Naravarman specified in this record occurs in line 5 the epithet Siṁha-vikrānta-gāmin, which shows that he was a feudatory of Chandragupta II. For, we know from Gupta coins that Siṁha-vikrama was an epithet of Chandragupta II.4 Further, we know from inscriptions Nos. 6 and 9 above that this Gupta sovereign reigned from Gupta year 61 to 93, i.e., from A.D. 380 to 412; whereas the date for Naravarman is Vikramayear 461, i.e., 404 A.D. Naravarman was thus doubtless a contemporary of Chandragupta II. Nothing therefore precludes us from supposing that the expression Siṁha-vikrānta-gāmin indicates that Naravarman was a tributary prince of Chandragupta II. And this is in keeping with the fact that his successors, Viśavarman and Bandhuvarman were contemporaries and feudatories of Kumāragupta I.

The date of the inscription, we have seen, is the 5th of the bright half of Āśvina. This date fell, we are told in line 2, when the festival of Indra approved by Krishna was going on. Although the festival coincided with what is known as Pūjā in Bengal, it is strange that Haraprasad Sastri has slurred over the passage and has not explained what this festival of Indra approved by Krishna was. The Harivāmanī (chapters 72-76, especially verses 4005-08 and verses 4019-20), however, throws some light on the subject.5 It was the custom of the people of Brindavana to offer worship to Indra on the 14th day of the dark half of Kārtika, but Krishna induced them to transfer their worship to the cows and Mount Gōvardhana which were the source of their sustenance. This made Indra angry who poured down such a deluge as to cause destruction amongst them and their kine. This led to a struggle for supremacy between Indra and Krishna which ended in the victory of the latter by Krishna pulling out Gōvardhana and holding it as an umbrella over the cowherds and the kine. Thereupon Indra came to terms with Krishna. According to these Indra agreed that although there were four months of the rainy season, the first two (i.e., Śrāvana and Bhādra) should be considered

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3 No. 36 below.  
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

as his, and the last two (i.e., Āśvina and Kārtika) which constitute the Śarad season would thenceforth be assigned to Krishṇa. As soon as the first half ended, that is, doubtless, on the first of the bright half of Āśvina, we are informed, the people shall erect flag-crowned poles with the effigies of Mahendra and Upendra and do worship in pursuance of the customary rites of the two gods. The Pūjā festival is celebrated all over India, but with different motives in different parts of the country. And the explanation set forth by the Harivamśa represents one such motive. The whole question has been discussed in greater detail in the Introduction, page 127.

TEXT

[Metre : Anuṣhtubh throughout]

First Fragment


3 Nishpannya-vrīhi-yavaśā kāśa-pushparā-alaṁkṛītā [i ] bhābhīr =ābhyaḍhikāṁ bhāṭi médiṇā sasya-mālīṇī [i 4] Dīnē Āśvōja-suklasya paṁchamyām =atha satkritē [i]


5 Kshit-iścē Śīhavarmanmaṇas =Śīhā-vikrānta-gāmini [i] satpuruśe śrīr =mma(ma)-bā hārājā-Naravarmanmaṇi pārtthivē [i 7] Tat-pālana-guṇ-ōddēsād = dharma-prāpya-arthā vistaraḥ [i]


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1 For another explanation, see Varāhamihira’s Brihatasamhitā, chap. 43.
2 [See, p. 262, note 1 above.—Ed.].
3 Read Prāvṛṣī-kālē.
4 Read māḥ. Sten Konow’s reading māghē pravrīttē is unwarranted by impressions and does not also suit the sense.
5 [See p. 262 note 1 above.—Ed.].
6 Read -vidyut-.
7 Read -sramam.
8 Read =ātha.
9 It is more natural to correct it into -brāhmaṇaśād-gatāḥ than -brāhmaṇaśākṛītāḥ as Haraprasad Sastrī has done.
MANDASÖR INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN: THE KṚTAv YEAR 461

G. S. Gai

From photograph
Second Fragment

1 Gārggāyaṇa-sagōtrō vai jnātī[taḥ*] . . — — [ (*)(*)]
2 Purē mahatī vikhyātē Paṇcha-dvīg[unā-saṃjñakē*] [u*]
3 Nānā-vṛiksha-latā-gulma-saṃpraya[ṛkta*] — — — [ (*)(*)]
4 Dhanyō bhavatū manigalyaḥ pu[ṛa]-[pautra-samanvītah*] [u*]
5 Krushnēn1 = āddhyushitas-tāva[t]

TRANSLATION

First Fragment

(Line 1) Luck!

(Verse 1) Obeisance to that Thousand-headed Purusha2 (Supreme Being) whose soul is boundless and who is sleepy on the waters of the bed-like four oceans.

(Verse 2) When there had been completed9 the auspicious quaternion of hundred years increased by sixty-one, known as Kṛita and traditionally handed down according to the reckoning of the Mālavaś;

(Verse 3) When there had been completed the auspicious rainy season which caused contentment to the mind of men; and when there is going on the festival of Indra approved by Kṛiṣṇa;4 then

(Verse 4) The corn-wreathed earth, with replenished rice and fodder, is adorned with kūśa flowers, and shines more intensely with luminaries.

(Verse 5) On the fifth day of the bright half of Āśvina—when such an excellent season, well-ordered and enjoyable, is dominating the world;

(Verse 6) When the prosperous Mahārāja king Naravarman, whose desires were cherished through repeated accumulation of merit in previous births, is the ruler of the earth—(Naravarman) who is the grandson of king Jayavarman, (and) is the virtuous son of Sinhavarman, (and) who is the follower of Sinhā-vikrānta, (and) is as valorous as Dēvendra;

(Verse 7) As exemplification of the good qualities of his (Naravarman’s) administration, (Śalva) whose accumulated wealth is the acquisition of religious merit in (his) previous births; whose undertakings, as soon as they were accomplished, were multiplied with the plenitude of his fame and spiritual merit,—regarding this world of living beings to be as unsteady as the water of the mirage, or a dream, or lightning, or the flame of a lamp,

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1 Read Kṛiṣṇēn =
2 This refers to Purusha-sūkta (Rigveda, X, 90) where Purusha is described as sahara-dīrṣha. Purusha again is identified with Nārāyaṇa who is thus described by Manu (I. 10): “The waters are called nārāh; the waters are, indeed, the offspring of Nara; as they were his first residence (ayana), he is thereby remembered as Nārāyaṇa”. This explains why Purusha is described as sleeping on the waters of the four oceans. Compare also Rājauṭahānī, Canto XIII, verse 6.
3 The word prāpt does not occur in this verse, in this and once in the next verse; and Haraprasad Sastri translates it once by “on the arrival” and once by “on the approach” which both give “arrived, reached” as the sense of the word intended here. This sense, however, cannot suit the context, especially in the case of verse 3. For, if we stick to this meaning and say that the object of the inscription, whatever it was, was executed “on the approach of the auspicious rainy season” as Haraprasad Sastri evidently understands it, this is in contradiction to the date of the record, viz., the 5th of the bright half of Āśvina. Because the Varsha or rainy season begins with the month of Śrāvaṇa, which, however, is immediately followed by Bhadrapada and not Āśvina. The term prāpt must therefore be taken in another sense. Now one of the senses of this word is ‘completed, accomplished’. This suits here excellently, because prārūt-kālā prāpti in verse 3 can thus mean “when the rainy season had been completed” and further is perfectly congruous with the date of the inscription, because the rainy season terminates with Bhadra and as the 5th of the bright half of Āśvina can follow immediately thereafter.
4 See pp. 263-64 for an explanation of this passage.
took refuge with the granter of refuge, namely (that Tree) which yields the noble fruit of heaven, whose charming young shoots are the heavenly damsels, whose many branches are the celestial cars, (and) which trickles out honey (in the shape of) rain water; namely, Vāsudēva whose abode is the world, who is inscrutable, unborn (and) all-pervading;

(Verses 12 to 14) Satya who does honours to friends, servants and the distressed; who, again, is the moon of his family; whose wealth and life have been consigned to the gods and the Brāhmaṇas; who is intensely compassionate; who has acquired (his) profuse wealth by lawful means; who is the virtuous son of Varnānavriddhi but indeed the virtuous son’s son of Jaya, (and) the virtuous son through Jayamitrā, daughter of Balasūrā....

Second Fragment

(Line 1) Pertaining to the Gārggāyaṇa gōtra, and by caste....
(Line 2) In the extensive and well-known town named (Daśā which is) two times five,...
(Line 3) Abounding in varied clumps of trees and creepers.
(Line 4) May he become blessed and lucky, (being surrounded by sons and son’s sons),...
(Line 5) Permeated by Kṛishṇa....

No. 15 : PLATE XV

BIHĀR KŌTRĀ INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN: THE (KRITA) YEAR 474

This inscription was originally found at Bihār Kōtra in the former Rājgaḍh State, Central India, now Madhya Pradesh, and was secured by a tourist and collector from whom it was acquired by purchase by the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, where it is now deposited.¹

The inscription contains six lines of writing, covering a space about 1’ 3" broad by 6-1/2" high. The characters, generally speaking, belong to the Mālwa variety of the Western class of Gupta alphabet, as in No. 14, with individual differences as in the case of r, v, s and so forth. M has a calligraphic form and two forms of tripartite y are also noticeable, one with and the other without the left loop. The other palaeographic peculiarities are (1) the occurrence of the initial ṃ in Olikarasya in line 1 and (2) the end m in -dviṭiyāyām, line 3. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. There is one solecism, namely, the use of śrī-, once, instead of śrī-, in śrīr-mahārāja-, line 1. This solecism occurs also in No. 14.² In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the doubling of consonants with a preceding r, e.g., in -Naravarmāṇaḥ, line 1, and sarvva-, line 5; and (2) the doubling of t in conjunction with a following r in -satputrēṇa, line 4.

This is another inscription of the time of Naravarman; and, as it is a prose inscription, we find the title Mahārāja coupled with his name, indicative of his feudatory rank. What is, however, of greater importance in this connection is that he has been called Olikara which reminds us of Aulikara used with reference to Vishnvardhana in a Mandasōr inscription,³ dated Kṛita 589. It seems that Olikara or Aulikara was a surname of the feudatory family ruling over Western Mālwa with its capital at Daśapura as has been explained in our account of No. 14 above. Another important item of information supplied by this record is the date 474 which has to be taken as a Kṛita year and which, so far as we are able to fill up the lacuna, was

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¹ This inscription has been published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 130 ff.
² [See p. 262, note 1 above.—Ed.].
BIHĀR KŌTRA INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN: THE (KRITA) YEAR 474

G. S. Gai
From photograph
the twentieth year of Naravarman’s reign. It thus appears that his rule began in Vikrama year 454—397-98 A. D. We may thus safely take it that he was a contemporary and feudatory of the Gupta monarch, Chandragupta II as has been presumed in our treatment of the preceding record. It is a Buddhist inscription and the object of it is to record the excavation of a well by Viraśena, son of Bhaṭṭi Mahattara, for the Buddhist mendicants from the four quarters, on the second day of the bright half of Śrāvana in the (Kṛta) year 474.

**TEXT**

1 [Śi]ddhāya[ī][*] Śrīmmanahārāja⁴ Naravarmmahārāja[ā] Olikarsāya [vīm]-
2 [śe]ṛāya-saṁvatsaraḥ chaturshu varsha-satēshu chat[u[h]*]-
3 [sa]ptatishu Śrāvana-sūkla-dvitiyāyām Bhaṭṭi-maha[tt]-⁶
4 ra-satputṛēna Viraśēnēnāḥ=āyam=udapānaḥ khāni-
5 taś=chāturddiśāṁ bhikshu-saṁghaṁ=uddāśya sarvva-satvānaṁ⁷
6 [tr]i[ṃ]shā-kṣhayāḥ=āstu [t[*]

**TRANSLATION**

(Line 1) For luck !

(Line 1-3) On the second of the bright half of Śrāvana, when four centuries of years (and) seventyfour (hāa elapsed),⁸ in the twentieth year of the reign of the illustrious Naravarmman the Māhārāja and Olikara,¹⁰

(Lines 3-5) This well was excavated by Viraśena, the virtuous son of Bhaṭṭi Mahattara, for the sake of the confraternity of the (Buddhist) mendicants.

(Lines 5 and 6) May it be for the slaking of the Thirst¹¹ of all creatures.

No. 16 : PLATE XVI

**BILSAḌ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I :**

**THE YEAR 96**

This inscription was discovered in 1877-78 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in his reading of the text, and translation of it, published in

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¹ [See editorial remarks under note 5 below.—Ed.].
² From impressions supplied by R. G. Gynäm, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
³ These letters seem to have been engraved later and slantingly between lines 1 and 2 about the beginning.
⁴ Read Śrī-Mahārāja-[See p. 262, note 1 above.—Ed.].
⁵ This is a tentative restoration from the first letter ṣ which is fairly clear in one estampage [The more plausible reading is viṣaya.—Ed.].
⁶ Here only four dots are visible, which seems to be the remnants of tta.
⁷ Read -sattvāmaṁ.
⁸ See p. 260, note 9 above.
⁹ The expression chaturshu varsha-satēshu chatukspatiṣṭhu clearly shows that some such word as gatēshu or attēshu has to be understood after it.
¹⁰ Olikara here must evidently be the same as Aulikara occurring in Aulikara-lāṅchhana ātma-vanśo used with reference to Viṣṇuvardhana in line 5 of the Mānasūr inscription of the Mañjūṣīya year 589 (CII, Vol. III, 1888, No. 35). Aulikara in this place stands for the name of the family as explained in the translation of the inscription. Olikara or Aulikara thus denoted the feudatory family of Daśapura to which princes from Jayavarman to Viṣṇuvardhana belonged.
¹¹ The word trīṣṇā seems to have been used here in a double sense; (1) the physical thirst which any creature may slake with water from this well and (2) the metaphorical “thirst”—the insatiable desire that drives the beings

(Contd. on p. 268)
the CAsIR., Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff., accompanied by a lithograph (ibid., Plate viii). It was afterwards re-edited by J. F. Fleet in CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 42 ff., accompanied by Plate V.

Bilsaḍ¹ or Bilsaṇḍa is a village,—consisting of three parts, called respectively Bilsaḍ-Puvāyaṁ, or Eastern Bilsaḍ: Bilsaḍ-Pachhāyaṁ, or Western Bilsaḍ; and Bilsaḍ-Paṭṭi, or Bilsaḍ Suburb,²—about four miles towards the north-east of Alīgāṇj,³ the chief town of the Alīgāṇj Tahsil or Sub-division of the Etā⁴ District, Uttar Pradesh. At the south-west corner of Bilsaḍ-Puvāyaṁ, or the eastern division of the town, there are four broken red-sand-stone monolith columns,—two of them, towards the west, round; and two of them, towards the east, square. Each pair of columns stands almost due north and south; and the two western columns are both inscribed. The inscription now published is on the eastern side of the northern column of the west pair.

On the eastern side of the southern column of the west pair, there is also an inscription, which, as shown by the remains of it, was a duplicate copy of that on the northern column; but it was arranged somewhat differently, being, as counted by General Cunningham, in sixteen somewhat shorter lines, instead of thirteen. From General Cunningham’s ink-impression, hardly any appreciable portion of this second inscription remains, except the second and third lines and lines 12 to 16; and these are not in sufficiently good order to be lithographed, though they are of use in supplying more clearly a few letters which are doubtful in the two verses at the end of the inscription on the northern column. In this second inscription, line 2 begins with svāḍita-yālaṁ of line 1 of the one now published;—line 3, with the gat-anēka of line 2;—line 12, with about the parshadā of line 9;—line 13, with the kaubārachchhanda of line 10;—line 14, with the [sat]tra of line 11;—line 15, with the ... subhā of line 12; and line 16, with the ṣṭen=āḥpaṇa of line 13.

With this pair of duplicate inscriptions, we may compare the duplicate inscriptions⁵ of Yaśōdharman on the two columns at Mandalār. But Yaśōdharman’s pillars, remarks J. F. Fleet, were jayastambhas or ‘columns of victory’, not connected with any building; whereas the two inscribed Bilsaḍ pillars seem to have had a direct connection with a temple, now ruined, the remains of which must be hidden under the rubbish that has accumulated over the site, nić., the temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāśēna or Kārttikeya, referred to in the inscription.

The writing of the inscription now published covers a space of about 2’1-\frac{1}{2}” broad by 1’10-\frac{1}{2}” high. The first four lines are almost entirely destroyed, and a good deal of damage has been done to the rest; but nothing of historical nature seems to have been lost. The average size of the letters is about \frac{3}{4}’. The characters, on the whole, belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet, the only test letters that belong to the eastern type being m and l. Again, they present a very pointed difference from the characters of the same class in the preceding inscriptions, in respect of the very marked mātrās or prolonged horizontal top-strokes of the letters. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the end of line 9, and the rest in verse. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in puttrasya, line 4.

on to every new karman and new rebirths." (D. R. Bhandarkar’s Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, pp. 53-54 — Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1938-39.—University of Madras). This last ‘thirst’ is intended to disappear by means of the spiritual efficacy of the work of Virasaṅa in digging the well.

¹ The ‘Beelser and Bilsar’ of maps, etc., Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 68., Lat. 27° 33’ N., Long, 79° 16’ E. The name is written and pronounced optional with or without a nasal in the second syllable; compare Aplṣaṇḍa, in the case of the inscription of Adityaśēna (CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 42).

² The ‘Beelsurpowa, Beelsurpucha, and Beelsurputee’ of maps.

³ The ‘Aliganj and Ulleogunj’ of maps, etc.

⁴ The ‘Eta, Etah, and Etyuh’ of maps, etc.

⁵ CIL., Vol. III, 1888, Nos. 33 and 34.
BILSAḌ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 96

G. S. Gai

From photograph
The inscription refers itself to the reign of Kumāragupta (I) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. It is dated, in words, in the year ninety-six (415-16 A.D.); but without any specification of the month and date. Its object is to record the accomplishment, by a certain Dhruvasaṁarman, at a temple of the god Śvāmi-Mahāśēna, of certain works, i.e., (1) the construction of a pratōli,1 or ‘gateway’; (2) the establishment, apparently, of a sattrā or charitable hall or almshouse; and (3) the erection of the column with the inscription on it, to record the above acts.

The name of the donor has been twice given in this inscription as Dhruvasaṁarman. But in line 11 Šarma is separated from Dhruuva. It seems that Dhruuva was his personal name and Šarma his family name. Šarma is still a family name in Bengal and was even a clan name as early as the Mahābhārata period.2

TEXT

[Metres: Verse 1 Sr̥gāharā; verse 2 Śārdūlavirāḍīta.]

1 . . . . . [sarvva-rāj-ōchhēttuḥ prīthivyām = apratirathasya chatur-udadh*ji-[sa*]-[īl-āśvā*]dita-yaśās
2 [Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endr-Āntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśōḥ nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hi*] ra[n*]ya-koji-[pra]dasya chir-ōtann-āśvamēdh-āharttuḥ
3 [mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-praputtasya mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkača-pauṭtrasya ma*]-h[ār]-[ā]jādhīrāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puṭtrasya
4 Lichchhavi-duh[i]trasya mahādēvyāṁ Kumāradēvyām = utpannya svaḥ-mahārā*]-[j]ājhādhirāja-śrī-Samudragupta-puṭtrasya
5 mahādēvyām Dattad[ēv]yām = utpannya [savyam = apratirathasya parama*-]-[bhāgavata]sya māhārājājādhīrāja-śrī-Chandragupta-puttrasya
6 mahā[de]yām = Dhruvadēvyām = utpannya mahārājājādhīrāja-śrī-Kumāraguptasya = abhivardhāmāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaré śaṅ-ṇavaṭé
7 [A*][syāṃ = d]ivas-pūrvvāyām bhagavatasya = trāilōkya-tējas-sambaḥṣara-sam[bḥrī]-t-ādhbhuta-mūrttēr = Brahmāṇya-dēvasya
8 . . . . . . . [n]jivāsinaḥ Śvāmi-Mahāsēnasya = āyatane = smin = Kṛttayug-āchāra-saddharmma-vartm-ānuvayinā
9 . [āta] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [pa*]rshadā māṇitēna Dhruvasaṁmaṇā karmma mahat = kṛit* = ēdam3 [i*]
10 [Kṛtvā] = = [ā]bhīrāmāṁ muni[vasati] = = = [svarga]-sōpāna-r[ū]pām [i*] kaubēra-chchhaṁ-hambaṁ sphaṭika-mañi-dal-ābhāsa-gaurām pratōlim
11 prāśād-āgr-ābhīrūpita gu[ṇa-vajra]-bhavanaṁ [dharma]-[sa]ṭtraṁ [ya]havat [i*] pu[n]yēsv = ēv = ābhīrāmāṁ vrajate śuba-matis = tāta-Śarmā Dhrūvō = stu [i*]-[i*]
12 = ā = i = sva = = = subh-āṃrītā-vara-prakhyāta-labdhā bhuvī [i*] = ā = ē bhaktir = ahina-sat[t*]va-samata kas = tan na sampūjayēt !

1 For fully understanding this term, see J. Ph. Vogel’s informing article on The Sanskrit pratōli and its New-Indian Derivatives in JRAS., 1906, pp. 539 ff. From the Sanskrit texts quoted in this article, it seems to denote a strongly built gateway connected with a road. The Sanskrit pratōli has now been preserved in the Hindi derivative pāl which we find used in connection with many city gates, especially in Rajasthan. It is not unlikely that in this particular case pratōli denotes the gateway in the enclosure of the temple of Mahāśēna connecting the principal streets of the town with the road leading to the shrine inside. That this word has this meaning in the present inscription may be seen from the fact that the pratōli of Dhruvasaṁarman has been compared to a svarga-sōpāna, “a flight of steps (leading) to heaven.”

2 Ind. Ant., Vol. LXI, p. 65.

3 Read kritam = idam.
TRANSLATION

(Line 6) When the detailed order of the date was this, that is, in the ninety-sixth year of the increasingly victorious (Gupta) rule, pertaining to the prosperous Kumāragupta (I) the Mahārājādhirāja,

(Line 5) Who is the son, born of the Mahādevī Dhruvadēvi, of the prosperous Chandragupta (II), the Mahārājādhirāja, who was himself without an equal adversary, (and) an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), (and)

(Line 4) Chandragupta II, who was the son born of the Mahādevī Dattadēvi, of the prosperous Samudragupta, the Mahārājādhirāja,

(Lines 1-2) (Who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no equal adversary on earth); whose fame was tasted by the waters (of the four oceans); who was equal to (the gods) Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe of Kṛtānta (God of death); who was the giver of (many) crores of (lawfully acquired cows and) gold; who was the performer of the aśvamētha sacrifice, that had long decayed, (and),

(Lines 3-4) (Who was the son of the son's son of the prosperous Gupta, the Mahārājā; the son's son of the prosperous Ghaṭōtakach, and Mahārāja), (and) the son of the prosperous Chandragupta I, the Mahārājādhirāja, the daughter's son of the Lichchhavī; (and) born of the Mahādevī Kumāradēvi.

(Lines 7-9) At this temple of Lord Mahāsēna, the divine (one), whose wonderous body is produced out of the mass of the lustre of the three worlds; who is the god Brahmanya; (and) who resides at ............ this magnificent work has been accomplished by Dhruvaśarman who follows the path of the practice and true religion of the Kṛita Age, (and) who has been honoured by the assembly ...........

(Lines 10-11) Having constructed a gateway, charming (to the eye), (containing) abodes of sages, having the appearance of a staircase leading to heaven, resembling kauhērachhanda (in style), white—shining, because it bears the radiance of crystal gems and petals;—(and having constructed), in a very proper manner, a (religious) alms-house (?), a structure eminent in qualities, and as beautiful as the best of mansions;—he, of righteous intention, moves about charmingly among the pious. May Dhruva continue in bliss!

(Lines 12-13) That same Dhruvaśarman, who ...... by means of the abundance of the unprecedented accumulation of wealth, ...........,1 has caused the erection of this firm and excellent pillar.2

No. 17: PLATE XVII.

GADHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 98

This is another of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Śiva Prasād, in 1871-72, at Gadhwā in the Allahābād District, Uttar Pradesh. It was not noticed when the stone was

1 Though portions of the first half of the verse are legible, it is left untranslated because of the uncertainty of the construction owing to the missing words.

2 The wording in the original is faulty; sthira-varah qualifies the stambha which is wrongly compounded with uchchhraya 'erection' or 'looseness'. 
GADHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 98
first discovered; but was afterwards found, on clearing away the lime under which it was hidden, by General Cunningham, who then, in 1890, published his reading of the text in the *CalR*, Vol. X, p. 9, with a lithograph (ibid., Plate V, No. 1). It was afterwards edited by J. F. Fleet in *CIH.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 40 ff. and Pl. IV D.

This inscription is on the upper part of the proper right side of the stone. Almost the whole of the first line, and the first half of each of the remaining lines, have been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the writing, however, covering a space of about 4” broad by 9” high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read. The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}”$ to $\frac{1}{2}”$. The characters belong, on the whole, to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet where $s$ alone is of the western, and are of precisely the same type as those of the two inscriptions, Nos. 8 above and 26 below, being probably engraved by the same hand. They include, in the date, forms of the numerical symbols for 8 and 90. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout. The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The name of the king is broken away and lost in the first half of line 2. But the inscription is dated, in numerical symbols, in the year ninety-eight (416-17 A.D.); and this shews that the record must belong to the time of the Imperial Gupta king Kumāragupta. So little remains of it that the form of religion or the sect to which it belonged, cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it records a gift of twelve dināras, apparently as a contribution to some Brahmaṇa from Sadāsattra.

**TEXT**

1 [Jitaṁ bhagavatā u Paramabhāga*][vata-mahā][rājādhi*]-
2 [rāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-rājya-samvatsa*]ṛc̣ 90 8 ...
3 [asyāṁ divasa*]-pūrvvāyaṁ padūa 1 ...
4 .......................... nē(?)n=ātma-puṇy-ōpa[chay-ārtham*]
5 .......................... rē kāliyāṁ Sadāsa[t*][tra- ...
6 .......................... kasya talakani[vānē(?) ... 7 .......................... bhyāṁ dinārāḥ dvādaśa ...
8 .......................... sy=āṅkur-ōdbha(?)sta-chchha
9 .......................... [saṁ*]yukt[a*h*]syād=iti i8

**TRANSLATION**

(Lines 1-3) [Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vāsudēva)]9 [In the year] 90 (and) 8 [of the (dynastic) rule4 of the prosperous Kumāragupta, the Mahārājādhiraja, an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva)5.....; when this was the specification of the date6... (Lines 3-8) [For the purpose] of augmenting (his) own spiritual merit ...... (to endure) for the time ...... Sadāsattra7 ...... twelve dināras ...... (Lines 8-9) [And whosoever breaks up this bit of charity shall become infected with (the Five Great Sins)].

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1 May be read also as paṭṭa with Fleet.
2 Expressed by a horizontal stroke.
3 The meaning of this phraseology is explained by verse 1 of the Tusāṁ inscription (*CIH.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 67, p. 270) showing that bhagavatā stands for Viṣṇunā.
4 See note 1 to Translation of No. 8 above, p. 246.
5 See note 3 to Translation of No. 10 above, p. 233.
6 See note 1 to Translation of No. 6 above, p. 241.
7 See note 1 to Translation of No. No. 8 above, p. 247.
MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 107

This inscription was first brought to notice by G. Bühler in 1894 in the Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 210-11, No. xxxix, where he published his reading and translation of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (ibid., Plate facing p. 209) based upon estampages supplied by A. Führer.

The inscription is incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, measuring 3’ 8” by 2’ 7”, unearthed by Führer during his excavations from November 1890 to March 1891 in the Kaikāli Ṭīḷā at Mathurā, the chief town of the Mathura District, Uttar Pradesh. The image is now in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow.

The writing covers a space of about 2’ 5-¼” broad by 1-¾” high. It is well preserved with the exception that two or three letters are destroyed in the first line in two places. The average size of the letters is ¾”. The characters, on the whole, belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet. Those representing h, s and l are decidedly and uniformly of the western type, m alone being of the eastern variety. If we compare this record with No. 6, which also was found at Mathurā, we find that some of the characteristics of the Kushāṇa period which the latter displays are to be seen also in this record. Thus, the letters j, p and ṭ of this inscription still preserve flat and angular bases, m alone developing a curve. The tops of g and ṣ, which in No. 6 manifest this characteristic have, however, lost it in our record. The only other point in regard to the palaeography of this epigraph that is worthy of note, is that the characters include in line 1, forms of the numeral symbols for 7, 20 and 100. The language is mixed Dialect or Gāthā Dialect as it was known to the Indians, and agrees completely with that of the Jaina inscriptions exhumed along with this by Führer in Mathurā and published by Bühler in the Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 381 ff., and 395 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 199 ff. In respect of orthography we have to note (1) that ṭ is doubled in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in Guhāmitra”, line 2 and (2) that ṣ, s and th are doubled with a preceding r, e.g., in pā[r]vā[ṛ]yaṁ, line 1 and pā[r]thā[r]ikasya, line 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārajadhīrāja Kumāragupta, i.e., Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Its date, in numerical symbols, is one hundred and seven, on the twentieth day of the intercalary month Śrāvaṇa. It, thus, corresponds to 426-27 A.D., when alone Śrāvaṇa was an additional month. It further shows that the Gupta year 107 of this record was an expired one. It is a Jaina inscription; and the object of it is to record the putting up of an image of a Jina by Śamādhya who was the daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava and wife of Guhāmitra Pālita who was a Prārthārika, apparently a lapidary. We are further told that the benefaction was made in accordance with the behest of Dattilāchārya who pertained to the Vidyādhari-sākhā of the Kōṭṭiya-gaṇa. Both the Gaṇa and the Sākhā, have been mentioned in the Sthavirāvali of the Kalpasūtra.3

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2 It “represents the spoken language, if not the vernacular, of the śiśa people from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D., when, owing to the increasing supremacy of Brahmanism, Sanskrit was being largely studied even by non-Brahmanical sects but Pāli as a literary vehicle was not yet extinct” (D. R. Bhandarkar’s Aṣoka, 2nd edition, p. 212, note 1).
MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 107

G. S. Gai

From photograph
TEXT

2 d=Vidyādhara[t*]ō śākhāṭo Datil-āchā[ṛ*]yya-prajāāpit[a]jē Śāmādhyaāyē Bhaṭṭībhavasya dhitu Guhamitrā-Pāli[ta]-prāṛ[thā]rikasya4 [kuṭumb*]jiṇyē pratimā pratishṭāpi[tā] [1*]

TRANSLATION

Luck! (The year) 107; the intercalary month of Śrāvaṇa; the day 20, (in) the victorious reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Kumāragupta—when this was the specification (of date), the image was set up by Śāmādhya (=Śyāmādhya), daughter of Bhaṭṭībhava (and) wife of the lapidary Guhamitra Pālita, who had been commanded by Datilāchāyya (=Datilāchārya) of the Kōṭṭīya-gaṇa and the Vidyādhāri-śākhā.

No. 19: PLATE XIX

DHANĀIDHA Copper-Plate INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

THE YEAR 113

This inscription, engraved on a thin copper-plate which looks very much worn out and fragile, was discovered about 1906 A.D., in a village called Dhanāidha in the Nātore Subdivision of the Rajshahi District in the Rajshahi Division of Bangladesh. Babu Akshaya Kumar Maitreya, Director of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, obtained it from Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ershed Ali Khan Choudhuri, and it is now deposited in the Museum of the Society along with the five copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period discovered in April 1915 at Dāmōdarpur in the District of West Dinajpur. It was edited in 1909 by R. D. Banerji, then of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in the JASB., Vol. V, No. 11, pp. 459-61. Banerji’s decipherment of this fragmentary inscription was not correct as proved by the Dāmōdarpur records subsequently. While editing two of these inscriptions belonging to the same monarch’s reign, Radha Govinda Basak revised the reading of this inscription and he re-edited it in the Bengali monthly, the Sāhiya of Calcutta, in the Pausha issue, 1323 B.S. Thereafter, he edited the inscription in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 345 and ff.

The inscription is a fragmentary one, consisting of 17 lines of writing incised in the early

1 Read -Mahārājādhirāja-.
2 It is somewhat curious how after vijaya-āyēs Bühler reads sam [100 10] 3. Even the plate accompanying his text has clearly su which again is followed by the numerical symbol for 7. Then between this symbol and ka the stone is much damaged, showing, however, that two letters have been lost. After ka the only syllables that are quite whole and entire are māṣa. But this mā was preceded immediately by ya which, though it is somewhat injured, is as good as certain. Between ka and ya there is a lacuna of two or three letters only. And we cannot be wide off the mark if the lacunae are filled up, as shown in the text. Bühler’s restoration Kūrtikā-Hīmanta-māṣasya divast is not only very wide off the mark but also yields no good sense.
3 This name is doubtless Guhamitrā, and not Grahambitrā as Bühler reads.
4 Bühler reads prā[tā]rika but admits in the foot-note that “possibly prabhārikasya is to be read”. It looks more like prāṛ[thā]rikasya.
5 If prāṛ[thā]rika is the correct reading, it stands for the Sanskrit prastārika, ‘a dealer in prastara’. But prastara signifies both an ordinary and a precious stone. Perhaps the second sense is here intended. In that case, prastārika denotes ‘a lapidary’.
Gupta characters of the 5th century A.D. It is written on one side only of the plate, which is now very much corroded. In length, the full plate seems to have been almost twice the fragment now preserved, which measures $5\frac{1}{4}''$ by $5\frac{1}{2}''$. Almost the whole of the proper right half of the plate is broken and lost, together with the upper right and lower left corners. From an examination of the portions of the writing preserved in lines 14-16, which form part of the well-known imprecatory verses, it can be ascertained that about a dozen and a half letters are cut off from the proper right side of each of the lines. This loss of almost half of the inscribed portion and the extremely blurred state of the letters preserved are the greatest obstacles in explaining the document. But the five Dāmōdarapur grants and the four Faridpur grants have helped us much in deciding that the present plate also, like them, is not an ordinary royal land-grant, but is a sale-deed embodying the record of a purchase of land for the purpose of donation. Banerji states that the fragments of the proper upper right corner, broken in the exhibition grounds of the Calcutta Industrial Exhibition of 1906-07, contained the two letters ma and ra, which, he thinks, were evidently the second and third syllables of the name of the emperor Kumāragupta. The inscription is dated in 113, which must be referred to the Gupta era, and this evidently proves that it belonged to the time of the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and it is in prose throughout excepting in lines 14-16, which contain three damaged imprecatory verses in the Anushṭubh metre. Banerji’s statement that “the bad state of preservation makes it very difficult to make any remarks on the orthography” cannot be upheld: for, the following points in respect of orthography were easily observed by Basak:

1. as in the Dāmōdarapur copper-plates, the sign of the medial ā is attached by a hook-like sign towards the bottom of the lower right of some of the letters, especially of kh, g and y, e.g., khāsaka line 5, Kādā(ta?)fāra- line 7; grām-āśhta- line 6; and guṇ-āguṇa- line 13;

2. the sign of avagraha is not used, as in viṣhavē = muṛita- line 7;

3. the letters g, y, t, m, y and v (and not sh, e.g., varsha- line 15) are doubled with a preceding r, e.g., vargga- line 4, svarggē line 15; utkṛṣṇam line 17; kīrtī line 4; sārma line 3 and line 5, dhārma line 8; -mavyādā- line 7; and -pūrva line 2 and line 16, sarva line 9;

4. m has sometimes been joined with the following pa and va, e.g., in svadattām-para-dattām = vā line 14; and

5. k has been doubled with a following r, e.g., in kkramēṇa (na) line 8.

The forms of the initial vowels ā, i and u are seen in the following words respectively, āyuktaka line 11, iha line 7, and utkṛṣṇam line 17. The form of the letter mē in kkramēṇa (na) line 8, sarvam = ekam line 11, is to be noticed. For a similar incision of mē, especially the ē mark in it, we may compare the words kāyam = ēśām line 31 of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, above, and guhām = ṭūtam line 5 (above, No. 11), and the word dōṣa-grāmō line 1 (wrongly read as dōṣa-āgrēna by Hara Prasad Sastri) of the Susūmi rock inscription.1

In his paper “The Five Damōdarapur copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period”,2 Basak made a remark at the outset that those sale-deeds, which the present inscription resembles, “may be regarded as having roughly six different parts in the form in which they are drawn up.” The same remark, he says, holds good with regard to this inscription also. The first part ends with the word vijñāpatī- line 7, the second with dā[tum] line 8, the third with tad = avadhistam = iti yatas line 10, the fourth with ekam dattām line 11, the fifth with -Varāha-svāminō dattām line 12, and the sixth with the rest of the grant. We agree with him.

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1 Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 133.
2 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.
DHANĀIDĀHA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I:
The year 113

G. S. Gai

From photograph
The contents of the inscription may be stated as follows: In the Gupta year 113 (543-33 A.D.), belonging evidently to the reign of Kumāragupta I, some one, very likely a royal officer, an āyukta, whose name seems to have ended in -vishnu (line 7), approached the village house-holders, the mahattaras and the ashta-kul-ādhikaranas and, perhaps, also the local government of the district and expressed to them his desire to purchase one kulyavāpa of cultivated land by paying the price at the usual rate prevalent in the vishaya of Khādā(ṭa?)pāra. It seems that the applicant wanted to buy the land by destroying the nīvī-dharma (the non-transferability of it), i.e., with the right of alienation. His prayer was granted and the purchased land was seved for him by proper measurement. He, in turn, seems to have made a donation of the same to a Śāmavedin Brāhmaṇa (Chhandoga, line 12) of the name of Varāha-svāmin. It seems very probable, though the mutilated condition of the plate does not permit us to be very confident on the point, that the Dhanāidaha plate contained a reference to the Pundravardhana bhukti being under a governor appointed by the Gupta ruler (compare the Dāmodarpur plates of the Gupta years 124 and 128, belonging to the same monarch's reign) and that the vishaya of Khādā(ṭa?)pāra was, like Kōṭivarsa, one of the many districts of the same bhukti. In the Khālimpur copper-plate1 of Dharmapāla, king of Gauḍa, though of the 9th century A.D., we have the names of two other vishayas, viz., Mahāntāprakāśa (line 31) and Sthālikāṭa (line 41), as being situated in the bhukti of Pundravardhana.

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 249.
2 Read survavatara-.
3 D.C. Sircar restores the first few letters of this line as Sarī 100 +10 +3. Sd. Ins., 1965, p. 288.—Ed. 
4 D.C. Sircar reads nīvī-dharman-āksheyena. Ibid.—Ed. 
5 D.C. Sircar restores as kṣhītrakara. Ibid.—Ed. 
6 Read ashtaka-nevaka-nalabhāyaṃ =.
14 ........ā [u]ktaṁ=cha bhagavatā Dvaipāyanēna Svadattām=paradattām=vā
15 ........[bhiḥ] saha pachyatē [i*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāni(ṇi) svarggē mōdati
 [bhū]midāḥ [i*]
16 ........[Pā]rvava-dattām dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [i*] mahīm
 [mahī][matāṅ=chhrēṣṭha*]
17 ........ya[ṇi] su(?) Sribhadṛena(ṇa)1 utkīrtṇam Sth(Sta)mbhēśvaradāsē-
 [ṇa]......

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-7) When one hundred years exceeded by thirteen [had passed]......(and)
when, in this detailed order of the date, Paramadaizvata, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, etc., Kumāρgupta
(is the lord of the earth), the husbandmen (consisting of)......the Brāhmaṇas Śivaśarman and
Nāgaśarman and the village Board of the Ashṭakula (consisting of the Mahattaras Dē?)vakirtti,
Kshēmadatta, Gōśṭhaka, Varggapāla, Pīngala, Śunukaka, Kāla......, vīṣṇu, Dēvaśarman,
Vishṇubhadra, Khāsaka, Rāmaka, Gōpāla,......su(?) Sribhadra, Sōmapāla, Rāma and
others were informed by.....vīṣṇu as follows:

(Lines 7-10) in the district of Khāḍā(ṭa)pāra (according to) the rule of sale prevalent
here......to be had on the termination of the Endowment Contract (nīvi-dharma). Deign ye,
therefore, to grant me according to this same custom by the neighbouring husbandmen who
are obedient and are addressed in a body, having established it all.

(Lines 10-13) Whereas it was so determined and accepted saying ‘so be it’, one kulya-
vāpa of land, being severed by 8 × 9 reeds, was given by the Āyuktaka officer to the Chhandōga
(Sāmanvēdīn) Brāhmaṇa Varāhasvāmin, resident of......bhrāṭri-kaṭaka. So......considering
the merit and demerit in the grant and confiscation of land and (the impermanence) of body
and gold (it should be respected by the administration in time to come).

(Line 14) And it has been said by the divine Dvaipāyana:

(Verse 1) He (who takes away land) given by himself or by others, (having become a
worm in excreta) rots with his forefathers.

(Verse 2) The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty-thousand years. (He who resumes
it and he who assents to it may dwell in hell for as many years).

(Verse 3) Carefully preserve the land that has already been given to the twice-born
(Brāhmaṇas), Yudhishṭhira, the best of land-owners. (Preservation is more meritorious than
grant of land.)

(Line 17) ......(written) by Śribhadra. Engraved by Stambhēśvaradāsa.

No. 20 : PLATE XX

TUMAIN INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 116

This inscription was discovered as early as 1919 in the course of his tour for the prepara-
tion of the List of Antiquities by M.B. Garde, the then Superintendent, Archaeological Depa-
tment of the erstwhile Gwalior State, who first published a summary of it in the Ind. Ant.,

1 [D.C. Sircar suggests the restoration as likhitā paṭik=ṣayaṁ anāyu-Bhadṛena. Sel. Ins., 1965, p. 289,
note 3.—Ed.].

Tumain is a village in the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh, about forty miles to the west of Erāṇ, the Airikina of ancient India, in the Khurāṇ Tāhsil of the Sagar District. The original stone is now in the State Museum at Gwalior.

Nearly one half of the inscription, the proper right portion, is destroyed. It is also not clear how much of the lower part is missing. The writing on what is preserved of the stone covers a space 7' high by 24' broad, and is in an excellent state of preservation, except in the last line where the letters are injured here and there. The size of the letters varies from $\frac{x}{13}$ to $1\frac{9}{13}$. The characters belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet, as is clear from the formation of such test letters as $m$, $s$ and $h$.

There is some doubt only about $l$, which, in the word lōka- in line 1, looks more like the eastern than the western prototype. Three more palaeographic peculiarities, which are noteworthy, are: (1) the ending $m$ which is denoted by a miniature form of this character surmounted by a horizontal bar, the whole occupying half the height of a normal letter; (2) the virāma which is indicated sometimes by a horizontal stroke as after lōka-tray-ānte in line 1 and after yuktē in line 4, but sometimes by vertical uprights as e.g., at the end of lines 3 and 5; and (3) the jīvāṃśīlīya which is denoted by the character for $m$ as in tatah= kanīyān in line 5. The language is Sanskrit; and, so far as the preserved text goes, it is in verse. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to note that (1) the letters $j$, $t$, $y$ and $v$ following $r$ are doubled; (2) that the visarga followed by $s$ has been once changed to that letter, in $=ōdītas=sa$, line 3; (3) that the anusvāra and gh following it have been twice changed to $nh$, once in siddha-sanhātaḥ, line 1 and another time in saṅhadēvaḥ, line 5; and (4) that the jīvāṃśīlīya has been used once in tatah= kanīyān, line 5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. In the existing portion of line 1 is preserved the second half of a stanza, which, according to Garde, “apparently refers to Samudragupta.” This, however, seems unlikely, because what remains of this line speaks of the lotus-like feet of some one described in the stanza as being adored by the bands of the Siddhas. This eulogy which is worthy of a divinity can hardly apply to Samudragupta. It is safer to take the line, as containing praise of some god, possibly Śiva, who seems to have been referred to in the last verse, as we shall see presently. The next stanza in line 1 describes Chandragupta II as being in charge of the earth up to the bounds of the ocean. Line 2 informs us that Chandragupta had a son called Kumāragupta who was almost equal to Mahendra and who protected the earth as if she were his chaste and lawful wife. The first verse in line 3 compares Ghaṭōtkacha to the moon and the second represents him as having inherited the inherent prowess of his ancestors and attained to fame. Line 4 specifies the date of the inscription thus: “When a century of years of sovereigns (born of Gupta) (had elapsed), accompanied by sixteen years” and refers it to the reign of Kumāragupta who is described as “shining on earth like the sun in the autumn”. Lines 5-6 specify the object of the record. In the first place, we are told that there was a family of brothers hailing from Vatōdaka which was noted as a settlement of sādhus or merchants. From there, they seem to have migrated and settled in Tumbavara where they constructed a temple, apparently, of Pinaṅkin or Śiva.

It is worthy of note that in the record Kumāragupta has been mentioned twice, first in line 2, and afterwards in line 4 where, in fact, the date of the inscription has been specified and is referred to his reign. In between these two lines mentioning Kumāragupta, that is, in line 3, occurs the name of Ghaṭōtkachagupta. It is a pity that the first half of this line has not been
preserved. But the fact that the second component of his name is Gupta and that his name is contained in line 3 whereas lines 2 and 4 speak of Kumāragupta as a living sovereign is enough to show that Ghaṭotkachagupta was not only a Gupta prince but most probably a son of Kumāragupta. And further, as Ghaṭotkacha’s name occurs in an inscription found in Tumain, it seems that in the Gupta year 116, the date of the record, he was the governor of Airikīna, which was one of the important provinces of the Gupta empire. Further remarks about him will be found in the account of Inscription No. 27.

TEXT

1 ... विरःययस्या लोकःत्रय-ांते [1°] चराणा-कमालामिन्त 4 मत्यामिन्त वंद्येतेः 5 सिद्धासनाहं 6 (ii) 7 राजा श्री-चंद्रगुप्तस = तद-अनु जयति यो मेदिनिमिं सगर-ांतम

2 ... 8श्री-चंद्रगुप्तसया महेंद्रा-कल्पव कुमारगुप्तस = तनायस = सामा- [ग्राम]म [1°] रकरक्षा साध्विम= इवा धर्ममम-पत्निं विरय-ांग्रा-हस्ता= इवा अपगुह्या बहुनिम [11°]

3 ... 9गागः-गाग-गारुह [1°] कश्य-अमर-सुगुणा-समुहा- [मय] ज्ञाणा-ज्ञान नामन= धितस = सा तु ग्वात्सोकागुप्ता-चट्राहं [1°]* तं सपुर्वजानां श्वित-सति-कर्तिर = भुज-ांजाति-नि कर्तिर = अभ्यवप्रादया 11

4 ... 11भानम वसुदेहद्वराणाम समासतेश सोधासावर्ष-युक्ते 12 कुमारगुप्तह नृपार्जु प्रिद्रिथ्यवम विराजः (जा) माने शारद= इवा सुर्ये इति 14वातिकाके साधु- 

5 ... 15ताः= श्लिष्टेवा इत्य= उत्सज्ञानामे नामदेवाः [11°]* तं आग्राजो= भुद= धरिदेवा- 

6 ... 18तसाक-क्षतिह [1°] समाना- [वृत्ति] -अक्षरि-भेत= [दानिह] [11°]* भक्ष्म- [शत्र] -अलाय= त= [ता]* इबावनेन बाबहुवं इति 19अनारायण= तेन ग्री-श्री (श्री) तुंगमि शस्म- 

prabham dēva20. . . .

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1 [Since this inscription is fragmentary, the verses occurring in it cannot be serially numbered. Hence, the metres, wherever possible, have been shown in the notes below.—Ed.].

2 Metre: Mālīni.

3 Expressed by a horizontal stroke.

4 The anuvāra over la is superfluous.

5 Read vandyaṭē.

6 Read -sāṅghalī.

7 Metre: Sravgharā.

8 Metre: Upajāti.

9 Metre: Vasangatilakā.

10 Metre: Upēndravājū.

11 Read -sattva.

12 Metre: Upēndravājū.

13 Expressed by a horizontal stroke.

14 Metre: Upēndravājū.

15 Metre: Indravājū.

16 Metre: Upēndravājū.

17 Read Sānghadivāh.

18 Metre: Upajāti.

19 Metre: Upēndravājū.

20 This may be restored to dēva-Pīnākinī griham.
TUMAIN INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 116

G. S. Gai

From photograph
TRANSLATION

(Line 1) ..... whose lotus-like feet, which are the source of knowledge,\(^1\) are adored by bands of Siddhas up to the extremities of the three worlds.

Thereafter, pre-eminent is the illustrious Chandragupta, the king, who.......the earth up to the ocean bounds .......

(Line 2) ............ The son of the illustrious Chandragupta is Kumāragupta who is well-nigh the great Indra\(^2\) and who protected the whole earth, holding her with arms, namely, valour, as if she were (his) chaste lawful wife.

(Line 3). .............brilliant; in the sky, namely, the earth, arose that moon, namely Ghaṭotkachagupta by name with (his) cluster of rays, namely, (his) store of good qualities.

He of steady fame for the inherent prowess of (his) ancestors, having attained to fame acquired through (his) arms .......

(Line 4). ........ when a century of years of sovereigns (born of Gupta) (had elapsed),\(^3\) accompanied by sixteen years (and) when Kumāragupta was the king shining on earth like the sun in the autumn;

In Vaṭōdaka, a settlement of merchants (sādhū),\(^4\)

(Line 5) ....... of the dignified name of Śrīdeva; he had an elder brother called Haridēva; but his younger was Dhanyadēva; younger than he was Bhadradeva; still younger than he was Saṅghadeva.

(Line 6). ........ (who) of unattached minds, of identical virtuous conduct (but) varying with difference of (human) figure, became the abodes of Kṣatriya valour in Tumbavana; (and) who constructed (a shrine of) the god (Pinākī), as lofty as the peak of a hill and bearing the lustre of the moon.

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\(^1\) Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains *matya* as "the means of acquiring knowledge (jñāṇam kārānam), Kāč. on Pān. IV. 4, 97".

\(^2\) This may be compared with the epithets Śrī-Mahēndra, Śrī-Avantīrā-Mahāendra, Ajita-Mahāendra, etc., which Kumāragupta bears on his coins (Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, pp. 61-81).

\(^3\) Samā-latī śīlaśa-vaśa-vāyū may be compared to samāvāśa-satā tikāna-vāyū-utārā with which I No. 43 below, e.g., begins. Fleet translates the latter by "in a century of years, increased by ninety-one". But: this is a mistake, for, in that case, we should have expected "in the hundredth year increased by ninety-one" or, in other words, we should have had samāvāśa-satātām, instead of samāvāśa-satā. We have, therefore, to make some such word as gati or ațī, elapsed, understood after samā-latī of the one and samāvāśa-satā of the other. That this is the correct explanation may be seen from the fact that it agrees with Śaka 241 given by Albērāni as equivalent to the initial year of the Gupta era. We, thus, have Gupta-saṇīvat 192 (current); plus 241 = Śaka-saṇīvat 433 (current). Fleet wrongly calculated it as "Gupta-Saṇīvat 191 + 242 = Śaka-Saṇīvat 433 current"; in which year the given date corresponds to Monday, the 3rd January, A.D. 511 (CIL, Vol. III, 1898, Introd. p. 114).

\(^4\) It is not impossible to take sādhu-jan-sādhivāśā to mean "the abode of the virtuous people", in connection with Vaṭōdaka. But this is highly unlikely, because in the next line we are told that Śrīdeva and his brothers embraced the Kṣatriya profession in Tumbavana. It is, therefore, more reasonable to take sādhu in such a sense that it will denote a profession. This is possible if we take it to mean "a merchant, money-lender, usurer" which is one of the senses Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives for this word. This is no doubt supported by Sanskrit lexicons such as the *Vaiṣṇavanty* of Yādavaprakāśa which makes it synonymous with *vārdhivāḥ*, 'usurer' (ed. by Gustav Oppert, p. 238, line 192). The Sanskrit term *sādhu* is no doubt preserved in the vernacular *ṣādakār* which is found not only in Hindi but also in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī and is "applied to a merchant or trader generally". It is also preserved in the Bengāli word *ṣāhā*, which is sometimes spelt *sāhu*. The word *sādhu* is met with frequently also in inscriptions. Thus, one Khajūrāhī inscription records the putting up of a Jaina image by one Sādhu Sālhē, son of Pāhilla, who was a son of Śrīshtīnīn Đēḍū, of the Grahapati family, (Ep. Ind., Vol. 1. p. 153). What is worthy of note here is that the term *sādhu* has been distinguished from *śrīshtīnīn*. The word also occurs in South Indian inscriptions. From these, it is evident that in that part of India the *sādhu* played an important part in a public transaction whether issuing from the king or the people (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, pp. 181, 239, note, and 315, line 28; Vol. XII, p. 255, No. 135 where a Brāhmaṇa named Tēlaṅgārīya and belonging to Harita gōtra is mentioned as a *sādhu*).
The existence of this inscription was first brought to notice by Kunwar Kamta Prasad in 1908, when he was Deputy Collector, Faizabad, the chief town of the Faizabad District, Uttar Pradesh. A summary of its contents was published by J. Ph. Vogel in the PRIŚ, W.C., for the year ending 31st March, 1908, p. 39. The inscription was first edited by R. D. Banerji in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 458 and afterwards by Sten Konow in the Ep. Ind., Vol. X, pp. 70-72, accompanied by a plate.

The inscription is incised on a liṅga of greyish sand-stone which was excavated from a mound called Bharādhī Dīh near the village of Karamḍāmḍā,¹ about twelve miles from Faizabad on the road to Shahganj, in the District of Faizabad. The liṅga itself consists of an upper circular portion, 1’ 1½” high and 10-⅔” in diameter, rising from an octagonal base 1’ 9” high. The inscription is incised on five faces of the octagonal base of the liṅga, which is now deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow.

The writing covers a space 1’ 5-⅔” high and 1’ 7-⅔” broad, and consists of eleven lines. Some letters of the first two lines in the top right hand corner have been effaced but they can be restored from other Gupta records. Across the base, at a distance of 11” from the bottom, runs an indentation below line 4, which has partially obliterated some of the top mātrās of letters in line 5. The lowermost portion, again, has been broken off. In other respects the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. The average size of the letters is 1¼”.

The characters belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet except perhaps that for m. This last is curiously shaped, being neither of the eastern nor of the western variety and closely resembles ā, e.g., in Āyōdhya- in line 10. Other palaeographic peculiarities are also worthy of note, though they are of a minor nature. The short u is denoted in different ways; compare the u of ku and gu in Kumāragupta- occurring in lines 3 and 7, and also the u of mu in -nudhātasya, line 2. The form of the initial i in ity=ēvaṁ, line 8, and the initial ā in Āyōdhya-, line 10, are further worthy of note. The former agrees with that in the Kahānum pillar inscription of Skandagupta. And the latter looks like the m of this inscription, as just remarked. Attention may also be invited to the subscript y which is sometimes so engraved as to look almost like its initial form; compare, e.g., the subscript y in -nudhātasya in line 2 with that of Kumāramaṭṭya in line 6. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose so far as it is preserved.

In respect of orthography we may note (1) the doubling of a consonant before r in -gōṭra, lines 5 and 10, but not in putrā, line 5, or pūtraḥ, line 6; (2) and after r in -pūrvāyaṃ and -ācharya-, line 4, in yathā-kartātṛavya-dhārmikam$kṛta$-karmnā, line 9; (3) the change of anuvāra to n before d in =syān= divasa= pūrvāyaṃ, line 4; (4) the use of cchh in the beginning of a word in Cchhan-$dōgya$-, line 4; and the change of visarga to ś in conjunction with a following ś, in Kumāramāṭṭyaś=$Śīkara$-, line 6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Guptan dynasty. It is dated, in words, “in the century of years” of the victorious rule (of the Guptas) increased by seventeen (435-36 A.D.) on the tenth day of Kārttika.” The object of it is to record a gift made by Prithivisena, son of Chandragupta II’s Mantri-Kumārimāṭṭya Śīkharavāmin, who was the son of Vishṇupālitalabhaṭṭa, who, in turn, was the son of Kuramāryanabhaṭṭa. This last is described as Preceptor and Chanter of the Sāmavēda and pertaining to the Aśvavājin gōtra. Aśvavājin is most probably identical with Vājīvājin mentioned as a division of the Kanya gōtra in the Baudhāyana-sūtrasūtra.²

¹ PRIŚ. N. C., 1907-08, p. 39.
KARAMḌĀΜḌĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 117

G. S. Gai
From photograph
KARAMḌĀMḌĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: YEAR 117

It seems that Śikharasvāmin was Mantri-Kumārāṃayya of Chandragupta II throughout his official career, and that his son, Pṛthivīśeṇa was so at first during the reign of Kumāragupta I but afterwards became Mahābaladhikīrtī. The gift was made for the worship of Mahādeva known as Pṛthivīśvara, presumably the liṅga on which the inscription is engraved. As the name of the god is Pṛthivīśvara, and, of the donor, Pṛthivīśeṇa, it appears that the liṅga was so called after the donor who established it. The practice of naming gods or their temples in this manner is too common to require much elucidation. Further details of the grant have been lost; and even line 12, which is the last line preserved, has only the upper half of it preserved and cannot, thus, be restored with absolute certainty. Sten Konow’s restoration may, however, be safely accepted. The benefaction made by Pṛthivīśeṇa in favour of Pṛthivīśvara was laid at the feet of Mahādeva Śailēśvara. What it most probably means is that the principal shrine on this site was that of Śailēśvara which consequently had a treasury house of its own and that the money grant contributed by Pṛthivīśeṇa was deposited there for being utilised on behalf of the god Pṛthivīśvara founded by him. How exactly this grant was to be expended is not known, but immediately thereafter we find mention made of some persons, apparently Brāhmaṇas, who hailed from Ayōdhīyā, pertained to various gōtras and charanas, and were proficient in penances, sacred recitation, in the mantras, sūtras, bhāṣyas and pravachanas. About seven letters were engraved thereafter, but these cannot be restored with any degree of plausibility. Only four letters, dēva-dṛ[ṛ]day[ṛ]a, are clear enough at the end of this line. This word, according to Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary, means ‘an idol procession (orig. ablution)’; and the St. Petersburg Lexicon refers to the Tīrīkṣaṇa-sūtra 2, 7, 8 and the Hārāvali 129. It seems that the Brāhmaṇas advertised to above were put in charge of this duty in connection with the god Pṛthivīśvara and that, consequently, Pṛthivīśeṇa made his grant for this purpose.

TEXT

1 Namō Mahādevāya [Ś] Ma[hā]ṛāj[a]hṛaja-[śri-Cha]-[ndragupta-pād-ā]-
2 nūdhātasya chatudhudadhi-salī-āsvādita-ya[śaśo Mahārājā]-
3 dhūrāja-śri-Kumāraguptasya vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsaraḥ. Śa[tē] saptadāḥ-[ōttarē]

1 Thus Alla, son of Vāllabhaṭṭa, who was in charge of the Gopādri (Gwalior) fort in the time of the Imperial Pratihāra king, Bhoja-deva I, built a temple of Vishnu called Vāllabhaṭṭasvamin (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 159, line 6) after his father. Nārāyaṇavarman, a feudatory chieftain of the Pāla monarch, Dharmapala, founded a temple of Vishnu under the name of Nāma-Nārāyaṇa (ibid., Vol. IV, p. 250, line 50; also p. 247), where the first component, Nāma, is obviously an abbreviation of the founder’s name. Corresponding to Nāma-Nārāyaṇa is Kamala-Nārāyaṇa (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 569) under which name the Kadamba queen Kamalādevi constructed a temple of Vishnu at Deśānur. Similarly, Mathanadeva, a feudatory prince of the Imperial Pratihāra king, Kahiypāladeva, founded a temple of Mahādeva called Lachchhukēśvara (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 266, lines 8-9) after his mother Lachchu-kā. We read also of a monastery shrine of Śiva named Nāhalēśvara (ibid., Vol. I, p. 262, line 32 and p. 270, note 46) after Nāhālā, wife of the Kalachuri ruler Keśūravarna. Similarly we hear of a shrine of Śūrya under the name of Indrātyadēva built by a Chāhānāma chief called Indrārāja (ibid., Vol. IV, p. 185, line 18; p. 186, line 23; p. 187, lines 31-32).

2 It is, however, doubtful whether this is the sense of the word dēva-dṛṇī here intended. The same word occurs in line 6 of a Tālēśvara copper-plate (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 115), where the same meaning is adopted (p. 117). As the plate, however, came from the hilly district of Almora, it is better to take the word in the sense of ‘the Valley of (the shrine of) the God.’ This agrees with Paśchimadrṇi which is mentioned in line 24 and is evidently distinguished from Dēva-dṛṇī. This may further be compared to bhirad-ṛṇī mentioned as the site of a shrine in a Rajputana inscription summarised in Pr. R. C. II.C, 1909-10, p. 57. Perhaps, this is not the sense of the word dṛṇī used in this record, as the inscribed liṅga stone was found in the plains, and, not in the mountainous region of Utter Pradesh.

3 Expressed by a curve.
4 Read chtar-adāḥī.
5 The reading is clearly saṁvatsara- and not saṁvatsara as given by Konow.
4 Kāṛttikamāsa-daśama-divasē = syān = divasa-pūrvvāyāṁ [Ch]chhand[ō]g[y]1-āchā[ṛ]n-[ṛ]-Āśva-vājī-
5 sa-g[ō]dra-Kuramaranayābhāṭasya putrō Vishṇupālita-bhāṭas = tasya putrō Mahā[ḷ]rā[ḷ]-
6 jadhiāja-sīri-Chandraguptasya mantri-Kumārāmātyaś = Śikharasvāmy = abhūt = tasya putraḥ
7 Pṛthiśvīśēṇa Mahārājādhīrāja-sīri-Kumāraguptasya mantri-Kumārāmātyaō = na-
8 ntaraṁ cha mahābalādhiḥkritaḥ bhagavatō Mahādevasya Pṛthiviśvara ity = evam samākhūtasya
9 sy = aiva bhagavatō yathā-karttavya-dhārmikā-karmmanā pāda-śūrūṣaṁnya bhagavac = Chhai-
10 lēśvarasvāmi-Mahādeva-pāda-mūlē Āyōdhya-ānā-ġōtra-charaṇa-tapaḥ-
11 s[v]āḍḥ[y]ā[y]-[mantra-sūt][t][ra]-bhāśh[ya]-[p][ḷ][ra] [vachana- pārāga] [i*] [ā][vartita-sarīśad]-[dēvad][r]ōṇ[y]āṁ

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) Obeisance to Mahādeva. In the victorious reign of the Mahārājādhīraja, the prosperous Kumāragupta, whose fame wasv tasted by the waters of the four oceans (and) who meditated on the feet of the Mahārājādhīraja, the prosperous Chandragupta, when a century of years increased by seventeen (had elapsed), on the tenth day of the month of Kārttika;

(Lines 4-11) when this was the specification of the date, Pṛthiviśēṇa, who was (at first) Mantri-Kumārāmātya (and) afterwards the Mahābalādhiṅkīrti of the prosperous Kumāragupta the Mahārājādhīraja, and who was son of Śikharasvāmin, Mantri-Kumārāmātya of the prosperous Chandragupta (II), the Mahārājādhīraja, and son of Vishṇupālita-bhāṭa who, (in turn) was son of Kuramaranayābhāṭa, a teacher of the Chhandāga and of the Aśavājīn gōtra (placed) at the feet of Śailēśvarasvāmin Mahādeva, for the worship of the feet of this same Lord Mahādeva, known as Pṛthiviśvara, with proper religious rites to (Brāhmaṇas) from Āyōdhyā, of different gōtras and charaṇas (and) conversant with penances, recitation of sacred texts, the mantras, the sūtras, the bhāṣyas and pravachanas . . . at the procession of the image . . .

No. 22 : PLATE XXII

DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 124

This inscription, along with four others (Nos. 24, 39, 41 and 47, below), was discovered in the village of Dāmōdarpur, about 8 miles west of the Police Station Phulbāri in West Dinajpur District, West Bengal. All the five plates came to light in April 1915 while some coolies, employed by one Chhamir-ud-din Mondal, were, during the construction of a road, clearing away a heap of earth between two tanks, locally called Haripukur and Khōlākutipukur. In course of

1 Read Chhāndōgya-
2 The last letter of this name is doubtful. Konow reads Kurām[ā]rāya.
3 Read -jāhūṛa-
4 This word is mantri- and not mantri as read by Konow.
5 Read kṛītō.
6 Read samākhūtasya-ā. There is, however, a horizontal stroke after sya and almost attached to it which is perhaps placed there wrongly instead of being placed vertically as a top nāṭā.
7 The restoration of this broken line by Konow up to this point is really marvellous and has been accepted with slight changes, but the letters occurring between it and dēsavāyōm cannot be restored with any confidence.
time, they came under the notice of J. A. Ezechiel Esqr., I.C.S., who was then the District Magistrate of Dinajpur who made them over to the Varendra Research Society, who, in their turn, placed them in the hands of Radhagovinda Basak for decipherment. They were all published by him in Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff. The text and the translation of the inscription in question may be found there on pp. 130 ff., and Plate i a and i b.

The plate is one in number but is inscribed on both sides, the first containing eight and the second five lines of writing. It measures 6-3' by 4-3". It is a thin plate; nevertheless, the edges of it were not fashioned thicker for the protection of the writing. The letters have been engraved deeply, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a good state of preservation, though, in some places, its surface is corroded through rust. Originally a seal was attached, as is indicated by the projection on one side which is now but partly preserved. The weight of the plate, according to Basak is 11-½ tolas. The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, the test letters m, s, h and l being practically identical with those of the Allahabād pillar inscription. In regard to other palaeographical points connected with this inscription, attention may be drawn to the occurrence of (1) the initial vowel a in ar(a)hatha, line 7 and aprad-a, line 7; (2) u in uttara, line 11; (3) ē in ēvam, line 9; (4) of the sign for b in three cases, namely, Ṣāmabāla, line 6 and brāhmaṇa, line 6 correctly, but para-māttām-bā, line 12, incorrectly; (5) the peculiar form ॐ in bhūttāra, line 1; (6) the noteworthy manner in which the subscript ā is indicated, namely, by a hook attached to the lower right, of such letters as th, e.g., in -dhiṣṭhān-ādi-, line 4, g, e.g., in -yogāya, line 7, dh in, e.g., -dhāraṇa-, lines 10-11; (7) the form for the conjunct lma in brāhmaṇa-, line 6, which has, however, to be distinguished from an almost similar sign for ḥyā in -sahgrihyā, line 10; and (8) the peculiar form of ending m in kula-vāpām-ākam and daṭṭam, both in line 11. The characters also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols 4, 7, 20 and 100. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout, with the exception of the single imprecatory verse in lines 12-13. The only linguistic peculiarity that calls for notice is the use of the affix ka in some words, such as in anuvahamānaka, line 3, and niyuktaka, line 4. In respect of orthography we have to note (1) the doubling of k, th, and dh (the last two by t and d as required by the rules), p and m in conjunction with a preceding r, as in -candrārka, line 8, -sārthavāha, line 5, Paṇḍravardhanā- line 2, -Kartrapāṭha, line 6, -Vṛttravarmma, line 4, and -dharmmēṇa, line 9, and (2) the use of o for b and b for o, as in Vandalmitra, line 5, and para-māttām-bā, line 12.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Paramaśiva Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta that is, Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and twenty-four (442-43 A.D.), on the seventh day of Phalguna (February-March). Under Kumāragupta was Chirāṭadatta as Head (Uparika) of the Paṇḍravardhana province (bhukti); and in the Kōṭivarsha district (vishaya), under the latter the court (adhikaraṇa) of the Town (adhiṣṭhāna) was being administered by Kumārāmāya Vṛttravarna appointed by Chirāṭadatta, along with the Nagarā-śrīśthi Ḍhrīṭipāla, the Sārthavāha Bandhumitra, the Prathama-Kuḷika Ḍhrītimitra and the Prathama-Kāṣyapa. And the object of the inscription is to record the purchase of one kula-vāpā by a Brāhmaṇa, Karpaṭika by name, 1

1 For the explanation of these four terms, see Introduction, pp. 101-03.

2 Kula-vāpā consists of the words kula and vāpa. Vāpa was known as early as the time of Pāñjini who has referred to it in tasya vāpah (V.1.45) upon which Bhaṭṭojī Dikshita's gloss is as follows: upaśte asmin=i-ti vāpaḥ kṣhetram i prasthaya vāpah prāhikam i dhanikam i khārīkam i "Vāpa is that wherein is sown (a quantity of seed), that is, a field. Prāhikam, dhanikam or khārīkam is a field sown with (a quantity of grain measuring) a prasāh, dvāna or khārī." Similarly kula-vāpā must signify 'a field where is sown seed measuring one kula,' kula being equal to
for the purpose of his agnihotra rites. The Brāhmaṇa first made an application to the government of the Kōṭivarsha town. The land was, therefore, selected by the local record-keepers, three in number, and given to him after his payment of three dināras as its price.

From the inscription it appears that as early as the Gupta period Puṇḍravaradhana was the name of a bhūti or province and that Kōṭivarsha was one viṣaya or district comprised in it. Puṇḍravaradhana has been known ever since the time of the Maurya rulers, as is clear from the Mahāsthān inscription. Though there is no epigraphic evidence of an early epoch in favour of the antiquity of Kōṭivarsha, scriptural and Pauranic evidence is, by no means, wanting. Thus, the Jaina Kalpaśāstra mentions three sākhās of the Gōdāsa-gaṇa or Division of Jaina monks, one named after Puṇḍravaradhana, another after Kōṭivarsha and a third after Tāmrālipī, all situated in Bengal. The first of these was identified by Cunningham more than half a century ago with Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, West Bengal. In his account of Bhāṣu Bihār, four miles to the west of Mahāsthān, he remarks that the Buddhist remains at this place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Yuan Chhwang at the Po-ship-p’o monastery, which was situated just 20 li or 4 miles to the west of the capital of the country of Pan-ja-fa-tan-na which transcribes itself into Puṇḍravaradhana but is obviously intended for Puṇḍravaradhana. “This city,” says Cunningham, “the pilgrim places at 600 li, or 100 miles to the east of the Ganges, near Rājmahal. Now this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rājmahal and Mahāsthān, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former.” The suggestion of Cunningham was, before long, confirmed by the Karatāyāmāhātmya which was first published about half a century ago. This work mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthān; and, further, though it calls itself Karatāyāmāhātmya, it purports to describe the sacred sites of Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravaradhana-kshētra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthān is identical with the old Puṇḍravaradhana. There are good reasons to suppose that the Mahāsthāna could not have been composed later than 1100 A.D. We may thus, take it that the identity of Mahāsthān with Puṇḍravaradhana was known before the twelfth century A.D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by the Mahāsthāna inscription. It is, no doubt, a fragment of an inscription, but speaks of a Kōṣṭhāgāra or royal granary in existence at Puṇḍranagar. And as this fragmentary inscription was picked up from the ruins of Mahāsthān, it is obvious that they represent the vestiges of the old Puṇḍravaradhana. Kōṭivarsha also was an equally ancient place. It has been mentioned above that one sākhā of the Jaina Gōdāsa-gaṇa was

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8 drōnas according to lexicons. That there was the practice in ancient India of dividing land into fields according to the measures of seed that could be sown into them may be seen, e.g., from a Tāleśvar grant of Vishnuvarman, which speaks of Vajrashala-kshētra as kulyavāpa, Mālavaka-kshētra as kārīsūpa and so forth (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 119, lines 13-14). Further, Nālinikanta Bhattasali seems to be right in saying “the term Kudāva, equivalent to Bigha, the most current land-measure in Bengal, appears to be a corruption of the term kulyavāpa. The name survives in the form of Kuloʿa, the name of the standard land-measure in the Sylhet District” (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 79, note 2). Lastly, it is worthy of note that the terms vāpa and kulyavāpa occur also in Kauṭalya’s Arthasastra, I. 24.6. That vāpa means there ‘a field’ cannot possibly be doubted. But it is doubtful whether kulyavāpa of that text is equivalent to kulyavāpa, though according to Apte’s Dictionary, kulya means ‘a measure of grain equal to 8 drōnas.’


2 SBE., Vol. XXII, pp. 84-86.


5 This Māhātmya was edited for the second time and for the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, now Bangladesh, by Prabhas Chandra Sen, who rightly points out that one verse from it is cited by Sarvāṇanda (1159 A.D.) in his Tākṣāsirasva on the Amarāṅkṣa and two in the Smitichandrikā by Dēvanahēṣṭā who is himself quoted by Hēmādri (12th century) (Bemm. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 248-49). This shows that the Karatāyāmāhātmya is a composition which cannot be later than 1100 A.D.
DÄMÖDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I:
THE YEAR 124

G. S. Gai
From photographs
named after Kōṭivarsha. Kōṭivarsha is also mentioned by the Vāyu-Purāṇa† as the place where the twenty-fifth incarnation of Śiva took place. The Abhidhānachintāmaṇī‡ of Hēma-
chandra and the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa§ of Purushottamaśeṣa give Dēvīkōṭa, Ushāvana, Bānapura and Śoṇitapura as other names of Kōṭivarsha. There is a place in the West Dinajpur District of West Bengal called Bāṅgarh or Bāṅ-nagar¶ which is full of ancient remains and which is said to be the capital of the celebrated Asura ruler, Bāna, father of Ushā. And, further, this Bāṅgarh is still locally known as Dēvīkōṭa. This indicates that Kōṭivarsha, the headquarters of a district falling under Puṇḍravardhana bhukti, is to be identified with this Bāṅgarh or Dēvīkōṭa. Kōṭivarsha as a district (vishaya) persisted as late as the Pāla period, and, Puṇḍra-
vardhana, as a bhukti, even later, that is, in the Sēna period.

TEXT

[Metre: Verse 1 Anuṣṭubh.]

First Side

1 Samva 100 20 4 Phālguna6 di 7 Paramadaivata-Paramabhaṭṭaraka-Mahārāj[ā]-
2 dhirāja-Śri-Kumārāguptē pṛthivipatau tat-pāda-parigṛhitē Puṇḍravardha-
[na*].
3 bhuktd7=Uparika-Chirātadātēn8=ānuvalavānaka9 Kōṭivarsha-vishayē cha ta-
4 n-niyuktaka-Kumārāmātya-Vētravrmmany10=adhishṭāṇ-ādhi11karaṇān=cha-
5 Nagaraśṛṣṭhi-
6 Dhrītipāla-Sāṛttavāha-Vandhu12mitra-Prathamakulika-Dhrītimitra-Prathamakā-
[ya*].
7 stha-Śambapāla-purōgē saṃvyavaharati yataḥ brāhmaṇa-Karppaṭikēṇa13
8 vijāpitam[ar]aḥraha mam=āgniḥōtri-āpayōgāya aprad-āprahata-khi-
9 la-kṣhētra[m] traidinārikya-kulyavāpēṇa14 śāsvatā[d=ā]-chandr-ārkka-tāraka-
10 bhōjyē

Second Side

9 yā15 nīvī-dharmmēṇa dātum=iti ēvaṁ diyaṭām=ity=utpannē trīṇi16 dinā[rāṇy =
10 u*].
11 pasīṅgrīhyā yataḥ Pustapāla-Riṣidatta-Jayanandī-Vibhudattānām=avadhā-}
12 rāṇayā Īōṅgāyā uttarapaścīṇaddēśe17 kulyavāpam=ēkam18 dattam18 [u*]

† Chap. XXIII, v. 209.
‡ Chap. IV, verse 977.
§ II. 197.
¶ CASIR., Vol. XV, p. 95.
1 Read Phālguna.
2 Read -gṛhitēna.
3 Read -bhuktēn=Uparika-.
4 Read -Chirātadātēn=.
5 Read =ānuvalavānaka.
6 Read -Vētravrmmany=.
7 Read =adhishṭāṇ-ādhi-.
8 Read -Bandhu-.
9 Read =Karpapāṭikēṇa.
10 Read =vāpēṇa.
11 Read -bhāgyatāyā.
12 Read trīni.
13 Read -paścīnaddēśē.
14 The ending m is here expressed by a symbol.
15 The ending h is here expressed by a symbol.
12 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ— bāḥ 1 yō harēta vasuṇḍhāraṁ [1*] bhūmi5-[dāna]-saṁva (ba)dhā[ɦ*] ślokā bhava[nū]
13 sa vishṭhāyaṁ krimir4=bhātvā pitṛibhi5 saha pachayate [11 1*] [i*]ti [11*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) The year is 100 (and) 20 (and) 4 (the month) Phālguna, the day 7, while Paramadaiva-vata Paramabhatrārka Maḥārajādhirāja, the prosperous Kumāragupta is the lord of the earth; and while the Kōṭivarsha district is running on with (the rule of) Chirātadatta, an Uparika of the Puṇḍravardhana province, selected by His (Majesty’s) feet; and while Kumārāmātya Vētravarman, appointed by him (Chirātadatta), is administering the Board of the town7 presiding over the Nagara-srēṣṭhīn Dhrītīpāla, the Sārthāvāka Bandhumitra, the Prathama-Kukī Dhrītīmitra (and) the Prathama-Kāyasṭha8 Śambapāla.

(Lines 6-9) Whereas the Brāhmaṇa Karpaṭikā has applied: “Deign to make over a strip of wasteland,9 unploughed (and) not yielding (anything), for being used for my Agnīkōṭra rites, at the rate of three dināras a kalyāvāpa, to be enjoyed (by me) for ever, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars (endure), in accordance with the nīśidharmā;10

1 Read -dattāṁ vā.
2 Read -dharāṁ.
3 This should have preceded the imprecatory verse.
4 Read krimir=.  
5 Read pitṛiḥ.
6 The phrase in this record is -Chirātadattēṁ—ānuvahāṁnaka-Kōṭivarsha-sīhāyē. In No. 24, below, it is -Chirātadattēṁ—ānuvahāṁnaka-Kōṭivarsha-sīhāyē. In No. 41, below, it is -jagadattēṁ—ānuvahāṁnaka-Kōṭivarsha-sīhāyē; and in No. 47, below, -rājapātra-dēva-bhāttārakasya hastī-āśī-ōva-bhūgī—ānuvahāṁnaka-Kōṭivarsha-sīhāyē. In every one of the last three cases which are perfectly analogous with the first one, ānuvahāṁnaka is preceded by bhūgī. The phrase in our record should, therefore, be corrected into Chirātadatta-bhūgī—ānuvahāṁnaka. Ānuvahāṁnaka, of course, means ‘flowing on, running on.’ Bhūgī has several senses, one of which is ‘rule, governance, authority,’ a sense which is supported by the phraseology hastī-āśī-ōva-bhūgī— occurring in No. 47, below. Perhaps, a better rendering of bhūgī would be ‘enjoyment (of power).’

Adhikaraṇaṁ ... satvyavaharati is taken by Basak to mean “administering the government etc.” (Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 131). This view is dissented from by R. C. Majumdar. “It appears to me, however,” says he, “that the question, here, is not general administration, but merely the administration of justice. This follows from the ordinary meanings of the terms adhikaraṇa and yuvacara, viz., ‘court of law’ and ‘administration of justice,’ and I do not see any reason why these words should be stretched to cover the idea of general administration” (Corporate Life in Ancient India, 2nd ed., pp. 64-65). In 1903-04, when T. Bloch excavated a site at Basāṭī, the ancient Vaisāli, he lighted upon many seals of the early Gupta period, bearing such legends as: Kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya, yuvacara-bhāṭārakā-pādiya-bal-ādhikaraṇasya, Śī-ramahēṃḍe-gar-ādhikaraṇasya, Dāṇḍapāṇi-ādhikaraṇasya, and so forth (A.R. ASI, 1903-04, pp. 107 ff). This shows that the term adhikaraṇa was used in the sense of ‘Kachahrī’ in the early Gupta epoch, that is, ‘any court or board of administration, judicial, customary, ecclesiastical or military.’

8 These four officers did not constitute a Board of Advisers to help Vētravarman, but rather all the five formed the Administrative Board for the governance of the Kōṭivarsha town. The Board must have been something like a Pāthakula or Panchāyat for the town so frequently referred to in the mediaeval inscriptions of North India; compare e.g., tan-nījukta-mahāni Gejjaśa-prabhiḥ-panchakula-pratipatānu (Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 57, lines 5-6). It is worthy of note that Vētravarman is designated Kumārāmātya, and not Vishayapati. It is only in No. 47 below, that we find a Vishayapati mentioned as the Head of the Administrative Board of the District Town. For the explanation of the terms Kumārāmātya, Nagaravāṣṭhān and so forth, see Introduction, pp. 101 ff.

9 Sanskrit lexicons make kīla synonymous with aprahata. Here, however, a distinction is sought to be made. Aprahata is ‘allow land,’ but kīla apparently denotes ‘land never tilled.’

10 In II.9.80, Amara makes nīvī, pariṣṭha and mālādhana as synonymous terms; and in III.3.312, he assigns to the word the two senses of stri-kaṭī-vāstra-bandha and pariṣṭha. A commentary called Mukula, however, distinguishes between pariṣṭha and mālādhana. The first is rājapātra-adēr-bandhōk, ‘giving of a prince etc., as a hostage,’ and the second, vajyam mālādhāna, ‘the capital or principal invested with traders.’ Haima also gives these three different senses to that term by saying nīvī stri-kaṭī-vāstra-bandhānā māla-dracgā pariṣṭanā (see in the Nāmalāṅgāśūlayana published by the Nāmālaṅga-sāgara Press, the commentary on III.3.312). The word nīvī occurs also in other records.
MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRGUPTA I: THE YEAR 125

(Lines 9-11) It being resolved that it might be granted, one kalyāvāpa (of land) was given (him) on acceptance of three dināras in the region north-west of Dōṅgā according to the determination of the record-keepers, Riśidatta, Jayanandin and Vibhudatta.

(Line 12) The stanzas connected with grants of land are:

(Verse 1) "He, who takes away land given by himself or by others, having become a worm in excreta, rots with his forefathers."

NO. 23 : PLATE XXIII

MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRGUPTA I : THE YEAR 125

The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken sandstone image which was discovered, some years ago, while digging for the foundation of a room in the Collector's office at Mathurā, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Uttar Pradesh. It is now deposited in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura (accession No. 64.12). The proper right portion of the pedestal of the image, which appears to be that of a standing Buddha, is broken away resulting in the loss of some letters at the beginning of the first two lines and of all the letters in the third line. The inscription was noticed in A.R. Ep., 1965-66, as No. B 677 and was edited by V. N. Srivastava in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 153-54 and plate.

The characters belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet. The language is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography, it may be noted that the consonant following r is re-duplicated; e.g. in sarva, line 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. It is dated in the year 125, and the ninth day of the month Āśvayuja. When referred to the Gupta era, this date would fall in 444-45 A.D. The inscription is benedictory in nature and its object is to record the gift of the image by a native of Mathurā whose name is damaged, the extant portion reading mṛadāśa-bhaṭṭa. So his name seems to have been Kumāradāśabhaṭṭa. The inscription is important as it is the only dated epigraph from Mathurā, known so far, referring to the reign of Kumāragupta. It is also the only known Gupta record referring to Mathurā.

The only geographical name which occurs is Mathurā and is evidently modern Mathurā from where the record is found.

of the Gupta period; thus nित्यārtha-क्षेत्रा, line 7 of No. 19 above and अख्या-निम्ती, line 26 of No. 33 below and line 3 of CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 62. The latter word occurs in earlier inscriptions also, e.g., in Nasik cave inscriptions No. 12, line 4; No. 13, line 8 (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 82 and 88). R. G. Bhandarkar was the first to translate this phrase by 'permanent endowment' (Trans. Inter. Cong. Ori., 1876, pp. 331-32). We may, therefore, assign the following significations to (1) nित्य, (2) अख्या-निम्ती and (3) नित्य-धर्मा. Nित्य by itself denotes the capital, principal or stock. It could be put into any business temporarily or permanently. If it is placed permanently, it becomes अख्या-निम्ती and the interest accruing from it may be utilised for the maintenance of charities from generation to generation, as we learn from the Nasik cave inscriptions. But the characteristic (धर्मा) of money made by (नित्य) was that it fetched interest (व्रद्धि) whether it was deposited temporarily or perpetually. And in the present instance if the phrase नित्य-धर्मा has any meaning, what seems to have been done is that the Brāhmaṇa did not own the land but rather held it in perpetuity in exchange for the three dināras deposited with the State. The copper-plate does not thus actually represent the sale deed in the ordinary sense of the phrase, because the State was the owner of it.

TEXT

1. ....śr[1]-Kumāraguptasya v[ija]-r[a]-ja-sa[r]-mva[t]\(^2\) 100 20 5\(^\ddagger\) [Ā]śvayuja-
2. māradāśa\(^4\) bha[tta-vijñāyamānya[\(\ddagger\)] yad=a[tra] puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu mātā-
pitṛōh sarvva-sa[r]*]tvānāṁ ch=ānuttara-
3. ..................\(^5\) ||

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) In the year 125 of the victorious reign of the illustrious Kumāragupta, on the 9th day of the month of Āśvayuja, when this was the detailed order of the date, (this is the) gift of [Ku]māradāśabhaṭṭa, a native of Mathurā.

Whatever religious merit (there is) in this (act), let it be (for the acquisition of) supreme (knowledge) by (his) parents and by all sentient beings.

No. 24: PLATE XXIV

DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRA GUPTA I: THE YEAR 128

This inscription was discovered in the village of Dāmōdarpur, about eight miles west of the Police Station Phulbāri in West Dinajpur District, West Bengal, in the same circumstances as No. 22 above. It also is now deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, now Bangladesh. And it was edited by Radhagovinda Basak in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 132 ff. and Plate ii a and ii b. The date, however, had been wrongly read by him and was corrected by K. N. Diśkhit in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 193.

The plate is one in number but is inscribed on both sides, the first containing eight and the second five lines of writing as in No. 22 above. It measures 6\(^\ddagger\) x 3-\(^\ddagger\). The edges thereof have not been raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The plate is thicker than that described in No. 22 above, but the letters are less deeply incised. The plate has been generally damaged through corrosion and considerably in a portion of the proper left side, especially a few letters in lines 5-10. Though the work of decipherment has thus become a very difficult task, the wellnigh obliterated letters can be restored with some confidence with the help of the plate transcribed in No. 22 above and other sister plates. The weight of the plate, according to Basak, is 15-\(\frac{1}{10}\) tolas. The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet precisely as remarked about the previous plate (No. 22 above). The other palaeographical points that deserve notice are also the same as in the other plate, namely, (1) the occurrence of the initial vowel a as in adhikṣṭāṇa, line 4, ar̥thā, line 6, and api, line 11; (2) the initial ē as in ēṭad-, line 7, and ēṭasmād=, line 8, and (3) the peculiar sign for the subscript ā by a hook attached to the lower right of the letter dh, as in dhāraya, line 8, and =vvasudhā, line 12. The characters also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols 3, 8, 10, 20 and 100. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout.

\(^1\) From impressions.
\(^2\) Read samvatsāre.
\(^3\) This figure is slightly damaged.
\(^4\) The reading may be restored as Kumāradāśa.
\(^5\) All the letters in this line are lost.
MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA I: YEAR 125

G. S. Gai

From photograph
DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA: YEAR 128

excepting the two benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 11-13. The only linguistic peculiarity that calls for notice is the use of the affix ka, as in the previous plate, in words anuwahamānaka, and niyukta in line 3. In respect of orthography we have to note (1) the doubling of t, dh (by d as required by the rules), m, y and v in conjunction with a preceding r as in the previous plate, -pravarttanāy = -ā, line 6, Puṇḍravardhanā-, line 2, -varmaṇi, line 4, dharma-, line 10, maryādāya, line 7, pārve-, line 11, and vañbhir = vasādhā, line 12, but not of th as in -Sārthavāha-, line 4, (2) the use of m instead of anuvāra in conjunction with a following v as in samyavaharutā, line 5, samyavahārībhīh line 10 and samvaddha, line 11, and (3) the use of v for b as in -Vandhumitra-, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Paramadaicitva Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, that is Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Its date, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and twenty-eight (446-47 A.D.), on the thirteenth day of Vaisākha (April-May). The Officers in charge of the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti and of the Kacheri of the town (ādhisṭhāna) of Koṭivarshā were precisely the same as those specified in No. 22 above. The object of the inscription is to record the purchase of a piece of land measuring five drōnas made by a Brāhmaṇa whose name is indecipherable owing to the badly corroded condition of the plate, for the purpose of conducting the five daily sacrifices (pañča-mahāyajña), after undergoing the same official procedure as that detailed in the last plate. The land granted was situated in the western quarter in a waterless region (airāwata) devoid of cattle (agu) but had comprised water-drawing wheels (araghatās) and drinking-places (pānakas).

As for the five drōnas of land two dināras were paid and as the rate for one kulya-āpa was three dināras, it is obvious that the kulya in this part of the province was equivalent to 7-1/2 drōnas and not 8 as appears from other records.

**TEXT**

[Metre : Verses 1-2 Anusṭabh]

**First Side**

1 Sa[m*] 100 20 8 Vaisākha-di 10 3 Para[mādaiva]ta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-

Mahārājādhirāja-[Śri]-[Kumāraguptē]

2 Prithivipatau [tat-pāda]-parigrihausta Pu[ṇḍra]vardhana-bhuktv = Upa[rika-

Chitrāṭadatta[sva]y]


4 varmaṇi adhishṭhānā- ḍ[ha]ka[naḥ = cha] Nagara- [śrē]ṣṭhi-Dhṛtipāla-Sārtha-

vā[ha-Vandhumita]tra[ṛ] Prā[tha]

5 makulika-Dhṛtimitra-Prathamakāya-stha-[Saṃva]pāla[3- purō[gē] samyava[hara]ti...

6 vijāpitaun a[ra]tha mama pa[ṇcha]-mahāyajña-pravarattanāy = ānuvitt-āprad-

āṣkaya-ni ...[4]

7 maryādayā dātum = iti [1*] ėtad = vijāpyam = upalabhya pustapā[ła]-Riśidatta-

Jayāṇa[ṇi-Vi] ... ...[5]

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[1] Read "mānakē".
[2] Read "Bandhumitra".
[3] Read "Śombopāla".
[4] This may perhaps be restored to "nīc-t-dharma".
[5] This may be restored to "Vikhudattānāṃ = ava".
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS


Second Side

10 aragh[ā][ta]-pānaṃasi = cha sahit = ēti datṭāḥ [†*] tad = uṭṭara-kālaṁ samvyavaharibhiḥ [dharmanm = avēkṣhav = ānu[ma]-
11 ntavyāḥ [†*] api cha bhūmi-dāna-samvaddhām = imaau ślokau bhavataḥ [†*] Pūrvvadattāṁ dvijatī[bhyā]
12 yatnād = rakṣa Yudhishṭhīra [†*] mahī mahīvatāṁ śrēśṭha dānāḥ = chhrēyō = nupālanaṁ [†*] Vahūhīr7 = vvasudhā datā dī[ya]tē cha
13 punāḥ punaḥ [†*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā phalam = i(lam [† 2*] i)ti [†*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-5) The year (is) 100 (and) 20 (and) 8, (the month) Vaiśākha, the day 7, while Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhīraja the prosperous Kumārgupta is the lord of the earth; (and) while the Kōṭīvarsha District is running on with the rule of Chirātadatta, Uparika in the Paṇḍravardhana province, selected by His (Majesty's) feet; and while Kumārāmāya Vētravarm, appointed by him (Chirātadatta), is administering the Board of the Town, presiding over the Nagara-śrēśthīn Dhṛtitāla, the Sārthavāha Bandhumitra, the Prathama-kulika Dhṛtimitra, (and) the Prathama Kāyaśtu Śāmbapālā.

(Lines 5-7) Whereas . . . has applied: “Deign to give (a plot of land) according to the customary (anuvṛtta) rules (māryādā) of perpetual (nīvī Law) in respect of (land) not yielding anything (apradā) for instituting my five great sacrifices (paṇcha-mahāyaṉa),”

(Lines 7-11) “After receiving this application, is being resolved that it might be granted

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1 Perhaps the letter preceding -rājyē is gu, and not gā as read by Basak.
2 Read -paśchima-.  
3 These seem to be the words intended, which are not controverted by anything that remains visible of them on the plate. Basak, however, reads paṇcha-drō[ṇa][sa]mā[ha][t][a]-pānakaśi = cha which words make no sense.
4 Read -saḥit īti.
5 Read -semhaḍdhāv = imaau.
6 Read mahīvatāṁ.
7 Read Bahūhīr =.
8 Basak translates the passage as follows: “Deign to make a gift (of land) according to the established rule—(for disposing of lands) by destroying the condition of apradākṣaya (nīvī) (non-transferability), for the conducting of my five daily sacrifices——.” In support of this translation he says the following in a foot-note: “In the light of the expression apradā-dharmēṣa in plate No. 5 (No. 47 below, in the place of nīvī dharmēṣa) the phrase apradākṣaya may here be explained as in the case of ’nīvī dharma-kṣaya’, thus, land could not, unless so conditioned, be alienated or transferred without state permission, after being once sold for the purpose of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa or a god. We might equally well read the phrase as apradākṣaya.”
9 These have been explained in Mana, III, 68-71, “A householder has five slaughter-houses (at it were, viz.,) the hearth (chullī), the grinding-stone (pēśhāṇī), the bower (upāskara), the pestle and mortar (kanjāṇi), the water-vessel (udo-kumhā), by using which he is bound (with the fetters of sin). For the purpose of expiating them all in succession, the great sages have prescribed the five great sacrifices for the daily (performance) of the householders. Teaching is sacrifice to Brahman (Brahma-yajña); offering of waters and food (taptāṇa) is sacrifice to the Manes (pitrī-yajña); burnt oblation (hōma) is (Sacrifice) to Gods (Daiva); Ball offering is (Sacrifice) to Bhūtas; (and) hospitable reception of guests (aitithi-pūjana) is Sacrifice to men (nṛṣ-yajña).”
DĀMÒDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I:
THE YEAR 128

G. S. Gai
From photographs
according to the determination of the record-keepers Riśidatta, Jayanandin and Vibhudatta, five ḍrōṇas of land were given together with drinking-places and water-drawing wheels, on acceptance of two dināras, and the established rate of three dināras of each kūlyavāpa, in the western quarter, in the waterless region destitute of cows. These ḍrōṇas (of land) should be respected by the future administrators, considering (them) to be a religious gift."

(Line 11) And there are these two stanzas connected with grants of land.

(Verse 1) Carefully preserve the land that has already been given to the twice-born (Brāhmaṇaṇa) Yudhisṭhira, the best of land-owners. Preservation is more meritorious than grant (of land).

(Verse 2) Land has been granted, and will again and again be granted by many. (But) the fruit (of such grant) belongs to whosoever possesses the earth at any time.

No. 25 : PLATE XXV

MANKUWĀR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I:
THE YEAR 129

This inscription was discovered in 1870 by Bhagwanlal Indraji, and appears to have been first brought to notice by General Cunningham in 1880, in the C.A.S.I.R., Vol. X, p. 7, where he published his own reading of the text, accompanied by a lithograph (ibid., Plate IV, No. 2). And, in 1885, Bhagwanlal Indraji published his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, in J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVI, p. 354. It was afterwards edited by J. F. Fleet in C.I.I., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 45 ff. and Plate VI A.

Mankuwar² is a small village near the right bank of the Jamunā, about nine miles in a south-western direction from Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Parganā in the Kar- chhanā Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District in Uttar Pradesh. The inscription is on the front of the pedestal of a seated image of the Buddha, which, when it came to the notice of General Cunningham, was in a garden at Mankuwar, belonging to the Gōsāli of Deoriya³ or Dēvariya. But it is said to have been originally discovered in a brick mound between the five rocky hillocks called Paṇch-Pahāḍ, a short distance to the north-east of Mankuwar. The image represents the Buddha, seated; wearing a plain cap, fitting close to the head, with long lappets on each side; and naked to the waist, and clad below in a waist-cloth reaching to the ankles. The first line of the inscription is at the top of the pedestal, immediately below the image. Then comes a compartment of sculptures, containing in the centre, a Buddhist wheel; on each side of the wheel, a man seated in meditation, and facing full-front; and, at each corner, a lion. Then follows the second line of the inscription at the bottom of the pedestal. The image has now been deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow.

The writing, each line covering a space of about 1' 7" broad, by 3" high in the first line, and 1' in the second, is in a state of excellent preservation. The size of the letters varies from 3" to 7'". The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, and approximate very closely to those of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, above.

¹ Aiṁśat-āgu-rājyē paśchima-dīśā has been translated by Basak as “in the west of Aiṁśata(?).” But one of the meanings given by Apte’s Dictionary to Aiṁśata is ‘a vast and waterless region.’ This suits here excellently. In that case we have to read Aiṁśat-āgu-rājyē, where āgu can be easily taken to signify ‘destitute of cows, poor.’ Such a tract of land must have been interpersed with ‘drinking-places and water-drawing wheels.’

² The ‘Mankuwar and Mankowar’ of maps, etc.; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 88, Lat. 25° 19’ N.; Long. 81° 52’ E.

³ The ‘Deoriya and Deorya’ of maps, etc.; about a mile to the north-west of Mankuwar, Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name ‘Devaliā.’
Plate I. The peculiar form of ending *m in praḥāvārththam, line 2, is noteworthy. They include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 8, 9, 10, 20 and 100. The language is Mixed Dialect; and the inscription is in prose. The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Imperial Gupta king Kumāragupta I. For some reason or other, it gives him the subordinate feudatory title of Mahārāja, instead of the paramount title of Mahārājādhīrāja. But we know of no feudatory chieftain of the name of Kumāragupta; and the date fits exactly into the period of Kumāragupta I, of the Imperial Gupta dynasty; and there can be no doubt that he is the person referred to. The use of the subordinate title is most probably due to carelessness or ignorance on the part of the drafter of the inscription. “Or possibly it may indicate,” says Fleet, “an actual historical fact, the reduction of Kumāragupta towards the end of his life, to feudal rank by the Pushyamitras and the Hūnas, whose attacks on the Gupta power are so pointedly alluded to in the Bhātari inscription of Skandagupta” (No. 31 below). But this seems very unlikely, because the political disturbances alluded to in that inscription appear to have taken place, not in, but after, the reign of Kumāragupta I. The date of the inscription, in numerical symbols, is the year one hundred and twenty nine (448-49 A.D.), and the eighteenth day, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month Jyēṣṭha (May-June). It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the installation of the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The image, we are told, was installed by the monk Buddhāmitra; and as the Buddha is here described as svā-mat-āviruddha, ‘uncontroverted in respect of his own tenets,’ it shows, says K. B. Pathak, “that this Bhikshu Buddhāmitra of the Mankuvaṛ inscription was identical with the Buddhāmitra who was the teacher of Vasubandhu,” whose “patrons mentioned by Paramārtha were Skandagupta-Vikramaditya and Narasimhagupta-Bālāditya.” But in this connection we have to take note also of the attributives used with reference to the Buddha in the Mathurā pedestal inscription, namely, bhagavatō pitāmahasya Sammya[k°]-sambuddhasya svā-matasya dēvasya. Every one of the words occurring in this phraseology is an attributive of Samyakṣambuddha. It will not, therefore, be a correct procedure to take svā-matasya as an adjective of dēvasya, and translate it by “(her) favourite deity,” as has been done by the late Dayaram Sahni who edited the inscription. In fact, svā-mata of the above phraseology seems identical with svā-mata of the expression svā-mat-āviruddhasya found in our record. What can svā-mata mean? It seems that from this phrase has somehow originated the name, Śāṃmīṭīya, of a well-known sect and school of Buddhism. Nobody has yet been able to give any satisfactory derivation of Śāṃmīṭīya. It is met with for the first time in a Sarnath epigraph. It is transcribed as Sa[m]{mi}ṭīyanām by Vogel. The impression, however, shows that the first two letters are so-emā. It seems eva has been wrongly tacked on to ny(a). This is indicated by a thin indentation joining eva to the preceding sa. So we perhaps have to read here svāmyatiyanām, which appears to be intended for svāmatiyanān. And Svāmatiyya can easily run into Śāṃmīṭīya. The question that now arises is: What did the original Svāmatiyya mean? That it is derived or is derivable from svamata can scarcely be doubted. But why should the Buddhist school be called Svamata or Svāmatiya? This has been explained above, Introduction, pp. 141-42.

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1 We may compare the legend on the copper coins of Chandragupta II, Mahārājā-Chandraguptaḥ (Allan, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, p. 52).
2 [D. C. Sircar reads this date as 100 0 9 i.e. 109 (JAIH, Vol. III, p. 135). But we do not agree with him.—Ed.]
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, p. 244.
GADHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

TEXT

1 Ōm² Namō Budhāna³ [†] Bhagavatō samyak-sambuddhasya sva-mat-āviruddhasya iyāṁ pratīmā pratīṣṭhāpitā bhikshu-Buddhamitrēṇa

2 Samvat 100 20 9 mahārāja-śrī-Kumāraguptasya rājyē Ḫyēṣṭha-māsa di 10 8 sarvva-duḥkkha⁴-prahān-ārttham⁵ [†]

TRANSLATION

Ōm ! Obeisance to the Buddhas! This image of the Divine One, who completely attained to perfect enlightenment, (and) who was uncontroversed in respect of his tenets, has been installed by the Bhikshu Buddhmitra, (in) the year 100 (and) 20 (and) 9; in the reign of the Mahārāja, the glorious Kumāragupta; (in) the month Ḫyēṣṭha; (on) the day 10 (and) 8, for the purpose of averting all sufferings.

No. 26 : PLATE XXVI

GADHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

This is the last of the inscriptions on the stone discovered by Rājā Śiva Prasād, in 1871-72, at Gadhwa, in the Allahābād District, Uttar Pradesh. It was first brought to notice, in 1873, by General Cunningham, who published his reading of the text in the CASIR., Vol. III, p. 55, accompanied by a lithograph (ibid., Plate XX, No. 1). It was afterwards edited by J. F. Flect in CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 39 ff. and Pl. IV C.

This inscription is on the lower part of the proper left side of the stone, immediately below the inscription of Chandragupta II, No. 8 above, from which it is separated only by a line across the stone.

The last half of each line has been entirely broken away and lost. The remnant of the writing, however, covering a space of about 4° broad by 10° high, is fairly well preserved and easy to read. The average size of the letters is about 4°. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of practically the same type as those of No. 8 above.

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¹ From the ink-impression.
² As usual throughout the whole of the period covered by this volume, this word is represented by a symbol, not by actual letters. Ōm is not of very frequent occurrence at the commencement of Buddhist inscriptions. But another instance is afforded by line I of the Shergaḍh (Kotāh) inscription of the Sāmanta Dēvadatta dated Vikrama 847 (D. R. Bhandarkar’s A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, No. 21).
³ The term Budhāna after namō and bhagavatō immediately preceding samyak-sambuddhasya are relics of the Monumental Prakrit which survived in what is called Mixed Dialect, so commonly used in the Buddhist and Jaina inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. The use again of genitive after namō is common enough in Monumental Prakrit, e.g., in the Hāḍhigumpha cave inscription of Khārabāla, which commences with Namō Ārihantāṇainam namō saha-siddhānnaṁ (Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 79), in the Mathurā record beginning with Namō Arahato Mahāvīraṁ (Ibid., Vol. II, p. 200, No. 8), in the Am-&ravati stūpa inscription, opening with Sīdham Namō bhagavatō saha-sattanasa Buddhāṁ (ASSI., Vol. III; Notes on the Am&ravati Stūpa, p. 12, No. 12 B) and others too numerous to mention.
⁴ Read duḥkha.
⁵ Read prahān-ārttham.
⁶ Om is an auspicious exclamation, used at the beginning of books, etc. It is made up of the three letters a, u and m; and in later times it was looked upon as a mystic name for the Hindu triad, and as representing the union of the three gods, Vishnu (a), Śiva (u), and Brahman (m). The efficacy of the exclamation is detailed in the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, ii, verses 74-83 (Bühler’s Translation, SBE., Vol. XXV, pp. 43-44).
⁷ With this plural, compare the mention of four Buddhas in the Śaṅchi inscription of the year 131 (CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 62, Plate XXXVIII b) and also Bhagavatānī samyak-sambhūdhānām Buddhānām, “of the divine Buddhas, who attained to complete enlightenment” in line 22 of the Wāla grant of Dhruvasena I. (Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 105).
Fleet goes so far as to say that Nos. 8 and 17 above and 26 are probably engraved by the same hand. It also presents the western variety in this record. This and Nos. 8 and 17 above can, therefore, be of the same hand. Further, the characters include, in lines 3 and 6, forms of the numerical symbol for 10. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit; and its composition is in prose throughout. The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Imperial Gupta king Kumāragupta. The date, however, except in respect of the day, is broken away and lost. So little remains of the inscription that the form of religion or sect to which it belongs cannot be determined; nor can the object of it; except that it seems to record two gifts, one of ten dināras, and the other of an uncertain number, as contributions, apparently to some Brahmans from Sadāsatra.

TEXT

1 Jitāṇ bhagavata i Pa[ra][mabhāgavata-mahārājādhirājaj-]
2 śrī-Kumā[r]agu[pta]ssya2 rā[j][jyasamvatsara*]. ......
3 divasē 10 [as][yāṁ divasa-pūrva-vyāṁ*]. ......
4 rā Pā[ti]lu[tra]. ......
5 ...... Sadās[t*]ra-sā[mā][nya*]. ......
6 [da*][ttā] di[nā]rāh 10 ta(?). ......
7 ti satrē cha dinārās-tray. [.||*][Yaś=-ch-≈aināṁ dharma-skandhaṁ vyuchchhi*-]
8 ndyāt =~sa pañcha-mahāpā[takalīḥ sarīyuktāḥ syād=iti ||*]
9 Gōyindā-lakshmā. ......

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vāsudēva). In the year) of the (Gupta) Rule, pertaining to the prosperous Kumāragupta, the Mahārājādhirāja, an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva) on the day 10; when this (was the specification of the date):

(Lines 3-7) ...... Pātaliputra ...... the township of Sadāsatra ...... ten dināras were given in the almshouse (called) ...... three dināras ......

(Lines 7-8) [And whosoever breaks up this bit of charity shall become infected] with the Five Great Sins.

(Line 9) Sign-manual of Gōyindā.

No. 27 : PLATE XXVII

BASĀŘH CLAY SEAL INSCRIPTION OF GHAṬOTKACHAGUPTA

This seal also was, like that described in No. 13 above, discovered by the late T. Bloch, when, as Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, he carried on ex-

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1 Expressed by a horizontal stroke.
2 Read -Kumāraguptasya.
3 Curiously, this line has not been read at all by Fleet.
4 This line seems to have been written in a different hand, though the letters are of the same period. Possibly it may be the sign-manual of the donor.
5 See p. 253, note 3 above.
6 See p. 246, note 1 above.
7 See p. 253, note 3 above.
8 See p. 241, note 1 above.
9 See p. 247, note 1 above.
GADHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

G. S. Gai

From photograph
cavations at Basar or Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar, in the cold season of 1903-04. Only one specimen came to light. He published the reading and translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, in A. R. ASI, 1903-04, p. 107, No. 2, and Plate XLI, 14. The seal is now deposited in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The seal is oval in shape, marked by a single border-line preserved all along except at the extreme proper right and measuring 1-\(\frac{1}{4}\) by \(\frac{3}{4}\). It is difficult to say to what variety of the Gupta alphabet the characters belong, because though there, as on the seal described in No. 13 above, is of the eastern type characterised by a loop on the left, the other test letters, \(m\) and \(h\), would have been found to be of the western variety as on the latter, had any such letters formed part of the legend of the present seal. The average size of the letters is about \(\frac{3}{16}\). The language is Sanskrit; and the legend is in prose. Orthography calls for no remarks.

The seal is one of Ghaṭotkachagupta. According to Bloch, he is “perhaps identical with the Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha, the father of Chandragupta I.” This view was adopted by V. A. Smith not only in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1905, p. 153 and the Early History of India (2nd ed.), p. 266, note 2, but also in the Early History of India (3rd ed. 1914), p. 280, note 1. Allan, however, holds a different opinion. “It is remarkable in the first place,” says he, “that, if Ghaṭotkaca were known as Ghaṭotkacagupta, he should not be given this name in any known inscription.” This, however, is not a very convincing argument. Nevertheless, he is strong in advancing the further argument that he has done in support of his position. “We must further consider,” he continues, “the date of the seals found at Vaiśālī, along with that of Ghaṭotkacagupta. The most important of these, and the one which gives the key to the date of the whole collection, is a seal of the ‘Māhādevī Dhruvavāṁini, queen of the Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta [II], and mother of the Mahārāja Govindagupta’. Dhruvavāṁini is clearly the Dhruvadēvi of the inscriptions, and the date of the seal may be placed towards the end of the reign of Chandragupta II, the latter being still alive, and Govindagupta governor of Vaiśālī for his father. Many of the seals are clearly those of contemporaries officials of Govindagupta’s court. D. R. Bhandarkar is apparently right in suggesting that the place where the seals were found was the office of the person entrusted with the duty of making seals. It is most unlikely that he would have in his possession a seal of a king who had lived nearly a century before, particularly as no seals were found which might be assured to be intermediate in date. There is really no reason, then, to identify Ghaṭotkaca with Ghaṭotkacagupta of the seal.” This line of reasoning is worthy of acceptance except in one minor respect, because Allan contends that the seal of Ghaṭotkachagupta has to be placed about the end of the reign of Chandragupta II. We have now seen that the Tumain inscription of Kumāragupta I (No. 20, above) gives Gupta year 116 as a date for both this Gupta sovereign and one Ghaṭotkachagupta who apparently was his son and governor of Airikīna. This date is not far removed from Gupta year 96 which is the last date we have for Chandragupta II. Everything, thus, tends to support the view that the Ghaṭotkachagupta of our seal is identical with the Ghaṭotkachagupta of the Tumain inscription. It is, however, somewhat doubtful whether he is the same as the Ghaṭotkachagupta for whom there is a coin in the St. Petersburg collection. Allan, however, is emphatic on this point. In his opinion, “the style and weight of the coin place it about the end of the fifth century,” and hence, “the coin in question cannot be attributed to the Ghaṭotkacagupta” of the seal. The above statements Allan has made in his book in that part of the Introduction which deals with

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1 Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, etc., pp. xvi and xvii.
2 Ibid., p. lv.
'History and Chronology,' but in the actual 'Catalogue of Coins' where he gives description of the coins he does not specify the weight of Ghaṭōtkacha's coin. And as regards the style it does not seem to differ essentially in any way from that of Skandagupta's coins as a comparison of Plate XXIV-3 with Plate XIX shows. In these circumstances, there is nothing to preclude us from supposing that the Ghaṭōtkachagaupta of the seal and the inscription is identical with the Ghaṭōtkachagaupta of this coin. In other words, the inscription, the seal and the coin refer to a Ghaṭōtkachagaupta who was situated chronologically between Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. It further seems that when the inscription was engraved and the seal was issued, Ghaṭōtkachagaupta was a mere governor, but that he was a king when the coin was struck.

TEXT

Ś[r]-Ghaṭat[ka]²chaguptasya [*]

TRANSLATION

(The seal) of the prosperous Ghaṭōtkachagaupta.

No. 28 : PLATE XXVIII

JUNĀGAṆH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA : THE YEARS 136, 137 AND 138

The discovery of this inscription appears to have been first announced in 1838, by James Prinsep, in the *JASB*., Vol. VII, pp. 347 ff. In 1844, in the *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, p. 148, there was published a lithograph of it, reduced from a copy, made by General Sir George LeGrand Jacob, N. L. Westergaard, and a young Brahmin assistant, which had been submitted to the Society two years previously. In 1862, in the same *Journal*, Vol. VII, pp. 121 ff., Bhau Daji published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from a cloth tracing made in 1861 by Bhagwanlal Indraji. And in 1876, Bhau Daji's text and translation, the latter revised by Professor Eggeling, were reprinted in the *ASWJ*, Vol. II, pp. 134 ff., accompanied by a slightly reduced reproduction of the original lithograph from Bhagwanlal Indraji's copy (ibid., Plate XV). It was thereafter edited critically by J. F. Fleet in the *CII*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 56 ff., accompanied by Plate VIII.

JunāgaṆh³ is the chief town of the JunāgaṆh District in the Kāthiāwāḍ⁴ Peninsula in Gujarat. The city itself, or its ancient representative, is spoken of in this inscription; but its ancient name is not given. The name occurs, however, in line 1 of Rudradāman's inscription, as Girinagara, or 'the city of, or on, the hill.' This name subsequently passed over to the mountain itself, Girmār, which in the inscriptions is called Uṛjayat; and this fact rather tends to indicate that the ancient city stood, not where the modern town stands, but closer up to the mountain, and perhaps on the rising ground at the foot of it. The inscription is on the north-west face of a large granite boulder, containing also fourteen Aśoka edicts and a long inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, now under a shed specially built to

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¹ Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, etc., p. 149.
² Correct it into -Ghaṭōtkacha-.
³ The 'Joonaghur, Junagadh, Junagarh, and Junagurh,' of maps, etc. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 13. Lat. 21° 31' N.; Long. 70° 36' E.
⁴ The 'Kathiawar and Kattywar' of maps, etc.
BASĀRHING CLAY SEAL INSCRIPTION OF GHAṬŪTKACHAGUPTA

G. S. Gai
From photograph
JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA : YEARS 136-38  297

protect it, about a mile to the east of the town, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnār.

The writing, which covers a space of about 10' 0" broad by 7' 3" high, is in a state of fairly good preservation; _and_ it is only in lines 22 ff., where the rock has actually peeled off, that there are some extensive lacunae in the inscription. It is, however, not very easy to read; owing partly to the irregular, and occasionally rather shallow, nature of the engraving; partly to the roughness of the rock, and the way in which the natural marks of it mix themselves up a good deal with the letters; and partly to the fact that at several places the engraver, in consequence of unusual irregularities of the surface, passed over considerable portions of the rock and left them blank. The size of the letters varies from about ½" to 1½". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but the type is a later development of that which was used in the inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman on the same rock; it may be called the Saurāshṭra or Kāśiāvāḍ alphabet of the fifth century A.D. One of its most marked characteristics is the way in which the subscript ɔᵣ is represented by the full form of the letter, not, as in other alphabets, by a curtailment of it; e.g. in buddhyā, line 5; oyasani, line 6; nyār-, line 8. The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddham, and a few words in line 23, the entire inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before ɔ, in ɔa-, line 24; (2) the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following ɔ, in buddhyā, line 5; and (3) the indifference of the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding r; e.g. the consonant is doubled in -ārthām, line 1, -ār̥ttir=, line 2, and -dār̥pp-, line 3; but not in -vīryā, line 2, -paryanta-, line 3, sarvān=, line 5, -ār̥jav-, line 7, and -ār̥janā=r̥hāṣya, line 8.

The inscription divides itself into two parts: the first is concerned with the remaking of the Sudarṣāna lake and the second with the construction of two temples. Both the works were undertaken and completed by Chakrapālita during the reign of Skandagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. As regards the first part of the record, it begins with an invocation of the god Viśṇu, which is followed by five verses in praise of the reigning king. Verse 2 informs us that he “forged an order with an effigy, namely, Garuḍa, which rendered, devoid of poison, the Serpent (bhujaga) rulers, who uplifted their hoods in pride and arrogance.” As royal families of the name of Nāga which term is synonymous with bhujaga were in existence during the Gupta period and as Garuḍa was an insignia of the Gupta House, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in Skandagupta’s time there was a Nāga rising which he effectively put down. Similarly, verse 4 says that the name of this Gupta sovereign was proclaimed by his enemies who were forced by him to return to the Mēchchha country. Obviously these enemies must have been Mēchchhas themselves who invaded the Gupta territory but were repulsed and compelled to return to the Mēchchha country from which they had come. In all likelihood these Mēchchha enemies were the Hūṇas whose terrific onset against Skandagupta has been so vividly described in the Bhitari pillar inscription (No. 31 below). Verses 11-13 narrate how Skandagupta appointed a certain Parnādatta to govern the Surāṣṭra country, that is, Kāṭhīāvāḍ, which was included in his kingdom. Parnādatta’s son was Chakrapālita (verse 16), who was appointed by the father to govern the city at which the inscription is (verse 20). The inscription then proceeds to its real objet namely, to record that the embankment of the lake Sudarṣāna (formed in the valley round the foot of Girnār, near where the inscription is) burst in consequence of excessive rain, at night, on the sixth day of the month Prauṣṭhapada (August-September) in Gupta year 136 (expired) = 455-56 A.D., or “when a century of years,” as the inscription puts it, “increased by thirty and also six more (had elapsed), making the calculation according to the Gupta era” (verse 27). When the dam gave way, all the rivers that originated from the mountain Raivataka and also the
river Palāśīnī, being free from all barrier and overflowing their banks, met the sea; and it appeared as if Mount Úrjayat stretched out its hand in the shape of this river (i.e. the Palāśīnī), touching its friend, the sea. The breach made was 100 cubits in depth, sixty-eight in length and 7 parasas in height (verse 36). The breach was filled up and the embankment renewed under the orders of Chakrapālita after two months' work in the month of Ashāḍha in Gupta year 137 (expired) = 456-57 A.D. (verse 35). Here ends the first part of the inscription. This is indicated clearly by the words which occur in line 23, namely, iti Sudarśana-tattāka-saṁskāra-granitha-rachanā samāpāta.

The second part, lines 24 to the end, seems to have mentioned Skandagupta and Parna-datta in verses 40-41 though their names have not been preserved owing to the peeling off of the rock. And then, in keeping with the Vaishāvya invocation with which the inscription opens, it goes on to record in verse 45 that in the one hundred and thirty-eighth year (expired), "(according to the calculation) of the Gupta era," Chakrapālita caused to be built a temple of the god Vishṇu under the name of Chakrabhūrī, 'the bearer of discus,' on Mount Úrjayat, and shining over the head of the town (verses 45-46). The last verse also refers to the erection apparently of another temple, similarly overlooking the town.

As regards the localities mentioned in this inscription, Surāśṭra is modern Kāṭhīawād, the southern part of which is still known as Sōrāth. It is an old name, being first mentioned by Kaṇṭha who speaks of the Surāśṭras along with the Kambōjas and Kshatriyas as a tribal corporation (saṁgha) subsisting upon both agriculture and arms. It thus seems that Kāṭhīawād was known as Surāśṭra in the ancient period because the Surāśṭra tribe had been settled in that province. Surāśṭra has also been referred to in the Śikṣā associated with the name of Pāṇini. It is the Surāśṭrēnē of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (c. 90 A.D.) and the Syrastrēnē of Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.). The author of the Periplus says that its capital was Minagar, which Bhagvanlal Indraji identified with Junāgadh which was once called Manipura. Later on, however, he took Minagara to be a mistake for Girinagara, the old form of Girnār. The other places of interest mentioned in the inscription are the two mountains Raivataka and Úrjayat, the river Palāśīnī and the town which was connected with the lake Sudarśana. The actual name of this town has not been given, but it was Girinagara as appears from line 1 of Rudradāman's inscription. That it was rightly called Girinagara is clear from verse 46 where we are told that it was situated about the foot of Mount Úrjayat. Mērutūṅga's Prabandhachintāmaṇi, while describing the animosity between the Digambara and Śvētāmbara sects of Jainism at Raivataka, speaks of Ujjayanta (=Úrjayat) as another name of it and of Girinagara as being settled upon it. But according to the Kāṭhīawād volume of the B.G., "The ancient name of the Girnār hill is Ujjayanta or Girnar, but not Revatāchal as is sometimes supposed. Revatāchal is the name of the hill immediately over the Revata Kund. At the foot of this hill is the celebrated Asoka stone with the inscriptions of Asoka, Rudra Dāma, and Skanda Gupta;...... The Jains sometimes incorrectly apply the name Revatāchal to the Girnār." This agrees with what we gather from the inscription which distinguishes between Raivataka and Úrjayat and places the town (Girinagara) at the foot of Úrjayat. This also explains why Ujjayanta came in later times to be known as the Girnār hill. This further explains why the inscription of Rudradāman mentions Girinagara as being distant (dūra) from the Sudarśana lake. That Girinagara was a town of importance may be seen from the fact that it is mentioned as the place from which hailed the Brāhmaṇa grantee of the Nausāri charter1 issued by the Gūrjara king Jayabhaṭa III in the Kalachuri saṁvat 456. As regards the river Palāśīnī, it is worthy of note that it is mentioned along with the Suvarṇasikatā in Rudradāman's inscription as both rising from Mount Úrjayat. The late F. Kielhorn who

1 CII, Vol. IV, pp. 82 ff.
edited the record last identifies the Suvarnārêkha with the Sônrekhā on the authority of Bhagwanlal Indraji, but in regard to the Palâsini makes the remark that its name does not survive. But the Kâthiâwâd volume of the B.G. tells us that “a little further on,” that is, between the boulder bearing inscriptions and the Girnâr hill, “is the Palâsini bridge built by Sundarji Shavji, the first native agent to the British Government in the Political Department in Kâthiâwâd.” This shows that the river Palâsini is still in existence. Rudradâman’s inscription mentions another river, namely, the Suvarnasikâ, side by side with the Palâsini. It has been rightly identified with the Sônrekhâ. As regards the embankment referred to in the record, attention can be drawn to the fact that remains of it were discovered in 1890 by Khan Bahadur Ardeeser Jamshetjee, Special Divan of Junâgaadh.

**TEXT**

[Metres: Verses 1-3, 38 and 39 Mâlînî; verses 4 and 45 Āryâ; verses 5, 13-15, 17-20 and 32-37 Upajâti; verses 6-12, 21-25, 27, 41 and 42 Indravaipî; verse 16 Pushpitâgrâ (Aupach-chhandasikâ); verses 26, 28-31 and 40 Varasastha; verses 43, 44, 46 and 47 Vasantarîlakâ.]

**First Part**


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1 Expressed by a symbol and omitted by Fleet.
2 Ending m indicated by the average character.
3 Ending t indicated by a tiny form of the character and placed at a lower level.
4 Indicated by two horizontals.
5 Read bhriśa-.
6 Read gōṭṛtīn.
7 Read =vinītō.
8 Read =ātmā.
8 Nyāy-ārjanē=ṛthsaya cha kaḥ samarthāḥ syād=arjītas=āpy=atha rakṣanē cha 
gopāyatas=āpi [cha] vṛddhi-hētāu vṛddhāsya pātra-pratipādānāya [ि 10*] 
Sarvēśu bhṛtyēśhū=apī samhatēśhū yō mē prāśīhān=nikhilān=Surāśhrān 
āṁ jūtām=ēkaḥ khalu Parṇāddato bhārsaya tasyā=ōvahanē samarthāḥ [ि 11*] 
9 Ėvaṁ vinīchitya nṛpp-ādhipēna naikān=ahō-rēṭra-gaṇān=sva-matyāḥ yaḥ saṁ-
niyuktō=ṛthānāy kathānchūt samyak-Surāśhrāvān-pālanāya [ि 12*] Nīyuyā 
dēvā Varuṇaṁ pratīcyaṁ svastāḥ yathā n=ōmānaśo babhūvuḥ[ḥ] [ि] pūrvv-
estarasāṁ dīśī Parṇāddato naivyā jāţā dhṛhitāṁ=ṭath=ābhuḥ [ि]* 13 
10 Tasyā=ātmajō hy=ātmajā-bhāva-yuktō dvīdh=ēva ch=ātm=ātm-saṁśāna nītāḥ  
sarvātman=ātm=ēva cha rakṣanīyō nity-ātmavān=ātmaja-kānta-rūpāḥ  
[ि 14*] Rūp-ānurūpār=lalitair=vichitraṁ niitya-pramōd-ānvita-sarva-bhāvāh  
prabuddha-padmākara-padmavaktrō nṛṇāṁ śāraṇyaḥ śaraṇ-āgatānām  
[ि 15*] 
11 Abhavad=bhuvi Chakrapālitō=sāv=īṁ nāmā prathītaḥ priyō jānasya  
sva-guṅair=anupaskītaṁ udāṭṭ[a][il]ḥ pitarāṁ yās=cha viśēshayāṁchakāra [ि 16*] 
Kshamā prabhutvanāṁ vināyō naṣavaḥ=ṣa sauryāṇ vinā śaurya-mah[ḥ?] jrcchanaṁ 
cha i vā(?)[ka](?)[n]m dānam=adīnataṁ cha dākṣīnyam=ānṛṇyam=āś[ḥ] 
nyātā cha [ि 17*] Sauṁdaryāṁ=āryētra-nigrāhaṁ=cha a-vismayō dhairyam= 
udīnṛṇāḥ cha [ि] 
12 ity=ēvaṁ=ēcē=īsāyēna yasmīṁ=ā-vipra-vāsēna guṇā 
vaṁ=vaṁtā [ि] 18*] Na 
vidyatāt=sau sakalē=pi lōkē yatṛ=ōpamā tasya guṇāḥ kriyēta  
sa ēva kāṛtikēyēma 
ṛṇaṁ=upamānābhūtaḥ [ि] 19*] Ity=ēvaṁ= 
ēca=ādhiṅkān=ātcē=nyān=guṇān=par[i]kṣhyā svayam=ēva pitṛā  
yaḥ saṁ-
niyuktōd nagarasya rakṣāṁ visīhō pūrvēn=prachakāra samyak [ि 20*] 
13 Āśritya vi(vi)ryāṁ su(?)-bhu(?)[ja(?)]-dvayasya svasya aiva n=ānasya 
naṁ 
arahatsārām darpāḥ i n=ōdvējayaṁsā cha karicidē=ēvaṁ=āśmin=purē 
ch=āiva śaśās 
 terse Ṡdushtāḥ [ि] 21*] Viśrābdham=ālpēn śaśāsā yō=śmin kālēṇā lōkēṣu sa-nāga-
rēṣu i yō lālayāṃsāṇa cha paurav-avagān = — — — 2 
putrān=supārīkṣyā dōṣānām [ि 22*] Sauṁraṁjīyāṁ cha prakrītir=babhūva pūrva-smiţ-ābhasāna-māṇa-
dānāḥ i 
14 niryantar-āṇyōṇya-grīha-pravēśāḥ[ḥ*] sarvaṁdhīta-pṛiti-grīh-ōpachārāṇ[ि] 23*] 
Brahmāṇya bhāvēna paraṇā yuktā saktā śuchir=ōdāna-parō yathavat 
prāpyann=sa kālē viśhān=śishēvē dharm-ārthayōṣ=ch=ā[pY=a*]-virodhha-
nēna [ि] 24*] Yō — — — — — — Parṇāddatā=sa nyāyāvan=atra 
kim=asti chitrāṁ mukta-kalāp-āmbujapadma-śītāḥ=chandrāt=kim=ūṣṇān 
hāvītāt kadāchīt [ि] 25*] 
15 Athā kramēn=āmbudā-kālā āgat[č] n[i]dāgaḥ-kālaṁ pravīdāryā tōyadāī i 
vavarsha tōyam baḥu sanītataṁ chirāṁ Sudarśanāṁ yēna bibhēdā 
ch=ātvarat[ि] 26*] Sāmavatsarāṇāṁ=adhiṅkē śatē tu trīṇaśadbhir=an-
yair=āpi shadbhir=ēva i rātṛaṁ dinē Prausṭhpadasaya shasṭhē Gup-
trakālē gaṇānāṁ vidhāya [ि 27*] 
16 Imās=cha ya Raivatakād=vinnagāţi[δ*] Palāsīn=īyaṁ sīkāṇa-viḷāsinī i samudra-
kāntāḥ chira-bandhan-ōśitaḥ punah pātīṁ śastra-yōchitaṁ yayaḥ [ि 28*] 
Avasēṣyā varṣa-āgama-jāṁ mah-ōdhhraṁ mah-ōdadhīṛ=Ūrjayātī prī-
ēpsūṁa i anēka-tir-ānta-ja-pushpa-śōbhitō

1 Read duḥkhaṃ.
2 Restore to svān=ēva. [Or pit=ēva. — Ed.].

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS
Second Part

24 Dṛipti-ārī-darpa-praṇudāḥ prithu-śriyāḥ sva-vanśa-kētōḥ sakal-āvani-pateḥ | rājādhirājy-ādbhuta-puṇya- [karmanāḥ] | [ - - - - - - - - - - - - ] [ || 40*] [ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ] [ || 39*] dvipasaya gōptā mahatām | cha nētā daṇḍa-dvī? [?]-[?]-nām

dvīṣhataṁ damyā [|| 41*] Tasya-ātmajēn-ātma-gunān-viśvēna Gōvinda-pād- 
ārpirā-jiṣṭēna || [ - - - - - - - - - - - - ] [ || 42*] 
[ - - - - - - - - - - - - ] Jgdaṁ Visaṁ-hōs-cha pāda-kamalē samavāpya 

tatra | artha-vyayēna

26 mahatā mahatā cha kālēn-ātma-prabhēva-nata-paurajēna tēna [|| 43*] 
Chakrāṁ bibharti ripu [ - - - - - - - - - - - - ] [ || 42*] 
[ - - - - - - - - - - - - ] tasya sva-tantra-vidhi-kāraṇa-mānushāya [ || 44*]

27 Karitam-ā-vakra-matinā Chakrabhītāḥ Chakrapālitēna grihāṁ | varsha-śaṭē 
śhṭṝtrimśē Guptānām kāla . . . . . . . [|| 45*] [ - - - - - - - - - - - - ] [ || 45*] 
[ - - - - - - - - - - - - ] [a]ṛtham=utthitam=iv=ōrjayatō=chalasaya

28 kurvat=prabhūtvam=iva bhēti purasya mūrdhni [|| 46*] Anyach=cha mūrddhani 
[ - - - - - - - - - - - - ] su [ - - - - - - - - - - - - ]

29 ruddha-vihaṁga-mārgaṁ vibhrājatē [ - - - - - - - - - - - - ] [|| 47*]

1 The metre is faulty in the first akṣhara of the first and third pādās which should be short, not long.
TRANSLATION

Luck!

(Verse 1) Victorious is that Vishnu, who, for the sake of the happiness of (Indra) the lord of the gods, snatched away the royal dignity of Bali,1 which was admitted to be worthy of enjoyment and which had more than once been wrested (from them)2 who is the permanent abode of (the goddess) Lakshmi, whose resting-place is the waterlily; who overcomes affliction and is the consummate victor.

(Verses 2-3) And next, victorious for ever, is Skandagupta, whose chest is clasped by the goddess of wealth; who has developed valour through his own arms and has become over-king of kings; who forged an order with an effigy, namely, Garuda,3 which rendered, devoid of poison, the Serpent (bhujaja) Rulers who uplifted their hoods in pride and arrogance; who is the abode of kingly qualities, is of profuse glory; (and) who, when his father attained to the companionship of the gods,4 humbled down his enemies and made subject to himself the (whole) earth, bounded by the waters of the four oceans and with thriving border countries;

(Verse 4) And, moreover, he alone has conquered, whose fame enemies proclaim (being caused to return) to the Mlechchha countries, with (their) pride broken down to the very root;

(Verse 5) Whom the goddess of fortune has of her own accord selected as her husband, having discarded all sons of kings, after considering them in succession, with judgement and skill, and pondering over all the springs of virtue and vice.

(Verse 6) While that king is ruling, verily no man whatsoever from among his subjects has deviated from duty; is distressed, indigent, addicted to vice, miserly; or in one, who is severely chastised with a cudgel.

(Verses 7-11) Having thus conquered the whole earth, having destroyed the egregious pride of enemies, (and) having appointed protectors in all provinces, he cogitated in many ways:— "Who is there that is suitable; endowed with intellect; is modest; possessed of a nature not devoid of wisdom and recollection; endowed with truthfulness, straightforwardness, magnanimity, and diplomacy; and possessed of sweetness, kindness and fame; devoted; attached; endowed with manly characteristics; and possessed of (good) intentions, tested by all allurements; possessed of an inner soul which has attained to the state of being free from

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1 The legend, as Fleet rightly points out, is that the demon Bali, or Mahabali, by his asurers acquired the dominion over the three worlds and oppressed the gods very much. Vishnu then incarnated himself as a dwarf and prayed to Bali to give him as much earth as he could cover in three steps. Bali, noted for his liberality, forthwith acceded to this seemingly simple request. But the dwarf assumed a mighty form, and began to measure the three steps. The first step covered the earth, the second the heavens; and the third he planted on the head of Bali and sent him and his legions to the Patala or lower regions whose dominion was assigned to him.

2 Fleet translates: "who had been kept away from him for a long time." This phrase, however, undoubtedly refers to the frequent defeats inflicted upon Indra and the gods by Hiranyakashipu and other demons. It had therefore better be rendered by "which had been more than once wrested (from them, i.e., the gods)."

3 As Garuda was an insignia of the Gupta sovereigns and as Nagas were a ruling family, it seems that there is in this verse an allusion to Skandagupta having somewhere overthrown the Naga power.

4 Il.e., "had died."

5 Ni-viśeṣa-yuktāḥ may also be taken to mean "possessed of choice men."

6 Upadāḥa is a term technical to the Hindu Science of Polity. Thus, Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra (I. 6.1) has mantri-pariṣhita-saṅkhaḥ sāmānyāsya adhikaraṇātma sthāpyate—allāyān—upadāhāḥ śādāḥ jātoḥ, "in association with the counsellors and the high-priest, the king shall test with allurements (the character) of the ministers appointed in ordinary government departments." Following Kauṭilya, Kamandaka says: Upadāhā-sādharāḥ samagāyaḥ-kaṃ lodāḥaḥ phala-bodhaḥ । Itaḥ—sya saraṁ pariśkarānam s-mūra-dāgah kriyā-kāriyān। Upadāhā dhīyate yasmin—upadāḥ ēli tataḥ śrīlaḥ । upeśa upadāḥ jñeyā tattavi tiva—allāyān pariśkarāh । "(Nitiśāstra, Canto IV, verses 25-26). Kauṭilya specifies four kinds of upadāhā or allurement, namely, dharm-upadāhā "religious allurement," artha-upadāhā 'lucre allurement,' kāma-upadāhā 'love allurement' and bhaya-upadāhā 'allurement under danger.' Kauṭilya also informs us to what upadāhā or upadāhās officers of one class or another may be subjected.
(all) debt (to his master); striving for the welfare of the whole world; who, again, is capable in the lawful acquisition of wealth, in the preservation of it when acquired, and further in causing the augmentation of it when preserved, and in the dispensation of it on worthy objects when augmented; whom among all my servants put together, shall govern the whole of the Śūrāśṭra country? Ah! I know it; (there is) just one man, Parnādatta, competent to bear this burden.”

(Verse 12) By the lord of kings, having so decided with his own deliberation for a number of days and nights, who (Parnādatta) was appointed somehow with pressing, to protect in a proper manner the land of the Śūrāśtras.

(Verse 13) Just as the gods, having deputed Varuṇa to the west became contented and unperplexed, so the king, having deputed Parnādatta to the region opposite to the east (i.e., the west), became happy.

(Verses 14-16) His son, possessed of a filial disposition; his own soul divided into two; guided by self-control; worthy of being protected by the all-pervading soul as if it were (his own) self; always self-possessed; with (his) form as lovely as that of cupid; with (his) whole disposition permeated by continuous joy in consequence of varied pastimes consonant with his (graceful) form; with his face resembling a lotus (coming) from a tank of full-blow lotuses; the protector of men who have come for refuge—and has become renowned under the name of Chakrapālita on earth; who is dear unto the people; who has excelled (his) father by his own pristine noble qualities.

(Verses 17-18) In whom dwell all these qualities pre-eminent and inseparably, namely, forbearance, masterfulness, modesty, prudent behaviour, great respect for (all) heroism, except heroism represented on the stage, eloquence (?), self-restraint, liberality, high-spiritedness, civility, freedom from debt (to the master), freedom from listlessness, beauty, control of (people) other than Āryas, freedom from arrogance, fortitude, and generosity.

(Verse 19) There exists in this whole world no one where a comparison with his virtues may be made; verily he has become, in all entirety, a standard of comparison to men endowed with virtuous qualities.

(Verse 20) Who, being appointed by (his) father, after testing in person these qualities mentioned above and many others than these, has afforded the protection of (this) city excellently, surpassing his predecessors.

(Verse 21) Relying upon the prowess of his own two excellent arms(?) not on the concept of another man, he has harassed no one in this city, and punished the wicked only.

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1 This sentiment of a servant towards his master may be traced even in an edict of Aśoka. Thus, while expostulating with his Mahāmātrás in charge of Kalidaga, the Mauryan monarch says e.g. in Second Separate Rock Edict at Dhauli: ‘hevana cha kalanitān taphe svagam idāhāvyoṣuḥa mama cha idāhāvyoṣuḥa. ‘If it is performed well, you will gain heaven and also discharge your debt to me” (D. R. Bhandarkar’s Aśoka, 2nd ed., p. 362).

2 The author of this prāśāstī is here also obviously indebted to Kautilya who, in his Arthaśāstra (I.4. 5-6) says: tasya (daṇḍasya) nītī = Daṇḍaniti; abalda-lābh-ārthā, labdha-parivakṣha, raksha-vidvandhan, vrddha-śasāsana pratipādān cha, “The wielding of it (i.e., of Daṇḍa) is Daṇḍaniti which concerns itself with (1) the acquisition of what has not been acquired, (2) preservation of what has been so acquired, (3) augmentation of what has been so preserved and (4) distribution amongst the deserving of what has been so augmented.” For the exposition of this passage, see D. R. Bhandarkar’s Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity, pp. 16 ff.

3 Aśūrama-kānta-rāṇaḥ Fleet translates by “endowed with a naturally beautiful form.” But aśūrama has also the sense of ‘cupid’ which suits here better.

4 What we have in the text is sauryam vīṇā saurya-māhākāranom which Fleet renders by “heroism without (too) great an (e)stimation of prowess.” He, however, forgets that lexicons give for this word also the sense of “representation of war and supernatural events on the stage; cf. ārobbhaś” “; “the heroic branch of dramatic art (=ārobbhaś).” This suits here excellently as it draws a sharp contrast between the two sauryas one real and the other unreal, because represented on the stage.
(Verse 22) Within this brief time, he ruled with confidence over the people, including the inhabitants of the city; and who has fondled all classes of citizens, (surely his own) sons, [or, as if they were his own sons—Ed.], after carefully enquiring into (their) faults.

(Verse 23) And (who) has gratified the subjects by conversations preceded by smiles, marks of honour and presents, and by unrestrained visiting one another’s houses such as promotes friendly home receptions.

(Verse 24) Full of the highest feeling of reverence to the Brāhmaṇa, capable, pure, (and) in a suitable manner devoted to charity, he has enjoyed pleasures of sense attainable in time, without any conflict between religious merit and worldly prosperity.

(Verse 25) Is it strange if he, (born) of Parṇadatta, is possessed of proper behaviour? Will any scorching arise from the moon which is cooling like a string of pearls or like a water-lily?

(Verse 26) When, in course of time, there came the season of clouds, tearing asunder with (its) clouds the season of heat, much water rained down unceasingly for a long time—in consequence of which (the lake) [Sudarśana] burst from the four roads.

(Verses 27-28) And now when a century of years, increased by thirty-six (had elapsed), making the calculation according to the Gupta era, at night, on the sixth day of (the month) Praushṭhapada,—these (rivers) sprung from (the mountain) Raivataka, and this [Palāśinī] that moves gracefully in sand, (all of them) the wives of the ocean, having dwelt for long in bondage,¹ went again to their husband (the ocean), in due accordance with the scriptures.

(Verse 29) Noticing the great bewilderment caused by the advent of rains, (the mountain) [Ūrjayat], wishing to do a good turn to the great ocean,² stretched forth, as it were, a hand, consisting of the river (Palāśinī), decorated with the numerous powers that grew on the edges of (its) banks.

(Verses 30-31) Feeling, indeed, dejected on all sides, discussing how they should act, keeping awake the whole night by turns, the people reflected (thus), feeling restless “just in a moment, (the lake) Sudarśana, has become disagreeable to the sight of men;³ can it ever become pleasing of aspect, having the appearance of the ocean⁴ . . . ?”

(Verse 32) He, having become . . . , displaying exceeding devotion to (his) father, (and) placing, (prominently) before him, religion, (his) sacred ties to the king, and the well-being of the town;

(Verse 33) When a century of years, increased by thirtyseven (had elapsed), comprehending the sacred writings, . . . whose great might is well known; though (he is) viṣṇa.⁵

(Verse 34) Then having sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisances; and having gratified the twice-born with (presents of) riches; and having honoured

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¹ Here is a pun upon the Sanskrit word bandhana which means both ‘bondage’ in the case of wives and ‘barrage’ in the case of the rivers.

² The expression mah-ādhaṁ = Utṛjayatā priy-epsuṇā is thus translated by Fleet: “desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean” which is ridiculous. Priyapsu here stands, not for priyā ipsu, but for priyā lpsu and is to be taken in the sense of “wishing or desiring of doing a good turn (priya)”, obviously to his friend, the mighty ocean, by stretching forth its hand in the shape of the Palāśinī, which, being overflown and being one sheet of water from Utṛjayat to the sea appeared like a hand extended by the mountain itself to touch and quiet its friend, the ocean, which was tempest-torn on account of the monsoon.

³ In the phrase puṁāṁ(hi) hi, the word hi seems to have been used in the sense of iva. Or, it may be, as seems more probable, that puṁā is a mistake for puṁasām.

⁴ Ambhānīdhi itself means an ocean, s-ambhānīdhi is therefore far-fetched. But the word seems to have been used here by the panegyrist as he was a weak poet.

⁵ There is a pun upon the word viṣṇa; at one time, it means ‘all-pervading’ and at another ‘a citizen (nāgara).’
the citizens with such honours as they deserved and (his) respectable servants and friends with presents;

(Verse 35-37) In the first fortnight of the month (called Āshāḍha) and belonging to the hot season, on the first day, he, having put forth careful efforts and made an immeasurable expenditure of wealth, in two months, laboriously built up a hundred cubits in all in depth, and sixty-eight in breadth, and seven (?) men’s height in elevation (of the breach into the embankment) of two hundred cubits, having done honour to the kings, built with great labour, with stone well laid, (so that) the lake, not evil by nature, became renowned as Sudarśana¹ (of good appearance) for all eternity.

(Verse 38) Agitated by the lower part of the body of the ruddy-goose,² the herons and the swans which have displayed their beauty on the edges of the firmly built embankment ... pure waters ... (so long as) the sun and the moon.

(Verse 39) And may the city become affluent; teeming with citizens; bereft of sin through prayers sung by many hundreds of Brāhmaṇas, (and free) for a hundred years from distress such as those caused by calamities (like) famine ....

(Line 23) Thus ends the literary composition of the restoration of the Sudarśana Lake.

(Verse 40) .... (Skandagupta), who destroyed the haughtiness of the haughty enemies; who is of great royal dignity; who is the foremost of his family; who is the lord of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are more wondrous than overlordship of kings.

(Verse 41) By his son, who is endowed with his own good qualities; whose life has been dedicated at the feet of (the god) Gōvinda....

(Verses 43-45) And by that Chakrapālita, who is of a straightforward mind, who causes townsmen to bow down by his own prowess, having acquired there at the lotus-like feet of Vīśṇu .... has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhrit, who carries the discus .... with a great expenditure of wealth and after a long time, when one hundred and thirty-eight years (had elapsed) (according to the calculation) of the Gupta era.

(Verse 46) ....... uprisen, as it were, from the mountain Úrjayat, shines over the head of the town, manifesting, as it were, (its) lordship.

(Verse 47) And another ....... over the head ....... shines, obstructing the path of the birds .......

No. 29 : PLATE XXIX

KAHĀUM STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA : THE YEAR 141

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Francis Buchanan (Hamilton), whose Survey of the Provinces, subject to the Presidency of Bengal, was commenced in 1807 and was continued during seven years, and whose manuscript results were transmitted in 1816 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. From his reports Montgomery

¹ As in verse 31, there is a play here on the name of the lake. It had become durvarśa when there was a breach in the dam, but has become Sudarśana again, in accordance with its name, when the embankment was repaired. This play on the name Sudarśana is noticeable also in an earlier epigraph, namely, that of the Malākṣhatrapa Rudradāman, where, in line 8, we have durvarśa(nam=āśūt), and in line 16 (su)durvarśātāram kārtīram (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 43-44).

² Rathacharaṇa-samāhca .... aśa-dhūta is taken by Fleet to mean “agitated by the defiance of the ruddy-goose.” Obviously, he understands ‘defiances’ by the term samāhca. But this is a mistake. Because rathāṅga is synonymous with rathacharaṇa; and if rathāṅgāhāva also means ‘the ruddy goose,’ there is no reason why rathacharaṇa-samāhca should not also bear the same sense. Similarly, aśa is taken by Fleet in the sense of āśita, ‘settling down.’ But aśa means ‘the lower part of the body behind, posteriors,’ Monier Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary. This suits here excellently.

Kahāum or Kahāwam,² the ancient Kakubha or Kakubhagrama of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhaull,³ the chief town of the Salampur-Majhauli Pargaṇā in the Deoriyya or Dewariyya⁴ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Gorakhpur District in Uttar Pradesh. The grey-sandstone column on which the inscription is engraved stands about a short distance on the north of the village.⁵

Of the sculptures on the column, the most important are five standing naked figures, one in a niche on the western face of the square base; and one in a niche on each side of the square block immediately below the circular stone with an iron spike in it, which, the original pinnacle having been lost, now forms the top of the column. As appears to have been first fully recognised by Bhagwanlal Indrāj,⁶ these are distinctly Jain images. He suggested that they represent the five favourite Tirthāṅkaras, Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśva, and Mahāvīra. And they are, in all probability, the five images of Ādikartris, or Jain Tirthāṅkaras, referred to in the inscription itself.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 2½" broad by 1' 8" high, is on the three northern faces of the octagonal portion of the column; and the bottom line appears to be about 7' 6" above the level of the ground. It is evidently in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The size of the letters varies from 8½" to 5½". The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, and are of the same type with those of the Allahabād pillar inscription of Samudragupta (No. 1 above). The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word siddhāṁ, the inscription is in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are: (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before i, in vaṁśa, line 2; and tṛīṇiṇat, line 4; and (2) the usual doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in chakkre, line 9 (but not in Śakrō, line 3), and pattrō, line 6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Imperial Gupta king Skandagupta. It is dated in words, in the year one hundred and forty-one (459-60 A.D.); and in the month Jyeṣṭha (May-June); but without any specification of the day of the month or fortnight. As is shown by the images in the niches of the column, as well as by the tenor of the record.

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² The 'Kahuon, Kahong, Kanghe, and Kuhaoon' of maps, etc. Indian Atlas, sheet No. 103, Lat. 26° 16' N.; Long. 83° 55' E.
⁴ The 'Deoriya' of maps.
⁵ For a full description, with drawings, of all the columns and other remains at Kahāum, see *CASIR*, Vol. I, pp. 91 ff. and Plate xxix, and *ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 129 ff. and Plate xxix.
KAHĀHUM PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF SKANDAGUPTA: YEAR 141

itself, this is distinctly a Jaina inscription. And the object of it is to record that a certain Madra set up five stone images of Ādikārttiṣ or Tirthankarās, i.e., apparently the five images in the niches of the column,—and the column itself, at the village of Kakubha or Kakubha-grāma, i.e., Kahāum.

TEXT

[Metre: Svagdhāra throughout]

1 Siddhaṁ[1r] Yasya-āpasthāna-bhūmir-ṁnipati-śata-śirah-ā-pata-vāt-āvadhūtā
2 Guptānāṁ vanśājasya praviṣṭita-yaśasasa-ṁtasya sarvva-ōttam-ārddhēḥ [1*]
3 rājyē Śakra-ōpamsasya khitipa-śata-patēḥ Skandaguptasya sāntē
4 varshē trīṁśad-das-aiś-ōttaraka-śatamē Jyēṣṭha-māśi prapannē [l[1*]]
5 Khyātē = smin = grāma-ratnē Kakubha iti janaia-sādhu-sanśarga-pūtē [l]
6 putrō yas-Sōmilasya prachura-guna-nidhēr = Bhaṭṭisōmō mahā[1] [1*]
7 tat-sūnū Rudrasōma[ḥ*] pṛthūla-mati-yaśa Vyāghra ity=anya-sanijñāḥ [l]
8 Madras = tasya-ātmajō = bhūd-dvija-guru-yatishu prāyaścāt prītimān = yaḥ [l t[2*]
9 Puṇya-skandhaṁ sa chakrē jagad = idam = akhilaṁ sanśrard = vakshya bhītō
10 śreyō-ṛttamān bhuṭa-bhūtayāi pathi niyamatvām = Arhatām = Ādikārtṛṇī [1*]
11 paṁch = ēndrāṁ śhāpayītā bharaṇidharamvān = sannikātās = tatō = yam
12 śāila-stambhaṁ su-chārur = giri-vara-śikhar-āgr-ōpamaḥ kirtti-karttā [l 3*]

TRANSLATION

Luck!

(Verse 1) In the peaceful reign of Skandagupta, whose hall of audience is fanned by the breezes caused by the throwing down (at his feet) of the heads of hundreds of kings; who is born in the lineage of the Guptas; whose fame is spread (far and wide); who is of supreme greatness; (and) who resembles (the god) Śakra, being the lord of a hundred kings,—in the 141st year, the month, Jyēṣṭha having arrived;

(Verse 2) In this jewel of a village named by the people as Kakubha, (and) purified by the intercourse of holy men,—(there was) the great-souled Bhaṭṭisōma, who (was) the son of Sōmila, the receptacle of many good qualities; his son (was) Rudrasōma, of great intellect and fame, who had the other appellation of Vyāghra.6 His son was Madra, who (was) exceedingly affectionate towards Brāhmaṇas, religious preceptors and ascetics.

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1 From the ink-impressions supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra.
2 In the original, this word is in the margin; the si opposite the commencement of line 2, and the adhōṁ opposite, and partly above, the commencement of line 3.
3 The mark in the original after this visarga would seem to be an accidental slip of the engraver’s tool rather than intended for a mark of punctuation, which is not required here and which is unlike that occurring at the end of lines 4, 5 or 8. The marks of punctuation, at the end of lines 5 and 7 are, however, unnecessary.
4 Read paṁch-ēndrāṁ.
5 Sāntē: It is unnecessary to explain in detail the interpretation of this word. The difficulty is, as Fleet correctly remarks, not the correct rendering of it, which is perfectly obvious, but to comprehend how it ever came to be read sāntē, and to be interpreted by “of the repose, i.e., death,” i.e. “after the decease (of Skandagupta)” or, being read sāntē correctly, to comprehend how it ever came to be interpreted as meaning “(the empire of Skandagupta) being quiescent,” or “(the empire of Skandagupta) being extinct (for the hundred and forty-first year).” The correct interpretation appears to have been first pointed out by Bhauj Daji; “in the year one hundred and forty-one, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta” (JBBRIS, Vol. VIII, p. 246.)
6 For some similar instances of second names, see page 254 above, note 3.
(Verse 3) Observing and being alarmed that this whole world is evanescent, he acquired a mass of religious merit; and for (his own) bliss and for the welfare of (all) existing beings, having established, of stone, the five lords\(^1\) who were originators (ādikartrī)\(^2\) in the path of the Arhats who practise restraint of mind, (he) thereupon planted (in the ground) this exceedingly beautiful and fame-contributing pillar of stone which resembles the tip of the summit of the chief of mountains.

NO. 30 : PLATE XXX

**INDÖR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA : THE YEAR 146**

This inscription was discovered in 1874 by A.C.L. Carleyle, First Assistant to the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India; and was first brought to notice, in the same year, in the *JBAS*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp. 363 ff., where a lithograph of it was published, prepared by General Cunningham (*ibid.*, Plate xix), accompanied by a version of the text, and a translation of it, by Rajendralal Mitra. It was critically edited by J.F. Fleet in the *CII*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 68 ff. and Plate IX B. One correction was pointed out by F. Kielhorn in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 219.

The inscription is on a copper-plate which was found in a small stream at Indör, the ancient Indrapura and Indrāpura of the inscription, a large and lofty mound about five miles to the north-west of Dibhāi,\(^3\) the chief town of the Dibhāi Pargānā in the Anupshahar\(^4\) Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bulandshahar District in Uttar Pradesh. Until recent years, Indör was a small inhabited village; but it is now only a khōdā, or deserted mound and is not shown in maps. Fleet obtained the original plate, for examination, from the possession of General Cunningham.

The plate is a single one, inscribed on one side only, measuring about 8-1/8" by 5-1/2" at the end and 5-7/8" in the middle. The edges of it are here and there slightly thicker than the surface of the plate, with small depressions inside them at the same places; but there does not seem to have been any intention of purposely fashioning the edges thicker all round, so as to serve as a rim to protect the writing.\(^5\) The surface of the plate is in some places a good deal corroded by rust; the inscription, however, with care, is legible with certainty throughout. The plate is fairly thick; but the letters, being rather deeply engraved, shew through distinctly on a great part of the back of it. The engraving is clean and well executed; the majority of the letters, however, shew, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool. There is no hole

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1 *Indrāni*. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his published version, first pointed out the kind of meaning to be given to this word here (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 126).

2 *ādikartrī*: lit. 'originators.' Bhagwanlal Indraji first pointed out the correct meaning of this word, as referring here to five of the *Tīrathānikaras* or sanctified teachers of the Jainas (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 126 and note 16). See also *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 224-25.

3 The 'Dabhāi, Dubhai, Dibai, and Dubhaee,' of maps, etc. Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 67, Lat. 28° 12' N.; Long. 78° 18' E. The position of Indör, with reference to Dibhāi, is shown in the sketch map given in *CASIR.*, Vol. XII, Plate i.

4 The 'Anoopshahur and Anupshahar' of maps, etc.

5 Burnell allotted the earliest instances of arranging for the preservation of the writing on copper-plates, by beating up the margins round the plates and then flattening the edges, to the ninth or tenth century A.D. (*South Indian Palaeography*, p. 92). "But there are plenty of earlier instances," says Fleet, "in the south, as well as in the north of India. These raised rims were obtained, at first, by thickening the plates at the edges, in the process of Fashioning them. Afterwards, it became customary to beat the plates out quite smooth, and then to turn them up at the edges and fuse them together at the corners; and some of the Eastern Chulukya plates, made in this way, have raised rims a good quarter of an inch high." It is, however, worthy of note that the edges of the Dāmōdarpur Plates, noticed above (Nos. 22 and 24), have not been raised into rims for the protection of the writing.
in the plate for a ring with a seal on it; nor are there any indications of a seal having been soldered on to it, as, from the instance of the spurious Gaya plate of Samudragupta, No. 4 above, Plate IV; illustrated also, by the Aśrīgāth seal of Śarva Varman, CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 47, Plate XXX A, and the Sōnpat seal of Harshavardhana, ibid., No. 52, Plate XXXII B, and, elsewhere, by the Dīgham-Dubauli plate of the Mahārāja Mahendrapāla and the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of the Mahārāja Vinīyakapāla—seems to have been the early custom in the north of India. The weight of the plate is 1 lb. 2 oz. The average size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{2}$" and $\frac{3}{8}$". The characters, on the whole, belong to the western variety of the Gupta, i.e., northern class of alphabets, the test letter $m$ alone being of the eastern type. The initial $i$ has an entirely different form from that of the other northern type; contrast it in Indrapura and $i$, line 8, with $i$ in Plate I, page 215 above, line 30, and $i$ in plate IX, p. 250, line 7. In line 10, we have a form of the numerical symbol for 2. The language is Sanskrit; and all the formal part of the inscription, from Paramabhaṭṭāraka, line 3, to samakāliyam line 10, is in prose. From a linguistic point of view, we have to notice the affix ka, in =Endrāpuraka, line 5, Indrāpuraka, line 6, and especially pratisṭhāpitaka, line 7. Other instances of it are given by No. 26, CII., Vol. III, 1888, Plate XVI line 10, utpādyāmanaka; No. 27, ibid., Plate XVII, line 9, Pratisṭhāpitaka, and line 12, utpādyāmanaka; No. 28, ibid., Plate XVIII, lines 13 and 14, anumādikata, line 14, upariṣṭikāta, and lines 14 and 15 pratisṭhāpitaka, and lines 18 and 19 utpādyāmanaka; No. 29, ibid., Plate XIX, line 11, upariṣṭikāta, and line 15, utpādyāmanaka; No. 31, ibid., Plate XX, line 9, utpānaka, lines 9 and 16, utpādyāmanaka, and line 11, kārīlaka; No. 41, ibid., Plate XXVII, lines 11 and 12, atiṣṭhātaka. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before $s$ and $h$, in chatvārinād, lines 3-4., and $sīnaka$, line 6; (2) the doubling of $k$, and usually of $t$, in conjunction with a following $r$, e.g., in apākṛṣṇamaṇa, lines 8-9., and pauttraḥ, line 5, (but not in putrō in the same line); and (3) the doubling of $v$ after the anusvāra, in saṃvātsara, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Imperial Gupta king Skandagupta, whose officer, the Vishaya-pati Śarvanāga, was administering Antarvēdi, which, according to Flett, denotes the country lying between the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā. But this does not seem likely, because this whole province would rightly be a bhukti, 'province', and would be too big to be a vishaya, 'district', of which Śarvanāga could be Vishaya-pati. It probably denotes some doab touching the Gāṅgā which was not far removed from Indrapura and of which it could be the headquarters. It is dated in words, in the year one hundred and forty-six (464-65 A.D.) and in the month Phālguna (February-March), but without any specification.

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2. Ibid., pp. 138 ff.
3. As regards these two words, Monier-Williams, in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, gives puraka as another form of pura, 'a city'; but refers only to 'Arghāṣṭapuraka' as an authority for the word. This, however, as Flett points out, only owes its existence to one of the early misreadings of Mahārāja-Paśṭhapuraka in line 19 of the Allahābād inscription, No. 1 above.
4. Vishaya-pati is a technical official title, meaning 'the lord, or ruler, of a vishaya.'
5. According to the Akhandānācintāmaṇi: Gāṅgā-Yamunāyām—madhyam—Antarvēdiḥ Samasthali—(Bhāmīkāpya, 27). This shows that the tract of the land intervening between the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā was called Antarvēdi or Antarvedi and also known as Samasthali. See also the Trikaṇa-sāha, 2.1.7. The inhabitants of this land were for that reason called Antarvēda (Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 41. 14). Antarvēdi as the name of this country has been referred to also in the Anagraharaghava (Kāśyapāda ed.), p. 311. It will thus be seen that Antarvēdi here denotes a country or desa which is more extensive than a bhukti and is certainly far more extensive than a vishaya. But there is also a smaller division of this Antarvēdi which is popularly styled Antarabēda and which denotes the region of Kānauj lying between the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā, commonly called the Doab (Bate's Dictionary of the Hindi Language, sub voce). This probably represents the Antarvedi vishaya of the Indōr plate.
of the day of the month or fortnight. It is an inscription of solar worship; and the object of it is to record a perpetual endowment, by a Brahmāṇa named Dēvavishnu, for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sun at Indrapura or Indrāpūra i.e. the modern Indör. This mention of the place, under its ancient name, connects the record satisfactorily with the locality in which the plate was found. The temple was built by the two merchants of Indrapura, Achalavarman and Bṛhikṣṭhasinīha, Kshatriya or Khati1 by caste and the amount of the endowment was invested in Indrapura in a guild of oil-men of which Jivanta was the head (pravara). The guild was to make a uniform and perpetual supply of oil for lamp, wherupon it was stationed, whether at Indrapura or at some other town whither it might emigrate.

TEXT 5

[Metres: verse 1 Śārdulaśikriḍita and verse 2 Indaraśiṅga]

1 Siddham [1*] Yaṁ vīpṛā vidhivat=prabuddha-manaso dhyān-aika-tānā³-stuvaḥ⁴ yasya=āntaṁ tridaś-āsurā na vividur=nn=ōrdhvaṁ na tiryā-
2 g-gatiḥ⁶ [1*] yaṁ lōko bahu-rōga-vēga-vivaśaḥ samśriyā chēṭō-labhaḥ pāyād=vaḥ sa jagat-pithāna⁸-puṭabhid-ṛasaṁ-a-
3 karō bhāsakaraḥ || [1*] Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Skandaguptasya=
4 [ṛi*]nāsad-uttaratem Pālguna-māśe tat-p[ā*]darpāgrihitasya vishayapati-
5 Ṣarvanāgasya=Āntarvādyati bhog-ābhivriddhayē vartta-

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1 It is worthy of note that there was a tribe called Kshatriya or Kshatri which is mentioned both by foreign writers and in Sanskrit literature. Thus Arrian, who has left us an account of Alexander’s invasion of India, informs us that when this Macedonian emperor was encamped at the confluence of the Chēnāb and the Indus, he received deputes and presents from Xathroi (Kshatri), an independent tribe of Indians (McCrindle’s Ancient India, its invasion by Alexander the Great, p. 156). As has been pointed out by K. P. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, pt. I, p. 60), the same tribe appears to have been mentioned by Kauṭīya (XI, line 4) along with the Kāmbijīs and Surīśṭrās as the Saṅghas subsisting both upon agriculture and arms. They have apparently been referred to as Kṣhatriyas by Ptolemy (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 360). Similarly, they seem to have been referred to in the phrase Kṣhatriya-dapamāṇā-madanama occurring in the Naśik cave prāsasti of Gautamiputra Sātakarnī (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 60, line 5). Again, they appear to be the Kṣhatriya described in the Manumṛta (X, 12-13, 16, 19, 26 and 49) and the Kṣhatriyas of later inscriptions, such, e.g., as the Lāḍṭu inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, pp. 23 ff.) of Sādharāna who and his ancestors are spoken of as Kṣhatriyas of the Kāṣyapa gōra or the six grants of the Gāhavāla king Jayachandraśvēga of Kanauj (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 336-342) which speak of one and the same grantee, i.e., Rājvarudana, a Kṣhatriya and of the Vatsa gōra. They doubtless represent the modern Khati caste which pursues businesses and is spread over the Panjāb, U.P., Rājputānā, Central India, Gujarāt and even some parts of Maḥāraṣṭra (R. E. Enthoven’s Tribes and Castes of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 205 and ff.).

2 From the original plate.
3 Read -tāṇa-.
4 “The form stu”, says Flett, “is rather unusual; the customary form being stū. But Bühler has given me the analogous instance of āyata-stu, which is mentioned by Kāṭyāyana in his comments on Pāṇini, iiii, 2, 76. The meaning of āyatāstu is not given in the Mahābhāṣya; but Monier Williams explains it by ‘panegyrist.’” The note is all right except the reference to Pāṇini which should be iiii, 2, 178.
5 Read -gati-.
6 Read -pīḍhāna-.
7 See p. 246 above, note 1. But, after the cleaning of the plate, Gen. Cunningham (CASIR, Vol. XII, p. 40) could see a faint trace of the vowel CLUDED in of rājyē. According to him, it should thus read rājē samvatsara-satē.
8 Read śhat-.
INDÔR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA: THE YEAR 146

G. S. Gai

From photograph
6 tra-[ch*-]chhandögo Rānāyaṇīyō Varshagana-sagötttra Indrāpuraka-vanigbhyaṁ
kshatriy-Āchālvarma-Brhiṅkuṇṭhaśśhābhyaṁ = adhīshṭā².
7 nasya prāchhīyaṁ dīś = Indrapur-ādhīshṭhāṇa-māḍāśyaṭa-lagnam = ēva pratishṭhāpi-
taka-bhagavatē Savitrē dip-ōpayaṇam = ātma-yaśō-
8 bhīvīrdhāyē śūlyāṁ prayačchhahīti⁴ [ [[]] ] Indrapura-nivāsinyās = taillikā-srēṇyā 
Jonathan-pravaraḥ itō = dhīśṭhānād = apakkrama-
9 na-saṃpravēśā-yathāśthirāyēḥśśhāsrikati ṛahapateṭr = dvija-mūlyā-dattam = anayā⁸ 
tu srēṇyā yad = abhagna-yōgam
10 prattham² -ārē-avya[va*-]chchhinna-saṃsthāṁ dēyaṁ tailasya tulyēṇā⁸ pala-
dvayaṁ tu⁹ 2 chandr-ārka-saṃakāliyaṁ [[]*]
11 Yō vyakramēd⁹ = dāyaṁ = imāṁ nibaddham gō-ghnō guru-ghnō dvija-ghātakaḥ 
sah [[]*] taiḥ pātakaḥ[ḥ*]
12 paṃcchabhīr = anvitō = dhar = gachchhēn¹¹ = naraḥ s-ōpanipātakaiś = ch = ēti [[¹²]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Luck!

(Verse 1) May that Sun, the store of rays that cleave as under the sheath of the world 
(viz., darkness) protect you, whom Brāhmaṇas, with minds enlightened, praise, according 
to the rite in (their) uniform course of meditation; whose end, either vertically or transversely, 
neither the gods nor the demons could ascertain; (and) by having recourse to whom, mankind, 
when they are helpless through the intense virulence of disease, acquire consciousness (again)!

(Lines 3-5). When a century of years augmented by forty-six (has elapsed), pertaining 
to the increasingly victorious reign of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous 
Skandagupta, and when the month of Pālagna is current, for the augmentation of the 
enjoyment (of power), in Antarvēdī, of the Vishayapati Śarvanāga, who has been favoured 
by that venerable (king),¹⁴

(Lines 5-8). The Brāhmaṇa Dēvavishnu, who belongs to community of Chaturvēdins 
of Pādā relating to Indrāpura, who is the son of Dēvga, (and) the son’s son of Haritrēa, (and) 
the son of the son’s son of Dūḍika; who always maintains the sacred fire and is a student of 
the Sāmavēdā,¹⁶ who belongs to the Rānāyana school;¹⁷ and who is of the Varshagana-

¹ Read Rānāyaṇīyō.
² Fleet corrects it into -Bhrukunṭha, but Bhriṅkuṇṭha and Brhiṅkuṇṭha are interchangeable.
³ Read -adhīshṭhā-. 
⁴ Read prayačchhati. That the marks after ti are the visarga and not marks of punctuation, is shown by the 
form of the visarga throughout this inscription, and contrasted with it, the marks of punctuation after bhāskaraḥ, 
line 3, and at the end of the inscription.
⁵ The visarga is unnecessary in sandhi.
⁶ Read -dattam [ [[]*] ] Anayā.
⁷ Read praham-.
⁸ Fleet correctly says that tulyēṇa seems to be a mistake for taulyēṇa.
⁹ i.e., tulyēṇa (=taulyēṇa).
¹⁰ Read yō = tikramēd=.
¹¹ Read dhō gachchhēn=.
¹² Read cha [[]*] iti []
¹³ See page 246 above, note 1.
¹⁴ i.e., Skandagupta. For the term pāda, see note 4 on page 20 above.
¹⁵ See page 247 above, note 1.
¹⁶ According to Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Rānāyaniya-śutra is equivalent to Gōhīla-грийа-
śutra. It is well-known that the latter is a Grihya-śutra of the Sāmavēḍa; and this agrees with the fact that Dēva-
vishnu, the donor, is called a Gōhīlīga, ‘a student of the Sāmavēḍa.’ The preceptor, Gōhīla, is credited with 
the composition of also a Śrauta-śutra and a Naigīya-śutra, both pertaining to the same Vēḍa.
The inscription, for the increase of his own fame, gives an endowment, (of which the interest is) to be applied to (the maintenance of) a lamp for (the temple of) the divine Sun, established by Achalavarman and Bhrukuṇṭhasinha, Kshatriya merchants of the town of Indrāpura, just touching mādāyātā in the east of that town.

(Lines 8-10) Whatever has been given through the Brāhmaṇa’s endowment to (the temple of) the Sun is perpetual from the guild of oil-men, residing at Indrapura, of which Jivanta is the head and wherever it (i.e., the guild) may settle down after moving away from this town and entering (some other place). There should then be given by this guild, for the same time as the moon and the sun (endure), two palas of oil by weight (or in figures) by weight 2, uninterrupted in fulfilment (and) continuing without any diminution from the original value.

(Lines 11-12) Whosoever transgresses this grant that has been drawn up, that man, (becoming as guilty as) the slayer of a cow, (or) the slayer of a spiritual preceptor, (or) the slayer of a Brāhmaṇa, shall go to the infernal region, being overpowered with those (well-known) five sins, together with the minor sins.

NO. 31 : PLATE XXXXI

BHITARĪ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA

The column containing this inscription appears to have been discovered in 1834 by Tregear; but the inscription itself was not observed till a short time afterwards, when General Cunningham found it, on clearing away the earth from the lower part of the shaft. The discovery was announced in 1836, by James Prinsep, in the JASB., Vol. V, p. 661. And the inscription was first brought to notice in 1837, in the same journal, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff., where W. H. Mill published his reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph (marked ibid., Vol. V, Plate xxxii), reduced by Prinsep from a copy made by General Cunningham. In 1871, in CASIR., Vol. I, p. 98 and Plate xxx, General Cunningham published another lithograph of the inscription. In 1875, in JBBRAS., Vol. X, pp. 59 ff., Bhau Daji published a revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph, from a hand-copy made by Bhagwanlal Indraj. In 1885, in the JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, pp. 349

1 Varṣhagana is perhaps identical with Varṣhapushpa (v. 1. pushya or pushṭa) included by the Baudhāyana Śatapatha in the Yāska division of the Brīgu-gōra.

2 Here, i.e., in line 6, the vowel of the second syllable of this name is long, but below, i.e., in line 7 and 8, it is short.

3 The meaning of mādāyātā is not apparent.

4 A well-known instance of a guild emigrating from one place to another and settling down there is furnished by that of the silk-weavers mentioned in the Mandaśaṅk inscription of Kumāragupta I and Budhavarman (No. 35 below).

5 Pala, a particular weight, = 4 swarṇas or 64 māṣhas (beans). See also D. R. Bhandarkar’s Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 86.

6 The paṭīka mahāpāṭākāni, or ‘five great sins.’ The men who are guilty of these sins are described in the Mānavā-Dharmāśāstra, IX, 235, which is thus translated by Bühler: “The slayer of a Brāhmaṇa, (a twice-born man) who drinks (the spirituous liquor called) Surā, he who steals (the gold of a Brāhmaṇa) and he who violates a Guru’s bed, must each and all be considered as men who committed mortal sins (māhā-pāṭākā),” SBE., Vol. XXV, p. 383. See also Mānavā-Dharmāśāstra, XI, 55-59 and Bühler’s Translation, ibid., pp. 441-42. Upaniṣāṭākā seems to be the same as Upaṭāṭāka, ‘the longer form being used in this verse for the sake of the metre’ as Fleet rightly remarks. As regards upāṭākās or minor offences, such as ‘slaying king, sacrificing for those who are unworthy to sacrifice etc., etc., see the Mānavā-Dharmāśāstra, XI, 60-67 and Bühler’s Translation, ibid., pp. 442-44.


8 This paper was not published till 1875; but it was read before the Society four years earlier, on the 13th April, 1871.
ff., Bhagwanlal Indraji has given his own reading of the text, and a translation of it, with another lithograph reduced from his hand-copy. Three years thereafter it was edited by J.F. Fleet in the CII., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 52 and ff. and Plate VII. Though his treatment of the inscription is an improvement upon that of the Pandit, the transcript of neither can be considered final or even satisfactory. This seems to be due to the fact that the stone is highly weatherworn and is also injured in some places. The extreme historical importance of the epigraph, however, deserves more attention being bestowed upon it. Accordingly I have checked not only the transcripts of the Pandit and Fleet in the light of the ink impressions, but also the results thereof by examining the original column.

Bhitari¹ is a village about five miles to the northeast of Sayyidpur,² the chief town of the Sayyidpur Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Ghazipur³ District in Uttar Pradesh. The red-sandstone column on which the inscription is, stands just outside the village, on the south side. The inscription is on the eastern face of the square base of the column; and the bottom line is only a few inches above the level of the ground.

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 4-1/4" high by 2' 2-1/4" broad, has suffered very much from the effects of the weather; also the stone has peeled off in a few places; and there is a crack running vertically down the inscription, near the left side. With care, however, the greater portion of the inscription is legible, on the original stone, with certainty; and nothing of a historical nature seems to be lost. The size of the letters varies from 1/4" to 7/16". The characters belong to the western variety of the northern class of alphabets. On the whole, the letters are somewhat squarely cut. The letters s and m, in some cases, resemble those of the Mathurā inscription of Chandragupta II (No. 10 above). The left downward stroke of m is curved. S has no loop, but has instead a slanting straight stroke at the bottom of the left limb. Sometimes, however, m is so squarely cut that it becomes difficult to distinguish it from p. Letters like g and š are highly akin, and the one can be easily mistaken for the other. There are two doubtful cases where the m looks like its southern type; see mahārāja (line 3) and svayam (line 4). Medial l is generally indicated by a curve placed on the left limb of the letter. In cases of letters which have two parts, this ikāra is indicated on the top of the left limb. An exception to it may be seen in pitaḥ (line 17). At times the curve comes down so much as to enclose the whole letter like the l of the southern type and hence more space is left out between it and the preceding letter than is usual; see e.g., -dauhītra- (line 3). Sometimes this curve is very much suppressed and looks like the ē as in sthāpita (line 11). Medial ā is indicated by a horizontal stroke to the right, but in exceptional cases by an upward slanting stroke attached to the top of the letter as in sthāpita (line 11). In the case of y, the ā is attached to the middle limb, excepting in nyāyā (line 2) where it is attached to the right limb. Au is generally indicated by three strokes as in -dauhītra- (line 3), but the au in prapautar (line 2) is peculiar and looks like ai. U is indicated by a suppressed hook to the left. In the case of letters like m and s, only the right vertical line is prolonged downwards. Š, however, has a hook to denote sū as in subhram (line 12). The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose as far as the middle of line 6, and the rest in verse. In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before s in vanāśa, lines 7, 13 and 14; (2) the doubling of k, in conjunction with a following r, in -vikramēṇa and kkramēṇa, line 9; (3) the doubling of t, under the same circumstances, in -pautrasya, line 3 (but not in -prapautrasya, line 2; putras=., line 4; and other places); and (4) in.anuddhyātō, line 5.

¹ The ‘Bhitarı, Bhitree, Bhitrı, and Bhitari’ of maps, etc. Indian Atlas, Sheet, No. 103, Lat. 25° 35’ N.; Long. 83° 17’ E. Spelt Bhitri in Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, pp. 117-18.
² The ‘Saidpur and Sdypoor’ of maps, etc.
³ The ‘Ghazeepor’ of maps.
The inscription is one of the Imperial Gupta king Skandagupta. It is not dated. It belongs to the Vaishnava form of religion; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Vishnu under the name of perhaps Kumārasvāmin¹ called after his father and the allotment, to the idol, of the village, not mentioned by name, in which the column stands, for the augmentation of the spiritual merit of his father Kumāragupta 1.

In stanza 4 of this inscription both Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet read the name Pushyamitra; and whereas the former takes it in the singular, the latter does it in the plural. On the strength of Bhagwanlal Indraji's reading, the late P. Peterson² took this Pushyamitra to be the king whose contemporary and protege was Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya. R. G. Bhandarkar³ strongly dissented from the view, and no scholar has since then been found who agrees with Peterson. As regards the reading of Fleet which takes Pushyamitra in the plural, it has been accepted to this day. Who, however, the Pushyamitras were was for some time undecided, until the late A.M.T. Jackson pointed out that a Jain inscription from Mathura mentioned the Pushyamitrīs as a kula of the Vāraṇa Gaṇa.⁴ Later, F.E. Pargiter drew our attention to the Pushyamitra family mentioned in the Purāṇa as having ruled in the third century A.D.⁵ But it is rather curious that such a clan as the Pushyamitrīs, which was unknown to epigraphy or numismatics before, should all of a sudden rise to such an importance as to dominate the Gupta supremacy for a while, only to sink into oblivion thereafter. This reasonable scepticism has now been apparently set at rest by the fact that, after all, the correct reading most probably is not samudita-bala-kōśān=Pushyamitrāṁś=cha jīvā, but rather samudita-bala-kōśān=yudhy=amitrāṁś=cha jīvā. Though stanza 4 cannot thus be utilised for the purposes of history, there are two others whose importance has not been a bit diminished. Thus, stanza 6 informs us that when his father died, the fortune of the Gupta House was in a tottering condition but that as soon as he re-established it, he repaired to his mother who was in tears just as Kṛishṇa did to Dēvaki when he had slain his enemy. If the comparison of Skandagupta and his mother to Kṛishṇa and Dēvaki has any meaning, it seems that some menace to the Gupta power had arisen from the side of Skandagupta's mother and that the prince who actually threatened it was perhaps her brother. To what family he probably belonged is a question which has been considered above in the Introduction, pp. 80 ff. The second item of historical importance which is furnished by this inscription is contained in stanza 8, which describes his fierce conflict with the Hūnas. Unfortunately this stanza has not been properly preserved; and so we do not know whether any further information on this point had been supplied to us about his battle with the Hūnas, especially the place where it took place.

TEXT⁶

[Metres : Verse 1 Pushpitāgrā; verses 2-6 Mālinī; verses 7-8 Śārdūlavikṛṣṭita; and verses 9-12 Anushṭubh.]

1 [Siddham] [n*] [Sar]vārāj[ō]chhe[č]ttuḥ prithivyām=apratirathasya chatur-
2 Kṛitānta-parāśoh nyāy-āgat-[ā]nēka-gō-hiranya-k[ō]ti-pradasya chir-ō[t]sann-
āsvamēdh-āhart[t]ur=mahārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapautra[sya]

¹ See p. 317 note 3 below.
² JBBRS., Vol. XVI, p. 189.
³ Ibid., pp. 199 and ff.
⁵ The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 50-51 and 73.
⁶ From the original column and the ink impressions supplied.
⁷ There are some faint marks above the saṃśeṣa, which seem to be remnants of this word; but it is not quite certain.
BHITARĪ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA

G. S. Gai

From photograph

4 m = upannasya mahārājadhirāja-śri-Samudraguptasya puṭrasaḥ = tatt-parigṛhiṇō mahādevyāṃ = Dattadevyaṃ = upannah [s] = apratirathaḥ.


6 [bhāgavato mahārājadhirāja-śri-Kumāragupta] = tasya [s] Prathitaḥ-prithumatiṣaḥ bhūva-saktēḥ prithu-yaśasah prithivipateḥ prithu-srīḥ [†]

7 pi[tri]-pa[ra]gata-pāda-padma-vartti prathita-yaśaḥ prithiṣṭhitāḥ sūto = ya [m] [† 1°] [Ja] gātiḥ bhū[ja]-bal-ādāyō [†]

8 nāmā nāmaḥ Skandagupta[†] [s] Prathitaḥ-charitānāṁ yēna vṛttēṇa vṛt[ti]tāṁ na vihitam = atha ch = ātmaṁ tān[na]-dhīdā[?]-viniitaḥ [† 2°] Vinayasa-

9 bala-sunīta[r] = vīkramēṇa kramēṇa pratidinam = abhiyogad = īpsitaṁ yē[na] la-

10 bhīvo [†] svabhīmata-vigijōṣhī-śūdhyānāṁ parēśāṁ prāṇī-


14 jītad = iti paritūṣhān = [m]ātaram s-āsra-nēṭrāṁ ātara-rūpāṁ = īva [Kṛj]śnō Devakīṁ = abhyu[pē]-

15 jah [† 6°] Sv[ai]r = ddand[aih] = ra[?]tyu[=]t-prachalitaṁ vaṇāṁ pra-

16 tisēṣṭhāpya yō bāhubhyāṁ = avanīṁ vijyāḥ hi jānēshv = ārēṣhū kṛtvā dayām [†] m = oṭis[iktō] [na cha] vīmaṁ pratidinaṁ


18 sūtraḥ sarā [= = = = = = = = = ] vīraḥ [?] chi[?]taṁ prakhyāpiṭo [d] [t] [m] [m]aṇ = na [d] yō[ri = ]-nabhuṭaṁ laksyataiva śrōtēśhū Śargaḥ-dhavanī[† 8°]

19 S[va] = pituṁ kīrtti [ = = = = = = = = = = ] [†] [ = = = = = = = = = ] muktiṣṭhūḥ = yuktā[ = = = = = = = ] [† 9°] [Prakāryā] pratimā kācīt = pratimāṁ tasya Śarṇīgah [†]

20 s[u]-prattīṭaḥ = chakār = ēmāṁ [ = = = = = = = = = ] [† 10°] Iha ch = ānāṁ prat-

21 tisēṣṭhāpya su-pratisēṣṭhīa-sāsanāḥ [†] grāmāṁ = ēnāṁ sa vidadh[ē] pitūḥ pu[na]-ābhīvṛddhāyē [† 11°]

1 Read ādhyā.

2 “The second syllable of this name,” says Fleet, “like the rest of the inscription, is damaged. But, as regards the lower component,—comparing it with the subscript y of this inscription, e.g. in pradāsa, line 2, and dauhitrasya, line 3; and contrasting it with the subscript p, e.g. in tat-parigṛhiṇō, line 4, and = tat-pādā line 5, it is plainly y.”

3 But the upper component of this second syllable is most certainly dh; the ink impressions leave not even the shadow of a doubt on this point. And as the subscript y is hardly distinguishable from the subscript p especially when it is in a weather-worn condition, we are compelled to read = yuddhy = amitrāmīs = cha instead of = Pusyamitrāmīs = cha.

4 This was in fact, the reading suggested, on grounds of plausibility, by H. R. Diverkar in ARBOLI, Vol. I, pp. 100-01.


6 Fleet restores it to yāsvad-ā-chaudra-tārakam. But if yāvat is used, ā is superfluous. It has, perhaps, to be restored to Kumārasvāmī-nāmikām.
19 Atō bhagavatō mūrtrīṁ=iyāṁ yaś=ch=ātra [saṁśkritāḥ] [ⅷ] ubhayam nirddīḍāṁ
   =āśau pītuḥ puṇyāya puṇya-dhūr = iti3

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Luck!
(Lines 4-5) The prosperous Chandragupta (II) the Mahārājādhirāja, who was himself
without an equal adversary (and) an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), who, born
of the Mahādevi Dattādevi was the son of, and selected (as successor)3 by the prosperous
Samudragupta, the Mahārājādhirāja,
(Lines 1-2) who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no equal adversary on earth;
whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who was equal to (the gods)
Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe of Kṛitānta (God of Death)
who was the giver of many crores of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who was the performer
of the aśamēdha-sacrifice that had long decayed,4 (and)
(Lines 2-4) who was the son of the son’s son of the prosperous Gupta, the Mahārāja; the
son’s son of the prosperous Gaṅgōṣṭhikāchā, the Mahārāja, (and) the son of the prosperous
Chandragupta I, the Mahārājādhirāja, the daughter’s son of the Lichchhīvi;5 (and) of the
Mahādevī Kumāradēvī;
(Lines 5-6). His (Chandragupta II’s) son, who meditates on his feet, is born of the Mahā-
dēvī Dhrūvadēvī (and) is an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), (is) the prosperous
Kumāragupta (I), the Mahārājādhirāja; of him,
(Verse 1) the power of whose colossal intellect and own calibre was renowned, whose
fame was colossal (and) who was the lord of the earth (is) this son (the present king) who is
clinging to the lotus-like feet, (still) remembered, of (his) father, whose fame is renowned, and
who is (now) the lord of the earth;
(Verse 2) who, possessing strength of arm most abundantly in the world, is the one hero
of the Gupta lineage; whose splendour is as profuse as renowned; who is Skandagupta by
name; by whom, in (his) conduct, the conduct of those whose rule of life is virtuous deeds
is not violated; and who is again a soul well-disciplined in (musical) tāna and dhīdā.6
(Verse 3) By whom, with daily assiduous application, having attained his wish gradually
through self-restraint, force, good policy (and) valour was obtained a lesson in organisation
(of expedition) as is laid down (on a board) for other (kings) intent upon conquest so highly
welcome (to them);
(Verse 4) By whom, as he was intent upon steadying the tottering Sovereignty of the
House, several nights were spent on a bed, namely, the earth; and, having in a battle vanquished
enemies who had developed forces and treasure, (his) left foot was placed on the royal
foot-stool;7

1 Read saṁśkritāḥ.
2 Read pūna-dhūr [ⅷ 12*] iti.
3 That is, by Samudragupta; see page 254 above, note 1.
5 Another form of this name is Lichchhāvi, with the vowel a in the second syllable. As regards the present
variant, see page 228 above, note 28.
6 These are terms apparently technical to the Indian science of music. And if I have rightly understood this
line, it means that Skandagupta was well conversant with music—a conclusion which need not surprise us as we
know that his great grandfather, Samudragupta, was an accomplished musician.
7 It has been pointed out above that the correct reading seems here to be yudh=amātrāṁ=cha, and not
Pūṣyamātrāṁ=cha as taken by Fleet. And even though his reading is supposed to be the correct one, the phrase
kṣitipa-charanā-pīṭhā is rendered devoid of all meaning. He, no doubt, translates the line by “he placed his left foot
(Contd. on p. 317)
(Verse 5) The bright mode of life of whom, possessed of spotless fame, which has sprung out of peerless restraint of senses . . . . forgiveness and heroism, which have perforce eclipsed the splendour of (his) weapon, is sung in every direction by contented men down to the boys;

(Verse 6) Who, with enemies conquered by the strength of (his) arm, established again the Sovereignty of the House that had turned adrift when (his) father had repaired to heaven; (and) delighted because he had won, he approached (his) mother whose eyes were full of tears, just as Kṛishṇa did Dēvaki¹ when he had slain (his) foe.

(Verse 7) Who, with his own forces, has established (again) (his) lineage that had tottered . . . . . . whom, having conquered the earth with (his) two arms and shown mercy to the people in distress, has become neither puffed up nor amazed though (his) radiance is increasing day day by day; (and) whom the narration of (his) mode of life, whether with songs or with panegyrics, is raising to the dignity of an Ārya;

(Verse 8) Of whom, when he had come in contact with the Hūṇas, with (his) two arms, in battle, the earth quaked; of whom that causes terrible whirlpools among enemies . . . . proclaimed . . . . is noticed in (their) ears as if it were the twanging of the bows.

(Verse 9) The monument² of his father . . . .

(Verse 10) Firmly convinced that some image should be made, he made this (image) of Śārṅgin (Vishṇu) (called Kumārasvāmin).³

(Verse 11) And having here installed this (god), he, whose rule is well-established, has assigned this village (to the god) for the augmentation of the spiritual merit of (his) father.

(Verse 12) Thus this image of the Divine One and (the column)⁴ which was consecrated here—both these the pious minded one has indicated for the spiritual merit of (his) father.

NO. 32 : PLATE XXXII

SUPIĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SKANDAGUPTA : THE YEAR 141

The stone pillar bearing the inscription under study was discovered in the village of Supiā in the former Rewa State, now in Madhya Pradesh in 1943-44.¹ It was first published by B. Ch. Chhabra in the Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Varanasi, Vol. III, 1948, pp. 587-89. It was briefly noticed by D. C. Sircar in JAS., Letters, Vol. XV, 1949, p. 6 and edited by him in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 306-08, along with plate. Another inscription, on a foot-stool which was the king (of that tribe himself).” But Divekar rightly says: “Had the writer meant to express what Dr. Fleet would have him do, he would have written the last line as tad-adhipt-pada-pitē sthāpita vāma-pādah” (ABORI., Vol. I, p. 103). But if we accept the other reading, namely, yudhy = anitrāṇi = cha, kṣitipa-charaṇa-pitē acquires a natural sense, and what the line means is that he occupied the throne and rested his left foot on the foot-stool which is an integral part of a king’s throne; in other words, it means that he made himself king.

¹ This reference to Kṛishṇa and Dēvaki clearly shows that Skandagupta’s enemy was a close relative of his mother, possibly her brother. This stanza may be compared with stanza 2 of the Junāgadīh rock inscription (No. 28 above).

² For this sense of the word kirtti, see p. 242 note 1 above.

³ This is in accordance with our restoration of the line. If this is accepted, Kumārasvāmin becomes the name of the god Vishṇu installed by Skandagupta in honour of his father Kumāragupta I. This may be compared to Vaiṭābaṭṭasvāmin, an image of Vishṇu founded by Alla in honour of his father Vaiṭābaṭṭa (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 159, line 6).

⁴ This, of course, refers to the place where the column is set up and where the purificatory ceremony took place.

⁵ [D. R. Bhandarkar’s manuscript does not contain his article on this inscription though he was aware of its discovery and possessed an impression of it.—Ed.].
which is much damaged, recording the performance of a Sati rite, has been engraved at a much later date on the back side of this pillar.

The inscription is written in seventeen lines covering an area about 8 inches in breadth and about 22-½ inches in height. The **characters** are the same as in the contemporary inscriptions of central part of India such as the earlier records of the kings of the Parivṛjašaka and Uchchakalpa dynasties. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose throughout. In respect of **orthography**, it may be noted that the consonant following \( r \) is reduplicated, e.g. dharmma, line 6, and Vargga, line 15; sometimes the consonant preceding \( r \) is also reduplicated, e.g. vikramanēṇa, line 5 and -gōtra- line 14. Vanīśa is written for vanīśa, line 1 and chatvārīniśa for chatvārīniśa, line 9.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Skandagupta** of the **Imperial Gupta dynasty**. He is called here as Mahāraja, rather inaccurately. The **date** of the record is given in lines 8-9 as **year 141** of the reign of Skandagupta. The details are given in lines 16-17 as the second vihti of the bright half of the month of Jyēśṭha. The year has to be referred to the Gupta era and its equivalent would be 460-61 A.D. The **object** is to record the erection of the **bala-yashti**, which was a gōtra-sailikā, by Varga-grāmika. This Varga is stated to be the brother of Śrīdatta and Chhandaka, son of Hari-srēṣṭhīn and grandson of Kaivartti-srēṣṭhīn. Śrīdatta is described as kutumbika i.e. husbandman residing at **Avaḍara** while Varga is described as grāmika i.e. village headman, apparently of Avaḍara. Thus his family members were srēṣṭhīn (banker), kutumbika and grāmika.

The stone pillar bearing the inscription and erected by Varga is called bala-yashti in the epigraph. *Yashti* here means a memorial pillar which is also called gōtra-sailikā i.e. ‘family (pillar of) stone’ because Varga erected this pillar in memory of all the members of his family mentioned therein.

Only one geographical name occurs in the record viz. **Avaḍara** which cannot be identified. It may be a locality in the neighbourhood of Supiā.

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**TEXT**

1 [Śrī]-Ghaṭ[ō]tkacha[h₁ *] tad-vanśē³ prava .⁴
2 [nē²] mahāra[rā]-śri-Samu[dragu]pta[h₁ *] ta[t-pu]-
3 [tra[h₁ *] śri-Vikramā[ditya][h₁ *] ta[t-pu]ra[h₁ *] mahāra[ja]-
4 [śrī]-Mahē[ndrāditya][h₁ *] tasya [pu]tra[h₁ *] Chakkrav[a]-
5 [ṛtū]-tu[lyō] [māḥ]-bala-vikṛra[mē]nā Rā[mā]-
6 [tu]lyō dha[rmna]-pa[r][a]tayā Yudhiṣṭhirā⁶ sa[tyē]-
7 nācharavi[naya]² mahāraja-śri-Ska[nda]-
8 guptasya⁶ rājya-[samva]tsara⁶-śatē ēka-
9 chatvārī[nṣōttā]rakē¹⁰ [h₁ *] [asyāṁ] divasa-pū-
10 rvvāyāṁ(yām) Avaḍara-vāstavya-kūṭumbi[kah₁ *]
11 Kaivartti-srēṣṭhī-naptri[ptā] Hari-srēṣṭhī-pu[tra][h₁ *] Śrīda-

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² From an impression.
³ Read *tad-vaniśk.
⁴ The two lost akṣaras may be restored as rītama or rd̐damā.
⁵ The damaged letter looks more like nāth.
⁶ Read *Yudhiṣṭhira-tulvah.
⁷ Read *ṇ = ācāra-vinayāh or better saty-ācāra-vinayāh.
⁸ Read *guptaḥ i tasya.
⁹ Read *samvatsara.
¹⁰ Read *vimśad-uṭtarakē.
SUPIĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SKANDAGUPTA: THE YEAR 141
NĀLĀNDĀ CLAY SEAL OF VAINYAGUPTA

12 [tta][h *] tad-bhrātṛi(tā) Vargga[h *] ta[d-bhrā]ta(tā)
   Chhha(Chha)ndaka ...1 [h *]
13 sva-puṇy-āpyāyan-ārthāṁ yāṣāḥ-ki-
14 [rrti]-pravardha[ya*]māna-gōttra-śailikā bala-ya-
15 sḥṭih(sḥṭh) pratishṭhāpita Vargga-grāmikēṇa
16 Jē[Ja]ṣṭha-māśe śukla-pakshaya dviti-
17 [yāyāṁ] ti[thau] [h *]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) The illustrious Ghaṭōkachā. In his family ...

(Line 2-4) Prosperous Samudragupta the mahārāja; his son, the prosperous Vikramā-
ditya (i.e. Chandragupta II), the mahārāja; his son, the prosperous Mahendrāditya (i.e. Kumāragupta I), the mahārāja; his son,

(Line 4-9) The prosperous Skandagupta, the mahārāja (who) resembled a Chakravartin
in strength and valour, Rāma in righteous conduct and Yudhishṭhira in truthfulness, conduct
and humility. In his regnal year one hundred exceeded by fortyone, when in this
detailed order of the date,

(Line 9-12) Śrīdatta, son of Hari-śrēśththīn and grandson of Kaivartti-śrēśththin, (was)
the husbandman residing at Avaḍara, his brother (was) Vargga, his brother (was)
Chhandaka;

(Line 13-15) (This) bala-yashṭi (i.e. memorial pillar) (called) gōtrā-śailikā (i.e. family-
stone) was erected by Varga-grāmika for the increase of his own merit, glory and fame,

(Line 16-17) On the second day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha.

NO. 33 : PLATE XXXIII

NĀLĀNDĀ CLAY SEAL OF VAINYAGUPTA

This seal bearing an inscription of Vainyagupta was picked up like those of Buddhagupta,
Narasimha-gupta and Kumāragupta III (Nos. 42, 44 and 45 below) in the course of the exca-
vation to Monastery site No. 1 at Nālāndā, in the Patna District, Bihar, in 1927-28. It
remained unnoticed except for a brief reference to its discovery by Hirananda Sastri in the
Eh. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 77, postscript. Later on he published it in his Memoir on Nalanda and its
Epigraphic Material,² p. 67. This seal, like the others, was originally a clay impression which
was eventually burnt into terracotta in the circumstances mentioned below on page 355.

Unfortunately the seal is a mere fragment. The whole of it is broken off except the middle
portion of its lower surface which is preserved in the shape of a triangle. The extant fragment
measures 2-½" at the base and is 2-½" in height. The seal was oval in shape as seems from
the curvature of the rim preserved. Its upper part which presumably contained some device
and an indefinite number of lines is entirely broken off. The seal in its present fragmentary state
contains five lines of prose writing. Of the first line nothing except a ligature remains. The
second, third and fourth lines have each lost some letters both at the beginning and at the end.
Only the last one seems to be completely preserved. From the analogy of the other Gupta
seals from Nālāndā to which it bears strong affinity, it is not unlikely that this also originally
contained eight lines of writing. The characters which are executed in relief are well formed

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1 [D. C. Sircar thinks that two letters are lost after Chhandaka and restores them as Ṛṣ = ch = ēt. But actually
there are three letters which appear to read as Śalasyāṁ, probably referring to a place-name.—Ed.]

2 MASJ., No. 66.
and are exactly akin to those of the Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta III, noticed below. The **language** is Sanskrit. In respect of **orthography** the only point worth noticing is the doubling of *d*(*k*) in conjunction with a following *y* in *-pādānuddhyātō*, line 4, but not in the same expression occurring in line 3.

The legend on the seal is purely genealogical and follows the stereotyped formula found on every other Gupta seal. It refers itself to the reign of **Vainyagupta** who, in common with the other Gupta sovereigns, whose seals are known, is called *Paramabhaqavata Mahārājādhīhrāja* (line 5). Owing to the highly fragmentary character of the legend, no name other than that of the issuer, is preserved in full. Thus, in line 4, which is expected to contain the names of Vainyagupta’s father and mother, all that remains of the former is a hook below, evidently representing the medial *u*, followed by *gupta*. This can, however, plausibly be restored as *[Pur*] *ugupta* as it is the only one among the known names of Gupta emperors which satisfies the requirements of the case and takes the particular form of this medial *u* used here; cf., *e.g.*, the identical medial *u*-sign in *ru* of Purugupta on the seals of Narasinhagupta and Kumāragupta III. The other name in the same line, namely, that of the mother is well-nigh obliterated. Thus, after *śr[ī]* may be seen the vestiges of two letters with only their lower parts intact. The first looks like *cha* while the second is a ligature, to all appearances *dra*, the subscript being quite legible. This may easily be restored to *[Chandra][dēvi]* who is evidently represented here as the queen of Purugupta and the mother of Vainyagupta. These restorations receive confirmation from the seals of Narasinhagupta and Kumāragupta III which also mention Chandraśeśi as the queen of Purugupta. Thus, Vainyagupta shares this parentage certainly with Narasinhagupta and also probably with Budhagupta. He may be one of the several brothers, ruling successively over the empire.

The only other known record of Vainyagupta is the Gunaighar copper plate grant dated the Gupta year 188, corresponding to 507 A.D. But this Vainyagupta bears the title, not of *Mahārājādhīhrāja* but simply *Mahārāja*. What is further noteworthy about him is that in this record he has been described as *Bhagavan-Mahādēva-pād-ānudhyāta*. And quite in keeping with this is the fact that the seal attached to his charter bears the figure of a recumbent bull. Vainyagupta of the seal, on the other hand, is styled not only *Mahārājādhīhrāja* but also *Paramabhaqavata*. Unfortunately this seal is fragmentary, but if it had been preserved whole and entire like the other Gupta seals, the upper part of it would have been found containing a representation of Garuḍa, which was, in fact, the badge of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The evidence thus militates against the identification of Vainyagupta of the seal with Vainyagupta of the plate. This conclusion is confirmed by another piece of evidence. The date of the Gunaighar plate is Gupta year 188, whereas the last date of Skandagupta-Purugupta is Gupta year 148. They are thus separated by an interval of 40 years which is too long an interval that should separate the ruling father from a ruling son. But if the conclusion is accepted that the two Vainyaguptas are two separate princes, Vainyagupta of the seal can easily be placed after Skandagupta-Purugupta and presumably between him and Kumāragupta II, that is, between Gupta year 148 and 154.

It will be seen that Vainyagupta of the seal was a *Mahārājādhīhrāja*. It is, therefore, natural that coins of this king should have been identified. Coins, exactly similar to the archer type of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, had so long been attributed by Allan to Chandragupta (gupta) III—Dvādaśāditya in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, p. 144 and Plate XXIII, Nos. 6-8. But D. C. Ganguly has correctly pointed out that what has been read as *Chandra* on the obverse is indubitably *Vainya*.1 Secondly, the obverse bears the Garuḍa standard

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on the left which also clearly shows that he was a devotee of Vishnu—a fact which accords with the epithet Paramabhagavata which is coupled with his name on the seal.

TEXT

1 [syā]
2 [Chand]*[ra]guptas=tasya putra[s]=ta  . . . .
3 s=tasya putras=tat-pādānudhyātāḥ śrī-[Ma]  . . .
4 [Pur]*uguptas=tasya putras=tat-pādānuddhyātī Mahādevyā[ā]ṁ
śrī[1-Chand]ra . . . .
5 paramabhāgavatāḥ Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Vainyaguptaḥ [1*]

NO. 34 : PLATE XXXIV

SĀRNĀTH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA II: THE YEAR 154

This inscription was discovered during the excavations carried out by H. Hargreaves in the cold season of 1914-15 at Sārnāth near Banaras in the Uttar Pradesh and was transcribed and translated by Y. R. Gupte in the A.R. ASP., 1914-15, p. 124, No. XV, and Plate LXIX, n. It is engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image (Plate LXIII, b of the same Report) which was recovered east of the main shrine.

The writing is in three lines and covers a space of about 1' 7" broad, by 2 3/4" high. The inscription is, on the whole, well-preserved, though the ending portion of line 3 is undecipherable. The average size of the letters is 1 1/4". The characters belong to the northern class of the Gupta alphabet such as was prevalent in Uttar Pradesh. The letters, in other words, resemble those of Central India, except m, which is of the eastern variety. The m, again, has, like that of the Karamchāndā record, two recessed corners. Further palaeographic peculiarities are: (1) the form of the letter bha, (2) the left limb of śa and ga which ends in a slight curve and (3) the ending m which is indicated by a serif covering the whole top. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding r.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Imperial Gupt king Kumāragupta II. It is dated, in words, when a century of years increased by fifty-four of the Guptas (had passed away) on the second day of the month of Jyeṣṭha. The date is thus equivalent to 473-74 A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the setting up of an image of the Teacher (Buddha) by the monk Abhayamitra, on the pedestal of which it is engraved.

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1-3, Āryā]

1 Varsha-śatē Gupṭānāṁ sa-chatuḥ-parīchāsād-uttarē bhūmiṁ rakṣati
   Kumāraguptē māsē Jyeṣṭhē [dvīl][tli][yā]*[yā]ṁ = [1*]
2 Bhaktē-[a*]varjīta-manaśā yatīṁ pūjārtathi=Abhayamitrēṇa
   prati[m]=āpratimasya guṇā[r=a]pa[r=e]yam [kā]ritā Śāstuḥ = [2*]
3 Māṭa-pitrī-guru-pūrttiḥ puṇyēn=ānēna satvākāyāyōṁ
   labhatām=abhimatam=upaśāma-mahāvahā . . prayām = [3*]

1 [Daya Ram Sahni suggests pārvalih in the A.R. ASP., for 1914-15, p. 124, note 1, which is a better reading Ed.].
TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) When a century of years, increased by fifty-four, of the Guptas (had passed away), on the second day of the month of Jyeshtha, when Kumara Gupta was protecting the earth;

(Verse 2) This unique image of the Teacher (Buddha), unparalleled through (his) merits, was caused to be made for worship by the monk Abhayamitra whose mind was subdued with devotion;

(Verse 3) Through this spiritual merit, may this body of sentient beings, supplemented by (my) parents and preceptors, obtain the desired extinction (of worldly existence) . . . .

NO. 35 : PLATE XXXV

MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA (I) AND BANDHUVARMAN: THE (KRITA) YEARS 493 AND 529

This inscription was first brought to the notice of scholars in 1885 by Peter Peterson in the *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 380-81, where he has given us a brief summary of its contents and discussed the significance of the date. It was, thereafter and for the first time, edited in full by J.F. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 194 ff. The credit, however, of discovering it goes to the latter scholar as the copyists he sent to Mandasar for taking impressions of the fragmentary pillar inscription¹ of Yasodharman, discovered not only the duplicate copy of this pillar inscription² but also of the record that is under consideration. The inscription was afterwards re-edited by Fleet in an expanded form in *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 79 ff., and Plate XI. There were, however, many mistakes in Fleet’s reading and rendering of the text. Most of these were corrected by R. G. Bhandarkar in the *JBRAS.*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, pp. 94 ff. and some by Duragprasad in Nos. 51-52 of the *Prachina-lika-mala* published in the *Kavynamala* Series. The whole text and most of the translation were afterwards revised by G. Büehler in *Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie*, pp. 91-96 and pp. 8 ff.

Mandasar or more properly Dašor, is, as already stated, the chief town of the Mandasar District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription is engraved on a sand-stone slab which was originally built into a wall of the flight of steps leading to a shrine of Mahādeva on the river and consequently to the Mahādeva ghāṭ called after that god. About the end of April 1905 I visited Mandasar and inspected the inscription which I then found was in an utterly neglected condition.³ As no particular sanctity attached to it, I recommended the removal of the stone to some place of safety. The stone, however, was not removed from the place till M.B. Garde was appointed Superintendent of Archaeology of the Gwalior State. It is now in the Museum at Gwalior.

The inscription opens with three verses of maṅgala addressed to the Sun, the first and the third of which invoke the blessings of the divinity and the second and middle one of which offers obeisance to him. Verses 4-5 speak of the migration of a Guild of Silk-weavers from Late or Gujarāt to Daśapura or Mendasor. Verses 6-13 give a word picture of Daśapura, its position in the world, its lakes and its edifices. Then follows a graphic description of the Guild and the different hobbies pursued by its different members (verses 14-20). Verse 21 describes the pre-eminence of the silk cloth manufactured by them, and the next, the desire of the Guild to make some religious benefaction, having regard to the transitory nature of

² Ibid., pp. 142 ff. and plate.
³ *PRAS. W. C.*, for 1904-05, p. 63, para 84.
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G. S. Gai

From photograph
the world. Verse 23 mentions Kumāragupta (I) as the suzerain, and, verses 24-29, Bandhuvaraman, son of Viśāvarman, as the ruler of Daśapura, during whose reigns the religious benefaction was carried out, namely, the building of a temple of the Sun, which, according to verse 30, looked like the crest-jewel of the western ward (paśchima-pura) of Daśapura. This is followed by a poetic description of the Winter Season (verses 31-33) during which the temple was constructed. The actual date of the construction is, however, given in verses 34-35 as follows: “when four centuries, increased by ninety-three had elapsed, according to the reckoning of the Mālavas, . . . . . . . on the blessed thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Sahasya, . . . . . . . ” Thereafter we are told that when a considerable time had elapsed and some kings had passed away, “one part of the temple was shattered” (verse 36) apparently by lightning and the same Guild rebuilt it (verse 37), “when five centuries of years, increased by twenty-nine years, had elapsed, and on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of Tapasya” (verse 39), when the Spring had commenced, a description of which season is given in verses 40-41. This is followed by a wish that the temple may endure for ever (verse 43). And verse 44 which is the concluding verse tells us that Vatsabhāṭi not only composed the pārṇā or the above ‘descriptive statement’ with care but was also in charge of the building and re-building of the temple first because he was ordered by the Guild to see the work through and secondly because he was a devotee of the Sun.

It will be seen from the above summary of the contents of the inscription that there are two dates specified here. One of these is 493 and the other 529. They are, of course, Kṛta years, which are identical with those of the Vikrama era. They are consequently equivalent to 437-38 A.D. and 473-74 A.D. respectively. The first is that of the original construction of the temple which thing occurred, we are told, when Kumāragupta (I) was the supreme ruler and Bandhuvaraman the local ruler of Daśapura. This seems to be the natural sense of the stanzas referring to these princes. The other interpretations proposed by scholars have been considered below on p. 329, note 2. The second date is that of the re-building of the temple when part of it had been damaged, apparently, through lightning. But we have not been informed as to who the rulers were at that time. We are simply told that some other kings had passed away by that time. Of course, Kumāragupta I was then dead. His son, Ghaṭōkacakagupta, who apparently was his immediate successor, had also passed away. And so Skandagupta also. This last was doubtless succeeded by Kumāragupta II. Whether he was actually living in Vikrama Year 529 is doubtful. Similar changes must have taken place in the succession also of the ruling family of Daśapura. Vatsabhāṭi is thus fully justified in saying that, from Vikrama year 493 to 529, kings other than Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvaraman had passed away. He does not, however, mention who were actually ruling in 529, probably because it was a troublesome period of the Gupta sovereignty.

As regards the localities mentioned in this inscription, Lāṭa represents the greater portion of modern Gujarāt. According to Buhler and Bhagwan Lal Indrājī,² it corresponds to the country between the Mahī and the Koṅkaṇ or the Tāptī. But Hultsch³ maintained that it was that portion of Gujarāt which intervened between the Tāptī and the Shērī. The latter view is supported by the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV.⁴ The second locality mentioned in this record is Daśapura which is obviously identical with Mandasōr. As stated elsewhere, the best explanation of the formation of the name Mandasōr is that it is a composite name con-

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sisting of Man and Dasör which were originally lying side by side and of which Man has been completely wiped out of existence. The second of these, namely, Dasör, is a regular modern derivative of the ancient Daśapura. And, in fact, in some bilingual sanads or warrants of more than two centuries ago, whereas the Persian draft gives Mandaśör as the name of the place, the vernacular version preserves the old name Dasör, as J.F. Fleet has assured us. Again, Daśapura has been mentioned not only by Varāhamihira in the Brihatamahātī (chapter XIV, verse 11-16), but also by Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta (I. 47). As to inscriptions, it is found as early as in those of the Nāšik caves. It is mentioned in one of the records of Ushavadāta (=Rishabhadatta), son-in-law of the Mahākṣatrapa Nahapāna, along with the three big cities, Śūpāraga, Gōvardhana and Bharukachchha, where he executed works of public utility. Possibly it was the capital of Nahapāna also and was known as Minnagar.\footnote{\textit{Ind. Ant.}, Vol. XLVII, p. 78. [Daśapura is mentioned, along with Madhyamā, in a sixth century A.D. inscription at Chitourgār. Cf. \textit{Ep. Ind.}, Vol., XXXIV, pp. 53 ff.—Ed.].} Quite in keeping with this is the fact that there is a Brahmana caste called Dasörā after Daśapura. Two more interesting details are supplied by our inscription about this ancient town. One is that it was encircled by two rivers. At present, however, one river only is known in the close neighbourhood of Mandaśör, namely, the Śiwanā. Probably, the other river has either dried up or has been filled up with the ancient remains of the town. The other details about it mentioned in the inscription is the piece of information that the temple of the Sun built by the Guild was situated in the western \textit{pura} or Ward of the town. The word here used is \textit{pura}, which gives rise to the inference that Daśapura was so called because it consisted of \textit{daśa puras} or ten wards. Fleet is, therefore, quite right in remarking that just as now the township includes from twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions, such as Kilchipur, Jan-kūpur and so forth, in ancient times, at any rate, when it was originally constituted, Daśapura included exactly ten (\textit{daśa}) such hamlets (\textit{pura}).\footnote{\textit{CII.}, Vol. III, 1888, p. 79, Note 2.}
MANDASÖR INSCRIPTION OF KUMÄRAGUPTA (I) & BANDHUVARMAN
YEARS 493 & 529


5. naika-pushpa-vichitra-tīr-ānta-jalāni bhānti praphulla-padm-ābharaṇāni yatra sarāṇesi kāraṇḍava-sanjuklāni [7*] Viḷōla-viṣchaliṭaravinda-patad-rajaḥ-piṇjaritaiḥ=cha hamsaiḥ sva-kēśar-ōdāra-bhar-āvabhungaiḥ kvachit sarāṃsya=amburuhaiḥ=cha bhānti [8*] Sva-pushpa-bhār-āvanatar=namagendrār=manda-


9. saṅhrīḍaṁ [*] nripatibhis suta-vat=pratim[8*]nītāḥ pramudītā nyavasanta sukham purē [15*] Śravapa-[su]bhaṅgā gāndharvē=nyē drīḍhaṃ parinśhitāḥ sucharitāṣat-asyaṁ =kēchid=vichitra-kathāvidaḥ [1*] vinaya-nibṛitaṁ=samyag-dharma-prasaṅga-parāyaṇaḥ=priyam=apaṛuṣaṁ patthyāṁ ch=ānyē kṣamā bahu bhāṣi-tum(tum) [16*]

10. Kēchit=sva-karmāṇy=adhiṅkās=tath-ānyair=vvijñayatē jyōtishat=ātmavadbhūḥ [*] adyāpi ch=ānyē samara- pragalbhaḥ=kurvanta=ārīnām=ahitaṁ prasāha [17*] Prājñā manōja-vaḍhushaḥ prathit-ōru-vanśā vanśānurupa-charit-ābharaṇaṁ=tath=ānyē satya-vratāḥ pranavāninām=upakāra-dakṣa visrambha-

11. [pūrvva*]=apaṛā driṅga-saṅhrīḍaḥ=cha [18*] Vījita-viṣhaya-saṅgair=ddharmma-silas=tath=ānyair=m[p*]dubhir=adhiṅka-sat[e*]vair=lokaṅḍrā-apaṇiṣe=cha [*] sva-kula-tīlaka-bhūtāṁ=mukta-rāgair=udārair=adhiṁkam=abhiḥvāḥati śrīnaṁ=ēvaṁ prakāraṁ [19*] Tārṇya-kānty-upachītō=pi suvarṇaḥāra-tāṃbula-pushpa-vidhinā sama-

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1 Fleet reads -taru-maṇḍa-. R. G. Bhandarker and Pandit Durgaprasad correct it into -taru-khaṇḍa-. But the original has -taru-shaṇḍa, as is clear from the impressions and as was first pointed out by Bühler.
2 Fleet and Bühler both read pari=. But it is clearly paradd=. 3 Read Kailāsa-. 4 Read -muhaṇāni. 5 Read Prasāda-. 6 Fleet reads Śravapa-subhaṅgā dhānakriṣṭaṁ but the original has Śravapa-subhaṅgā gāndharvē=nyē, as is clear from the impressions and as was first pointed out by R. G. Bhandarker. 7 Read -vapushah. Fleet reads -adhasah which is not warranted by the impressions, and is, besides, ungrammatical, as was first pointed out by R. G. Bhandarker. The latter proposes -vapushah or -bhavah. Pandit Durgaprasad reads -vapushah. The impressions however have -adhasah which is obviously a mistake for -vapushah.
8 Fleet reads lōka-yāṭrā-āmaratī=cha. Bühler adopts this reading but Pandit Durgaprasad corrects it into lōka-yāṭrā-paraṁ=cha. The impressions, however, give this reading.
12 [lamki*]tō = pi | nāri-janaḥ śriyaṁ = upaitī na tāvad = agryāṁ yāvan = na paṭṭa-
nētra-su[ba]gēna [†*] yais = sakalām = idaṁ kṣiṭitaṁ = alaṁkṛitaṁ paṭṭa-vastrēṇa ||
[21*] Vidyādhari-ruchira-pallava-kaṇnapūra-vāt-ērit-āsthiratarāṁ pravichintya
13 [lo]kāmanda [†*] mānushyan = artha-nichayāṁ = cha tathā visālāṁ = tēsāṁ ² 
matīr = abhūd = acharāl tattās = taṁ || [22*] Chatus-samudrā-āmb[u]³-vilōla-mē[ka]halāṁ
Sumēru-Kailāsa-brhā-ṣa-vāṇā-sālāḥ || [23*] vanānta-vāṇā-sphuta-pushpa-hāsinīn
Ku-māraguptē prithiviṁ prasāti || [23*] Samāna-dhī = Sukra-Brihaspatibhyāṁ lalāma-
bhūtō bhūvi
14 pārththi-viṇāṁ (nām) [†*] raṇēsu yaḥ Pārththa-saṁaṇa-karmā babhūva gōptā nṛpa-
Viśvavarmā [†*] [24*] Din-ānukaṃpana-paraḥ kriṇaṇ-āranta-varagga-sāntavā² 
pradē = dhika-dayālur = anātha-nāthāḥ [†*] kalpa-drumāḥ pranayināṁ = abhayaṁ pradaś =
cha bhītasya yō janapadosya cha bandhur = asūt || [25*] Tasya = ātmajāḥ sthairyya-nay-
opanāṇō bandhu-priyō
15 bandhur = iva prajānāṁ (nām) [†*] bandhv-ārthi-hartā nṛpa- Bandhuvaṛma ḍvi-
dripta-paksha-kshapaṇ-āika-dakshaḥ [†*] [26*] Kāntō yuvā raṇa-patūr = vvinayā-
vātāḥ = cha rāj = āpi sam = upasṛṅīō na madaiḥ smayādyaiḥ [†*] īṅgāra-mūrtiṛ = abhi-
bhāty = alaṁkṛitaṁ = pūrpaṇa yaḷi = kusumachāpa iva dvitiyāḥ || [27*] Vaidhavya-
ṭīva-īvyasa-kaṭhānāṁ
16 smrīvā² yam = adāyīpy = ari-sundarīnaṁ (nām) | bhayād = bhavaty = āyata-lochanānāṁ
ghana-staṇ-āyāsa-karaḥ prakampaḥ || [28*] Ṭasmīn = eva kṣiti-patīvīrśē7 Bhandhu-
varmaṇē = udārē samyak-sphitaṁ Daśāpuram = idaṁ pālayat = unmat-āṁśe | 
śīl-āvāptaiṛ = dgha-samudayaṁ paṭṭavāyaiṛ = udāraṁ śṛṇibhūtaiṁ = bhavanān =
atulaṁ kāraṇaiṁ
17 dipta-raṣmēḥ || [29*] Vistirṇa-tūṅga-sīkharaiṁ śīkhar-prakāśāṁ = abhyudgat-ēnd-
amala-raṁi-kāpa-gauraṁ (ram) [†*] yad = bhāti paśchima-purasya nivishā-kānta-
chūḍāmaṇi-pratisanā = nayan-ābhirāmaṁ (mam) || [30*] Rāma-sanātha-bhava-
ṇōdara³-bhāśka-āṁśu-vahni-pratāpa-subhagē jala-līna-minē chandr-āṁśu-harmyatal-
chandana-tālāvṛta-hār-ōpabhōba⁴-rahirē hima-dagdash-padme || [31*] Rōḍhira-
priyānigau-taru-kundala-tā-vikōsa-pushp-āsava-pramud[i]⁵-ālī-kal⁶-ābhirāmē [†*] kāle
kūshāra-kaṇa-karkkaṣa-sīta-vāta-vēga-pranṛti-lavali-nagān¹⁴-aikaśākhe || [32*] Smara-
vaśaga-taṇuṇājana-vallabha-ārīgana-īvīpa-kānta-piṇ-ōru || [†*]

¹ Fleet reads priyāṁ = and corrects the following = agryāṁ into = aśāṁ. But as was first pointed out by Bühl er the correct reading is śriyaṁ with which agryāṁ accords excellently.
² This is the reading actually warranted by the impressions. Of course, this has to be corrected into viśalāṁ = tēsāṁ. It is strange how this emendation is taken to be the actual reading of the text not only by Fleet but also by Bühl er.
³ Fleet reads śubhā, but Bühl er correctly reads subhē.
⁴ Both Fleet and Bühl er read -samudr-ān[†]a but the impressions are in favour of -samudr-āṃbu.
⁵ Fleet read -sandha-, but R. G. Bhandarker first pointed out that the correct reading was -sānta-. 
⁶ Read smṛtivā.
⁷ Read -ārīshē.
⁸ Fleet reads -rackanē āra- which is emended into -bhavanē āra- by R.G. Bhandarker. Kilhorn reads -bhavanē-ōdara- which is accepted by Bühl er. Though this reading is highly probable, it is possible to read -gaman-ōdara- also.
⁹ Read -āpabhōga- 
¹⁰ Fleet reads -kal-ābhirāmē. Pandit Durgarasad however reads -kal-ābhirāmē, and Bühl er supports it on the ground of the plate published in Fleet's Volume. It is true that the plate clearly points to this reading. But the impressions before me are in favour of -kal-ābhirāmē. The impressions of Fleet must have similarly been in favour of the same reading, and some slip seems to have arisen in the preparation or printing of the plate.
¹¹ Read -nagar-. Fleet and Bühl er both read -nagar- but the impressions clearly have -nagān-.
MANDASÖR INSCRIPTION OF KUMÄRAGUPTA (I) & BANDHUVARMAN
YEARS 493 & 529

19 stana-jaghana-glan-åliṅgana-nirbhartsita-tulhina-hima-pätē || [33*] Mālavānārī gaṇa-
shityā yāt[es] śata-chatusṭhyā Ī tri-navaty-adhikē = bahām = ritau1 sēvyag-
ghana-stanē || [34*] Sahasya-māsa-śuklasya praśāstē = hni trayōdaśē maṅgal-
āchāra-vidhāna prāśādo = yaṁ nivēśitaḥ || [35*] Bahunā samatīṭēna

20 kālēṇa = aṇyaśī = cha pārtthivāṇi yasyāryat = aika-dēṣo = sya bhavanasya tatō =
dhunā || [36*] Sva-yāsōv[r]iddhayē2 sarvvaṃ = aty = udāram = udārayā = saṁskāritam =
idaṃ bhūyāḥ sṛṇyā bhānumatō grihāṁ (ham) || [37*] Atyumnatam = avadātaṁ
nabha4 sprisāṇ = īva manōharaiḥ śikharaiḥ [1*] śāśi-bhānvōr = abhyudayēśhv =
amala-mayūkh-āyatana-
bhūtaṁ(tam) || [38*] Vatsara-śatēṣhu paṁchasu viśamty-śadhikēśhu navasu
ch-ābḍēṣhu || yāṭēṣhv = abhiramaṭa-Tapasya-māsa-śukla-dvītiyāyāṁ || [39*] Śpash-
ṭair = aśākataru-kētaka-simduvāra-lōl-ātimukta kalatā-madhayantikānāṁ(nām) ||
pushpāṅgama = aṅkhabhāvā = aṅkhigamyā nūnam = aikyaṁ viṛtirbhita-śārē Hara-pūtē-
dēḥē || [40*]

22 Madhu-pāṇa-mudita-madhukara-kul-ōpagita-naganī, aika-prīthu-śākhē [1*] kālē nava-
kusum-ōdgama-daritū-kaṁṭa-prachura-ṝoddhrē || [41*] Śāśin = ēva nabho vimalaṁ
kaus[*]ubha-maṁśin = ēva Śāṅginiō vakṣhaḥ bhavana-viṁśa tathā-ēdaṁ puram =
akhālam = aśamikrtām = udāram (ram) || [42*] Amalina-śaśī-

23 lēkhā-daritūrailī pīṅgalāṁ parivahati samāhānī yāvad = Iśo jaṭāṇāṁ(nām) ||
vikaṭa-kamala-mālām = arṇa-saktāṁ cha Śāṅgi bhavanam = īdam = udāram śāśvātan =
tāvad = astu || [43*] Sṛṇy-āḍēṣṇa bhaktvāya cha kārītaṁ bhavanāṁ ravoḥ purvva=
ch = ēvaṁ pratyanāṇa rachita Vatsabhaṅtinā || [44*]

24 Svasti kartṛi-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōtrībhyaḥ = Siddhir = astu =

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Luck!
(Verse 1) May that (Sun) Light-giver (bhāskara), the cause of the destruction and prosperity of the universe, protect you, who is worshipped by hosts of gods for fortitude (of mind); by the Siddhas, being desirous of supernatural powers; by the Yōgins, who, being desirous of liberation, are occupied with the one end, namely, meditation, and have sensual attractions under subjection; and, with devotion, by sages, rich in rigorous austerities and who are powerful enough to curse or to bless.

(Verse 2) Obeisance to (the Sun) Generator (saavīṭrī), whom the Brāhmaṇa sages and others, exerting themselves, cannot fully comprehend though they are conversant with the knowledge of Truth; and who nourishes all the three worlds with (his) spreading rays; who, when he has risen, is praised by Gandharvas, gods, Siddhas, Kinnaras and Naras;8 and who grants the devotees (their) desires.

1 Read = ritau.
2 Fleet reads = svanē, and Pandit Durgaprasad conjectures stauē. But the impressions have clearly = stauē, as was pointed out by Bühler.
3 Read = yiddhayē.
4 Read = nabhē.
5 Read = viṁśītyē.
6 Fleet corrects it into dūtaē, which is altogether unnecessary.
7 Read = nagēm.
8 Bühler takes nara in the sense of ‘men’ (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, p. 140). But Fleet seems right in taking the word to mean ‘mythical beings.’ In fact, according to Monier Williams’ Dictionary it signifies, inter alia, “a class of myth beings allied to the Gandharvas and Kītnaras.”
(Verse 3) May that (Sun) Illuminator (Vīrārasī), whose ornament is exquisite beams, protect you, who, with (his) sun’s rays dropping down from the wide and lofty summit of the Rising Mountain, every day looks intensely red like the cheeks of intoxicated women!

(Verse 4-5) From the province of Lāṭa, which is lovely in consequence of choice trees, bowed down with the weight of flowers, temples, assembly-halls, and Vihāras, (and) the mountains of which are covered with flora, there came to (the town of) Daśapura those (people) of well-known craft, first with their mind full of regard (for it), and afterwards (bodily) in a band, together with children and kinsfolk, disregarding the unceasing discomforts of journey and so forth, being manifestly carried away by the good qualities of the ruler of the country.

(Verse 6) In course (of time) this (town) has become an excellent forehead beauty-mark of the Earth, which is adorned with thousands of mountains the rocks of which are besprinkled with the drops of rain trickling down from the sides of the temples of intoxicated elephants, and the ear-ornaments of which are the trees bending down with flowers;

(Verse 7) (The town), where the lakes shine with waters, on the bank, being variegated with many flowers fallen from trees growing on the margins, are adorned with full-blown lotuses; (and) are full of ducks;

(Verse 8) Where in some places the lakes shine with swans, become tawny with the pollen falling from the lotuses set in motion by the tremulous waves, and, in some, with water-lilies bent down with the weight of their filaments;

(Verse 9) Where the woods are adorned, with lordly trees, bowed down with the burden of their flowers,—with the humming of the swarms of bees become bold through intoxication,—and with the women-folk of the town strolling unceasingly;

(Verse 10) Where the buildings, with moving flags, full of women, intensely white, (and) extremely lofty, bear resemblance to the peaks of white clouds variegated with forked lightning;

(Verse 11) And (where) other (buildings) resemble the lofty summits of Kailāsa, with long terraces and rail mouldings, resounding with the notes of music, with works in painting set up and adorned with waving plantain trees;

(Verse 12) Where the buildings, being decorated with rows of terraces, resembling lines of gods’ palaces (and) as pure as the rays of the full-moon, (appear) to have risen up as if by tearing open the earth;

(Verse 13). Which (town) being enclosed by two charming rivers of tremulous waves, shines like the body of the God of Love, clasped in private by (his wives) Priti and Rati, possessed of (prominent) breasts;

(Verse 14) Which, with the Brähmanas who are endowed with truthfulness, forgiveness, self-control, quiescence, religious vows, purity, fortitude, study of Vēda, proper conduct, modesty and understanding, and who are stores of knowledge and penance (and yet) free from conceit, shines like the sky with glowing planets;

(Verse 15) Then having come in contact with constant meetings, and with cordiality augmenting day by day, (and) being honourably treated like sons by the kings, they lived in the town in joy and happiness;

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1 Fleet renders viđākā apparently by ‘arbours’ and Bühler by ‘stone-seats’ (Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 142). But viđākā, being here associated with zalabhī, should denote some member of a building. In this connection attention may be drawn to the occurrence of the word in Kārāli inscriptions (Nos. 3 and 15) where it is rendered by “[rail pattern] moulding” by Bühler (ASWI., Vol. IV, p. 90 and note 3) and by “rail mouldings” by Senart (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 51-52). There can thus be no doubt that viđākā once denoted some kind of moulding forming part and feature of an edifice.

2 It would have been better if prāśāda and griha of this verse had interchanged places. As it is, prāśāda has to be taken in a sense different from that of griha (=building). One such sense is “a lofty seat or platform for spectators, terrace” and is supported by Śāṅkhāyana-sautratastra, XVI. 18.13 and Manasmyiti, II. 204. This sense suits here excellently.
(Verse 16) Some are intensely attached to music (so) pleasing to the ear; others, being proud of (the authorship of) a hundred excellent biographies, are conversant with wonderful tales; (others), filled with humility, are absorbed in excellent religious discourses; and others are able to say much that is pleasing, free from harshness, (and yet) salutary;

(Verse 17) Some excel in their own religious rites; likewise by others, who were self-possessed, the science of (Vedic) astronomy was mastered; and others, valorous in battle, even to-day forcibly cause harm to the enemies;

(Verse 18) Likewise, others are intelligent, possessed of attractive figures, with renowned and long-extending lineages and adorned with deeds befitting (their) lineage; others, with the vow of truthfulness, are expert in (conferring) obligations on favourites, and are firm in friendship accompanied by a sense of trust;

(Verse 19) Likewise, with others who have overcome attachment to worldly objects, who are disposed towards piety, who are gentle, who are of abundant inherent stuff, who are engaged in worldly affairs, who are the forehead-mark of their own clan, who have cast away passion, who are magnanimous-with such-like (members) the guild shines gloriously;

(Verse 20) Womankind, though saturated with youth and complexion (and) decorated with golden necklaces, betel leaves and flower-dressing, does not attain to transcendent beauty until she has put on a pair of silken garments;

(Verse 21) By whom this whole surface of the earth has been adorned with silk cloth, agreeable to the touch, variegated with different colours and arrangement (of parts), (and) pleasing to the eye;

(Verse 22) The mind of these has (turned) towards (spiritual) welfare, they having then reflected that the world, the human body and the accumulations of wealth are as very unsteady as the charming flower-sprout ear-ornaments of the Vidyadhara women, set in motion by the breezes;

(Verse 23) While Kumâragupta was ruling over the Earth, whose waist-girdle is pendulous with the waters of the four oceans, whose plump breasts are Sumêru and Kailâsa (and) whose smiles are the beautiful and full-blown flowers on the outskirts of the woods;

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1 Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary gives the following as one of senses of ोषंगा, tix, "Pride about the authorship of a thing (कर्तिपूर-द्विंद्रता)." This meaning suits here excellently. What the second line of this stanza apparently means is that, being the authors of the lives of historical personages, some of the members of the Guild are well-acquainted with heart-thrilling incidents and anecdotes connected with them.

2 The construction of the passage from verse 23 to verse 38 has very much exercised some scholars who have dealt with this inscription. There ought to be really no difficulty in properly understanding it. The skeleton of the passage is as follows: Kumâraguptâ prathivîti pralâsati (verse 23) Bandhuvarmanī. . . . . . . Daâsapura= idam pâlayati, . . . . . . paññârda= . . . . . . śrîsûla= bhavanami . . . . . . kâritam dipâtâ-vaîmek (verse 29) Mâlavânam gaṇa- sthîtâ yâtē sata-chautasyâ tri-nâvât-adhikâ= bûnâm . . . . (verse 34); Sahasya-māsâ-sukhâya . . . . . . unhi trayâdâvat matigalâcchâra-cidhinâ prâsâdâ= yanâ nicânâ (verse 35) Bahûnâ samâttrîna hâlēn= ânyâi= cha parhîcîna cāyâya= aikâ-deô= sya bhavanasya (verse 36) Sâraci . . . . . . samâkâritam= idam bhûyâh śrîyâ bhûnumatâ grihâm (verse 37); vatsara-sûkshhu panchastLouis viniśâl-adhikâh svastica cē aâhâyâh yâtēstu . . . . Tapsaya-mâsâ-suklā-dûrîyāyūn (verse 39) "While Kumâragupta was ruling over the Earth, (verse 23), . . . . . . while Bandhuvarman was protecting this (town of) Daâsapura . . . . . a temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be made by the weavers of silk-cloth formed into a Guild (verse 29). When four centuries, increased by ninety-three had elapsed, according to the reckoning of the Mâlavas (verse 34), on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Sahasya, this edifice was consecrated with ceremonies according to the precepts of auspiciousness (verse 35). When a considerable time and (also) other kings had passed away, one part of this (temple) was shattered (verse 36). This . . . . whole edifice of the Sun was renovated again by the Guild (verse 37), when five centuries of years increased by twenty and nine years had elapsed, on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of Tapsaya month (verse 39)." It may be contended that this construction is open to the grave objection that the pralastî does not give the names of the rulers, suzerain and feudatory, at the time when it was composed and engraved, but gives rather the name of Kumâragupta, the overlord, and, of Bandhuvarman, his chieftain, who ruled thirty-six years before. But there is nothing strange about (Contd. on p. 330)
(Verse 24) There was king Visvāvarman, the protector (of men), who was equal to Śukra and Brīhaspati in understanding, who was the ornament of the kings on earth (and) whose deeds were like those of Pārtha in battles;

(Verse 25) Who was compassionate to the poor; who gave consolation to the helpless and the distressed classes; who was excessively full of tenderness; who was a protector of the forlorn; who was the wish-giving tree to the suppliants; and who granted freedom from fear to the frightened; and who was the friend of (his) subjects;

(Verse 26) His son (was) king Bandhuvarman possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved by (his) friends; a friend, as it were, to (his) people; who removed the afflictions of (his) friends; the only one skilful in destroying the haughty partisans of (his) enemies;

(Verse 27) He is handsome, young, fit for battles, and possessed of modesty; a king though he is, he is not accessible to such intoxicants as self-conceit and others; he shines like the incarnation of Erotic Sentiment, even when without decoration; in point of beauty he is as it were a second God of Love;

(Verse 28) Even to-day, when the long-eyed beautiful women of (his) enemies, afflicted by the fierce calamity of widowhood, remember him, a tremor springs up through fright causing torture to (their) compact breasts.

(Verse 29) While that same Bandhuvarman, a bull among kings, the magnanimous (and) the high-shouldered one, was protecting this (town of) Daśapura which was abundantly prosperous, a lofty and peerless temple of the bright-rayed (Sun) was caused to be made by the weavers of silk-cloth formed into a guild, with stores of wealth acquired through (their) craft;

(Verse 30) (The temple) which has broad and lofty spires, which (thus) resembles a mountain, is pale-red like the mass of the rays of the moon just risen, and, being charming to the eye, shines like the tucked-in lovely crest-jewel of the western ward (of the town);

(Verse 31) (In the season) which is pleasant in consequence of the interiors of the houses being crowded with young women (and) in consequence of the rays of the sun, (and) the warmth of fire, during which the fish lie deep in water and which is destitute of the enjoyments (caused by) the rays of the moon, flat roofs of houses, sandal paste, palm-leaf fans, and garlands; and when the water-lilies are bitten by the frost;

(Verse 32) In the season which is charming on account of the swarms of bees exhilarating with the juice of the full-bloomed flowers of the rūdhra (and) the priyaṅgu trees and the jasmine creeper, when the solitary branches of myriads of the lavali creepers dance with the winds violently cold with particles of frost;

it, because Vatsabhāti was not only the composer of the panegyric but also the Overseer who was in charge of the building and re-building of the temple. And in the present case the re-building was of a fragment only. Consequently, the more important thing was the original construction and consecration of the edifice. Secondly, it was apparently a delicate matter to mention the name of the ruler during whose reign the temple was restored. Possibly Bandhuvarman was alive, as appears from stanzas 27-28. But during the thirty-six years intervening between 493 and 529 the two dates of this record, there was apparently a good deal of change in the succession to the Gupta throne. This change again was of a more or less violent character. That seems to be the reason why the ruling Gupta king is not mentioned and why the vague phraseology anyā sānya cha pārthāyaḥ has been employed by Vatsabhāti. Nevertheless, as this inscription does not mention any ruler in the year 529 this has been taken to be an uncommon procedure by some scholars who have therefore proposed a different construction of the whole passage (See e.g. Panna Lall’s article on The Dates of Skandagupta and his Successors in the Hindustan Review, for January, 1918, pp. 15 and 28; D. B. Diskalkar’s article in JBRRAS., Vol. II (N.S.), p. 176, and his Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 64). Thus it is suggested that whereas the date 529 in verse 39 is connected with Kumāragupta (II) in verse 23, the date 493 in verse 34 with Bandhuvarman in verse 29. But the later R. D. Banerji (ABORI, Vol. I, p. 79) and Dāsaharathā Sharmā (JC, Vol. III, p. 380) are quite right in saying that whereas Kumāragupta was the suzerain and Bandhuvarman the ruler of Daśapura in 493 when the temple was built, the inscription with equal unambiguity is silent about the rulers in 529 when it was repaired.

(Verse 33) When the falling of frost and snow is derided by the fast clashing of the massive, lovely and plump thighs, breasts and hips of the beloved women by young men, fallen into the power of sexual love;

(Verses 34-35) When four centuries, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed, according to the reckoning of the Mālavas, in the season when the massive breasts (of women) are worthy of enjoyment, on the blessed thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Sahasya, this edifice was consecrated with the performance of auspicious ceremonies;

(Verces 36-37) When considerable time had passed away and, one part of this (temple) was shattered; hence now, for the augmentation of their own fame was again renovated most munificently by the magnificent guild, this whole edifice of the Sun.

(Verse 38) Which is very lofty, burnished, as it were touching the sky with (its) attractive spires, (and) has become the receptacle of spotless rays of the moon and the sun at (their) rise;

(Verse 39) When five centuries of years increased by twenty and nine years had elapsed, on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the charming month of Tapasya;

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Footnote 1: Fleet has rendered the verse as follows: "And, in the course of a long time, under other kings, part of this temple, fell into disrepair." It will thus be seen that anyāiṣaḥ pārthivaiḥ of the verse has been translated as "under other kings." This, however, is inadmissible. The word cha and the instrumental case in anyāiṣaḥ pārthivaiḥ show that the word samatiṣṭha from the first quarter of the verse has to be understood after the latter also. But this has been considered defective by Dāsharatha Sharma, as "it connects samatiṣṭha, an adjective in the singular number with pārthivaiḥ, a noun in the plural, while the general rule is that a noun and its defining word should be of the same number" (JC., Vol. III, p. 380). He, however, does not cite any grammatical rule which compels one to this procedure. As it is, there are instances, from classical poetry, of a contrary nature. Thus Bhaṭavabhūti's Uttarārāmacharita has Yēśāṁ kuleśu suvītā cha gurur-vayaṁ cha. If Sharma's rule had been obligatory, we should have had guravau vayaṁ cha. Similarly, in Kaḷīḍāsa's Raghuvrājī, XVII. 71 we have na cha = ābhūtāṁ tāṁ = iva ksheya. Here also ksheya, an adjective in the singular number, goes not only with saḥ but also with āva which is in the dual. Nothing therefore precludes us from taking samatiṣṭha with pārthivaiḥ, although the first is in the singular and the second in the plural. It is better, however, to take anyāiṣaḥ = cha pārthivaiḥ as instrumental absolute and translate it by "and with other kings," or "when (other were) other rulers." Sharma further remarks: "But the significance of the instrumental case in pārthivaiḥ, and the passive voice in yasyārtha, a form formed from the Paramapadha root śiṣṭi of the 9th conjugation, can be brought fully, only if we translate the verse as follows: "After much time had passed, a part of this building was destroyed by other kings." If this translation is accepted, cha following anyāiṣaḥ becomes meaningless. Besides, it is natural to connect samatiṣṭha with pārthivaiḥ, as just pointed out. In this way alone cha attains its full significance. "Nor can it be argued" proceeds Sharma further "that yasyārtha is the bhūvāchārya form of the root shiṣṭi, for in that case the expression should have been ābhūtāṁ yasyārtha instead of ābhūtāṁ = yava yasyārtha found in the verse." It is not quite clear why this argument has been urged. Because even Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary gives for vi śiṣṭi (pass.) the primary sense of "to be split in pieces, be shattered," and illustrates it with a quotation from Bhartrihari's Śatāka, namely, viśīrṣṭa vandāṁ iva rā. This suits here excellently. Part of the temple not only fell into disrepair but was shattered within thirty-six years of its construction, may be, through lightning, as from the inscription it appears that it was a building of considerable height. Many a monument of the ancient period must have suffered similarly. To take one instance, it is well-known that in the celebrated Allahābād pillar there is a large crack in the column, from about the first word of the first line, and extending down to the beginning of the fourteenth of Samudrāgupta's prāṣasti incised upon it and further that the bell-shaped capital and the surmounting animal figure have not been traced and seem to have disappeared even before the time of the Moghul emperor Jehangir. We may, therefore, take it until the contrary is proved that the Sun Temple of Daśāpur also suffered this fate. The surmise that Hūṁa vandalism was responsible for it (JC., Vol. III, p. 381) is not well-founded, because if these barbarians had at all wanted to destroy the sacred fane, they would have done so completely, and not destroyed it in part. Besides, it is very doubtful whether iconoclasm was at all known to India before the advent of the Muhammadan power. The pre-Muhammadan foreigners became Hinduised as fast as they came in touch with the Indian culture and civilisation. And, further, as a matter of fact, the Hūṁas penetrated into the interior of India after Budhagupta whose last date is Gupta year 175 = 493 A.D., whereas the date of the Mandasor inscription is Vikrama Year 529 = 472 A.D.

Footnote 2: A novel interpretation has been proposed for this line by K. Rama Pisharoti. He translates it by 'after five (Contd. on p. 332)
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

(Verse 40) In the season when (Kāmadēva), whose body is purified by Hara, displays (his) arrows, having verily attained to (his) identity, with the distinct and fresh bursting-forth of the flowers of the Aśoka tree, the Kētaka, the Sīhduvāra, the pendulous Atimuktaka creeper and the Madayantikā;  
(Verse 41) In the season, when the solitary large branches of the Nagana are full of the music of the swarms of bees delighted with the drinking of honey, when the lovely and exuberrant Rōdhra (trees) are overstriven with flowers newly bursting forth;  
(Verse 42) As (is) the pure sky with the moon, the breast of Śārīgīn, indeed, with the Kaustubha jewel, so is this whole extensive town decorated with (this) best structure;  
(Verse 43) As long as Īśa (Śiva) bears a mass of tawny matted hair covered with the spotless digit of the moon, (and) as long as Śārīgīn (Vīṣṇu) a garland of full-bloom lotus flowers clinging to (his) shoulders, so long may this stupendous structure remain eternal.  
(Verse 44) By Vatsabhaṭṭi1 was caused to be made this edifice of the Sun through the order of the guild and in consequence of (his) devotion (to the god), and was composed with care this detailed description; 2 
(Line 24) Hail to the composer, engraver, reader and listener! May there be luck!

NO. 36 A AND B: PLATE XXXVI

SĀRNĀTH STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF BUDHAGUPTA; THE YEAR 157

These two inscriptions, A and B, which bear the same draft came to light along with No. 26 when excavations were carried on by H. Hargreaves in the cold season of 1914-15 at hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed, "not as others have taken, in the Mālava era, but, as I hold, after the construction of the temple. In other words, I have assigned the renovation of the temple to 493+529 or 1022 M.E., i.e., in 966 A.D." (JC, Vol. IV, p. 111; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, pp. 69-73). He argues that the temple was of such a noble and stately structure that it could not have fallen into disrepair within the comparatively short space of thirty-six years. Two agents of destruction were at work here: (1) the passage of time primarily and (2) the indifference of kings secondarily—kings who belonged to a family different from the one which built the temple originally. This line of reasoning, we fear, will not commend itself to any epigraphist. Because, according to Pisharoti, 966 A.D. is the date of the inscription; and no epigraphist will ever subscribe to the conclusion that palaeographically it belongs to the tenth century. Secondly, there can be no doubt that the temple was renovated by the same śreni that constructed it. This is clear from verses 29, 37, 44. And it is incredible that any śreni could have lasted for 529 years, that is, from Mālava year 493 to 1023 (=966 A.D.), if Pisharoti’s view is upheld. Thirdly, why should we assume such a long period as that of 529 years to have elapsed before the renovation took place? There is nothing to show that the temple had fallen into disrepair as has been assumed by many scholars. It is quite possible that the word svaītya in verse 36 means ‘was shattered’ as has been pointed out by us above. And there is nothing at all improbable in a high building being struck and partially damaged by lightning within thirty-six years of its construction.

1 Neither Fleet nor Bühler has properly understood this verse. What it really means is that Vatsabhaṭṭi not only composed the pūrāṇa but was also in charge of the operations of the building and re-building of the temple. This work he undertook and executed on account of the orders of the Guild and also on account of his devotion to the deity, that is, on account of his being a worshipper of the Sun. This is the natural sense of the verse. And it is a wonder how it did not occur to other scholars who slavishly followed Fleet and Bühler. The scholar who first understood the general sense of the verse correctly was K. Rama Pisharoti (S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, p. 70). He is, however, not correct in taking Vatsabhaṭṭi to be a śhṛṣṭiṣṭñja or architect. He was rather a Kārāpaka such as is mentioned in many inscriptions of Northern India in connection with temples. Thus an epigraphic record of Varmalāta dated Vikram year 682 and found in Vasantagadh in the Sirohi District, Rājasthān, speaks of the erection of a fane of Kaṭēṁmāryā by the Gōshīhī of Vāṭakaraśthāna who selected one Satyadēva as the Kārāpaka for seeing the work through (Er. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 192, verse 9). Kārāpaka does not mean ‘one who causes a temple to be constructed,’ but rather ‘a person appointed to look after the construction of a temple’ as has been so conclusively shown by Kiehorn (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 62, note 53). Vatsabhaṭṭi thus appears to have been a Kārāpaka entrusted by the Guild with the execution of the building and re-building of the Sun temple.

2 For the correct sense of the word pūrāṇa, see page 241, note 1 above.
SĀRANĀTH STONE INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA: THE YEAR 157

G. S. Gai

From photograph
Sārnāth near Banaras in Uttar Pradesh and were transcribed and translated by Y. R. Gupte in the *A.R. ASI*, for 1914-15, pp. 124 ff., Nos. XVI and XVII and Plate LXIX, o and p. Both are engraved on the pedestals of Buddha images. The proper left half of the second inscribed stone (B), it seems, had been destroyed but was replaced by a piece of halo of a somewhat earlier period but engraved with the missing part of the inscription. The writings on both these parts belong practically to the same Gupta period but seems to be the works of two different hands.

The writing on each is in three lines. But what space each originally covered it is difficult now to determine, as the inscriptions are in a fragmentary condition. The average size of letters is \( \frac{3}{4} \). The characters belong to the northern class of the Gupta alphabet and are practically identical with those of No. 26. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscriptions are in verse throughout. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of \( t \) in conjunction with a following \( r \).

The inscriptions refer to the reign of the *Imperial Gupta* king Budhagupta. They are dated, in words, when a century of years increased by fifty-seven of the Guptas had passed away, on the seventh day of the month of Vaiśākha, when the asterism Mūla was visible. These are Buddhist inscriptions; and their object is to record the installation of the images of the Buddha, on the aforesaid date, by Abhayamitra, the same donor as in No. 26.

**TEXT**

(A)

[Metres: Verses 1 to 4 Anushṭubh]

1 Gupta[nā]m samatikkrāntē sapta-paṁchāsad-uttarē [t*] śatē samānāṁ prithivy[iṁ*] Budhagupte praśāsati[||1*] [Vaiśākha-māsa-saptamyāṁ Mūlē= śma-pragatē*]


3 chitra-vinyāsa-chitritāṁ(tām) || [3*] Yad=aṣṭi puṇ[yaṁ]m p[ra]timāṁ kārayitvā mam=āṣtu¹ tat [t*] [māṭāpitrōr=gurūnāṁ cha lōkasya cha śām-āptayē*] || [4*]

(B)

1 [Guptānāṁ samati][krāntē*] [sapta-paṁchāśa]d-uttarē [t*] śatē samānāṁ prithivy[iṁ] Budhagu[ptē*] praśāsati [|| 1*] Vaiśākha-māsa-saptamyāṁ Mūlē= śma-

2 [pragatē*] [mayā] [t*] [kārīt=Ābhayamitrēṇa] pratīmā Śa[kya]bhikshunā || [2*] Imām [=uddhasta-sachchha*]tra-padmāsana-vibhū[shiṭām] [t*] D[ēvapu]-travatō [di][vyaṁ]

3 [chitra-vinyāsa-chitritāṁ(tām)*] || [3*] [Yad=aṣṭi puṇyaṁ pratimāṁ kārayitvā mam=āṣtu tat*] [t*] [māṭā-pitrōr=gurūnāṁ cha lōka[ś]ya cha śa]m-āpt- [yē] || [4*]

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1 As corrected by Prof. Jagan Nath (*JUPHS.*, Vol. XIII, p. 100; *PIHC.*, 1940, p. 60, No. 7.) He, however, omits tat after mam=āṣtu.
TRANSLATION

(A and B)

(Verse 1) When a century of years, increased by fifty-seven of the Guptas had passed away, when Budhagupta was ruling the earth;

(Verse 2) On the seventh of the month of Vaiśākhā, when (the asterism) Mūla was visible in the sky, the image was caused to be made by me, Abhayamitra, a Buddhist monk.

(Verses 3 and 4) Having caused to be made this wonderful image of (Buddha) accompanied by Devaputras, decorated with hands upraised, exquisite umbrella and lotus throne, (and) painted with a layer of painting, whatever spiritual merit accrues, may it be for the attainment of the extinction (of worldly existence) by (my) parents and preceptors and of mankind!

No. 37: PLATE XXXVII

VĀRĀŅASI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA; THE YEAR 159

The pillar containing the inscription was discovered sometime in 1940-41 at Rājghat in Vārāṇasi, Uttar Pradesh and is now preserved in the Bhārat Kalā-bhavan at Vārāṇasi. It was first noticed by Adris Banerji in JGJRL, Vol. III (1945), pp. 1 ff. and plate and subsequently published by D. C. Sircar in JRASB., (Letters), Vol. XV (1949), pp. 5-7 and plate.

The pillar is approximately 4 feet and 4½ inches in height. It is rectangular at base up to 2 feet 4½ inches which contains four niches in which there are four avatāras of Vishnu. The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet except in the case of the letter ḥ which is of the western type. The numerical symbols for 8, 9, 20, 50 and 100 occur in the record. The language is Sanskrit which is not free from mistakes of grammar. In respect of orthography, it may be noted that the consonant following r is reduplicated.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Mahārajādhirāja Budhagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. It is dated in the Gupta year 159, the 28th day of the month of Mārgaśīrsha. This date could correspond to 478 A.D. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a stone pillar by a lady named Dāmasvāmini, daughter of Māravisha (?), a resident of Pārvarika, while her mother’s name seems to be Sābhāti. The purpose for which the pillar was erected has not been mentioned in the record but it has been suggested that the use of the word stambha indicates that it was votive in nature and that it has been set up in a religious establishment with a view to acquiring merit.¹

There is only one geographical name in the inscription viz. Pārvarika which cannot be identified.

TEXT²

1 Sa[mva]⁵ 100 50 9 Mārgga di⁴ [20] 8 Mahārajādhirāja-
2 Budha[gu]tpa⁶-rājyē Pārvarika-vāstavya-Māra
3 [visha ?]-duhitā(trā) Sābhāti (?)-duhi[trā*] cha Dāmasvā-
4 mi[nyā] śilā-stambha sthā[p]jitaḥ [i *]

¹ JRASB., (Letters), Vol. XV, p. 6.
² From impressions.
³ Read saṃvatsarē.
⁴ I.e. Mārgaśīrsha-divasē.
⁵ Read Budhagupta.
VĀRĀṆASI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA: THE YEAR 159

G. S. Gai From photograph
TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) On the twenty-eighth day of Mārgaśīrṣha in the year 159, during the reign of Māhārāja Jādhirāja Budhagupta, the stone pillar is set up by Dāmasvāminī (who is) the daughter of Māravisha (?) an inhabitant of Pārvarika and is also the daughter of Sābhāti (?)

No. 38 : PLATE XXXVIII

DĀMĀDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA: THE YEAR 163

This inscription also was discovered in the village of Dāmādarpur, about eight miles west of the Police Station Phulbāri in Dinajpur District, West Bengal, in the same circumstances as Nos. 22 and 24, above. It is now deposited, along with them, in the Museum of the Varāṇḍra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bangladesh. And it was edited by Radhagovinda Basak in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 134 ff., and Plate iii a and b.

The plate is one in number, but is inscribed on both sides, the first containing eight and the second five lines of writing as in Nos. 22 and 24, above. It measures 73 by 31. The edges thereof have not been raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The plate is slightly thicker than those described in Nos. 22 and 24. The letters are well executed and well preserved except in some places where they have been eaten up by verdigris. It is not known whether there was any seal attached to it. The weight of the plate is 13 tolas. The characters belong, generally speaking, to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet as remarked about the plate described in No. 22. The other palaeographical points that deserve notice are: (1) the occurrence of the initial vowel ṛ in ākṣhēpā, line 13; (2) the peculiar form of the medial ā after ṇ, dh, and b, indicated by a hook attached to the bottom on the proper left of these letters, as in =brāhmaṇ-āryyān=, line 4, =avadhāritam=, line 6, -bāby-āpada-, line 5, and so forth; and (3) the joining of t or n to the following p and s as in tat-pāda=, line 1, vrindakāt=sa=, line 2 and -āryān=prativāśayitum=, line 4. The characters also include, in line 1, forms of the numerical symbols for 3 and 10. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout excepting the three benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 11-13. In respect of orthography we have to note (1) that the visarga followed by s has been changed to that letter, as in mātā-pitrōs=sva-punya=, line 4 and so on; (2) that the letters g, t, dh, m, y, v and sh are doubled in conjunction with a following r, as in svargē, line 13, karttum=, line 6, saṁyavahāribhir=ddharmam=, line 11, =brāhmaṇ-āryyān=, line 4, -pārveṇa, line 9, mahashikhiḥ, line 11, and so forth; (3) that the final m of a word, instead of being changed to an anusvāra, is joined to the following p as in sva-dattām=para=, line 11; and (4) that the letter b is distinguished from v and is denoted by its own sign, e.g., brāhmaṇ-ādhyaksha=, line 3, brāhmaṇ-āryyān=, line 4, and so on.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Paramādaivatā Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārāja Jādhirāja Budhagupta, that is, Budhagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Its date, in numerical symbols, seems to be the year one hundred and sixtythree (481-82 A.D.) on the thirteenth day of Āshāḍha (June-July). Under Budhagupta was Mahārāja Brahmadatta as Head (Uparika) of the Pundravardhana province (bhūkit). The plate then refers to the Ashṭakula Board of Palāśavṛindaka, headed by the Mahātara Officer and associated with the Viśvaśā (Accountant) Officer and husbandmen (Kūtumbins) and speaks of a communication issued by them to the husbandmen of the Chānda village, in regard to an application made by Nābhaka, a native of that village, for the purchase of some waste land for settling down certain Brāhmaṇas. And we are told that, with the approval of the record-keeper Patrādaśa,
he was given one kūlyāvāpa of waste land on the receipt of two dīnāras, with the direction that its exact location should be fixed up somewhere alongside of Satya and Vāyi-grāma by the (Local) Board of Chaṇḍa headed by the Mahāttara after duly measuring it in accordance with the customary Nālas.

Of the localities specified in the record Vāyi-grāma is doubtless the same as Vāyi-grāma or Bāigrām where a plate¹ of the Gupta period was found. Bāigrām is of course situated in the Bogra District, now in Bangladesh. The other locality, Satya, is untraceable.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1 to 3 Anuḥṭubh]

First Side

2 [ṛddha]-bhūktavā=Uparika-Mahārāja-Brahmadattē saṁvyavaharati[ ]sva[ ][Palāśavindakāt] =sa-Viśvāsair Mahattar-ādy-āṣṭakul-ādhī[ka]-  
3 [ra]ṇa[ra]2 grāmika-kūṭumvinaśa=cha Chāṇḍagrāmade[ ]-brāhmaṇ-ādhyaksha5- kshudra-prakṛiti-kūṭumvinaḥ6 kuśalam=uktv=ānudārayanti [yathā*]  
4 [vṛ]jñāpyati7 nō grāmika-Nābhakā=ham=ich chhe8 mātā-pitrō=sva-puṣy- āpyanāya kaṭaḥchid9-śrāhman-āryyān=prativāsayutum  
5 tad=arthaḥ grām-āṇukrama-vikraya-marīyādayā yaddottamaḥ grīhya samudyaya-bāhy-āprada-khila-[kṣhētrasya]10  
6 [pra]*sadāṁ kartum=^[i*]ti [^[i*] yataḥ pustapāḷa-Patradāśen=āvadhāritam yuktam=anēna vijñāpatim=asty=ayaṁ vikraya-  
7 marīyādaya-praśāgas=tad=diyatāṁ=asya Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārāja-pā[da- nāṁ]11 puṣy-ōpachāreyā=ēti [^[i*] punaṁ=ayaṁ vikraya-  
8 [Patradā]sasya=āvadhāraṇay=āvadhṛitya Nābhaka-hastāṅ=diṁā-daṁyam=upa-saṅgrihyā Sāthānavalī13- Kapilasṛśibhadṛabhyyaṁ=āy[i*]kṛitya cha samudaya-  

Second Side

9 [bāhyā-āprada-khi*]la-kṣhētrasya kūlyavāpam=ēkam=asya Vāyi-grāmade[ ]-ōttara- pārśvam=ayaṁ cha Satya-marīyādayā yaddottamaḥ paścima-pūrvvēṇa  
10 Maha[tt]ārādy-ādy-ādhikaraṇa-kūṭumvibhiḥ14 pratyaṃkṣham=āṣṭakāmavaka(-navaka)-

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 78 ff.  
² Basak reads Mahattar-ādy-āṣṭakul-ādhikaraṇa-grāmika-kūṭumvinaḥ = cha which makes hardly any sense. Besides, it makes cha superfluous. We had therefore better read Mahattar-ādy-āṣṭakul-ādhikaraṇa grāmika-kūṭumvinaḥ = cha.  
³ Read -kūṭumvinaḥ=.
⁴ Basak reads -grāmakē.  
⁵ Basak reads -brāhmaṇ-ādy-āṇṇa-.  
⁶ Basak reads -kṛṣṭmūṁvinaḥ.  
⁷ Read vijñāpyati.  
⁸ Read =ichchāryaṁ.  
⁹ Read katidhē=.  
10 Basak reads -kṣhētra-vāraṁ.  
11 Basak reads -pūḍāna-.  
12 The word -daṇyam= was at first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved immediately below -diṁā-.  
13 Basak reads Sāthānapāla-.  
14 Read -kūṭumvibhiḥ.
nalabhīyām = apaṇīchchhyā cha [kriskiṇī transliterated as 'öchchhinda' cha Nābha[kāya*]
11 [dēyam ētād-u*]ttara-kālaṁ samavahāribhir = ddharmam = avēkṣya prati-
pālaniyam = uktaṁ = cha maharshhi(rshi)bhīḥ ( i*) Sva-dattām = para-dattām
vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ(jām) [ i*]
12 [sa vishthā*]yāṁ kṛmir = bhūtvā pīṭābhīs = saha pachyate [ ≠1*] Balubhir =
vvasudhā dattā rājabhīs = Sagarādhibhī [ i*] yasya yasya yadā bhumis = tasya
tasya
13 [tadā*] phalām(lam) [ i* 2*] Shashṭiṁ varshha(rsha) = sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdāti
bhūmidaḥ [ i*] ākśhepā ch = śnumaṁ cha tāṇy = ēva narakē vasēd = iti4

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-2) [The year is 100] (and) 60 (and) 3, (the month of) Āshāda, the day 10
(and) 3, while Paramadāvata Paramabhāṭīraka Mahārajaḍhirāja, the prosperous Budhagupta,
the lord of the earth; (and) while the Mahārajā Brahmadatta, the Uparika of
the Pundravardhana Province, selected by His (Majesty’s) fact, is carrying on the administration;
(Lines 2-3) Hail! From Palāśāvindraka, the Asṭṭakula Board6 headed by the Mahattara,6
in conjunction with Viśāra,7 and, the husbandmen8 who are village headmen,9 after enquiring

3 Basak reads tuskṭina[li]̱ḍṛgya which makes no sense. Our reading is in accord with -karṣhayā-śvīrāthī-sthāyē in
line 18 of the Baimgra copper-plate Inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 82).
2 Read =ōchchhinda.
3 Read pratipālanīyam = uktaṁ.
4 Read vastī [ i* 3*] Iti.
5 Ashtakula, like Pañchakula, was one form of local self-government in ancient India. In the first, eight, and, in
the second, five, representatives of village families were taken to form a Board to decide a dispute that might arise.
That Ashtakula was a pretty ancient institution may be seen from the fact that the Asaṭṭakhaṭa or Commentary
of Budhaghoṣa on the Mahāparibhāṣāsuttanta teaches of Assaṭṭakulakā while giving an account of the judicial pro-
dure prevalent in the Vajjijn kingdom (D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures 1918, p. 155; B. C. Law, Some Kha-
triya Tribes of Ancient India, p. 103). For the exact sense of adhikaraṇa affixed to Ashtakula in this expression, see note
7, p. 286 above.
6 This word occurs in the Faridpur grants also, where Parājāt renders it by ‘men of position in the villages, the
leading men’ (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p. 213). A common title for the headman of a village in East Bengal
now, says he further in the foot-note, is Māṭtab or Māṭtab, which he derives from the Arabic mul’tābar, “trust-
worthy, reputable.” A. S. Altekar says that Mahattara by itself signifies ‘village elders’, and consequently the expres-
sion Mahattar-ādhihārīka, ‘Officers appointed from among the village elders’ (A History of Village Communities in
Western India, p. 21). According to Bhagwanlal Indraji “Māṭtabāḥ the Marāthi for an old man is the same word.
In the Valabhi plates mahattara seems to be generally used to mean the accredited headman of a village, recog-
nised as headman both by the people of the village and by the Government’ (BC., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 81). He had
better be taken as the accredited Head of a village community appointed by the state from among its lowest revenue
officials.
7 The term Viśāra occurs not only in this but also in another inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIII, p. 54, text
line 1). In both the places it is rendered by ‘with confidence,’ which, however, yields no sense. It seems to have
survived in the modern Bengali surname Biswas, which is found not only among Hindus but also Muhammadans.
Originally it most probably denoted “the village accountant”. Titles like Viśāra-rāya and Viśāra-pāṇḍa meaning
‘Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer’ were known to Medieval Bengali (Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p. 128).
8 In Ancient India it seems that the middle classes were divided principally into kuṭumbhīs or cultivators and
grihaps or mercantile people. Each of these was further distinguished into a number of smaller groups. Thus we
hear of Gahapati-Nēgama (Lüders’ List, Nos. 1001, 1127 and 1133), Gahapati-Sēthi (Ibid., Nos. 1056, 1073 and
1075) and Gahapati-Sathāvaha (Ibid., No. 1082). It will thus be seen that Grahapatis were divided into Śrēṣṭhīns,
Śrāvthāvas and Naigamas. As regards Kuṭumbīn, in one inscription a Hālākya or ploughman is spoken of as
Kudubika (Kuṭumbi) whereas his son was a Gahapati (Grahapati) (Ibid., No. 1121). What the other groups of
the Kuṭumbīn were we do not know. In modern times the term Grahapati has been entirely forgotten, but Kuṭum-
bin is still traceable in the Mārāṭhi Kuṭumbi and the Gujarāṭī Kambī, both denoting the cultivating classes.
9 Grāmika-kuṭumbasoh is divided by Basak into two words and rendered by “the village-heads (grāmika) and the
householders.” He rightly explains grāmika by saying that “this word is used by Manu in verses 116 and 118 of
(Contd. on p. 338)
about (their) health, inform the husbandmen of the village **Chandāka** who are inferior Ryots and are presided over by the Brāhmaṇas, as follows:

(Lines 3-6) The village headman Nābhaka, has petitioned to us: ‘for the augmentation of (my) parents’ and my own spiritual merit, I am desirous of settling down certain venerable Brāhmaṇas. Deign ye, therefore, to do me the favour of (granting) waste land, excluded from revenue and not yielding (anything), according to the rule of sale customary in the village, after accepting gold from me.’

(Lines 6-11) ‘Whereas it has been determined by the record-keeper Patradāsa that this is a case (falling) under the rule of sale and that (land) may be granted to him for the augmentation of the good fortune of the venerable Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārāja, in the receipt of two dināras from the hands of Nābhaka and on (the same) being credited (to the treasury) by Sthānāvila and Kapila-Śrībhadra, one kulyawāpa of waste land, (excluded) from revenue (and) not yielding (anything), has been assigned to him, as determined by the determination of that same Patradāsa, (somewhere) on the south, west and east of the boundary of Satya on the Vāyi village. And this should be allotted to Nābhaka after being inspected by the husbandmen under the (Aśṭakula) Board headed by Mahattara, after severing it with eight (-cubit) by nine (-cubit) nalas and without detriment to (their) culti-

Chapter VII with reference to the head of the village, who had the right to enjoy several privileges, e.g., to use for himself the king’s dues received from the villagers1 (Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 137 and note 3). It is, however, forgotten that grāmika occurs not only in line 3 but also in line 4 and that in both cases it should be taken in the same sense. But, whereas, in line 3 the word is taken by Basak to signify ‘the village-head,’ in line 4 it is taken by him in the sense of ‘of this village.’ Besides, as has just been pointed out, mahattara apparently denotes the Head of the village community. Grāmika had thus better be taken in the sense of ‘a village headman,’ so as to suit both the places where it occurs.

1 Nala ordinarily means ‘a reed,’ but here it denotes the measuring reed. The expression aṣṭaka-navaka-nalabhyām occurs also in line 18 of Bāigrama Copper-Plate Inscript (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff.). The same expression is found in the Faridpur plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 200 ff.), but here nala has been used in the singular. In regard to the measurement of land in East Bengal, F. E. Pargiter makes the following pertinent remarks: “The commonest land-measure in the eastern districts of Bengal has been the kāpi, though it is now being superseded by the standard Government bigha. It is not a square, but an oblong. Its dimensions vary in different localities, its measurements being 24×20 reeds or 24×16, or 12×12. (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, p. 215).” It seems that this land-measure in the Gupta period was 9×8, that is to say, one side of it was a Nala nine cubits in length and the other a Nala eight cubits in breadth. The Nala measure varied in different localities and at different periods in Bengal. But it was always measured in terms of hast. Thus the Tarpanādīgi plate of Lakṣmānaśeṇa has tātasya-dīrā-cāvahāra-nalena (Inscr. of Bengal, Vol. III p. 102, line 36) and the Gōvindapura plate of the same king has tad-dīrā-cāvahāra-ḥa-pātchalāt-hasta-parimita-nalena (ibid., p. 96, lines 36-37). This shows that different districts had Nalas of different measure in the Sēna period and that in the Vardhamāna bhukti the Nala measured 36 hastas or cubits. There was also an attempt in the Sēna period to have a standard Nala. Thus, we find the expression Vrishabhaśāṅkara-nalā in the Sēna records (ibid., p. 74, line 45; p. 87, lines 36—37), where Vrishabhaśāṅkara is doubtless the bindu of Vījanaśēṇa. It is true that in the Sēna epoch the land was measured by the linear Nala but prior to the time of the Pālas it was by the oblong Nala, as we have seen above. But this oblong Nala was 9 hastas long and 8 hastas broad. That after aṣṭaka and navaka the expression aṣṭaka-navaka-nalabhyām, hasta is understood, may be seen from the fact that it is immediately preceded by Darśakarna-hastena in the Bāigrama plate mentioned above, which obviously means ‘in accordance with the hand of Darśakarna.’ A similar expression occurs in two of the Faridpur grants referred to above, namely, Śivachandra-hast-āṣṭaka-navaka-nalena, where it has been rendered by Pargiter by “according to the standard measure of eight reeds in breadth and nine reeds in length by the hand of . . . Śivachandra” (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 202 and 205). That somebody, a king or an officer fixed up the standard hasta can scarcely be doubted. The phrase Vrishabhaśāṅkara-nala has already been referred to. We may also draw attention to Chandradīsa-karaṇasa nala-parināgina and Śrīkaraṇa Śivadīsa-nāmakasa-nala-parināgina (JASB, 1896, Pt. I, p. 255, line 2; p. 256, line 12). The hasta was, no doubt, sometimes that of the king, as the phrase Vrishabhaśāṅkara-nala indicates. Sometimes it denoted that of a holy man, because Śivachandra whose hasta has been adverted to in the Faridpur grants has been described as dharmāśīla, righteous.” Whether it similarly denoted the hasta of the officer Karana or Śrīkaraṇa mentioned in the aforesaid Orissa plates is doubtful. What is here intended is that they fixed how many hastas a Nala should comprise and of what length a hasta should (Contd. on p. 339)
vation. (And) the future administrators should guard it looking (upon it) as a religious gift.”
(Verse 1) He, who takes away land given by himself or by others, having become a worm in excreta, rots with his forefathers.
(Verse 2) Land has been granted by many kings, Sagara and others. The fruit (of such grant) belongs to whosoever possesses the earth (at any time).
(Verse 3) The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years. He who resumes it and he who assents to (it) may dwell in hell for exactly those (years).

No. 39 : PLATE XXXIX

ERVED STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA: THE YEAR 165

This inscription was discovered in 1838 by Captain T.S. Burt, of the Engineers, and was first brought to notice in the same year, in the J.BAS., Vol. VII, pp. 633 ff., when James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,1 accompanied by a lithograph (ibid., Plate xxxi), reduced from an ink-impression made by Captain Burt. In 1861, in the same Journal, Volume XXX, pp. 17 ff., Fitz Edward Hall published his revised reading of the text, from the original pillar, and a translation of it. And finally, in 1880, in the CASIR., Vol. X, p. 82, General Cunningham, in reprinting Hall’s translation, pointed out that the ākṣaras in line 3,—in which Prinsep had found a reference to the Surāśṭras; and which Hall read as saṃsūrābhā, and translated by “chosen land of the gods,—were in reality a repetition of the date in numerical symbols, as had, in fact, been suggested, though without particularisation, by Hall himself, in the J.BAS., Vol. XXX, p. 127, note. It was for the first time critically edited by J.F. Fleet in the CIL., Vol. III, 1888, pp. 88 and ff., and Plate XII A.

This is another inscription from Erān2 in the Khurāi Sub-Division of the Sagar District in Madhya Pradesh. It is on the west face towards the bottom of the lower and square part of a large monolith red-sandstone column, which stands near the well-known group of temples about half a mile to the west of the village, and which seems from its position to be specially connected with a small double temple that General Cunningham has named the “Lakṣmī Temple,”3 separated by the intervening “Vīṣṇu Temple” from the “Varāha Temple” or temple of the Boar, at which there is the well-known inscription of Tōrāmāṇa.4

The writing, which covers a space of about 2’ 6½” broad by 1’ 7½” high, has suffered a good deal in places from the weather; but on the original column the whole inscription can be read with certainty, except a few letters at the proper left side that have been quite worn away by sharpening tools on the edge of the stone. The bottom line of the inscription is about 3’ 3” above the plinth from which the column rises. The size of the letters varies from ½” to ⅔”. The characters on the whole belong to the southern variety of the Gupta alphabet; because though m is of the eastern type, s, h and so forth are unquestionably of the Malwa be. Further it is worthy of note that even in the Gupta age the oblong land-measure of 9 × 8, Vāla was not prevalent in all the parts of Bengal. Thus the Pahārpur plate (Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 59 ff.) speaks of only shatka-naḍa in line 19. Shatka-naḍa was thus a reed six cubits in length and denoted a linear measure.

Another word connected with the measurement of land is apaśīchṛya, which occurs also in the Pahārpur and the Farīdpur grants. In the last records, however, the form apaśīcchṛya is found, Pargiter has rendered it by ‘having severed.’ This seems to be correct, because in the Dēśānāmadilā, viṭṭhikhyā and viṭṭhikhyam (VII, 91 and 93) both mean pāṭīlam.

2 See page 221 above.
variety. The letter r, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed sometimes within the top line of the writing, e.g., in āṛṇava-, line 8 and sometimes above it, e.g., in -paryyaṅkah, in the same line. The characters include, in line 3, forms of the numerical symbols for 5, 60, and 100. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 4, and the rest in prose. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the constant doubling of r, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in Maitrāyaṇīya, line 5; pautṛṇa, line 6; and -piṭṭōḥ, line 8.

The inscription opens with a verse in praise of Viśnū whose ensign is Garuḍa (verse 1). Then we are told that when one hundred and sixty-five years had elapsed (marked also in numerical symbols) and when Budhagupta was the lord of the earth and on Thursday, the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣādha (verse 2), and when Surāśmichandra was a protector of the people (lōkaṭāla),1 protecting the province intervening between the Kālindī (Yamunā) and the Narmadā (Verse 3), the column on which this inscription is engraved and which is called a dhvaja-stambha2 or ‘flag-staff’ of Bhagavān Janaṛđdana (Viśnū) was caused to be erected by the Mahārāja Mātrivishṇu and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu (lines 7-8). He was the son of Harivishṇu, grandson of Varuṇavishṇu and, above all, great grandson of Indravishṇu, the Brāhmaṇa sage, who was the head of the Mātrāyaṇīya school of the Yajurveda and performed sacrifices (kratūs).

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1 to 3 Āryan.]

1. Jayati vibhuś = chatur-bhujaś = chatur-arṇava-vipula-salīla-paryyaṅkaḥ [1 *] jagataḥ sthitya=utpattinya[y-aika¹ *]-
2. hētur=Ggaruḍa-kētuḥ [|| 1 *] Śatē paṇcha-shashṭyadhikē varṣaṅāṁ bhūpatau cha Budhagupte Āṣādha-māsa-śukla]-
3. dvādaśyāṁ² Suragurōr=ddivasā [1 *] Saṁ 100 60 5 [|| *] Kālindī-Narmadāvarṣaḥ=mmadhyaṁ pālayati lōkaṭāla-guṇair[1 *]=jagati⁴ mahār[āja]-
4. śṛīyaṁ=anubhavati Surāśmichandrake [|| 3 *] Asyāṁ saṁvatsara-māsa- diveśa-pārvvāyaṁ sva-karṇam-ābhīratasya kratu-yājñāḥ
5. adhita-svādhīnayasya vipr-arṣhēr=Maṇḍrāyaṇīya-vṛshabhasya—Endravishṇoh paurutrēna pitūr=gun-ānuṅkārīṅo Varuṇav[i]śh[nōḥ]
6. pautṛṇa pitaram=anu-jātasya sva-varṇa-svāḍhī-hētōr=Harivishṇoh putrēn = ātyanta-bhagavad-bhaktēna Vidhiḥtur=ichchhayā svayaṁvaray=ēva r[ā]jaj- 
7. lakṣhmy=ādhigatēṇa chatuḥ-samudra-pariyanta-prathita-yaśasā akṣòha-māna- dhanēn=ānēka-śattru-samarajāṃṣūnā mahārāja Mātrivishṇu[ā]

1 The word lōkaṭāla does not fall in this inscription denote ‘the regent of a quarter’ but rather ‘a ruler or protector of the people’; compare the Rājarājaśīnä, I, 344.
2 Compare dhvaja, ‘standard,’ as applied to the Meharauli column, in line 6 of No. 12 above.
3 From inked impressions.
4 In the last legible syllable, part of the subscript 3 is quite distinct, and the consonant above it seems to be a broken n; and the requirements of both the metre and the sense are properly met by supplying ṣādi for the effaced syllables. Hall, therefore, suggests nyat[-ādi*], which Fleet adopts. But nyat[-aika*] seems better. [The consonant above the subscript 3 appears to be ē rather than n. Compare the angular shape of ē throughout this inscription, and, for contrast, the syllable nyā in Dhanyavishṇu in line 8. The intended reading, therefore, seems to be nyāpiya rather than nyāt-ādi or nyāt-aika.—Ed.]
5 This akṣara is somewhat damaged; but it is very distinctly dōd. Princep’s reading of trayādaśyāṁ is proved to be wrong by the metre, if by nothing else.
6 Read jagati.
ERĀN STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA: THE YEAR 165

G. S. Gar

From photograph
8 tasya=av=ānujēna tad-anuvidyān[ā] tat-prasāda-pariṣṭi[hi]tēna Dhanyavish-
numā cha 1 mātrī(ā)-pitṛōṇ ṣuṇy-āpāy-ān-ārtham=ēsha bhagavataḥ 1(i)
punyajān-ārddanasya Janārddanasya dhvaja-stambhō = bhūchchhūrītaḥ [ii*]
Svasty=astu gō-brāhmaṇa-p[u]rōgābhyah sarvva-prajābhya iti 1(ii)

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Victorious is the lord, the four-armed (Viṣṇu)—whose couch is the extensive
waters of the four-oceans; who is the sole cause of the continuance, production, and destruction,
etc., of the universe; (and) whose ensign is Garuḍa!

(Line 2) When a century of years, increased by sixty-five (had elapsed); and
while Budhagupta (is) the lord of the earth; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright for-
night of the month Āśāda; on the day of Suraguru;¹

(Line 3) (Or in figures) the year 100 (and) 60 (and) 5.

(Verse 3) And while Surāśmathchranda is protecting, with the qualities of a Protector
of the people,² (the province) between the Kālindī and the Narmadā, (and) is enjoying in
the world the glory of (being) a Mahārāja;

(Line 4) When this was the detailed order (of the date) regarding the year, month and
day;³

(Lines 6-7) By the Mahārāja Mātrivishṇu who is excessively devoted to Bhagavān
(Viṣṇu), who, by the will of Destiny, was married by Sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing
herself (her own husband); whose fame extends up to the borders of the four oceans; whose
wealth is unimpaired high-mindedness; (and) who has been victorious in battle against many
enemies;

(Lines 4-6) Who is the son of the son’s son of Indravishṇu, who was devoted to his religi-
ous rites; who performed sacrifices; who studied his Veda; who was a Brāhmaṇa sage; (and)
who was the head of the Maitreyaniya school of Yajurveda;—who is the son’s son of Varuṇa-
viṣṇu, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who is the son of
Harivishṇu, who took after ⁴ (his) father, (and) was the cause of the advancement of his race;

(Lines 8-9) (By him) and by his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, who is obedient to him,
(and) has been encircled by his favours,—this flag-staff of the divine (god) Janārdana, the
destroyer of the demons,⁵ has been erected, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of
(their) parents.

(Line 9) May it be well to all the people, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇas!

¹ I.e., “On Thursday,”—Suraguru, ‘the preceptor of the gods,’ is another name of Brhaspati, from which
latter name the day takes its customary appellation of Brhaspativāra.
² See note 1 on p. 299 above.
³ See note 1 on p. 241 above.
⁴ Pitaram = ana-jātasya. Hall explained this expression in the J.B.A.S., Vol. III, p. 139, note, by a passage quoted
in the St. Petersburg Dictionary from the Panchatantra: viz.,

Jātaḥ putrō = najātasi = cha atijātās = tathā = abā cha
apajātāi = cha lōkē = smin = mantavyāḥ sāstra-vedikāh ||
Mātī-tula-gūṇā jātās = tv = anajātāḥ pātuh samah ||
atijātā = dhikas = tamād = apajātā = dhvan-ādhamah ||

“By those who know the scriptures, (sonā) are to be understood among men as being a jāta son, or an anujāta, or
an atijāta, or an apajāta. A jāta (is) one whose virtues are equal to (those of his) mother; an anujāta (is) equal to
(his) father (in virtue); an atijāta surpasses that (father); (and) an apajāta (is) altogether inferior (to him).”
⁵ Pujyajana. lit., “a good pious, or virtuous man,” also denotes “a class of supernatural beings, a fiend, a goblin,
a demon.”
DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA

This plate also was found in the village of Dāmōdarpur in the same circumstances, as Nos. 22, 24 and 38, and is deposited along with them in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, now in Bangladesh. It was edited by Radhagovinda Basak in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 138 ff., and Plate iv a and b.

The plate is one in number, and is inscribed on both sides, the first containing twelve and second six lines of writing. It measures $7\frac{1}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$. The edges of it have not been raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The plate as it is, is uniformly even except along the edge of its proper right side. The upper corner here has been cut away, the actual specification of the year of the date being destroyed therewith. As regards the second side of the plate it is so corroded that the writing on it has become almost illegible, though lines 15-18 can be read with pretty certainty by comparison with the corresponding matter on Nos. 38 and 47. The seal is practically of the same oval shape as that of the plate described in No. 47 below and was attached to the middle of the proper right side. It measures $1\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1\frac{1}{8}''$. It seems it once bore a legend upon it as in No. 47. But it is now completely effaced. The weight of the plate together with its seal is 27$\frac{3}{4}$ tolas. The characters belong, generally speaking, to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet as remarked about the plate described in No. 22 above. The other palaeographic peculiarities are (1) the occurrence of the initial a in adhisṭhān-, line 3, anēna, line 5, and so on; (2) the initial i in ēkādaśa-, line 11; (3) the peculiar form of the medial ā, after th and dh as in yathākraya-, line 9 and =avadhāraya=ā, line 10, and in grā as in Dōṅgā-grāmē, line 6, as remarked above in connection with No. 38; (4) the method of forming r in conjunction with a following j, e.g., in -maryāda in lines 9 and 12; (5) the coupling of ending t and n with the immediately following consonants, e.g., tat-pāda-, line 2, =ētat-kōshṭhikā-, line 8, asmat-ṭhal-, line 6, =ahan=ṭat-khēṭtra, line 7, and kulyavāpān=yathākraya-, line 9. The characters also include, in line 1, numerical symbols for 10 and 5(?). The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in prose throughout, with the exception of the three impercatory verses in lines 15-18. The only linguistic peculiarity that calls for notice is the use of the affix ka in some words, such as =ānuvahamānakā, lines 2-3; -niyuktaka and Āyuktaka-, line 3, atisrīṣṭakās=, line 7 and dattakās= line 11. In respect of orthography, we have to note (1) the doubling of d, th and dh (by t and d as required by the rules), v and sh (wrongly) in conjunction with a preceding r as in -śārthāvāha-, line 4, and =tad-arthaṁ=, line 11 [san]yavahāribhir=ddēva-, line 15, Pūṇḍravarddhana-, line 2, pūrvvai-, line 6 and [Kō]ṭṭi[varṣhka]-, line 3; (2) the doubling of t in conjunction with a following j, such e.g., in -kṣēṭtra-, lines 7, 11 and 12, -Viṣumitra-, line 4; (3) the use of the dental nasal instead of anusvāra in combination with a following s, as e.g., in -phal-āśansinā, line 6; (4) the change of visarga to s in conjunction with that letter following it as e.g., in [pi]ṭri[bhis=saha], line 16; and (5) change of anusvāra to m with a following v, as e.g., in sa[mya]vaharati, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Paramadhivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhikāra Budhagupta, that is, Budhagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The date was in numerical symbols but unfortunately the 'year' part of the date has disappeared with the upper corner of the proper right side of the plate which is destroyed. The exact specification of the day also is not well preserved. The month mentioned has, however, been preserved, and it is Phālguna. Under Budhagupta was Mahārājā Jayadatta as Head (Uparika) of the Pūṇḍravardhana province (bhukti); and in the Kōṭivarsha district (vishaya), under him, the Court (adhikaraṇa) of the Town (adhisṭhāna) was being carried on by the Āyuktaka Bhanḍaka,
appointed by Jayadatta, along with the Nagarasrēśthin Ribhupāla, the Sarthavāha Vasumitra, the Prathamā-Kulika Varadatta, and the Prathamā-Kāyaṭha Viprapāla. We are further informed that of these latter, Ribhupāla, who is now called not Nagarasrēśthin, but simply śrēśthin, applied to the Court of the Town for permission to purchase six kulaṇāpas of building site (vāstus) on payment of the price at the usual rate of three dināras a kulaṇāpa. The object of this purchase of land was to erect on it two shrines and two store-rooms of the primeval gods Kōkāmekha-svāmin and Śvētarāha-svāmin to whom four and seven kulaṇāpas respectively had already been donated by the donor on the table-land of the Himālayas in the village of Dōngā. And further we are told that the application was granted with the approval of the record keepers Vishṇu-Datta, Vijaya-Xand, and Sthānu-Rand, after corroborating the statement of the owner’s former gift of eleven kulaṇāpas mentioned in the application.

Kōkāmekha-svāmin and Śvētarāha-svāmin are doubtless forms of Vishṇu. But where they were exactly situated it is difficult to say. R. G. Basak¹ suspects that the first of these was connected with Kōkāmekha-tūtha mentioned in the Harivamṣa, Mahābhārata² and Varāha-Purāṇa.³ J. C. Ghosh is more positive on this point and locates it in that region where flow the rivers Kauśikī, Kōkā and the Trisrōtas specified in Chapter 140 of the Varāha-Purāṇa and answering “to the modern Koś, Kaṅkāi and Tista in Northern Bengal.”⁴ Anybody who reads this chapter carefully will be convinced that the Kōkā emerges from the Himālayas. This agrees with the fact that the two gods mentioned in this plate were on the tableland of the Himālayas. The Varāha-Purāṇa, Chapter 140, verse 68, speaks of a sacred place called Daṁshṭrāṅkura just where the Kōkā emerges. This seems to be the location of Kōkāmekha-svāmin. In fact, the actual name Kōkāmekha occurs twice in the same Purāṇa, Chapter 122, verses 19 and 22 and Chapter 140, verse 4. The same Purāṇa, Chapter 140, verse 24 mentions Vishṇusaras as a place where Varāha pulled out the Earth with one stroke of the tusk. This appears to be the location of Śvētarāha-svāmin. This perhaps explains why the Earth has been described in this inscription as liṅga-kshōni, ‘the Subtile Earth.’ From the names of the rivers Kauśikī, Kōkā and Trisrōtas, that is, the Sun Koś, Kaṅkāi and Tista, it is clear that the shrines of these gods were situated somewhere in Darjeeling and Sikkim. It thus appears that the Kōṭivarsha vishaya and Punḍravardhana bhakti extended as far northward as the Darjeeling and Sikkim region. Now, in Sikkim, there is what is called Dongkye Pass and Mount.⁵ And it seems tempting to suppose that the Dōngā of this record has survived in Dongka. As these gods existed somewhere near the snowy Darjeeling and Sikkim Districts, it is no wonder if one image of the Boar Incarnation was called Śvētarāha-svāmin. It looks that the images of these gods and the Earth were natural formations of the rock. This agrees with the fact that the gods have been called ādya or primeval in line 7 and the Earth described as liṅga-kshōni in line 8.

TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1 to 3 Anushtub]  
First Side

1   . . .  Phālguna di 10  [5] Paramadaivata-Paramabhaṭṭaraka-Mahārājādhirāja-śri-
[Vudha][gu*]pt[ē*]⁶ [prithivi*]-

² III, 84, 159; XIII, 25, 50.  
³ Chapters 113, 122 and 140.  
⁴ JASB., (N. S.), Vol. XXVI, p. 242; Varāha-Purāṇa, Chapter 140, verses 53, 72, etc.
⁵ Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XI, p. 368.
⁶ Read Budhagupta.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

2 [patau tat-pâ]*da-parigrihitasya **Punḍravardhāna**-bhuktāv=Uparika-Mahārāja-
Jayadattasya bhogēn=aun[va]hamā]-

3 nakē [Kō]ti[5arvsha(rsha)-vishayē cha tan-niyuktaka Āyuktaka-Bhanḍakē1 [a]-
dhishṭhān-ādhihika[ra]n[ā]*] Nagarasrēṣṭhi-Ribhu-

4 pāla-Sārtthavāha-Vasumitra-Prathamakulika-Varadatta-Prathamakāyastha-Viprap-
pāla-purōgē cha sa[mvyavaharatī[*]

5 Anēna śrēṣṭhi-Ribhupālena vijnāpitam [*] Himavach-chhikharē Kōkāmukha-
svaṁinah chatvārah kulyavāpāh [Śvē]tava-
rāha-svāminō=pi saptā kulyavāpāḥ asmat-phal-śaṅsānā puny-ā(ṇy-ā)bhivṛddhayē

**Dōngā-grāmē** pūrvvaṁ mayā

7 apradā atīśiṣṭakās=tad=a[han]=tat-kṣhēṭra-sāmīpya-bhūmāu tayōr=ādyā-Kō-
kāmukha-svāmi-Svētavārāha-

8 svāminōr=nā[ma]l-liṅga-[kshōṇi] dēvakula-dvayam=ētat=kōṣṭhikā-dvayaṇ=cha-
kārayitum=ichchhāmy=arhathā vāṣṭunō

9 shat-[kujā]yāpān=yaḥkāraya-marvyādayaś dātum=īti [*] yathaḥ Pustapāla-

10 nandinām=avadhāraṇaṇv=āvadhītītam=ast[ya]=anēna Himavach-chhikharē tayōh-
Kēkāmukha-svāmi-Svētavārā[ha]-svāmi[snōh]

11 apar[dāḥ] kṣhēṭra-kulyavāpā ēkādaśa dattakās=tad-artthaṇ=ch=ēha dēvakula-
kōṣṭhikā-karaṇē yukta[m=c]ta[d=vijā]-

12 [pitaṃ] [kra]mēna tat-kṣhē[ttra]-sāmīpya-bhūmau vāstū dātum=īty=anuvṛttat-
tri-dinārīkya-kul[ya]vā|pa-vikrāya-[marvyā]da-

Second Side

13 [yā*] ... ... rā kulaṇa ... ... rā ga ra (?) ... ... 

14 ...... pu[shkari]ni-pū[rvvē]|a Ribhu[pā]la-pū[rvvā-dattaka-kṣhētra*] [daksh-
ēṇa] [pāṇcha*]

15 [kulyavāpā*] dattāḥ [1] [ta]d=uttara-kālām [sa]m[yya]vahāribhir=ddēva-bha[kty-
ānumanta]yā[ḥ*] [Uktam] Vyāśena [1*] Śva-dattāṁ para-dattā-

16 [m=va yō harēta] vasundharmāḥ [*] sa viṣṭhā[ya]ṁ] krimi[=]bbhūtvā [p]tṛi-
[bhi]s[sa]ha pachyatē [1*] Pūrvvā-dattāṁ dvijābhīyō

17 [yatnād=raksha Yū]dhishṭhira [*] mahim [mahimātāṁ] śrēṣṭha dā[nāc=]
chhrēyō=nu)pālanam [1*] [Bahu]bhir=vvasu[dhā da]l[tā]

18 [rājābhiṣṇ=cha punah punah] [*] [ya]ṣya [ya]ṣa yadā bhūmi[=s=tasya tasya-
ta[dā] pha[la]m=īti2

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) [The year ...], (the month of) **Phālguna**, (and) the day 10 (and) 5?, while **Paramadaiyata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja**, the prosperous **Buddhagupta** is the lord of the earth; while the **Kotivarsha** district was running on with the enjoyment (of the rule) of Mahārāja **Jayadatta**, (who is) Uparika over the **Punḍravardhāna** province, being selected by His (Majesty’s) feet; and while **Āyuktaka** Bhanḍakā, appointed by him (Jayadatta), was administering the Court of the District Town as the chief of the **Nagara-Śrēṣṭhi** Ribhupāla, the Sārtthavāha Vasumitra, the **Prathama-Kulika** Varadatta and the **Prathama-Kāyastha** Viprapāla;

1 Basak reads tan-niyuktakē hāyuktaka-Śa(Ga)?pākē.
2 Read phalam [1*] iti [9*]
3 Compare Āyukta-parashā in line 26 of Inscription No. 1 above. See also D. R. Bhandarkar's Aśoka (2nd ed.), pp. 57-58.
Dāmōdarpur Copper-Plate Inscription of Budhagupta

G. S. Gai

From photographs
(Lines 5-9) Whereas this Śrīśthiṁ Ribhupāla has applied, “In the village of Doṅgā were formerly given by me, hoping for eternal benefit, four kulyavāpas (of land) not yielding (any revenue) to Kōkāmukha-svāmin, and seven kulyavāpas to Śvētavarāha-svāmin, on the tableland of the Himālayas, for the augmentation of spiritual merit. Now, on land in the neighbourhood of that cultivatable field I desire to erect two shrines, with the subtile Earth-bowing1 (in front), and their two store-rooms, for these primeval (gods), Kōkāmukha-svāmin and Śvētavarāha-svāmin. Deign to make over six kulyavāpas of building site in accordance with the prevalent custom (of sale).”

(Lines 9-15) Whereas it has been determined through the ascertainment of the record-keepers Vishṇu-Datta, Vijaya-Nandin and Stāṇu-Nandin that it is a fact that by him were given eleven kulyavāpas of cultivatable field, not yielding (any revenue), to the same Kōkāmukha-svāmin and Śvētavarāha-svāmin on the tableland of the Himālayas and whereas for the erection here of the shrines and store-houses in connection with them (the gods) he has properly applied for building-site being given him on land in the neighbourhood of the cultivatable field, according to the prevailing custom of sale, namely, three dināras for one kulyavāpa . . . . . . . . on the east of the lotus-pool . . . . . . . . to the south (of the cultivatable field previously given by) Ribhupāla, were granted (six kulyavāpas).

(Line 15) So these (kulyavāpas) should be respected by administrators in time to come. It has been said by Vyāsa:2

(Verse 1) He, who takes away land given by himself or by others, having become a worm in excreta, rots with his forefathers.

(Verse 2) Carefully preserve the land that has already been given to the twice-born (Brāhmaṇas), Yudhishṭhira, the best of land-owners. Preservation is more meritorious than grant (of land).

(Verse 3) And land has been granted, again and again, by many kings. (But) the fruit of that (land) belongs to whosoever possesses the land at that time.

No. 41 : PLATE XLI

BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHA GUPTA

This inscription appears to have been discovered by Ravenshaw, and to have been first brought to notice by him in 1839, in the JBAS., Vol. VIII, pp. 347 ff. From his remarks it appears that the column was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihar, but had been subsequently removed and set up “in a reversed position, with its base in the air, and its summit in the ground,” a little to the west of the same gate, where it was afterwards found, fallen, by General Cunningham. In 1866, in the JBAS., Vol. XXXV, pp.

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1 For the interpretation of this passage, see the introduction of this inscription, p. 343 above. In regard to the word namat ‘bowing’ applied to kṣhosi, compare the phrase kṣit-dājuli-puṭā, applied to dharani in the Varāha-Purāṇa, chapter 39, verse 26.
2 Vyāsa, whose name, as well as his epithet of “arranger of the Vedaś,” is usually inserted in this passage, e.g., in line 13 of the Majhāgan grant of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 191 (CIH., Vol. III, 1880, No. 23, p. 108 and Plate). In the grants of Jayānātha (Ibid., No. 26, p. 119 and No. 27, p. 122), these verses are said to be from the Mahābhārata. And in line 19 of the Kṣiḥ grant of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha of the year 214 (Ibid., No. 31, p. 137 and Plate) it is also added that they are in the Satasāhasri-Suhrdaya of the Mahābhārata. These verses are nearly always attributed, in the inscriptions, to Vyāsa. But, in lines 27-28 of the Kārnul grant of the third year of Vikramaditya I (JBBRAS., Vol. XVI, p. 237), the verse commencing Bahubhir = vasudhā bhukti, the second in the present inscription, with one other not in this inscription, is allotted to Manu; a point which may be of some interest in connection with Bühler’s discovery (see Ind., Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 324) that about one-tenth of Manu’s verses occur in the Mahābhārata.

Bihar\(^1\) is the chief town of the Bihar Sub-Division of the Patna District in the Bihar State. The broken red sandstone column on which the inscription is, was eventually removed by A.M. Broadley, Magistrate of Bihar, and was set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihar Court House,\(^2\) where it still stands. Broadley perpetuated the inverted position of the column, upside down; and also disfigured it with an English inscription, printed in full by General Cunningham, a few letters of which appear in the lithograph now published. Also, the column, as placed by Broadley, stands now in the middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it; and the last eight lines of the inscription, shewn in Rajendralal Mitra’s and General Cunningham’s lithographs are now completely hidden, and rendered quite inaccessibile, by a wooden structure placed on the top, i.e., the proper bottom of the pillar, in order to connect it with the roof.

The writing originally extended, in the First Part, lines 1 to 13, over four of the faces of the column, as is shewn by the metres of the extant portion; and in the Second Part, lines 14 ff., over three faces, as is shewn by the number of letters lost in each line. The extant portion, now lithographed, covers a space of about 1’ 4” broad by 3’ 5” high, and is in a state of fairly good preservation. The size of the letters varies from 3” to 8”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate closely to those of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, pp. 203 ff., above, Plate I. They include, in lines 11 and 13, forms of the numerical symbols for 3, 5 and 30. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription is in verse as far as line 10, and the rest in prose. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal instead of the anusvāra, before ś, in anśa-, lines 11 and 13; (2) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r, e.g., in chakkrē, line 10 (but not in vikramēṇa, line 3), and pauttṛasya, line 17; and (3) the doubling of dh, in conjunction with a following y, in anudhyāta, line 22.

The first part of the inscription mentions the Imperial Guptā king Kumāragupta, and seems to have recorded the name of his wife, which is, however, lost in the part that has peeled off. But this part of the inscription seems to belong to the time of his successor Skandagupta, from the mention of apparently a village name Skandaguptabata, in line 11. This part of the inscription records the erection of a circle of shrines of Bhadrāryā and other deities and in front thereof a column, which in line 10 is called a yīpa or a ‘sacrificial post,’ apparently by some minister whose sister had become Kumāragupta’s wife. This minister seems to be Anantāsēna mentioned in line 13. His sister and consequently the mother of Skandagupta seems to have been Anantādevī mentioned in Nos. 44-46 below as mother of Puru (=Skanda)gupta. And the inscription further recorded certain shares in the village of Skandaguptabata(?), and in another agrahāra, the name of which is lost. From the mention of Skanda and the divine Mothers, in

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\(^1\) The ‘Bihar and Behar’ of maps, etc., Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103 Lat. 25° 11’ N.; Long. 83° 33’ E. The proper form of the name, which is by no means an uncommon one for villages in Northern and Central India, is, of course, Bihar, with the vowel i in the first syllable, from the Sanskrit vihāra, ‘a Buddhist (and Jain) temple or convent;’ and this is the form that is used by the people of the Patna District. The Sanskrit name, Vihāra, occurs in lines 9-10 of the ‘Pesseravā’ inscription, now stored in the collection at Bihar, where the place is called ‘“Vihāra, the city of the glorious Yaśovarman” (JBS., Vol. XVII, p. 492 ff.).

BIHĀR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA

G. S. Gai

From photograph
BIHAR STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA

line 9, this part of the inscription seems to have belonged to the Śākta or Tāntrika form of worship,¹ with Bhadrāryā as the predominant goddess.

The second part, which also contained a date, now lost, is a record of apparently a son of Skandagupta, possibly Budhagupta as he had a longer reign than any one of his brothers, during the troublous times that followed the reign of Skandagupta. Enough of it, however, remains to show that it contained a grant to the same temple of Bhadrāryakā by Bhaṭṭa Guhilasvāmin at the request apparently of his grandfather.

**TEXT²**

*First Part*

1 [- -] h³ nṛi-kāchandra Indrānuja-tulya-vīryyō gunair=atulyaḥ [ - - - - - - ] [ii]
2 [- -] [ta]Śv=āpi sūnur*=bhuvi svāmi-nēyah khyātah sva-kirttyā [ - - - - - ] [i]
3 [- -] [s]a'=āiva yasy=ātula-vikramena Kumāragupta[†]ē[na] [ - - - - - ] [i]
4 [- -] [p]i[i]trī(t)īniš=cha dēvāniš=cha hi havya-kavyaiḥ sadā niṣaiṣasy-ādi [ - - - - - - - ] [ii]
5 [- - -] [a]chikarak≡=dēvanikēta-manḍalaṁ kahitā=anaupamyā- [ - - - - - - - ]
6 . . . . ba(?)tē(?)² kila stambha-var-ōchchhri(chchhra)ya-prabhāsē tu maṇḍa . . . .
    . . . . . . . . [ii]
7 . . . . bihir=viśkhaṇāṁ kusumā-bhar-āṇat-āgra-śurīn(?)ga(?)vālamba-stavak . .
8 [- -] Bhadrāryayā¹⁰ bhāti gṛihāṁ nav-ābhra-nirmmōka nirmu[kta - - - - - - ] [ii]
9 [- -] Skanda-pradhānair=bhuvi māṭri bhīś=cha lōkān=sa su(?)shya(?) [ - - - - - - ] [i]
10 [- - -] yūp-ōchchhrayam=ēva chakkrē [ ii* ] Bhadrāryy-ādi . . . . . . . . . .
11 . . . . [Ska(?)]ndaguptabāṭē anāṇi 30 5 tā(?)mrakaṭāku(?)ḥ kala . . . .
12 . . . . . . . . . pituḥ sva-māṭur=yady=asti hi dushkṛitaṁ bhajatu tanē . . . . .
13 . . . . . . . . . k-āgrahārē anāṇi 3 Anantasēnēn=ōpa . . . . . . . . . .

¹ Compare the undoubted instance of this, in the same period, in the Gaṅghūr inscription of Viśavarman (CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 17, pp. 72 ff.). The mātāraḥ or mātrigāna, ‘the divine Mothers,’ are personified energies (śakti) of the principal deities. They are closely connected with the worship of the god Śiva. Originally they were seven in number,—Brāhmī or Brāhmaṇī, Vaśiṇāvi, Māhēśvarī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Aindrī or Indrī or Māhēn- dri, and Čāmupāṇī, as representing the Pleiades, the seven mothers or nurses of Kārttikēya, the son of Śiva. Afterwards the number was increased to eight, nine, sixteen, and various other figures. The chief object of the Śākta or Tāntrika worship now is Pārvatī, Durgā or Māhēśvari, the wife and female energy of Śiva; especially under the name of Jagadambā, ‘the mother of the universe.’ Not long after this period, Śvāmi-Mahāsēna, or Kārttikēya, and the divine Mothers, ‘the seven mothers of mankind,’ appear as special objects of worship, and tutelary deities, of the Early Kadambas (e.g., Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 27), and of the Early Chalukyas (e.g., Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 162; Vol. VI, pp. 74; and Vol. XIII, p. 137 ff.).
² “As far as line 25, from the ink-impresion; partly from Gen. Cunningham’s lithograph, and partly from the lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mira’s reading:”—J. F. Fleet.
³ The first two entire pādas, and parts of the third pāda of most of the verses, have peeled off and are lost all the way down.
⁴ Metre: Upendravajrā.
⁵ Metre: Indracajrā.
⁶ The metre is faulty here, since the si of bhuri, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following sa.
⁷ Metre: Upendravajrā; and in the next verse.
⁸ Metre: Vanijāṣṭha.
⁹ Metre: apparently Giti; and in the next verse.
¹⁰ Metre: Indracajrā; and in the following two verses.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

Second Part

[The rest of the inscription had been broken away and lost, before it was discovered.]

TRANSLATION

First Part

(Line 1) .........the very moon among men; equal in prowess to (the god Vishnû) the younger brother of Indra; unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities; ...........

(Line 2) .............moreover, his son guided by Svâmîn (Kârttikêya) on the earth; renowned; ........ by his own fame.

(Line 3) .............whose sister, indeed, [as espoused] by Kumâragupta, of unequalled prowess.

(Line 4). .............both the deceased ancestors and the gods, with the oblations proper for each of them;² Always ....... things such as wickedness, etc.

¹ The passages that are lost in lines 14 to 22, are supplied from No. 1, lines 24, 26, 28 and 29, pages 213-14 above, and from the Bhîtâri pillar inscription of Skandagupta, No. 31 above, lines 1 to 6. The sectarian epithet of Skandagupta, in line 23, is supplied from line 24, and from his silver coins (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 66 ff.).

² Lit. “with the kasya (the oblation to the gods) and kasya (the oblation to deceased ancestors).”
(Line 5) ............caused to be made a group of temples, not [rivalled by] anything else that could be compared with it in the world.
(Line 6) ............assuredly in [Skandaguptabāta] which is beautiful with the erection of (this) best of columns.
(Line 7) ............of the trees ............the groups of fig-trees (?) and castor oil (?) plants, the tops of which are bent down by the weight of (their) flowers.
(Line 8) ............in consequence of Bhadrāryā, the edifice shines freed from (dirt) like a fresh cloud or serpent slough.
(Line 9) ............headed by (the god) Skanda, and by the divine Mothers, on the earth, ............mankind.
(Line 10-11) ............[he] made, indeed, the erection of (this) sacrificial post ............
(Line 11-12) .........for Bhadrāryā and others ............in [the village(?)] called [Skandaguptabāta] 30 (?),
(Line 12) ............if there be any misdeed on the part of (his) father (or) his mother, let his share ............
(Line 13) ............in the agrahāra of ............3 shares ............by Anantasēna

Second Part

(Lines 14-19) ............The son of Mahārājaḍhirāja, the prosperous Samudragupta—who was the exterminator [of all kings]; who had no equal adversary on earth; [whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans]; who was equal to (the gods) [Dhanada and Varuṇa] and Indra and Antaka; [who was the very axe] of Kriyānta (god of Death); [who was the giver of many crores of lawfully acquired cows and gold]; who was the performer of the asvamīdha sacrifice, that had long decayed; [who was the son of the son’s son of Mahārāja, the prosperous Gupta]; who was the son’s son of [the Mahārāja, the prosperous] Ghatottkacha (and) who was [the son] of the Mahārājaḍhirāja, [the prosperous Chandragupta (I), (and) the daughter’s son of the Lichchhavī], begotten on the Mahādevi Kumāradēvi.

(Lines 19-21) (was) an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), the Mahārājaḍhirāja, [the prosperous Chandragupta (II)], who was selected (as successor) by him!1 [who was born of] the Mahādevi [Dattadēvi], (and) [who was himself without an equal adversary].

(Lines 21-22) [His son], who meditated on [his feet], (and) [who was born of the Mahādevi Dhruvadēvi], (was) [the ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva)], [the Mahārājaḍhirāja, the glorious Kumāragupta].

(Lines 22-23) [His] son, who meditated on his feet, (and) [who was born of the Mahādevi Anantadēvi (is) an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), the Mahārājaḍhirāja, the prosperous] Skandagupta.

(Lines 24-31) [His son, who meditated on his feet (and) who was born of the Mahādevi Chandradēvi (is) the] ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva) [the Mahārājaḍhirāja, the prosperous Budhagupta]. [I issue a command] ............of the town of Ajapura in the ....... in the .......vishaya ............a perpetual endowment ............a village-field ............the Uparika,2 the Kumāramāya ............acquired by the merchant ............in the

1 I.e., by Samudragupta: see page 254 above, note 1.
2 Uparika is a technical official title, the exact purport of which is not known, and a suitable rendering of which cannot be offered. But see B.Ch. Chhabra’s article, Office of Uparika, in D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 231-33.
The seat (of office) (?) of the Agrahārika,1 the Śaulkika,2 and the Gaulmika3 ............... and others who subsist on our favour.

(Lines 31-33) "I have been requested by ...... varman, by my father's father, ...... .... by the Bhatṭa Gubilavāmin, ............. belonging to Bhadrāryā ............."

No. 42 : PLATE XLII

NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEAL OF BUDHAGUPTA

This seal bearing an inscription of Budhagupta was exhumed like those of Vainyagupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta III from Monastery site No. 1 at Nālandā, Patna District, Bihar. It has remained unnoticed, except for a brief reference to its find by Hirananda Sastri in the Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 77, post script, and is published here for the first time.4 This seal also was originally a clay impression which was burnt eventually into a terracotta in the circumstances mentioned on page 355 below.

The seal is fragmentary, its proper right half being broken off. The extreme measurements of the extant fragment are, as nearly as possible, 4½" high by 1-¾" wide. It has an obvious affinity with the other Gupta seals from Nālandā, being oval in shape, pointed at the top and the bottom, and its edge being marked by a border line which is distinct at the bottom. Like them, again, its upper field is occupied by a figure of Garuḍa executed in comparatively higher relief. The proper left half of Garuḍa together with his face which is slightly defaced, is all that is preserved now. It, however, differs from the other Nālandā seals in regard to the representation of the wing of Garuḍa which is appreciably longer here. To the proper left of Garuḍa is seen a small disc which may represent the sun. If so, the arrangement of the emblems of the sun and crescent respectively to the right and left of the figure is inverted on this seal. In all other details the figure is similar to the device occurring on the above-mentioned seals. The Garuḍa is, as usual, represented as standing on a base composed of two parallel lines, below which runs a prose inscription in eight lines. Unfortunately the proper right half of the inscribed portion has been destroyed, resulting in the disappearance of a little more than half the writing in the beginning of each line. Again, whatever remains of the inscription is, on the whole, in a bad state of preservation. The five upper lines are executed in a relatively bolder relief than the lower ones, the irregularity being perhaps due to an uneven pressure in the act of stamping. Lines 1-3 are more or less well-preserved. Lines 4 and 5 are somewhat defaced and blurred; nevertheless they are not illegible. Lines 6-7 are too worn out and obliterated to be properly deciphered. The last line can be read with certainty. The characters, on the whole, resemble those of the Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta III but differ from them in certain respects. The most notable difference is the occurrence here of m, characteristic of the southern variety. The letter h exhibits two forms; the first occurs only once in Mahārāja line 1, and, though slightly broader, approximates to the same sign on the Nālandā seals of Kumāragupta III, while the second, as in dauktṛasya, line 2 and -grihitō, line 3, looks like a precursor to the later acute-angled type seen in such records as the Bōdhgaya inscription of Mahānāman and the Lākhāmanḍal praśasti. The only other sign worth noticing is the medial u in -gupta, line 8, which consists of a curve at the bottom turning to the right and ending in

1 Agrahārika is an official title, denoting probably 'an officer in special charge of an agrahāra'.
2 Śaulkika is a technical official title, which might be rendered by some such term as 'Superintendent of tolls or customs (śulka)'.
3 Gaulmika is a technical official title, which might be rendered by 'Superintendent of woods and forests (gulma)'.
4 [It was subsequently published by Hirananda Sastri in his Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material, MASI, No. 66, p. 64 and plate VIII, a.—Ed.].
NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEAL OF BUDHAGUPTA

G. S. Gai

From photograph
a vertical line of the height of the full letter. The size of the letters varies from \( \frac{1}{10}\)" to \( \frac{1}{6}\)". The last three lines contain letters smaller than in the upper ones, evidently due to the anxiety of the engraver to accommodate the whole of the legend in the limited space. The language is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography we have to notice the doubling of \( t \) in conjunction with a following \( r \), as in -\( prapautrasya \), line 1, and \( putras=\), line 4, but not in \( dauhitrasya \), line 2; and the change of \( visarga \) into \( s \) in conjunction with the same letter following it in \( =utpannas=svayam \), line 3.

The inscription on the seal is genealogical in character, and refers itself to the reign of Budhagupta. The fact that his pedigree is traced here in an unbroken line of succession from Mahārāja Gupta onwards through Ghaṭōkacha, Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and so forth, shows that he belonged to the Imperial Gupta line and not to any supposed branch. As far as line 5 which mentions Kumāragupta I, the legend is a mere repetition of the formula occurring on the later seals of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta III. It is the lines following, which, however, constitute the more important portion of the legend. But of these, only the last, furnishing the name of Budhagupta, is distinct, while lines 6 and 7, which presumably contained the names of Budhagupta’s father and mother respectively, are unfortunately very much defaced or rather blurred. Nevertheless, a careful examination reveals in line 6, faint traces of four letters \( pu ru gu tpa (?) \) placed in consecutive order which thus appear to be intended for Purugupta. If this is accepted, Purugupta who is the son and successor of Kumāragupta I becomes the father and predecessor of Budhagupta. Again, line 7 appears to have partially preserved his mother’s name which reads \( Cha-duvyām= \) and has therefore to be restored to \( Cha[ndra *=]duvyām= \). It looks that \( ndra \) has been omitted here through inadvertence. The admissibility of this presumption is attested by the haphazard slovenly fashion in which the whole legend has been executed, the engraving of \( tpa \) instead of \( pta \) in Purugupta (line 6) being another instance of the kind. Thus, it seems that Budhagupta, like Vainyagupta and Narasimhagupta was a son of Purugupta by Chandradēvi. The earliest date we have for him is Gupta year 157. But before him flourished Kumāragupta II for whom we have the date 154. Kumāragupta II was thus, apparently, another son of Skandagupta-Purugupta, whom Buddagupta succeeded to the Gupta throne between Gupta years 154 and 157.

TEXT

1 śrī-Gupta-prapaut[t]rasya Mahārā[ja-]śrī-Ghaṭō\textsuperscript{1} ...
2 ........... v[i*] -d[au*]h[i*]trasya\textsuperscript{2} Mahādēvyāṁ Kūṁ[ā]ra[dēvyam=utpa*]-
3 ............... grih[to] Mahā[d[e]vyā[m] Datta[ē]vyā[m=utpannas=svayam]
4 ............... [śrī]-Chandraguptas=tasya putras=tat-pādānu-
5 ............... [śrī] Kumāraguptas=tasya putras=tat-pādānu-
6 ............... [hārājāḍhirā-śrī-Pur[u*=]gutpas\textsuperscript{3}=ta]-
7 ............... [Cha[ndra *=]dēvyā[m=utpannas=]
8 ............... [śrī]-Budhagup[tah]

\textsuperscript{1} There is space after Ghaṭō for two letters but all that can be seen on the photograph is a horizontal wavy line.

\textsuperscript{2} Though the portion of the seal containing the actual names of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta has broken off, it can, without difficulty, be restored at the beginning of lines 2 and 3 as the text follows a prescribed form.

\textsuperscript{3} Read Puruguptas=. 
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS
No. 43: PLATE XLIII

ĒARṆ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BHĀNUGUPTA: THE YEAR 191

This inscription was discovered in 1874-75 or 1876-77 by General Cunningham, and was first brought to notice by him in 1880, in the *CASIR.*, Volume X, p. 89. It was first published by J. F. Fleet in the *CII.*, Volume III, 1888, pp. 91 and ff. and Plate XII B.

It is another inscription from Ēran,1 in the Khurā Sub-Division of the Sagar District in the Madhya Pradesh. It is on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a linga or phallic emblem of Śiva, which stands under some tall trees near the left bank of the Binā, about half a mile to the south-east of Ēran, and halfway between it and the neighbouring village of Pehelēpur.2 The original lower part of the pillar is now broken away and lost; the remnant of it is about 3' 11" high and 1' 6" in diameter. The bottom part is octagonal; and the inscription is at the top of this octagonal part, on three of the eight faces, each of which is about 7" broad; the bottom line is about six inches above the level of the ground. Above this, the pillar is sixteen-sided. Above this, it is again octagonal; and the faces here have sculptures of men and women, who are probably intended for the Goparāja of the inscription, and his wife and friends; the compartment immediately above the centre of the inscription, represents a man and a woman, sitting, who must be Goparāja and his wife. Above this, the pillar is again sixteen-sided. Above this, it is once more octagonal; and on two of the faces here, there are the remains of a quite illegible inscription of four lines, in characters of the same type with those of the inscription now published. Above this, the pillar curves over in sixteen flutes or ribs, into a round top. The pillar was converted into a linga, by fitting an ablation-trough to it; this was attached over the part where the inscription lay; and it was only by the breaking of it, that the greater part of the inscription was disclosed to view.

The writing which covers a space of about 1' 9" broad by 11" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather, and from the sharpening of tools on the edges of the stone; but, on the original pillar, it is fairly legible almost throughout; and the only historical items that have been lost are, in line 2, the name of Goparāja’s grandfather, and of the family to which he belonged. The size of the letters varies from ¾" to 6". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, though not quite so well formed, are of almost precisely the same type as those of the Ēran pillar inscription of Budhagupta, No. 39 above, Plate XXXIX. The letter r, as the first part of a compound consonant, is formed within the top line of the writing in pārtha, line 5, and bhārya, line 7; but above it in sārdham, line 5. The characters include, in line 2, forms of the numerical symbols for 1, 7, 90 and 100. The language is Sanskrit; and, the inscription is in prose as far as the end of the date, in line 2, and the rest in verse. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the anusvāra, before i, in vaśa, lines 2 and 4; and (2) the doubling of k and t, in conjunction with a following r; e.g., in -vīkṛānto and pattrō-; line 3.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king but mentions one Bhānugupta who, though he may not have been a sovereign, was at least a contemporary scion of the Gupta family. It is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, in the year one hundred and ninety-one (510-11 A.D.), on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Śrāvana (July-August). It is a non-sectarian inscription: the object of it being only to record that, in the company of Bhānugupta, who was a great ruler, his chieftain

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1 See pp. 221 above.
ERAÑ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BHĀNUGUPTA: THE YEAR 191

G. S. Gai

From photograph
or noble named Göparāja came to Ēraṇ and fought a battle with the Maitras;¹ that Göparāja was killed; and that his wife accompanied him, by cremating herself on his funeral pyre, apparently near the place where the pillar was set up. This is the earliest instance of Suttee coming into vogue.²

TEXT³

[ Metres : verses 1 and 2 Anushtubh; verses 3 and 4 Indrawajrā ]

1 Óm Saṁvatsara-śatē ēka-navaty-uttarē Śrāvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[t]a-my[ām]  
2 saṁvat 100 90 1 Śrāvaṇa ba di 7 Śulakka-vaṃśad = uppanā [→ →]  
3 rāj-ēti-viśrutā [↑*] tasya puttrō = ti-viṅkrānto nāmnā rāj = ātha Mādhavaḥ [↑[1*]]  
4 Göparājā[ḥ]  
5 sutas = tasya śrīmān = viṅkīyāta-paurushāḥ [↑[*] Śarabharājā-dauhittraḥ svāvaṃśa-tilāko = [bhavat(?)] [↑[2*]]  
6 Śrī-Bhāṅguptō jagati pravīrō rājā mahān = Pārtha-samā = ti-śūraḥ [↑[*]] tēn = ātha sārdhanā = tv = iha Göpar[ā]j[ō]  

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-2) Óm! When a century of years, increased by ninety-one, (had elapsed) on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Śrāvaṇa, (or in figures) the year 100 (and) 90 (and) 1 (the month) Śrāvaṇa the dark fortnight⁴; the (lunar) day 7;-

(Verse 1) (there was) a ruler, renowned as...rāja sprung from the Śulakka⁵ lineage; and his son (was) valorous by the name (of) Mādhava.

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¹ It is true that the name of Maitra is not quite clear and beyond all doubt. Nevertheless, it is as good as certain. For the immigration of the Maitras, see JPSB., Vol. V, pp. 183 and ff., and Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, pp. 31 ff.

² ABORI., Vol. XIV, p. 233, which contains a scholarly article on the subject by Sākuntala Rao. There are several inscribed Suttee monuments about Ēraṇ though they are of much later date, as noted by Cunningham (CASIR., Vol. X, p. 90). But much earlier memorial stones of this type and going up to the 9th century have been found at Ōsiā (PRAS., W. C., 1906-07, p. 37).

³ From the ink impression.

⁴ The metre is faulty here, as the cha, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following double consonant. [This is covered by the rule prohārē vā i.e. a short vowel preceding pra or hra can remain short if required in a metre as in Dārīṣerād = dhriyaṁ = ēti hari-parigaṁṭaḥ prabhraṁyate tējasah, etc. Here i of ēti remains short, as required by the metre, even though it is followed by hri,—Ed.].

⁵ Ba of the text in line 2 obviously is an abbreviation of bahulapaksha of line 1 just as saṁvat of line 2 is of saṁvat-sara of line 1. Di similarly is an abbreviation of dina or divasa and may stand for the lunar or solar day. In this particular case it must stand for 'lunar day' as it is preceded by ba (= bahula). Corresponding to ba is ī which represents śukla or īḍāha. When in an inscription di occurs without ī or ba preceding it, it is doubtful whether it denotes the solar or the lunar day unless it is followed by a numerical figure exceeding 13; in that case it must stand for the solar day. It is therefore not clear what Fleet means by saying that the inscription 'is dated, in both words and numerical symbols, on the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight, and solar day of the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August).'⁶

⁶ Śulakka seems to be the name of the line to which Göparāja belonged. May it be identical with Śūlikas who are mentioned along with the Andhras and Gauḍas as having been vanquished by the Maukhari ruler Iśānavarman (D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, etc., No. 10 and note 3)?
(Verse 2) His son was the illustrious Gōparāja, renowned for manliness; the daughter’s son of the Śarabha king;¹ who became the ornament of (his) family.

(Verse 3) There is the glorious Bhāngugupta, a distinguished hero on earth, a mighty ruler, brave being equal to Pārtha. And along with him Gōparāja, following (him) without fear, having overtaken the Maittrras and having fought a very big and famous battle, went to heaven, becoming equal to Indra, the best of the gods; and (his) devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, clinging (to him), entered into the mass of fire (funeral pyre).

No. 44 : PLATE XLIV

NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEALS OF NARASIHMAGUPTA

Two seals, each bearing an identical inscription of Narasimhagupta, were excavated, like those of Budhagupta, Vainyagupta and Kumāragupta III from Monastery site No. 1 at Nālandā, Patna District, Bihar. A brief reference to their discovery was made by Hirananda Sastri in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 77, postscript.² These seals also were originally clay impressions which were eventually burnt into terracotta in the circumstances mentioned below on page 355. The one marked A is comparatively better preserved than that marked B. Both, however, are fragmentary, the proper right half in each case being broken off. Seal B has further lost the upper portion of its proper left surface amounting to one third of the original length. Seal A also has sustained additional damage at the top as well as at the bottom of its proper left side. The extreme measurements of the extant fragments are 3½” long by 2¾” broad in the case of A and 3¾” long by 2” broad in the case of B. That there is a strong family likeness between these and the other Gupt seals from Nālandā is shown by their oval shape; the decoration of the border line: the figure of the Gruḍa facing, with outstretched wings, and standing on a base composed of two parallel lines; and the prose inscription in eight lines below, done in relief. The legend is fuller and better preserved in A than in B, the letters in the former being much neater and better executed. The latter, however, which is evidently an impression of an independent, rather crude, original, seems to have been executed by a shaking unsteady hand as is clear from its awfully blurred letters, sloping from right to left. The characters are closely akin to those of the seals of Kumāragupta III discussed below. The only peculiarity is the novel way in which the medial u is indicated in gu, as e.g. in Purugupta, line 6, where it resembles the medial r of pṛthivyām in line 1 of the seals of Kumāragupta III. The language is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography we have to notice the doubling of ū in conjunction with the following r as in propuṭṭra-, line 1, dauḥitra-, line 2, and -putra-, lines 2 and 5; the change of ending anusvāra to ū and n and ū in conjunction respectively with a following k and d as in Mahāḍeṣyān=Kumāra-ḍeṣyām=, line 2 and Mahāḍeṣyān=Dattadeṣyām=, line 3; the use of the upadhmāṇiya in [ḥ] = Paramabhāgavatō, line 4; and the grammatically incorrect change of anusvāra into ū with a h following as in Narasihmaguptah, line 8.

The seals refer themselves to the reign of Narasimhagupta who is called a Paramabhāgavata Mahārājādhirāja. The legend is genealogical and is identical with that of the seals of Kumāragupta III as far as the mention of Narasimhagupta.

¹ It is not improbable that this king, called Śarabha, was the founder of Śarabhapura from which were issued four plates—one by Mahājavarāja and three by Mahāsuḍāvarāja (D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 1878-1881).

² [They were subsequently published by Hirananda Sastri in his Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material, MASI., No. 66, page 65 and plate VIII, b, c.—Ed.].
NALANDĀ CLAY SEALS OF NARASIMHAGUPTA

A

B

G. S. Gai  From photographs
TEXT

S i A


2. ....ja-śrī-Chan[dra]gupta-puttastrasya [Lit]chchhavi-dauhitras[ya Mahādēvyān =Kum[ā*]radēvyām =utpanna-


d[ē]vyān =Dattad[ē*]vyām =utpanna-


6. ....[dē]vyām =Anantad[ē*]vyā[ā]*m=utpa[nnō Mahār[ā]jja[dh][i]rāja-śrī-

7. ....[rā][a-śr[ī*]-Narasīṇahagupta[h*]

Seal B


2. ....vi-d[au]hitrasya Mahādēvyān =Kumaradēvyām =utpanna-

3. ....[s=t-t-p][rigrihit[ō] Mahādēvyān =Dattadēvyām =utpannō-

4. ....[dh][ra][a-śr[i]-Chandrāguptas =tasya puttras =tat-pādānu-

5. ....[rā]jādhīrāja-śrī-Kumāragupta[ta]s =utpanna[h=Parambhāga-

6. ....Mahārājādīrāja-śrī-Pur[u]guptas =tasya pu-

7. ....śrī-Chandrādēvyā[ā][m =utpanna[h =Parambhāga-

8. ....śrī-Narasīṇahagupta[h]

No. 45 : PLATE XLV

NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEALS OF KUMĀRAGUPTA III

These seals, which were originally clay impressions, each bearing an identical inscription of Kumāragupta III, were picked up from the excavations of Monastery Site No. 1 at Nālandā in the Patna District, Bihar. Out of the several specimens excavated, only two are complete, of which, the one marked A on the accompanying plate, is quite well preserved, while the other, marked B, though larger in size and exhibiting bolder and superior execution of letters and device, is unfortunately broken into two. This break about the middle has damaged a letter or two in each line of its legend while the mutilation of a portion of its lower surface in the proper right corner has caused further loss of two or four letters in the three lower lines. The damaged or lost letters, however, can be easily restored from the identical text of seal A. The inscription was first noticed by Hirananda Sastri in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 77, postscript; and subsequently a note was published by N.P. Chakravarti (J.R.I.SL., 1934-35, p. 63) who made an improvement in regard to the name of a queen. There is clear evidence of the Monastery Site being set on fire more than once. It seems that all the clay impressions here were thus baked; and this explains why these seals along with others found upon the site and described above look like terracottas. That these seals, like their companions, were originally clay impressions is clear from the section of seal B, which shows an aperture running right through
from the top to the bottom and containing unmistakable traces of pieces of string or cloth which originally passed through it and which were fastened to the document to which the seal was attached (Plate XLV, B). This would have been meaningless if the seals had been terracottas from the beginning.

From the impressions, the original seals seem to have been oval in shape, pointed at the top and bottom. Their external measurements are, as nearly as possible, 3½" high in the case of A, and 3½" broad by 4½" high in the case of B. The edge in each case is clearly marked by a border line which, on the whole, is well-preserved. The upper section of the face of the seals, being slightly less than one half of the surface, is occupied by a figure of Garuḍa, executed in tolerably high relief. He is represented as standing on a base composed of two parallel lines, facing front, with outspread wings. His face is that of a man, broad and full, with thick lips, scaly fur and upright Vaishnava mark on the forehead, and his hair is arranged exactly like the wig of an English Judge. A hooded snake is coiled round his neck, its head projecting above his left shoulder. A circle and a crescent, doubtless intended for the sun and the moon, are indicated in the field to the proper right and left of the figure respectively. A space, about an inch high, is left blank at the bottom of the seals. The interval between this space and the parallel lines on which Garuḍa stands is occupied by eight well-preserved lines of prose writing, done in relief.

The characters are well-formed, and exhibit an admixture of the two varieties of the Gupta alphabet. Ma and la are of the eastern variety; while sa and ha are of the southern. Medial i is indicated by a loop or curve turning to left. Medial i is of two varieties, represented in śī, one to be seen e.g., in line 8 and the other in line 1. In the case of mu, pu and nu the medial u is indicated by elongation down below, of the right vertical, while in tu, ku, dhu, gu and ru it is expressed by a hook at the bottom turning to the left. Medial ri is formed by a hook at the lower end, turning towards the right. Ta is tripartite without a loop. The language is Sanskrit.

In respect of orthography we have to note (1) the doubling of e in conjunction with a preceding r, as in sarva-, line 1; (2) the doubling of t in conjunction with a following r, as in puttra, lines 2 and 7; paṭuttra, line 1; prapattra, line 1; daṭhitra, line 2; and Mittra, line 7; (3) the use of the upadhmāniya in =ṇaṭchhīṭṭhē =prithiyām=, line 1; =apraṭirathaḥ= parama, line 3, and =uppanak =parama, line 8; (5) the doubling of d(h) in conjunction with a following y as in -pādaṇumadyāṭi, lines 4-7; (5) the change of visarga into i in conjunction with the same letter following it, as in =uppanas =svayam, line 3; and (6) the change of an ending anusvāra to n with a following da as in Mahādēvān= Dattādēvān= in line 3.

These seals refer themselves to the reign of Kumāragupta III and resemble the copper-silver Bhitari seal of the same ruler, noticed in No. 46 below, in the representation of the Garuḍa as well as in the legend. The inscription on the seals is purely genealogical, as are those on the Aśūrgaḍh and Nālandā seals of Śravavarman, the Sōmpat and Nālandā seals of Harshavaradhana and so forth. And with the omission of certain epithets of Samudragupta, they follow a set formula giving the genealogy, which came to be standardised by the time of Skandagupta such as may be noticed in the Bhitari pillar inscription of the emperor. The chief interest of these seals, however, centres in the names of the three Gupta monarchs mentioned after Kumāragupta I. Thus we have Puruṣagupta mentioned as his son and successor who was followed by Narasimhabagupta and the latter, in his turn, was succeeded by Kumāragupta III, whose seals these are. Being better preserved, they help us to correct a few errors in the readings of certain names in the Bhitari seal.

In line 5, the name of the wife of Kumāragupta I is certainly Anantadēvi, as has been unanimously read by scholars.
Hitherto the name of the son of Kumāragupta I begotten on Anantādevī was read as Puragupta. But it is now quite clear that it is Purugupta (line 6) as our seals unmistakably show the second syllable of the name to be not ra but ru, the medial 蛎 being indicated by a hook attached to the bottom of its proper left. The misreading of the name on the Bhitari seal was evidently due to the indifferent preservation and defaced surface of the inscription, though a careful examination of its plate published by Smith shows faint traces of the medial 蛎 below r.\^1

The name of the wife of Purugupta and the mother of Narasimhagupta has been variously read by scholars. Hoernle (JASB., Vol. LVIII, Part I, pp. 210 pp.) and Fleet (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 224 ff.) who edited the Bhitari seal inscription by turn, took the reading to be Vatsadēvi, while Hirananda Sastri who examined the present seals held (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 77, postscript) that the name of Purugupta’s wife (not mother as inadvertently stated by Sastri) was Vainyadēvi. N. P. Chakravarti, however, was the first to read the name correctly, namely, Chandrađēvi (JASB., 1934-35, p. 63). This is confirmed by an examination of the seals under notice which show complete agreement of form between the first half of this name, viz., Chandra (line 6) and the identical half of Chandragupta’s name (lines 2 and 4).

There is a controversy also regarding the name of the wife of Narasimhagupta and mother of Kumāragupta III. Hoernle read it as Śrīmatidēvi while Fleet maintained that it must be taken as Mahālakṣmīdēvi, failing which, it might be a tertanely Mahādēvi or Mahādēvidēvi. These, however, have now to be consigned to the limbo of oblivion in view of the reading Mittrađēvi (line 7) furnished by the present seals, as has already been pointed out by Hirananda Sastri and N. P. Chakravarti.

**TEXT**

**Seal A**


2. rājādhīrāja-[r][ī]-Chandrageticā-praputralyā vyā Mahādēvyām Kumārādevīyaṃ = utpannasya Mahārajādhīrāja-

3. [śrī-Śa]madraguptasya putras = tat-parījāhō Mahādēvyān = Dattadēvyām = utpannasa[sc]a[sc]ya ch = apratirathah = Parama[bh]āga-


5. jādīrājā-śrī-Kumāraguptas = [ta][sc]a[sc]ya putras = tat-pādāuddhyātō Mahādēvyām = Anantadevyām = utpanno Mahā-


7. rājādīhīrājā-śrī-Narasimhagupta[s] = tasya putras = tat-pādāuddhyātō Mahādēvyām śrī-[M]ittrađē-

8. [vya[m] = u][sc][pa[sa]]h[ā] = Paramabhāgavatō Mahārajādīhīrājā-śrī-Kumāraguptah

**Seal B**


2. rājādīhīrājā-śrī-Chandrageticā-praputralyā vyā Mahādēvyām Kumārādevīyaṃ = utpannasya Mahā[r]ā*[r]*jādīhīrāja-

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\(^1\) Hoernle says that Cunningham also read this name as Puru from a coin (JASB., Vol. LXIII, Pt. I, p. 212).
3 śri-Samudraguptasya puttras=ta[t-pa]ri[gril]hitō Mahādēvyān=Dattadēvyām=
u[tpa][a]=svayaṁ ch=āpratirathaḥ=Paramabhāga-
vatō Mahārājādhirāja-śri-Chandra[gupta]=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Mahā[de][p]-vyān[ā] Dhruvadvēyām=utpaṇṇō Mahārā-
4 jādhirāja-śri-Kum[ā]*ragupta[s=ta]sya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Mahā-
dēvyām=Anantadēvyām=utpaṇṇō Mahā-
rāj[ā]*dhirāja-śri-Purug[upta]=tasya puttras=tat-p[ā]dānuddhyāt[ō]* Mahā-
dēvyām śri-Chandra[dēvyām]=utpaṇṇō Mahā-
7 rājādhirāja-[śri-Narasiṁhagupta][s=ta]sya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Mahā-
dēvyāṃ śri-Mitra[dēvī]
8 vyā[m=utpannaḥ=Parama]bhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śri-Kumāraguptaḥ

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) Of the Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Samudragupta, who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world; who was the son of the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the prosperous Gupta, who was the son’s son of the Mahārāja, the prosperous Ghaṭotkacha, (and) who was the son of the Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Chandragupta (I), (and) the daughter’s son of the Lichhchhavis, begotten on the Mahādevi Kumāradēvī.

(Line 5) The son (was) the Paramabhāgavata, the Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Chandragupta (II), who was accepted by him (Samudragupta); who was begotten on the Mahādevi Dattadēvī; and who was himself without an antagonist (of equal power).

(Line 4) His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the Mahādevi Dhruvadvē, (was) the Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Kumāragupta (I).

(Line 5) His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the Mahādevi Anantadēvī, (was) the Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Purugupta.

(Line 6) His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the Mahādevi, the prosperous Chandrdevī (was) the Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Narasiṁhagupta.

(Line 7) His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the Mahādevi, the prosperous Mitrudevī (is) the Paramabhāgavata, the Mahārājādhirāja, the prosperous Kumāragupta (III).

No. 46 : PLATE XLVI

BHITARI COPPER-SILVER SEAL OF KUMĀRAGUPTA III

This seal was discovered some time before 1886, when the foundations for a new building were being dug at Bhitari, in the Sayyidpur Tahsil of the Gazipur District, Uttar Pradesh. It was presented by a Muhammadan gentleman of the place to C. J. Nicholls, b.c.s., Judge of Kanpur, and is now in the Government Museum, Lucknow. Its discovery was first announced in the Pioneer newspaper of the 13th May 1889. V. A. Smith made some remarks on it in the issue of the same newspaper of the 28th May following and published a detailed account of the seal in the JASB., Vol. LVIII, Part I, pp. 84 ff. In continuation of his account, A. F. Rudolf Hoernle edited the inscription on the seal with a photo-collootype. Subsequently it was critically re-edited by J. F. Fleet in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 224 ff., without, however, any plate accompanying it.

The seal is oval in shape, pointed at the top and bottom. Its extreme measurements are, as nearly as possible, 4$\frac{7}{8}$" broad by 5$\frac{7}{8}$" high. The face of the seal is protected by a raised rim, of which the average breadth is about $\frac{3}{8}$" and the average height a little less
BHITARĪ COPPER-SILVER SEAL OF KUMĀRAGUPTA III

G. S. Gai
From photograph
than 3/8". On the back of it there are two projecting knobs, each about 3/8" in diameter, evidently intended for the purpose of attaching it to some such object as a copper charter, which is now lost. The metal is of whitish grey colour, which suggested at first that it was base silver; but it was found, by analysis, to consist of copper, silver and gold, in the proportion of 62.970, 36.225, and 0.405, with a trace of iron; so that it is practically a copper rather than a silver seal. The weight of the seal is 593/8 tolas. The upper section of the face of the seal, slightly less than half, is occupied by an effigy of Gaurūḍa, executed in fairly high relief on the countersunk surface. He is represented standing on a base, composed of two parallel lines, facing front, with outspread wings. His face is that of a man, broad and full, with thick lips. On his forehead is faintly visible the upright Vaishnava tilaka which is the earliest plastic representation of this mark. Curiously enough, his hair is arranged exactly like the wig of an English Judge. A hooded snake is coiled round his neck, its head projecting above his left shoulder. A circle and a crescent, doubtless intended for the sun and the moon, are faintly represented in the field to the proper right and left respectively of the figure. A space about an inch high is left blank at the extreme bottom of the seal. The interval between this space and the parallel lines on which Gaurūḍa stands is occupied by writing consisting of eight lines of prose and done in relief. A good deal of it is fairly legible. But lines 2 and 3 are rather badly damaged about the centre; and in some other places the writing is too worn out to be properly read. In the light, however, of the better preserved Nālandā seals of the same ruler, (No. 45 above) there is now absolutely no difficulty in restoring the lost or damaged letters on the present seal. Even a superficial observation will show that this seal is just a metallic replica of the clay specimens from Nālandā, though slightly larger in size than the largest of them. The text and device are identical in all details. Even the lines open and close alike. A careful examination of the original as well as the published plate shows that line 5 closed with māhā as on the Nālandā seals, and not with māhāra as was supposed by Hoernle and Fleet, there being no trace of ṛā at the end of the line. Vestiges of this letter are fairly visible at the beginning of the next line where it may confidently be restored from the clear reading in the corresponding line of the Nālandā seals. All other doubtful readings on this seal can likewise be checked and definitively settled by reference to the latter. The characters are well-formed, and are of precisely the same type as those of the Nālandā clay seals of the same ruler (No. 45). The average size of the letters is somewhat less than 1/4". The language is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography no points call for notice beyond those detailed in our account of No. 45.

The inscription on the seal is genealogical and refers itself to the time of Kūmaṛagupta III. For the misreadings of some Gupta names on this seal and their corrections, attention is invited to the discussion on p. 357 above.

TEXT

5 [jadhr]ajā-śri-Kumāra[m]u[pta]s = tasya puṭtras = tat-pādānuḍhiyātō Mahādevyām = Anantadēvyā[ṃ] = utpannō Mahā-
[a]rag[upta]

No. 47 : PLATE XLVII

DĀMÕDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VISHṆUGUPTA:
THE YEAR 224

This plate also was found in the village of Dāmôdarpur, in the same circumstances
as Nos. 22, 24, 38 and 40 and is deposited along with them in the Museum of the Varêndra
Research Society, Rajshahi, now in Bangladesh. It was edited by Radhagovinda Basak in
the Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 142 ff. and plate v a and b. But the date, namely, 224, was first

The plate is one in number, and is inscribed on both sides, the first containing twelve
full lines and a thirteenth with only three syllables and the second containing nine lines
of writing. It measures 6 3/8" by 3 1/2". The edges of the plate have not been raised into rims
for the protection of the writing. Though the letters are well executed and well preserved
some of them towards the close of lines 1-4 and in line 12 have been eaten up by verdigris
and made quite illegible. There is a regular patch of corrosion right across the first side,
which is prominent on the second side also and has rendered it very thin in this portion. The
seal is practically of the same oval shape as that of the plate in No. 40 above and was attached
to the middle of the proper right side. It measures 2" by 1 3/8" and is divided into two parts
with two parallel horizontal straight lines in relief. The upper side is marked with a trident
also in relief, and below occurs in relief the legend "Kōṭivarsha-ādhisṭhān-ādhi[karaṇa]ya."
The weight of the plate together with the seal is 22-7/56 tolas. The characters belong,
generally speaking, to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet as remarked about the plate
described in No. 22. The other paleographical points that deserve notice are: (1) the
occurrence of initial a in adhisṭhān=, line 4, Amṛitadevο, line 6, apradā-, lines 10 and 13, and
so on; (2) the initial ā in āryya-, line 4, ājā[ya]ka-, line 6, ākṣēpta-, line 22; (3) the initial
i in iti', lines 14 and 17; (4) the initial ā in ātamsād= and ātān-, line 14, and ākāṣ in line 16
and (twice) in line 17; (5) the peculiar form of the medial ā after n and dh indicated by a
hook attached to the bottom on the proper left of these letters as in -kṣētṛanāṁ, lines 6 and
7, =āvadhāraṇā-, line 24, and =vvasudhā, line 20; (6) the method of forming r in conjunction
with a following y, e.g., in āryya-, line 4; (7) the coupling of ending t and n with the imme-
diately following consonants, e.g., tat-pāda-, line 2, =Amṛitadevāt=pañcha-śa-,
line 14, śāvat-
kāla-, line 18 and =stokān= día[un] =, line 10; and (8) the peculiar conjunct hya in -vā[b]hy-ā,π,
line 6 and =upasaṁgrihya, lines 7 and 14. The language is Sanskrit; and the inscription
is in prose throughout, with the exception of three imprecatory verses in lines 20 to 22. The
only linguistic peculiarity that calls for notice is the use of the affix ka in some words, such
as =ānuvahamā[nakē], line 3, =nīyuktaṅ, line 4, and =kula[putrakā-, line 6. In respect of ortho-
graphy, we have to note (1) the doubling of k, g, t, ṭ(ḥ), d(ḥ), b(ḥ), m and v in conjunction
with a preceding r as in -madvaparka-, line 9, svarṛgge, line 21, -pravartana-, line 9, sāṛt-
9); (3) the change of visarga to ś in conjunction with that letter following it, as, e.g., vāstubhīṣa=saha, line 15; (4) the omission of the sign of avagraha as, e.g., in -vīkṛayō=neṣṭittah, line 7; (5) the omission of sandhi, e.g., in saṁyavahāribhiḥ dēva’, line 19; and (6) the joining of ending m with the following va, e.g., in para-datām=vā, line 20.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja-dhirāja whose name has disappeared with the upper corner of the proper left side of the plate which is destroyed. According to Basak, “only two letters seem to be cut off from the portion of this plate and lost,” and he surmises that they might be Bhā-na. On the other hand, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri thought that the reading was probably Ku-mā-ra. But if two letters only have been lost here as Basak rightly contends, they may perhaps be restored as (Vishṇu)gupta who, in that case, may be identified with Vishṇu(gupta)-Chandrādiya, one of the last Gupta kings of this period. Its date in numerical symbols, seems to be the year two hundred and twenty-four (=542-43 A.D.) on the fifth day of Bhādrapada (August-September). Under [Vishṇu ?]gupta, was a Mahārāja as Head (Uparika) of the Puṇḍravardhana Province (bhūkta). His name also has not been preserved. But the titles Dēva, Bhaṭṭāraka and, above all, Rājakaptra, which are coupled with his name show that he was some prince of the imperial family. Further, in the Kōṭivarsha District, the Court (adhikaraṇa) of the Town (adhisṭhāna) was being carried on by the Ṛṣhayapati Svaṃbhūdēva, appointed by the Uparika, along with the Nagarā-śrīkṛṣṭi Ribhupāla, the Sārthavāhā Śṭhānu-datta, the Prathamakulika Matidatta and the Prathamakāyastha Skandapāla. We are then told that Amṛitadēva, a kulapatra from Ayōḍhyā, applied to the Town Court of the Kōṭivarsha District for the purchase of some khila or waste land, on condition of apradā-dharma, ‘Law of Irrevocable (Endowment)’—practically, the same as Akṣhayaniśvī-dharma—and, by the issue of a copper-plate charter, by paying the price at the usual rate of three dināras for each kulyavāpa of such land. The object of this purchase of land was to make provision for repairs, etc., to the temple of the god, Śvētavarāhasvāmin, for the establishment of the bali, charu, sattra, etc., and for the supply of the materials for daily worship of the god. In accordance with the ascertainment of the record-keepers, land, measuring five kulyavāpas, situated in four different localities specified in the inscriptions was sold to Amṛitadēva.

It is worthy of note that Amṛitadēva, who bought the land, is described as Ayōḍhyaka-kulapatra. That means that he was a kulīn originally come from Ayōḍhyā. It is tempting to remark that just as in later times Kanauj was the cradle of the kulīn Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal, in the Gupta period this position of honour was occupied by Ayōḍhyā as may be seen from the fact that in line 10 of Inscription No. 21 above Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras are referred to as having come from Ayōḍhyā and settled in connection with the temple of Śailēśvara.

TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1 to 3 Anusṭubhī]

Seal—Kōṭivarsha-ādhishṭhān-ādhī[kaṇanaśya*]

First Side

1 Sa[mva] 200 20 4 Bhādra di 5 Paramadaivata-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Ma[hā]-rājādhirāja-śrī [... 9]-

1 Epl. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 142, note 1.
3 Basak seems to be right in supposing that two letters only have apparently been lost with the cut-off portion of the plate. As pointed out above, they can be restored as Vishṇu for the reasons assigned there.
2 guptē prithivipatau tat-pāda-parigṛihīte Pundravarddhana-bhuktāv =Upari[ka-Mahārāja]ya....
3 rājaputra-Dēva-bhaṭṭārakasya hasty-aśva-jana-bhōgēṃ=ānuvahamā[na]kē Kō-[tiva]rśhsha¹-viṣa[yē] cha ta-
n-niyuktakē [†]ha-vishayapatī-Svayambhūdevē adhishṭhān-ādhiṣṭhara[m*] āryya-
[na]gara[śrēṣṭhi-Ribhu]pāla-
5 Sārthavāha-Sthānudatta-prathamakulika-Matidatta-prathamakāyaastha-śkandapāla-
purōgē [saṃ]vy[a]va[ha]jati
6 Ayō[ṃ]bhaya[kakulapattra-Amṛtadēvēṇa vijnāpitam =iha-vishayē samudaya-bāhy-
āprahata-khila-[kshē]trā-
7 nāṃ tri-dinārika-kulavāpā-vikrayō =nuvṛittaḥ [†] tad = aratha mattō dinārān =
upasaṅgrihyā man-māṭuḥ [pu]nyā-ā-
8 bhīvṛddhayē atr = āraṇyē Bhagavataḥ Svētavarāha-swāminō dvēvakulē khanḍa-
phūṭa-ā-prati[saṃ]kṣā[ra-ka]-
9 raṇaya bali-charu-satratva-pravarttana-gavya dhūpa-pushpa-prānaṇa-madhuparkka-
dip-adya-upa[yō]gā[ya] cha
10 apradā-dharmmēṇa tāmrapaṭṭikṛitya kṣēṭra-stōkan = dātum = iti [†] yataḥ prath-
ama-pustapāla-Nara[na]ndi-
11 Gopadatta-Bhaṭṭanandinām = avadhāraṇayā yuktatayā dha[rmm-ādhi]kāra-[bu]
ddhyā vijnāpita[m*] [nō] kāry[o]
12 vishayapatinā kāśchid = viroḍhaḥ kēva[la]ṃ śri-Parambhaṭṭāraka-pādānā[m*]
dharmma-[pha][la-sha*]-
13 d-bhā[ṃ-ā*]vāp[tji[h*]

Second Side

14 ity = anēn = āvadhāraṇa-kramēṇa ētasmād = Amṛtadēvēṭ = paṃchadāsa-dinārān =
upasaṅgrihyā ētan-māṭu[h*]
15 anugrahēṇa Svachchhandapāṭakē = [rddha]ṭi-prāvēṣya-Lavaṅgasikāyāṃ = cha vās-
tubhis = saha kulyavāpā-dvāyam
16 Sātvanaśrāmakē = pi vāstunā saha kulyavāpa ēkaḥ Paraspatikāyām Paṃchakulya-
vāpakasye = oṭta[ṛ]ṇa
17 Jamvē[ṇa]dāhī pūrvvēṇa kulyavāpa ēkaḥ Pūraṇavṛndikaharau Pāṭaka-pūrvvēṇa
kulyavāpa ēkaḥ ity = ēvaṁ khila-kṣētra-
sya vāstunā saha paṃcha kulyavāpā apradā-dharmmēṇa Bhaga[va*]tē Svētavāra-
ha-swāminē śaśvat-kāla-bhōgyā dattāḥ [†]
19 tad = uttara-kālaṃ saṁyavahārībhīḥ dvēbhaktyā = ānumantavyāḥ [†] api cha
bhūmi-[dā]sa-nārāvadhāhīṃ sloka bhavanti [†]
20 Sva-dattāṃ para-dattāṃ = vā yo harēta vasundhara[m(rām) [†] sa visāṭhāyāṃ
krimīr = bḥūtvā pīṭhāḥ = saha pachyatē [i 1*] vahuhbhīr = vvasudhā dattā

¹ Read Kōṭīvarsha-
² Read -ṣphuṭa-.
³ Read -ṣatra-.
⁴ Read Jambū-.
⁵ Read sambaddhāḥ.
⁶ Read krimīr=.
⁷ Read bahuhbhīr=.
Dāmōdarpur Copper-plate Inscription of ViṣṇuGupta:
The Year 224
TRANSLATION

Seal—Of the town court of Kōṭivarsha.

(Lines 1 to 5) The year 200 (and) 20 (and) 4, (the month of) Bhādra, the day 5, while Paramadawata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhikārāja, the prosperous [Vishnu]gupta is the lord of the earth; and while the Kōṭivarsha District is running on with the enjoyment (of the rule) consisting of elephants, horses and soldiers of Mahārāja. . . . . . . . . . . His Honour, the Prince, the Bhaṭṭāraka, and Uparika over the Punḍravardhana province, being selected by His (Majesty’s) feet; and while the visayapati Śvayambhūdeva, appointed by him, is administering the Court of the Town as the chief of the Nagara-īrśhthin Ārya Ribhupāla, the Sārthavāha Sīhāṇudattā, the Prathamakulika Matidatta and the Prathamakāyastha Skandapāla;

(Lines 6 to 10) Whereas the Kulaputra Amritādeva, an inhabitant of Ayōḍhyā, has petitioned: “In the district here is customary the sale, at the rate of one kulyavāpa for three dināras, of unfurrowed waste land free from revenue. So ye deign, to assign a bit of land, for the augmentation of the spiritual merit of my mother, after accepting dināras from me (and) turning it into a copper-plate charter in accordance with the Law of Irrevocable (Endowment), for the execution of repairs to cracks and fissures, for the establishment of bāli, charu and satra, for the supply of cow’s milk, frankincense and flowers and for the use of madhuparka, light and so forth, in the temple of the god Śvētavarāha-svāmin here in the forest”;

(Lines 10 to 13) Whereas it (has been determined) through the ascertainment of the chief record-keeper Naranandin, and Gōpadatta and Bhaṭṭanandin that the application has been made properly (and) in the spirit of the administration of Law (dharma), that no objection whatever can be taken by the Vishayapatī (and) that. . . . . . . . . . . there will be purely an acquisition of one-sixth (of the produce) to the prosperous and great Venerable Bhaṭṭāraka, as a lawful accrual;

(Lines 14 to 18) In consequence of this line of ascertainment (and) having received fifteen dināras from that Amritādeva, (and) out of kindliness to his mother, five kulyavāpas of land including high land were granted, to be enjoyed for all time to come, in accordance with the Law of Irrevocable (Endowment) to the god Śvētavarāha-svāmin, namely two kulyavāpas including high land in Svachchhandapāṭaka and Lavaṅgasikā accessible through Ardḍhiṭa, one kulyavāpa including high land in Sāṭuvaṇāṣramaka, one kulyavāpa including high land in Paraspatikā to the north of Paṇḍhakulyāvāpaka and the east of the Jambūnadi, and one kulyavāpa to the east of Pāṭaka in Pūrṇavṛndikahari.

1 Read shashthi.
2 Read vasit [l 3*] iti [l *]
3 The word kulaputra occurs not only in Sanskrit, but also in Pali literature; e.g., tatho sarva-saṅkhittha kulaputra-mahādūramīh in the Aṣṭasahasrikaṭṭha, Act IV, verse 10 and Yassa kassaci Mahānāma kulapatattissa pāṭika dharmā samvitjanīti in the Anguttara-Vihāra, Part III, p. 76. It is generally rendered by "a son of a noble family, respected youth." But it corresponds to the Bengali kalin in such phrases as kalin-Bhākam and kalin-Kāyastha and had better be translated by 'son of a good stock or recognised clan.'
4 Ṛṣṇa-dharmaśe tāmrapataṭṭhīlīyā of this record may be compared to akṣaya-nicīyā = tāmrapataṭṭha dārum in line 17 of Baigrama copper-plate inscription (Ep. Ind, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff.) and line 7 of Nandapura copper-plate inscription (Ibid. Vol. XXIII, pp. 32 ff.).
5 The word vāstu is used in practically the same sense as in lines 9 and 16 of Baigrama copper-plate inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff.).
6 As surmised by Basak, this seems to be a plot of land so named because it contained five kulyavapar.
THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

(Line 19) So these (kulyavāpas) should be respected by administrators in time to come, out of devotion to the god. There are also verses relating to the grant of land:—

(Verse 1) He, who takes away land given by himself or by others, having become a worm in excreta, rots with his forefathers.

(Verse 2) Land has been granted by many kings such as Sagara and others. The fruit (of such grant) belongs to whoever possesses the earth at any time.

(Verse 3) The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years. He who resumes it and he who asents to (it) may dwell in hell for exactly those (years).

No. 48 : PLATE XLVIII

NĀLANḍĀ CLAY SEAL OF VISHṆUGUPTA

The seal bearing an inscription of Vishṇugupta was also exhumed like those of Vainya-gupta and others in 1927-28 from Monastery Site No. 1 at Nālandā, Patna District, Bihar. It has remained unnoted even in Hirananda Sastri’s Nalanda and its Epigraphical Material (MASI, No. 66). It is published for the first time by Krishna Deva in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 235 and ff. This seal also was originally a clay impression which was burnt eventually into a terracotta mentioned on page 355 above.

The seal is fragmentary, its upper right half being broken off. The extreme measurements of the extant fragment are, as nearly as possible, 3" by 234" by 234", comprising the last four lines of writing. There is no doubt that like the other Gupta seals from Nālandā this seal also was oval in shape, pointed at the top and bottom, and that its edge was marked by a border line which is distinct at the bottom. Like them, again, its upper field must have been occupied by a figure of Garuda, flanked by the sun and the crescent, the lower containing eight lines of writing. Of these, the proper right halves of the first four have been completely lost, and of the fifth, not only the right half but also part of the left. Nevertheless, on the analogy of the other seals the full legend of this seal also can be restored with reasonable certainty. The characters exhibit a mixture of southern and eastern varieties. The notable examples of the former are sa and ha, and of the latter ma. The height of the letters varies from 16 to 16. The language is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography we have to notice (1) the doubling of dh in conjunction with a following j as in -pādānuddhyātō, (lines 2 and 3); (2) the doubling of t in conjunction with a following r as in puttras=, (lines 2 and 3); and the use of the upadhniya sign as in .nnah = Parama= (line 4).

The inscription on the seal is genealogical in character, and refers itself to the reign of Vishṇugupta. What is preserved of the seal says that he was the son of the Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta, grandson of the Mahārājādhirāja Purugupta. This shows that as in other seals this also sets forth in an unbroken line of succession the Gupta princes from Mahārājā Gupta to Kumāragupta, father of Purugupta. This seal carries the genealogy of the Imperial Gupta dynasty one generation further than was hitherto known. It is, however, unfortunate that the name of Vishṇugupta’s mother has been lost in the broken portion of the last line.

TEXT

1 .... hārājādh[i]r[a] ṣr[i]*-[P*]u.....
2 .... h[a*]r[a*]j[i]a-ṣr-Narasiṃha[guptas] = tasya putras = tat-pādanud-dh[ya]t[6]
3 .... r ajāḍhirāja-ṣr-Kumāraguptas = tasya putras = tat-pādānuddhyātō Ma[hā]-
4 .... nnah = Paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-ṣr-Vishṇug[u][ptaḥ 11]*
NALANDĀ CLAY SEAL OF VISHNUGUPTA

G. S. Gai

From photograph
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**Notes:**
- The index contains entries for various historical, religious, and geographical terms.
- The entries are followed by page numbers indicating their location in the text.
- The document appears to be a historical or religious text, possibly an index or a list of terms relevant to the study of history or religion.
- The text includes entries for places, persons, and concepts, such as "Shahabad," "Shahan shah," and "Siva, god."
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Śhāṅvariṇī, n. of a chapter in Kalpasūtra,

śhāti s.a. śnāma, 'Settled rule or usage',

śhātiśaśādā, having elastic properties, having the power of restoring to a previous state',

Stone ins., of Aţkā in Kaśmīri,

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Śuddha, ca.,

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Sumanagavāśīśā, i.,

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Śyāvin levi,

T

t, ending, coupling of the immediately following consonants.

Taḷiṭā-īrēni, 'guild of oil men'.

Taṭītiyā-Āranyaka, uk.,

Taṭītiyā Brāhmaṇa, do.,

Taṭītiyā Sanhitā, do.,

Ṭāk s.a. Tākā, f.,

Ṭāka, do.,

Ṭāka Nāga, do.,

Ṭākā s.a. Tākā, do.,

Ṭālajanātha s.a. Haibaya, i.,

Ṭālavēra copper pl., grant of Vishnuvarman

Ṭalvād, community,

Tap, i.,

Tāmīl country,

Tāmīl dis.,

Tāmīl Nadu, state,

Tāmīralippū, ca.,

Tāmīralippu sākā, n. of a Jaïna sākā,

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