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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOLUME III
(Revised)

INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
EARLY GUPTA KINGS

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27/4/82

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM
VOLUME III
INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
EARLY GUPTA KINGS

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REVISED BY
DEVADATTA RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

1981



Dedicated to the Memory
of
Professor D. R. Bhandarkar
by
The Editors

PREFACE

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,

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. After 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—*śrēyāṃsi bahu vighnāni* 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

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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

<i>A.B.O.R.I.</i>	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
<i>A.S.W.I.</i>	Archaeological Survey of Western India
<i>B.C.</i>	Bombay Gazetteer
<i>B.O.R.I.</i>	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
<i>C.A.S.I.R.</i>	Gunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports
<i>C.I.I.</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
<i>E.H.I.</i>	Vincent Smith, Early History of India
<i>Ep.Ind.</i>	Epigraphia Indica
<i>G.O.S.</i>	Gaekwad Oriental Series
<i>I.C.</i>	Indian Culture
<i>I.H.Q.</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly
<i>J.A.H.R.S.</i>	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
<i>J.A.I.H.</i>	Journal of Ancient Indian History
<i>J.A.S.B.</i>	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>J.A.S.B. (N.S.)</i>	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)
<i>J.B.A.S.</i>	Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society
<i>J.B.B.R.A.S.</i>	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>J.B.O.R.S.</i>	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society
<i>J.B.R.S.</i>	Journal of Bihar Research Society
<i>J.G.J.R.I.</i>	Journal of the Ganganath Jhah Research Institute
<i>J.I.H.</i>	Journal of Indian History
<i>J.N.S.</i>	Journal of the Numismatic Society
<i>J.N.S.I.</i>	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
<i>J.P.A.S.B.</i>	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>J.O.R.</i>	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
<i>J.R.A.S.</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>J.U.P.H.S.</i>	Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society
<i>M.A.S.I.</i>	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
<i>N.I.A.</i>	New Indian Antiquary
<i>P.I.H.C.</i>	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
<i>P.R.A.S., N.C.</i>	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle
<i>P.R.A.S., W.C.</i>	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle
<i>P.T.S.</i>	Pali Text Society
<i>S.B.E.</i>	Sacred Books of the East
<i>Sel. Ins.</i>	D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions
<i>Z.D.M.G.</i>	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 Westren Read Western.*
,, 74, line 9.—*For Risidatta Read Rīśidatta.*
,, 98, f.n. 7, line 2.—*For Mahāpratihāra Read Mahāpratihāra.*
,, 99, line 32.—*For Pratihāra(ra)kshi Read Pratihāra(rā)kshi.*
,, 187, line 7.—*For Byānā Read Bayānā.*
,, 189, line 30.—*For exactly Read exactly.*
,, 189, lines 44-45.—*For inscripion Read inscription.*

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Page 264, f.n. 4.—*For mēghē pravṛittē Read mēghē pranṛittē*
,, 270, line 36.—*For Inscirption Read Inscription.*
,, 297, line 45.—*For Prauṣṭhapada Read Praushṭhapada*
,, 317, line 28.—*For 1943-44¹ Read 1943-44⁵.*
,, 340, line 20.—*For Āryyā Read Āryā.*
,, 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 Kushāṇas¹ 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 Kushāṇa 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. Oertel 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 Bōdhisattva 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 *Mahākshatrapa* Kharapallāna and *Kshatrapa* Vanashpara.² This shows that the dominions of Kanishka extended so far eastward as to include Varanasi at least. As Vanashpara was a mere *Kshatrapa*, he must have been in charge of Varanasi and the surrounding district. The jurisdiction of Kharapallāna, who was a *Mahākshatrapa*, must have been of a wider extent and certainly included the Varanasi District, but where his headquarters exactly were we do not know.³ 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 Kushān", 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.⁴ 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 Kushān type."⁵ For a long time it was a mystery how the Kushāṇa coinage exercised influence on this class of coins, because no Kushāṇa 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 Kushāṇas and 112 Imperial Great Kushāṇas of Kanishka and Huvishka.⁶ And, further, R. D. Banerji informs us that the coinage, both gold and copper, of the Later Great Kushāṇas is still extremely abundant in the markets of Patna and Gaya,⁷ showing that Bihar, too, was under the domination of the Later Great Kushāṇas. In Bengal also three coins have subsequently come to light, one from Malda and two from Mahasthan in Bogra District.

¹ The exact name of the race to which Kanishka and his successors belonged was for long not known. The discovery of the Māt inscription which is in Brāhmī and presents the Sanskrit form *Kushāṇa-putrō* (*A. R. ASI.*, 1911-12, Pt. II, p. 124) now leaves no doubt as to Kushāṇa being the correct name of this race. This name has therefore been adopted throughout this book. In *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 79 ff. and pp. 754 ff., Baron A. von Staël-Holstein ingeniously seeks to show that this name was Kusha or Kuśa, and not Kushāṇa. 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.

² J. Ph. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 173 ff., No. III, a, b, c and d. Correction of the name Kanishka into Kāṇishka by H. Lüders, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 241.

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

⁴ *PASB.*, 1895, pp. 61 ff. Rapson's *Indian Coins*, pp. 13-14, § 54.

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

⁶ R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Ori.*, Vol. I, p. 113.

⁷ *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 2. The statement was confirmed later by the excavations of Spooner at Patna, as we shall presently see.

Two of these, again, belong to Vāsudēva, and one is a Later Great Kushāṇa. This last is a coin of the third century A.D. and seems to have been issued from some part of Eastern Bengal.¹ It thus appears that when the tide of Kushāṇa 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, Padmāvati 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 *Aśvamēdhas*. And they are said to have obtained possession of the Bhāgīrathī through their valour and were anointed to sovereignty with her holy waters. As there is such a site as Daśāśvamēdha 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.² Years ago George Bühler³ identified the Bhāraśivas with Bhār Rājput, who are found chiefly in Eastern Oudh and the Basti District in the U.P.⁴ 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,⁵ 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 Lichchhavis, who, as we shall presently see, ruled at Pāṭaliputra. Such was the political condition of North India when the Guptas came to power. The *Purānas* 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, Huvishka and Vāsudēva. There is no mention, again, of the Bhāraśivas or of the Lichchhavis, whose existence, nay, importance, at this epoch is attested by epigraphic records. The Puranic 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 *Mahārājādhirāja*, his father and grandfather, Ghaṭōtkacha 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.⁶ His real name is thus, according to this record, not Śrīgupta, but Gupta. To supplement Fleet's arguments, John

¹ N. G. Majumdar, *JPASB.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 127 ff. Also *A. R. ASI.*, 1911-12, Pt. II, p. 256.

² *JBORS.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 5-6.

³ *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 119.

⁴ *CASIR.*, Vol. XI, p. 67 and Vol. XII, p. 89.

⁵ K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS.*, Vol. XIX, p. 8. In the Chalukya line of Anahilapāṭaka, we have not one, but two, kings, Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla, 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 Sōlaṅkīs.

⁶ *CHI.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 8, note 3.

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 *Gutasya* (= *Guttasya*) in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit, standing, of course, for the Sanskrit *Guptasya*.² Similarly, Hoernle possessed a clay seal reading *Śrīr-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-Tsing, 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 Mṛigaśikhāvana 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-Tsing 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-Tsing'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."⁴ He, however, admits that the chronological difficulty is more serious, but argues that the chronological part of I-Tsing'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."⁵ "But have we not," asks H. C. Rayachaudhuri pertinently, "two Chandra Guptas and two Kumāra Guptas within brief periods?"⁶ There is thus no good reason to identify Śrī-Gupta of I-Tsing 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 Ghaṭōtkacha, 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, Ghaṭōtkachagupta, 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 Guptagupta, which, however, sounds fanciful to a degree. Besides, we have in this connection to note what the Poona Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā⁷ have to say on this point. Prabhāvatiguptā, 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* Ghaṭōtkacha. The exact wording of the inscription is: *āsīd=Gupt-ādivājō Mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkachas* (lines 1-2), which can mean only "there was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Ghaṭōtkacha, the first king among the Guptas." No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Ghaṭōtkacha 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, Ghaṭōtkacha. 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.

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. xiv.

² *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 814, Pl. VI. 23.

³ *The History of North-eastern India*, etc., p. 5.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. xv.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, (1932), p. 360.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39-44 and plate.

That Gupta as a family name was current before 300 A.D. is known to everybody who is conversant with epigraphy. Thus the Ichchāwar Buddhist statuette inscription speaks of the gift of Mahādēvī, queen (*rājñī*) of Hariḍāsa, sprung from the Gupta race.¹ In still earlier times the Gupta figured as prominently as any Brāhmaṇa *gōtra*, as we have pointed out elsewhere. The celebrated Bhārhut *tōraṇa* inscription records that it was erected by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gaup̄tīputra Aṅgāradyut (*Gōtīputa Āgaraju*), and grandson of the king (*rājan*) Gārgīputra Viśvadēva, while the Śuṅgas were wielding sway.² As Viśvadēva 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 Viśvadēva and Dhanabhūti are styled Gārgīputra and Vātsīputra respectively, showing that their mothers belonged to these Vedic *gōtras*, Aṅgāradyut alone is styled Gōtīputa (*Gaup̄tīputra*) 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 Agimitraṇaka (Agnimitra) who was not only a Mahārāṭhi but also a Gōtīputra. Here also Lüders³ has rightly taken Gōtīputra to mean 'son of a Gaup̄tī'. And the appellation *Mahārāṭhi* 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 families of lower status also. Thus an inscription⁴ of Sāñchī Stūpa No. 1 speaks of the royal scribe (*rāja-līpīkāra*) Subāhita as *Gōtīputa* (= *Gaup̄tīputra*), "son of a Gōtī (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 Gōtī (Gaup̄tī), as *Sōvanika*, 'goldsmith'. Thus, like the Ābhīras 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, Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī. Their son, Samudragupta, in his Allahabad pillar inscription, calls himself with pride *Lichchhavi-dauhitra*, "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,⁵ on the obverse of which are the figures of Chandragupta and his queen Kumāradēvī, known by the names appearing on them, and on the reverse the legend *Lichchhavayaj*, 'the Lichchhavis'. As mention is made of the Lichchhavis on the reverse, the inference is obvious that they were subordinate to both Chandragupta and Kumāradēvī. And as Kumāradēvī 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 Kumāradēvī was the last male chief of the Lichchhavi clan in East India and that Kumāradēvī was his only child, and when he died, Kumāradēvī 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. 1088.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 271.

⁵ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, pp. 8-11, and Pl. III; Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100, Pl. XV, No. 1.

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-Kumāradēvī 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 Panjab. 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-Kumāradēvī 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 Banares, but I am under the impression that no coin apart from the present specimen, is known from a site so far east as Vaiśālī. The point, however, is of no particular importance, as the difference between Banares and Vaiśālī 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 Panjab, 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 Kumāradēvī themselves³ and that, as the figures of both

¹ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., pp. lxiv-lxvi and lxviii.

² Our attention to this was first drawn by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit of the Archaeological Department.

³ V. A. Smith, *EHI.*, (4th ed.), p. 296; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Car. Lec.*, 1921, pp. 9 ff.

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 Vaiśālī (=Basārḥ).¹ But instances are not unknown of tribes changing their forms of constitution, oligarchic becoming monarchical and monarchical oligarchic.² 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 Nēpāl inscriptions published by Bhagwanlal Indraji.³ When the Lichchhavi father-in-law of Chandragupta lived, the Lichchhavis must have ceased to be oligarchic and assumed a monarchical constitution.

And as Kumāradēvī 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, Pushpapura, 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 Pushpapura. 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. XV⁴ informs us that the Lichchhavis ruled before the conquest of Nepal, and possibly also after that event, at Pushpapura or Pāṭaliputra, the ancient capital of India north of the Ganges."⁵ 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 *Mahārājādhirāja*. 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* 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 Allan⁶ has rightly taken as referring to his reign:

anu Gaṅgām Prayāgam cha Sākētam Magadhāms=tathā |

ētān=janapadān sarvān bhōkshyantē Gupta-vamśajāḥ ||

It must be confessed that these lines have been badly composed, because Prayāga and Sākēta are towns and not countries (*janapadāḥ*) as no doubt follows from the wording *ētān=janapadān sarvān*. 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

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Car. Lec.*, 1918, pp. 149-51 and 154-56; B. C. Law, *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 90, 100.

² D. R. Bhandarkar, *Car. Lec.*, 1918, pp. 164 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 169, 173, 178; Vol. XIII, pp. 419, 422-24 and 426; H. C. Ray, *Dyn. Hist. North Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 188-91.

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 *Cat. 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 (Ayōdhyā), 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 Bhārasīvas 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 Chhattra 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 *chhattra* 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 *chhattra* 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 Chhattra 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 Chhattra 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 Candragupta 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-Kumāradēvī Type but also of the Chhattra and Archer Types. The last two types give him the title of *Vikrama* and *Vikramāditya*. This does not run counter to any established conclusions, because this title was not the monopoly of Chandragupta II, and we know

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. lxviii.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxxxii.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 34 ff. and Pl. VIII; Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 109, Pl. XVI, No. 1.

⁴ This line of argument was first advanced by Krishnaswami Aiyangar, though with some difference, in his *Studies in Gupta History* (*JIH.*, Vol. VI, University supplement), p. 12.

⁵ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. ciii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. lxxviii.

Skandagupta and Purugupta¹ also style themselves *Vikramāditya* 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 *Mahārājādhirāja*, 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 contiguously with, and immediately preceding, Nāgasēna, occurs the name of Gaṇapatināga, 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 Gaṇapati 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 Gaṇapa which is synonymous with Gaṇapati. We have thus three princes, namely, Achyuta, Nāgasēna and Gaṇapati 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 (*kshaṇāt*), uprooted the three kings just mentioned. Here the words

¹ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. cxxii.

² It is worthy of note that in the Gupta inscriptions Ghaṭōtkacha has been called *Mahārāja*, but Chandragupta I, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, etc., have been styled *Mahārājādhirāja*. In the Vākāṭaka plates, however, whereas the Poona plates designate Ghaṭōtkacha and Chandragupta I, *Mahārāja*, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the Riddapur plates call Chandragupta II alone as *Mahārājādhirāja* and the rest simply *Mahārāja*. It seems that the Vākāṭaka court writers were not great sticklers in regard to the royal formulary.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 12, note 1.

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).

ĕkēna and *kshaṇāt* 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, Nāgasēna and Gaṇapatināga 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 Pāṭaliputra. What this means is that after exterminating the three princes mentioned above, Samudragupta returned to Pāṭaliputra, 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 Pāṭaliputra 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 Gaṇapatināga. He has been correctly identified with Gaṇapati or Gaṇēndra whose coins have been found at Narwar, Gohad, Doab, and Besnagar in Central India.¹ There is a poetic work entitled *Bhāvaśataka*, or rather *Nāgarājaśata* which was printed long ago in *Kāvya-mālā*, part iv, pp. 37-52. Verse 2 thereof runs as follows:

*Nāgarājaśataṃ grantham Nāgarājēna tanvatā |
akāri Gajavakra-srīr=Nāgarājō girām guruḥ ||*

In the printed text the second half of the *Anuṣṭubh śloka* has *Gatavakra* which does not yield good sense, but, in a Mithilā manuscript, which the late K. P. Jayaswal² was so fortunate as to secure, it is *Gajavakra* 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 *Nāgarājaśata*, was composed by Nāgarāja, who thereby rendered Gajavakra 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 Gajavakra, that is Gaṇapati. At the end of the book has been given very briefly the family history of the poet Nāgarāja. There was one Vidyādhara, who belonged to the Karpaṭi *gōtra*. His son was Jālapa, the most praiseworthy of the Ṭāka family.³ From him sprang up Nāgarāja, the ornament of the Ṭāka race. Further information about the king is also supplied by two verses in

¹ *CASIR.*, Vol. II, pp. 309-28; *JASB.*, 1965, p. 115; *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 20-24; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 164 and 178-79; D. R. Bhandarkar, *A. R. ASI.*, 1913-14, p. 214; 1914-15, pp. 75 and 88.

² *Hist. of India 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*, pp. 38 ff. See in this connection also the views of Dasharatha Sharma expressed in his article: *The Nāgarāja of the Bhāvaśataka* published in *JIH.*, Vol. XIII, pt. 3, pp. 303-05. So far as we could see, both of them were unable to distinguish between the two Nāgarājas, causing some confusion in their thought.

³ Ṭāk is the same as Ṭakka, which, as an ethnic designation, is used in connection with the name of certain persons in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vii, 520, 1001, 1064 and 1207. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang, the Ṭakka kingdom was well-known and was situated somewhere between the Chenab and Ravi (Stein's translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 205, note 150). *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 Mayūras, presumably the Mauryas. As he has again been called *Dhārādhiśa* 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 Bāṇa, which says that there was one Nāgasēna in Padmāvati belonging to the Nāga house, whose fall was caused by the disclosure of his policy by a *sārikā* bird.³ This is just what Bāṇa has actually told us. And the commentator Śaṅkarārya 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 Padmāvati 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 Bāṇa 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 Padmāvati 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. Padmāvati 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 *achyu* and found in the site of Ahichhatra (Ramanagar, Bareilly District, Uttar Pradesh), were years ago attributed by V. A. Smith and Rapson 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 Bhūtinandin, Śiśunandin and Yaśōnandin as ruling over Vidiśā after the Śuṅgas. 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 *Kota*—are common in the Delhi Bazar and in the Eastern Panjab. They are copied obviously from the money of Vāsudēva Kushāṇa, and some of the reverse devices may be an echo of the Sassanian type."⁸ Rapson, however, was the first to connect the Kōta coins with

¹ Dhārā has been very well known ever since the ascendancy of the Paramāras. But even before the rise of the Paramāra power, Īśvaravarman, a Maukhari king, who ruled in circa 550 A.D. is known from a Jaunpur stone inscription to have repelled the attack of a prince of Dhārā, situated not far from the Vindhya; *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 229-30.

² Wilson, *Vishnu-P.* (trans.), Vol. IV, p. 217, note 1.

³ For the text of and commentary on this work, see *Harshacharita* (Bo. Sk. and Pk. Series), pp. 267-68. See also translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 192, where Nāgasēna is said to be an "heir to the Nāga house", which, however, is not warranted by the text.

⁴ K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 133, note 1.

⁵ *A. R. ASI.*, 1915-16, pp. 101-04.

⁶ *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 28 and 420; *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 185-86 and 188-89.

⁷ Pargiter, *Dyn. Kali Age*, pp. 49 and 72-73. Compare also the variants of these names given in the foot-note.

⁸ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 258 and 264.

the *Kōta-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 Ṭāka 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 Padmāvati, 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 confederacy² 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 Aśōkan pillar, now standing in the Allahabad fort, and, the other, on a stone originally found at Ēraṇ 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 *kāvya* 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, *Sāndhivigrahika*, *Kumārāmātya* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. His father also was a man of no mean rank, because he, too, was a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. As Harishēṇa was a *Sāndhivigrahika* 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. 450.

² Krishnaswami Aiyangar is the first to suspect the formation of this confederacy against Samudragupta. He says: "The achievement of Samudragupta against Achyuta, Nāgasēna and the ruler of the Kōta family in Pushpapura may have been an attack by these monarchs in combination against the capital Patna" (*Studies in Gupta History*, *JIH.*, 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 Pushpapura 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 *Khādyatāpākika* which shows that he was a native of Khādyatāpāka.¹ 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 = tridaśapati-bhavana-gaman-āvāpta-lalita-sukha-vicharaṇā*, 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 *kīrti* 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.²

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 Gupta 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 *praśasti* on the Aśōkan 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 Āryāvarta 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha whom he captured but released. Not only their names but also those of their kingdoms have been specified. They are as follows: (1) Mahēndra of Kōsala, (2) Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, (3) Maṅṭarāja of Kurāla, (4) Mahēndragiri of Piṣṭapura, (5) Svāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra, (6) Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla, (7) Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñchī, (8) Nīlarāja of Avamukta, (9) Hastivarman of Vēngī, (10) Ugrasēna of Pālakka, (11) Kubēra of Dēvarāshṭra, and (12) Dhanañ-

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 Dakṣiṇāpatha, 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha 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 Mahēndra of Kōsala. This Kōsala must be Dakṣiṇa (or South) Kōsala, or Mahākōsala as it is also called. "Mahā-Kosala" 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 Bālāghāt, 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 Ayōdhyā, 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 (Prasēnajit) and his son Viḍūḍabha, both scions of the Ikshvāku family. Their capital, however, was not Ayōdhyā, but Śrāvastī.² When we, therefore, hear of Kōsala being situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha, 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha were Mūlaka and Aśmaka. 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 Jaggayapēṭa in the Krishna District and the other at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. They speak of three Ikshvāku Mahārājas, namely, Vāsishṭhīputra Chāmtamūla (I), his son Māḍharīputra Virapurushadatta, and the latter's son Vāsishṭhīputra Ehuvaḷa Chāmtamūla (II).³ And further what we have to note is that the first of them is eulogised for having celebrated Agnihōtra, Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya, and, above all, Aśvamēdha. 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 *prima facie* the Ikshvāku country of Dakṣiṇāpatha. But which was the capital town of this Ikshvāku kingdom—the Southern Kōsala? In this connection we have to note that the Sonpur Plates of Mahābhavagupta II-Janamējaya speak of a place called Kōsalā.⁴ Kōsalā cannot but mean 'the city of Ayōdhyā', the capital of North Kōsala. It is therefore clear enough that Southern Kōsala also had Kōsalā as its capital. Where could it be? It seems tempting to iden-

¹ CASIR., Vol. XVII, p. 68.

² Car. Lec., 1918, pp. 65 ff.

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 Kōsalā is more centrally situated than Ayōdhyā 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 Jaggayyapēṭa 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."¹ And perhaps we shall not be far from right if we suppose that hardly two generations separated the Ikshvāku ruler, Chāntamūla II, from Samudragupta. We may, therefore, take it that these Ikshvākus had carved a powerful kingdom for themselves in the south, that their principal territory was Dakṣiṇa 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 Ikshvāku 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.² Possibly Śrīpura was the capital of Kōsala even in the time of the Ikshvākus.

The second king of Dakṣiṇāpatha that has been mentioned in our inscription is Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra. It no doubt seems tempting to identify this Vyāghrarāja³ with the ruler of that name who is mentioned in the Nāchnē-kī-talāi and Gañj inscriptions as a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivishēṇa, and to say that his principality consisted of portions of the erstwhile Jaso and Ajaigarh States of Bundelkhand.⁴ According to Dubreuil,⁵ however, the Nāchnē-kī-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.⁶ The late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit agrees with Dubreuil.⁷ 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.⁸ 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 Pṛithivishēṇa II, and not Pṛithivishēṇa 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha. Though Vyāghrarāja cannot be identified, the province over which he ruled can be located with some degree of probability. We have here to distinguish Mahākāntāra from *Sarv-Āṭavika-rājya* referred to later in the record (line 21). This latter, as we shall soon see, corresponds to the forests spread over Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. Mahākāntāra, therefore, in all likelihood, denotes the forests ranging between Kōsala and Kaliṅga. It no doubt denotes the area of Viśākhapattanam and Ganjam, which in a copper plate grant⁹ of Narasimhadēva II is called *dakṣiṇa-Jhāḍakhaṇḍa*. Jhāḍakhaṇḍa in Oriya signifies 'a forest region', and the Northern Jhāḍakhaṇḍa probably denoted the forest range which separates Bihar from Bengal.¹⁰ This easily explains

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 2.

² *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 294, text line 2; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 104, text line 2.

³ *IHQ.*, Vol. I, p. 251.

⁴ *CII.*, Vol. V, Nos. 20-22, pp. 89-92.

⁵ *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, pp. 72-73.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

⁸ *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 16-17.

⁹ *JASB.*, Vol. LXV, 1896, part iii, p. 256.

¹⁰ *IHQ.*, Vol. I, pp. 683-84; B. C. Mazumdar's *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 63 and ff.

how Samudragupta after passing through Mahākāntāra proceeded immediately southwards to defeat the rulers of Kurāḷa and Piṣṭapura.

The third prince vanquished by Samudragupta in South India was Maṅṭarāja of Kurāḷa. The correction of *Kaurāḷaka* into *Kairāḷaka* proposed by Fleet is too egregious to carry conviction, because it involves corrections in two syllables of a name which consists of three.¹ Maṅṭarāja has therefore to be taken as a king, not of Kērala, but of Kurāḷa or Kōrāḷa. Dubreuil² thinks the latter to be the correct form of the name, but he makes no attempt to identify it. Barnett, however, identifies it with Kōrāḷa,³ and Aiyangar with Kurdha, the Railway junction Khurda,⁴ perhaps the same as Khurda on the South-Eastern Railway from Calcutta to Madras. Kielhorn, on the other hand, taking Kurāḷa as the correct form, identifies it with Kunāḷa, mentioned in the Aihole inscription, as having been reduced by Pulakēśin II of the Chalukya family.⁵ 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 Kunāḷa." The only argument he urges in support of his position is that "the names themselves do not resemble each other."⁶ But this is just what they do, the three names Kunāḷa, Kurāḷa and Kollēru corresponding so closely in sound. Kielhorn himself has asked us to compare *ālāna*=*āṇāla*, *Achalaḷaḷa*=*Alachalaḷa*, and *karēnū*=*kaṇērū*. And we may also note that *l* and *n* are interchangeable in Pāli and the Prakrits. No philological scruples can thus upset the equation Kunāḷa=Kurāḷa=Kuḷāra=Kollēru. And we have further to note that after conquering Kōsala, whereas Pulakēśin subjugates Kaliṅga, Piṣṭapura and Kunāḷa from north to south, Samudragupta subjugates Kurāḷa, Piṣṭapura and Kōṭṭūra from south to north.

The fourth king of Dakṣiṇāpatha that we have to consider is Mahēndragiri of Piṣṭapura. Piṣṭapura is the same as the fortress of that name captured by the Chalukya king Pulakēśin II,⁷ and is the modern Piṭhāpuram 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 Piṣṭapura and Svāmīdatta of Kōṭṭūra. But *giri* or *gīr*, he says, is a denominational suffix attached to the names of Gōsāvīs 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 *giri* 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 Śēshādri are found used as proper names not only in modern but also in ancient India.⁸ If Śēshādri (Vēṅkaṭagiri) is a sacred mountain in the Tamil, Mahēndragiri is so in the Telugu country. And if Śēshādri can be the name of an individual, there is

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 7, note 1.

² *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 59.

³ *BSOS.*, Vol. II, p. 570.

⁴ *Studies in Gupta History* (University Supplement to *JIH.*, Vol. VI), pp. 27 and 39.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 3 and p. 6, line 13.

⁶ *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 59.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 3 and note 3.

⁸ *IC.*, Vol. III, pp. 230-31.

no reason why Mahēndragiri should not similarly be taken to be so. Unfortunately, however, this Mahēndragiri of Pishṭapura has not been identified.

After Mahēndragiri of Pishṭapura comes Svāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra. Fleet rightly says that Kōṭṭūra is a very common Dravidian place name. He, however, identifies Kōṭṭūra of the inscription with Kōṭṭūr in the Pollachi subdivision of the Coimbatore District, at the foot of one of the passes in the Ānaimalai Hills.¹ Smith agrees with him and gives us further information that "the beryl mines of Padiyūr, which were famous in the Roman world at the beginning of the Christian era, were probably included within the limits of this kingdom."² This Kōṭṭūr, however, is too far south to be a likely identification. Dubreuil's suggestion is more probable. He identifies it with Kothoor in the Ganjam District.³ We do not, however, know who its ruler, Svāmidatta, was. Then comes Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla. Fleet identifies Ēraṇḍapalla with Ēraṇḍōl, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Khandesh District, Maharashtra.⁴ According to Dubreuil,⁵ it is the same as Ēraṇḍapali mentioned in the Siddhāntam plates of the Gaṅga king Dēvēndravarma. Both the grantee and the writer of this charter, we are told, hailed from this town which therefore seems to be of some importance.⁶ Ēraṇḍapali was thus not far from Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) in the former Ganjam District, but now in Andhra Pradesh.

After subjugating the Kōsala kingdom which most probably included the Kaliṅga and the Telugu territory, Samudragupta proceeded very much down to the south and defeated Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchī. Kāñchī is undoubtedly the modern Conjeeveram (Kāñchīpuram) in the Chingleput District, Tamil Nadu. And Vishṇugōpa seems to be identical with the earliest Pallava king of that name, for whom Dubreuil has assigned the period 325-350 A.D.⁷ The next ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha mentioned is Nīlarāja of Avamukta. Nothing is known about him and his territory. Thereafter has been mentioned Hastivarman of Vēṅgī. "Vēṅgī was a country on the east coast, of which the original boundaries appear to have been, towards the west, the Eastern Ghats, and, on the north and south, the rivers Gōdāvarī and Kṛishṇā; an indication of the position of its original capital is probably preserved in the name of Vēgi or Pedda-Vēgi, a village in the Ellore tāluka of the Gōdāvarī District."⁸ As regards Hastivarman, he seems to be the same as Hastivarman of the Sālaṅkāyana family, as has been pointed out by Aiyangar.⁹ The next king attacked was Ugrasēna of Pālakka. The kingdom of Pālakka has been identified by Smith¹⁰ with the division of Palghat or Pālakkaḍu in the south of the Malabar District. Dubreuil,¹¹ with greater probability, identifies Pālakka with a capital of the same name which was situated to the south of the Krishna river and which is mentioned in many Pallava copper-plates. Nothing, however, is known about Ugrasēna. The next ruler mentioned is Kubēra of Dēvarāshṭra. Smith¹² takes Dēvarāshṭra to be identical with Mahārāshṭra. But there is no authority for it. It had better be identified with the province of Dēvarāshṭra mentioned in one of the eight copper-plate grants found in the District of Visakhapatnam and examined

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 7, note 2.

² *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 29.

³ *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 58.

⁴ *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 369.

⁵ *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, pp. 59-60.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213.

⁷ *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 70.

⁸ *B. G.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 280.

⁹ *Studies in Gupta History* (University Supplement to *JIH.*, Vol. VI), pp. 27 and 39.

¹⁰ *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 873.

¹¹ *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 58.

¹² *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 874.

by Krishna Sastri. The grant is of Eastern Chālukya Bhīma I and refers to a village in Elamañchi-Kaliṅgadēśa comprised in Dēvarāshṭra-vishaya.¹ Elamañchi-Kaliṅgadēśa is perhaps to be interpreted as "the Kaliṅga-country of which Elamañchī (the modern Yallamanchili) was the chief town." Another reference to this Dēvarāshṭra is furnished by the Kindoppa plates of Anantavarman² who ruled at Pishṭapura though his father Guṇavarman held Dēvarāshṭra. We thus have Kaliṅga, Dēvarāshṭra and Pishṭapura somehow connected with one another. The ruler of Dēvarāshṭra in the time of Samudragupta was Kubēra.³ The last king of Dakṣiṇāpatha that has been named in the Allahabad inscription is Dhanañjaya 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 Kuśasthali, south of the Krishna, mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* 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 Chutiā Nāgpur, directed his first attack against South Kōśala. 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 Maṅṭarāja of the Kōllēru (Colair) lake; the neighbouring king of Vēṅgī between the Krishna and Godavari rivers; and Vishṇugōpa, king of Kāñchī or Conjeeveram, 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 Dēvarāshṭra or the modern Maharatta country, and Ēraṇḍapalla 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 Kōśala and then crossed the forests to the south of Sonpur, reaching the coast of Orissa. Maṅṭarāja of Kōrāḷa, Mahēndra of Pishṭapura, Svāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra and Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla 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 Gōdāvārī and the Kṛishṇā, the most powerful of them being Vishṇugōpa, the Pallava king of Kāñchī. The other kings were Nilarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vēṅgī, Ugrasēna of Pālakka,

¹ *ARASI.*, 1908-09, p. 123.

² *JAHRS.*, Vol. VIII, p. 160, lines 1-2.

³ *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1915-16, p. 151, para. 82.

⁴ *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 874.

⁵ *Calcutta Review*, 1924, p. 253 n.

⁶ *Studies in Gupta History* (University Supplement to *JIH.*, Vol. VI), p. 27, note 1.

⁷ *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 369.

⁸ *Anc. Hist. of the Deccan*, pp. 60-61.

Kubēra of Dēvarāshṭra 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha. 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 Viṣṇugōpa, 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha 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, Mahākāntāra 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 Viṣṇugōpa. 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, Mahākāntāra, Kurāḷa, Piṣṭapura, Kōṭṭūra and Ēraṇḍapalla, but also those of Kāñchī, Avamukta, Vēṅgī, and so on. Again, we are quite unable to understand what Dubreuil means when he says that Samudragupta seized the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha 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 *praśasti* is clear from the phrase *grahaṇa-mōksh-ānugraha* 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 Kāfūr, the general of Alā-ud-dīn, 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."¹

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 Dēvarāshṭra or the modern Maharatta country via Ēraṇḍapalla or Ēraṇḍōl 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 Dēvarāshṭra with Mahārāshṭra or Fleet's identification of Ēraṇḍapalla with Ēraṇḍōl. 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 Ēraṇḍapalla at least to be mentioned last in the list of the rulers of Dakṣiṇāpatha. As a matter of fact, this place is seen in the list, not last, but somewhere in the middle preceding Kāñchī and Vēngī. 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 Viṣṇugōpa, the Pallava king of Kāñchī, was the most powerful member.¹ It seems that Viṣṇugōpa was the overlord and that the rulers of Avamukta, Vēngī, Pālakka, Dēvarāshṭra and Kusthalapura were his feudatories in this descending order. This alone can explain why Vēngī has been mentioned after Kāñchī. If Samudragupta is represented as marching victoriously southward and encountering the king of Kāñchī,² it becomes inexplicable why the ruler of Vēngī is not mentioned first, for one would naturally expect him to meet Vēngī first and Kāñchī afterwards as Kāñchī is to the south of Vēngī. 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 Kāñchī. Is there any other in the states named placed prior to Kāñchī? If our line of argument has any weight and as the list of the Dakṣiṇāpatha 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, Kurāḷa, Piṣṭapura, Kōṭṭūra and Ēraṇḍapalla as subsidiaries in this descending order. It will be seen that the region where the Kōsala and Kāñchī empires met was the Telugu country, the northern half of which owed fealty to Kōsala and the southern half to Kāñchī.

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 Kāñchī. And the defeat of the Kāñchī 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha. As stated above, the identification of Dēvarāshṭra with Mahārāshṭra and of Ēraṇḍapalla with Ēraṇḍōl 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 Vākātakas 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, Pravara-sēna 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 Vākātakas were not a suzerain power but were feudatories; and that most probably he owed his rise to Samudragupta, whose grand-daughter Prabhāvatī was married to his grand son, Rudrasēna II. This explains why Samudragupta's invasion of Dakṣiṇāpatha 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) Gaṇapati-nāga, (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 Śīsunandin, mentioned in the Purāṇas as the names of two rulers of Vidiśā who flourished between the Śuṅga and Gupta epochs.¹ Achyutanandin looks exactly analogous to Gaṇapati-nāga 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, Gaṇapati-nāga, Nāgasēna and Achyutanandin, have been mentioned in the verse portion of the *praśasti* 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 Vākātika dynasty.² This seems improbable, as the Vākātakas belonged to Dakṣiṇāpatha, and not to Āryāvarta. The second name, Matila, may be identical with the Mattīla 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 Gaṅjam 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-Gōvindachandradēvaḥ*.⁶ The mere absence of the honorific on the Bulandshahr seal should not thus preclude us from identifying the name Mattīla 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 Susuṇiā⁸ in the Bankura District of West Bengal. Chandravarman is therein called "lord of Pushkaraṇa". He, however, gave

¹ Pargiter, *Dyn. Kali Age*, p. 49, lines 6-7 and note 15.

² *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, Contents of the Summaries of Papers*, 1920, p. cxxiv.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 289.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. xxiii.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 143.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 98.

⁷ *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 876.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 133.

up this view in the third edition of his *Early History of India*,¹ and maintained with Haraprasad Sastri who edited the record that Pushkaraṇa was the same as Pokaraṇā in Marwar and that Chandravarman was identical with the sovereign Chandra of the Mehrauli pillar inscription.² This view cannot commend itself to us, because the title borne by an overlord at this period is *Mahārājādhirāja*, whereas Chandravarman, like his father Siṃhavarman, is designated simply as *Mahārāja*. And what is strange is that Sastri maintains that Siṃhavarman was a mere chieftain and Chandravarman a supreme ruler, though both have been styled *Mahārājas*. What appears to be the fact is that both father and son were feudatories. Besides, Pushkaraṇa of the Susuṇīā inscription has now been satisfactorily identified by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit³ with Pokharaṇ, a village situated about 25 miles to the north-east of Susuṇīā itself on the south bank of the river Damodar. It is thus more reasonable to say that this Chandravarman was a chief of Pokharaṇ 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 Achyutanandin. 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 *praśasti*, is Balavarman. According to Dikshit⁴ he is most probably identical with Balavarman, an ancestor of Bhāskaravarman, who pertained to the Vajradatta family of Prāgyōtisha.⁵ But Kāmarūpa or Assam has been distinguished from Āryāvarta by our epigraph. Hence Balavarman of Āryāvarta cannot be identified with Balavarman of Kāmarūpa.

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 *Vishṇu-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.⁶ But, as we have pointed out above, the actual number of the Āryāvarta rulers named is, not nine, but eight. Secondly, the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* speaks of *Nava-Nāgāḥ* as ruling over Padmāvati, Kāntipurī and Mathurā.⁷ As these are only three and not nine cities, *Nava Nāgas* cannot signify *nine* Nāgas but rather *new* Nāgas, the *old* Nāgas being those mentioned earlier by the *Purāṇas* in connection with Vidiśā.⁸ 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 Padmāvati, another, Achyutanandin, 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 Aṭavīrajya from Mahākāntāra mentioned in line 19. One copper-plate grant⁹

¹ P. 290, note 1.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 217 ff.

³ *A. R. ASI.*, 1927-28, p. 188.

⁴ *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, Contents of the Summaries and Papers*, 1920, p. cxxiv.

⁵ D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1666.

⁶ *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 421.

⁷ Pargiter, *Dyn. Kali Age*, p. 53 and note 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1292.

describes a Parivrājaka king, Hastin, as master of the Ḍabhāla kingdom included in the Eighteen Forest kingdoms (*asṭādaś-āṭavī-rājya*). Ḍabhāla must be the older form of Ḍahālā, the modern Bundelkhand, which practically coincided with the territory held by the Kalachuris of Tripurī in later times. The Aṭavī Country, which comprised no less than eighteen tiny kingdoms, must correspond to the forests spread through and along with Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand,¹ whereas Mahākāntāra 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 (*ājñā-karaṇa*), and attendance at his court to offer homage (*praṇām-āgamana*). The *pratyanta* countries specified are as follows: (1) Samataṭa, (2) Ḍavāka, (3) Kāmarūpa, (4) Nēpāla and (5) Kartṛipura. Varāhamihira places Samataṭa in the Eastern Division. But that does not help us to locate it properly. According to Yuan Chwang, Samataṭa was to the east of the Tāmraliptī and to the south of the Kāmarūpa country, and bordered on the sea. On the strength of these data and also the Bāghāurā image inscription, N. K. Bhattasali has satisfactorily identified it with the natural geographical unit "comprising the eastern half of the present Mymensingh and Dacca districts lying east of the Brahmaputra, the greater part of Sylhet, and the whole of the Tippera and Noakhali districts."² He further holds the opinion that Baḍkāmtā, twelve miles west of modern Comilla was the capital of Samataṭa.³

Fleet suggests that Ḍavāka may be another form of Dacca.⁴ According to Smith it corresponded to the modern Districts of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi in Bengal.⁵ Yuan Chwang informs us that in this region five countries were conterminous, Puṇḍravardhana; to its east or rather north-east, Kāmarūpa; to the south of Kāmarūpa, Samataṭa; to the east of Samataṭa, Tāmraliptī; and to the north-west of Tāmraliptī, Karṇasuvarṇa.⁶ Ḍavāka cannot thus be coextensive with Dacca or with Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi, which must have then been included, in part, in Puṇḍravardhana, Suhma, Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa. It seems more reasonable to locate Ḍavāka 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, Samataṭa and Tāmraliptī provinces. The suggestion of the late K. L. Barua seems thus worthy of all consideration in regard to the location of Ḍavāka. "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."⁷ Nēpāla is too well-known to require any identification. It forms the mountainous country bordering, on the north, Magadha, Ayōdhyā and so forth. As regards Kartṛipura, Fleet suggests that the name may survive in Kartārpur in the Jullundur District, Panjab.⁸ C. F. Oldham refers to the Katuria Rāj of Kumaon, Garhwal and Rohilkhand.⁹ To speak more accurately, Kartṛipura denotes the Katyūr Valley with

¹ K. P. Jayaswal's *Hist. of India*, etc., p. 139. The Aṭavī kingdom was known also in the time of Aśōka who refers to it in Rock Edict XIII.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 353.

³ *JPASB.*, Vol. X, pp. 85 ff.

⁴ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, Intro., p. 9, note 3.

⁵ *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 879.

⁶ *Beal's Buddh. Rec. West. World*. Vol. II, pp. 194-201; *Watters' On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 184-87 and 189-91.

⁷ *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 42, note.

⁸ Cf. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd edn.) p. 285, note 2.

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 *pratyanta* kingdoms bordered the Gupta dominions on the east and the north and that they were called *pratyanta* because they were on the frontiers of Āryāvarta. 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 Nāgarchāl 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.¹ 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 Madhya Pradesh adjoining them, in fact, the whole of the region indicated by long. 75-76° and lat. 24-25°.² Originally they no doubt were a *gaṇa* 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 *Mālavēśānām* 'of the Mālava lords'.³ The Ārjunāyanas are known from Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*⁴ 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.⁵ 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."⁶ "Cunningham classed the Ārjunāyana coins with those of Mathurā, because they are procurable in that city."⁷ 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 Karauli States and the eastern half of Jaipur.⁸

The Yaudhēyas seem to have been in existence from the time of Pāṇini, who speaks of them as an *āyudha-jīvin Saṃgha*.⁹ This expression is the same as *śastr-ōpajīvin* used by Kauṭalya. 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 *ēka-rāja* Kshatriya tribe which means that so far as their tribal constitution was concerned they were governed by one ruler, but exercised no political

¹ *Car. Lec.*, 1921, pp. 12-13. Read, in this connection, an excellent article by A. C. Banerji on *The Mālavas* in *ABORI.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 218-19.

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.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 172-73.

⁵ V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 160 and 166.

⁶ *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 886.

⁷ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 160.

⁸ B. C. Law suggests that as Yaudhēya is given as one of the sons of Yudhishtira in *Ādi-P.*, ch. 95, v. 76, Ārjunāyana may be taken as a descendant of Arjuna (*NIA*, Vol. I, p. 460). Prārjuna may similarly be connected with Arjuna. The same thing happened in the case of the Ikshvākus.

⁹ *Car. Lec.*, 1918, pp. 165-67.

power. About the beginning of the Christian era, however, they appear to have risen to the rank of a political *Samgha*. 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."¹ 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 *Samgha* and especially of the type of tribal oligarchy when they struck these coins. This inference is established beyond all doubt by a stone inscription² found at Bijayagaḍh near Bayānā 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 *Mahāsēnāpati* and also a leader (*puraskṛita*) of the Yaudhēya Gaṇa. The title *Mahārāja* and the word *Gaṇa* show that in the year 371 A.D., the date of the inscription, the Yaudhēyas were not only an oligarchy but also a *rāja-śabd-ōpajivin Samgha*, every member of which styled himself a *Rājan* or *Mahārāja*.³ Further, the personage in question was one of the *Gaṇa-mukhyas* or 'heads of the Gaṇa' as he has been designated *puraskṛita*, 'a leader'.⁴ Further still as he has also been designated *Mahāsēnāpati*, it means that he was a leader of the Yaudhēya Gaṇa as the general of their forces. It was, however, shortly before 150 A.D. that the Yaudhēyas 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 Yaudhēyas 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 Johiyā-bār. "They have become Musulmans and inhabit the banks of the Indus from Bahawalpur and Multan to the Kohistān *tāluka* of the Karachi district. Parts of Bahawalpur State and the Multan district are still called Johiyāwār. Remnants of the tribe still inhabit the Kohistān *tāluka* of the Karachi district under their own chief who is known as Johiyā-jo-Jām."⁵ It seems that when they were at the height of their power, that is, slightly prior to 150 A.D., they overran Sindhu and Sauvīra 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.⁶ Its capital was Śākala which has been identified with Sialkot. The Madrakas are no doubt the same as Mādras and denoted rather a people and not a tribe as seems to be the case here. The latter, probably, were the Jatrikas or Jāṭs who are described as Mlēcchhas in the *Karṇa-Parvan* (chs. xl and xlv) of the *Mahābhārata*. The Ābhīras or Ahirs are spread as far east as Bengal and as far south as the Khandesh District of Maharashtra. 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 *Sēnāpati* Rudrabhūti, who was a son of *Sēnāpati* Bāpaka and who is therein described as an Ābhīra by extraction.⁷ But this Bāpaka was a *Sēnāpati*, and

¹ Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 76; *CASIR.*, Vol. XIV, p. 140.

² *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 58.

³ *Car. Lec.*, 1918, pp. 148 and 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.

⁵ R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 21-22.

⁶ H. C. Ray, *JPASB.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 235.

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 Īśvarasēna, son of Śivadatta, 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 Dakshināpatha but rather in Āryāvarta. 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 Pañchanadadēśa 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 Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. These Ābhīras are therein called Dasyus and Mlēchchhas. 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 Vinaśanā 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 Mlēchchhas 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 Ahirwādā between the Pārbatī and the Betwā in Central India.⁵ But we do not know when precisely this province was occupied by the Ābhīras and was called Ahirwādā 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 Prārjuna, Raychaudhuri⁶ is the first to point out that they are the same as Pājjūnaka of Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*.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 Sanakānīkas and as we know that these last have for certain to be placed not far from Bhilsa, it is safer to put the Prārjunas somewhere near Narsingarh in Madhya Pradesh. A chief of the Sanakānīka 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 *Mahārājas*. The Sanakānīkas, 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 Turki look."⁸ According to the same scholar "Kāka may be Kākū-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 88.

² The Ābhīras were known long before the Christian era (*IC.*, Vol. I, p. 16).

³ Chapter 7; also Wilson's *Vishṇu-Purāna*, Bk. 5, Chapter 38.

⁴ Chapter 37, verses 1-3. It is worthy of note that the actual expression used is *Śūdr-Ābhīrān*, which may also mean "the Ābhīras, who were Śūdras". A similar compound word *Śūdr-Ābhīram* has been used by Patañjali in his gloss on *Vārttika* 6 on Pāṇini I.2.72.

⁵ *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 890-92.

⁶ *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.* (3rd edn.), p. 372.

⁷ III. 18. 15.

⁸ *B. G.*, Vol. I, part i, p. 64, note 3.

pur near Biṭhūr (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, 386).” But the identification seems unlikely as this Biṭhūr 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.”¹ This name occurs once in the lid of the steatite casket found in Stūpa No. 2 at Andher near Bhilsa² and thrice as Kākaṇāya or Kākaṇāva in inscriptions of Sāñchī Stūpa No. 1.³ The hill of Sāñchī on which the *stūpas* stand has been called Kākanādabōṭa 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.⁴ This Kākapur he identifies as the ancient seat of the Kākas. The Kāka family or clan is frequently mentioned in the *Rājataranṅiṇī* and has survived in Kashmir to this day.⁵ It seems that like the (Ṭāka-) 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 Kharpara mentioned apparently as a people⁶ in the Baṭihāgarḥ inscription of the Damoh District, Madhya Pradesh. Kharparas, 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-ōpāyana-dāna*). The third was a request (*yāchanā*) for the governance (*śāsana*) of their own districts and provinces (*sva-vishaya-bhukti*) by means of the Garuḍa badge (*Garutmad-aṅka*),⁷ 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 Simhala (Ceylon) and such other Islands (*dvīpa*) which were situated to the south and south-west of India.⁸ The other consisted of Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi-Śaka-Muruṇḍa. 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 Śaka and Kushāṇa kings, who invaded India

¹ *JRAS.*, 1897, p. 893.

² Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 241, Pl. XVI, No. 39.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 99, No. 39; and p. 396, Nos. 377 and 378.

⁴ *JBORS.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 212-13.

⁵ *Rājataranṅiṇī*, trans. by Stein, Vol. I, p. 371, note on verse 1311.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 46, verse 5. See also his *Descriptive Lists of Inscr. in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), pp. 58-59, where, however, the name has been spelt Kharapara.

⁷ *Aṅka* is synonymous with *lāñchhana*, and later inscriptions speak of *Varāha-lāñchhana* in the case of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi and *Garuḍa-lāñchhana* in the case of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ (*B. G.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 338 and p. 387 respectively). [Cf. *Garuḍ-āṅkō Jagattuṅgō* in the Nēsarikā grant of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, Śaka 727—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 137.—Ed.]. The word had better be translated by ‘badge’ instead of ‘seal’.

⁸ According to Jayaswal, ‘All the *dvīpas*’ here meant “all the Indian colonies of Bhāratavarsha, of the *Bhāratī prajā*.” “His India or Pṛithivī, 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 (*IC.*, Vol. II, p. 65). As this list is headed by Simhala (Ceylon), it is safer to take *sarva-dvīpa* to denote such islands as Laccadive, Maldive and others which have been referred to as Lakshadvīpa and Malayadvīpa 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 *Daivaputra*, and not *Dēvaputra*. *Daivaputra* is *Dēvaputrasy=ēdam (padam)=Daivaputram*, 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-Shāhānushāhi* which follow it. These three components, namely, *Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi*, 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 *Shāhānushāhi* 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 *Shāhānushāhi* it is obviously an attempt to transliterate the Persian *Shāhānshāh*, '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 *Shāhānushāhi* were used by the Kushāṇas only and regularly correspond to the Indian titles *Dēvaputra*, *Mahārāja* and *Rājātirāja* which are invariably and conjointly associated with the names of the Earlier Great Kushāṇas 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 Kushāṇaputra 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 Aśōkan 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 *sh* of the Indian forms and that the character *p* was sometimes found as *ṣ* 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.

⁵ *CII.*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 72; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka* (2nd ed.), p. 299.

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-Shāhānushāhi* 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 Panjab? 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 Shāpuhr 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 *murūṇḍa* is to be taken as a Scythic 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 Meconnus*.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 *Maroūndai* 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 Jaina 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 Maruṇḍas 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-Mlēcchhas*, the *Matsya Purāṇa* speaks of them as *Mlēcchha-sambhava*. 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 Rajputana. The *khāṁps* or *septs* of many Rajput clans are so formed. Thus of the Rāṭhōḍs some clans are Jētmālōts, Bhārmālōts, Riḍmālōts, and so forth; of the Rāṇāvats (*Sīsōdiyās*), are Bhūcharōts, Sārandēvōts, Gajsimhōts, and so on; of the Chōhāns are Bālōts, etc. The ending *ōt* 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).

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97.

³ *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, Leyde, 1896, pp. 176 ff.

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 Kushāṇas 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 Jainā books mention them as being stationed once at Kanyākubja and once at Pāṭaliputra. Evidently they were the Satrapies of the Kushāṇa empire. But the question arises: how can we identify the Muruṇḍas with the Kushāṇas? It is possible to say in reply that Muruṇḍa was the name of the tribe, and, Kushāṇa, 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 *murunḍa* was a Scythic term signifying 'a lord' and corresponding to the Sanskrit *svāmin*.¹ This word is actually found used in Kharōshthī 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 Kushāṇa 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 Kāṭhīāwār and possibly North Gujarat. The Mahākshatrapas of Surāshṭra 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 Surāshṭra who was a contemporary of Samudragupta. *Śaka*, again, may designate, as Allan² observes, those Śakas in the north-west who struck coins of Kushāṇa types with Ardokhsho reverse. Some of these, which bear the clan name Shāka, bear also the letters *Sayatha*, *Sita* and *Saṇa* 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 Pāsaka.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 Chālukya, Kādamba and so on. It is thus perfectly intelligible why the descendants of the earlier Śakas should style themselves Shākas

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292-93; *CII.*, Vol. II, pt. i, p. xx.

² *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. xxviii.

³ V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

when they again established their power. In regard to the other clan, the correct form seems to be not Shālada, 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.¹ 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 Jayswal. 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."² "This seems to have been continued," says Jayswal, "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 Shālada coin. Rodgers read the legend as $\begin{matrix} \text{च} & \text{श} \\ \text{द्र} & \text{ल} \end{matrix}$ and rightly described it as 'allied to Gupta coins'. The figure is Hindu and of Chandragupta."³ 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 *kuṇḍala* on these coins, while Kushāṇas never used them."⁴ 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 (*yāchanā*) for the governance (*śāsana*) of their own districts and provinces (*sva-vishaya-bhukti*) by means of the Garuḍa badge (*Garutmad-aṅka*). 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-Muruṇḍa*. 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 Kushāṇa 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 impropriety in the ruler of Siṃhala also seeking for his good-will and friendship. That, as a matter of fact, there was an embassy from Siṃhala to Pāṭaliputra at this time we know from the account of the Chinese Wang Hiuen ts'e, for which we are indebted to Sylvain Levi.⁵ The king of Ceylon, who was a contemporary of Samudragupta, was Mēghavarṇa, 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

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

² *JPASB.*, Vol. IV, pp. 92-93.

³ *JBORS.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 209.

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

⁵ *Jour. Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 406-11; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 192-97.

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 Bōdh-Gayā, where the founder of their religion obtained Enlightenment, had yet remained without any accommodation for the Sinhalese pilgrims. Thereupon Mēghavarṇa, 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 Hiuen Tsiang. From this it appears that the monastery was built outside the northern gate of the wall of the Bōdhi 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 Sthavira school of the Mahāyāna.¹ The site is now marked by an extensive mound on the northern side of the Bōdhi Tree. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Mēghavarṇa (Mēghavarṇa) succeeded his father Mahāsēna and ruled from 836-863 A.B., which, according to the reckoning of the era accepted by Geiger,² correspond to 352-379 A.D. This makes Mēghavarṇa 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 *prāśasti* 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 overturned and had been dispossessed of their realms. It is a pity that Harishēṇa, the author of the *prāśasti*, 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. Harishēṇa'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 Harishēṇa has given us a detailed account of Samudragupta's conquests but has not said a word about the Vākātakas. What was the position of the Vākātakas about this time? For a long time there was nothing to show that the Vākātika family was in any way connected with the Gupta family. Nay, nothing was known about the exact period when the Vākātakas 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 Bühler³ in regard to their correct time, though all of them were erudite scholars. It was the discovery of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā⁴ that established a synchronism. She was the chief queen of the Vākātika Mahārāja Rudrasēna (II) and daughter of the Imperial Gupta sovereign Chandragupta II. The father of Rudrasēna (II) was Prithivishēṇa I, who was thus a contemporary of Chandragupta II. Their fathers, consequently, were contemporaries, namely,

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 194; Beal, *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II, p. 133; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 136.

² The *Mahāvamsa* (trans.), Intro., pp. xxxviii and ff.

³ Bhagwanlal Indraji and Bühler correctly assigned the Vākātakas to an earlier period (*ASWI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 116-17; Bühler's *Indian Palaeography* (trans. by Fleet, p. 64, note 8). For Fleet's view, see *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, Intro., pp. 15-16. Kielhorn was practically of the same opinion (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 270).

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 40 ff.

the Vākāṭaka *Mahārāja* Rudrasēna I and the Gupta *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta.¹ Now, this Rudrasēna was a son of Gautamīputra with whose name no royal title of any kind has been coupled. Gautamīputra, we are further informed, was son's son to Pravarasēna I. About this Pravarasēna we are told not only that he was a *Mahārāja* but also that he belonged to the imperial (*samrāḍ*) Vākāṭaka family or clan. And quite in keeping with it has been mentioned the fact that he celebrated four *aśvamēdhas*. There can therefore be no doubt as to the Vākāṭakas having attained to the imperial rank in the time of Pravarasēna. This receives confirmation, if any is required, from the fact that the Vākāṭakas are nowhere described as *samrāḍ*-Vākāṭakas in the time of any prince of this line after Pravarasēna I. It will thus be seen that the Vākāṭaka rulers from the time of Rudrasēna 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* 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 Pravarasēna I and Rudrasēna I. It is true that the name of Rudrasēna I's father has been mentioned, namely Gautamīputra, but he receives no royal title at all. Further, the father and grandfather of Gautamīputra have not been even so much as named. The conclusion is irresistible that after Pravarasēna I the Vākāṭakas lost their kingdom and remained destitute of power for three generations till Rudrasēna 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 Pravarasēna was, no doubt, a *Mahārāja*, but that he was a suzerain is proved by the appositional phrase *samrāḍ*-Vākāṭakānām, which occurs in all Vākāṭaka charters. Similarly, Rudrasēna I or his son Pṛithivīshēṇa I has been styled *Mahārāja*, but that they were subordinate princes is indicated by the appositional phrase shrinking up into Vākāṭakānām with the prefix *samrāḍ*- dropped invariably. It will thus be seen that when, after the overthrow of the Vākāṭaka supremacy after Pravarasēna 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 Pravarasēna, Rudrasēna first became a ruler and as Rudrasēna 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 *praśasti* 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 Rudrasēna II, son of Pṛithivīshēṇa, in the time of Samudragupta. There is nothing inherently impossible in this supposition. On the contrary, it is a most likely one, because his Ēraṇ 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 Harīshēṇa 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 Rudrasēna 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 Mahārāshṭra, thus practically the

¹ See in this connection the view of S. K. Bose who for the first time successfully tackled this synchronism (*IC.*, Vol. II, pp. 53 ff.).

whole of the tableland of the Deccan, which by no means was an insignificant portion of Dakṣiṇāpatha. No part of this vast region is mentioned in any one of the lists, given by Harishēṇa, 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 Harishēṇa. 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 Vākāṭakas, 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-ōddharaṇa* or 'violent extermination', which was practised upon eight kings of Āryāvarta. 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 *parichārakī-karaṇa* which was inflicted upon the rulers of all Āṭavika principalities 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-dāna*), 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 Āryāvarta, 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 (*paritōshita-prachanḍa-sāsanasya*). 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 Vindhya, 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 Vindhya.

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

Gṛihīta-pratimuktasya sa dharmā-vijayī nṛipah |
śriyaṁ Mahēndra-nāthasya jahāra na tu mēdinim ||

(IV. 43)¹

Gṛihīta-pratimukta of Kālidāsa is obviously identical with *grahaṇa-mōksha* of Harishēṇa. It is thus quite clear that Samudragupta like Raghu is represented as *Dharma-vijayin*, 'the Righteous Conqueror', because neither of these rulers deprived the conquered foe of his dominions. And, in fact, the phrase *Dharma-vijayin* is not of Kālidāsa's own coining, and is found used as early as the time of Kauṭalya, for he, in his *Arthaśāstra*,² 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*.¹ 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 (*śrī*) of the ruler of the Mahēndra mountain. Mallinātha, the commentator, explains *śriyam jahāra* by *dharm-ārtham=iti bhāvaḥ*. 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha.

The nature of the fifth type of Samudragupta's military achievements is revealed by the expression *utsanna-rājavanśa-pratishṭhāpana* '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 Pravarasēna 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 Simhala (Ceylon) and other island countries. The very fact that the rulers of Simhala and adjoining islands exchanged international courtesy with him shows that the *dig-vijaya* of Samudragupta was complete over the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

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 Kushāṇa and Śaka rulers on the outskirts. If Harishēṇa has not exaggerated, they were, indeed, afraid of "the onrush of the prowess of his arms (*bāhu-vīrya-prasara*) and therefore constructed 'earthen embankments' (*dharaṇi-bandha*) to arrest it by way of various diplomatic devices, such as *ātma-nivēdana*, *kany-ōpāyana-dāna*, etc. These last we have carefully considered and explained.

The natural culmination of these India-wide conquests was, of course, the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha* 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 *Aśvamēdha* 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 Aśōka's edicts. From one of these it is also quite clear that originally this pillar was standing at Kauśāmbī, identified with Kosam, about 28 miles west by south from Allahabad. Kauśāmbī 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 Pāṭaliputra, *via* Kauśāmbī. Of all the victories of this Gupta monarch, those of Dakṣiṇāpatha 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 *sārvabhaumatva* with a view to celebrating the *Aśvamēdha* which he had now set his heart upon. As Kauśāmbī 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 Pāṭaliputra. 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 Kauśāmbī was itself known for a stone column inscribed with the edicts of Aśōka 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 *praśasti* of Samudragupta was composed by Harishēṇa, 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 *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, who was apparently the officer in charge of Kauśāmbī and the surrounding districts. On reaching Pāṭaliputra Samudragupta must have performed the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.

"Verily," says the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (XIII. 1.6.3), "the *Aśvamēdha* 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 *Brahmaṇa* rightly says that "the *Aśvamēdha*. . . . 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

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 517.

² *SBE.*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 288-89.

therefore have been an event of comparatively rare occurrence."¹ 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 (*Aśvamēdhēna yakshyamāṇō bhavati rājā vijitī sārvaabhaumaḥ*). This is further corroborated by the *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra* (XX. 1.1), which says: *rājā sārvaabhaumō = śvamēdhēna 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 *sārvaabhauma* king only. Things were, however, changing, even in the (*Śrauta*) *Sūtra* period. For the *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra* just quoted is followed immediately by *apy = asārvaabhaumaḥ*, "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 *putraprāpti*, '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 *putr-ārtham hayamēdhēna yakshyām = iti matir = mama*, in front of Vaśishṭha, Ṛishyaśringa and others. And it was done, and the expected fruition also obtained.² Another object with which the sacrifice was performed is pointed to by stanza 4 of Act I of the *Mṛichchhakatika*, where Śūdraka, 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.³ A third end in view is indicated by the *Aśvamēdha* celebrated by Yudhishṭhira, the account of which constitutes one whole *parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* called the *Āśvamēdhika-parvan*. Yudhishṭhira had already performed the *Rājasūya* for attaining to the rank of *Sārvaabhauma*. 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-vadhyā-kṛitam pāpam*).⁴ Elsewhere in the same *parvan*, that is, in the *Āśvamēdhika-parvan*, the *Aśvamēdha* is described as 'purificative of all sins'.⁵ This leaves no doubt as to the main purpose of celebrating an *Aśvamēdha*. Even Manu expresses the same opinion, when he says *yath = Āśvamēdhaḥ kratu-rāṭ sarva-pāp-āpanōdanaḥ* (XI. 260). Nevertheless, after reconquering his dominion, it was necessary for Yudhishṭhira to proclaim his position as *Sārvaabhauma* through the performance of *Rājasūya*. If we carefully study the movements of the sacrificial steed of Yudhishṭhira, 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 Prāgjyōtisha in Assam in the extreme east, from Prāgjyōtisha again to Sindhu (Sind) in the extreme west, from Sindhu to the country of Maṇipura 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 Surāshṭra, Prabhāsa, Dvārāvātī, Pañchanada, and lastly to Gandhāra.⁶ 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 Samudragupta 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 *praśasti* was composed,

¹ *SBE.*, Vol. XIII, Intro., p. xv.

² *Rāmāyaṇa*, I.8.1; I.12.3, 9, 12 etc.; I.14.35 ff.; and 59; I.18.1 and ff.; Muir's *Sk. Texts*, Vol. IV, pp. 170 ff.

³ Upon this the commentator Prithivīdhara gives the following gloss: *agni-pravēśō = pi Sarvasvāra-nāmakē yajña-viśēshē yathā Śarabhaṅgēna kṛitas = tathā bōddhavyam*. As regards Śarabhaṅga, see *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 5. 38.

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, XIV, 88.16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.16.

⁶ *IC.*, Vol. I, p. 116.

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 Allan¹ informs us, is a representation of the sacrificial steed standing before a decorated sacrificial post (*yūpa*) 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 *mahishī* or Chief Queen of Samudragupta, namely, Dattadēvī, 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 *Aśvamēdha-parākramah*, 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 *Aśvamēdha*, he exhibited valour, that, in other words, it was through his valour that he was able to celebrate the sacrifice. This *Aśvamēdha* of Samudragupta, therefore, must have been an achievement worthy of a Sārvabhauma. It could not have 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, *rājādhīrājah prithivīm vijitya divam jayaty = Aprativārya-vīryah*, "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 *Aśvamēdha* 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 Bilsaḍ and Bihār stone pillar inscriptions of Kumāragupta and Budhagupta respectively (Nos. 16 and 41 below) speak of Samudragupta as *chir-ōtsann-āśvamēdh-āharttā*. This expression Fleet has rendered by "who was the restorer of the *āśvamēdha*-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,² 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 *Aśvamēdha* was performed twice by the Śuṅga Pushyamitra,³ once by Pārāsarīputra Gājāyana Sarvatāta,⁴ twice by Vēdiśrī Sātakarṇi,⁵ ten times by the Bhāraśivas,⁶ four times by the Vākāṭaka Pravaraśēna I,⁷ and once by the Ikshvāku Vāsishṭhīputra Chāntamūla.⁸ Besides, we have the evidence of a seal that the same sacrifice was celebrated by Vishṇudēva⁹ about 150 B.C. If, therefore, Harishēṇa gives us to understand that Samudragupta restored *Aśvamēdha* which had for long been in abeyance, it is an exaggeration, pure and simple, of a court panegyrist. But does the phrase *chir-ōtsann-āśvamēdh-āharttā* necessarily mean this? Is

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. lxxvii and f.; and p. 21.

² *ASWI.*, Vol. V, p. 60.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57. [Cf. also the brick inscription of Dāmamitra, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 99-100.—*Ed.*]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203; *IHQ.*, Vol. IX, p. 795; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 203-04.

⁵ *ASWI.*, Vol. V, p. 60, No. II.

⁶ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 55, p. 273, text lines 6-7 and No. 56, p. 245, text line 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 55, p. 236, text line 2 and No. 56, p. 245, 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 Aiyangar¹ has said about the word *utsanna*, used of the *Aśvamēdha* in the *Śatapatha-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 *Aśvamēdha*. Nevertheless, we will try and develop this point as best as we can. It is in *Kāṇḍa XIII* of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* that *Aśvamēdha* has been called *utsanna-yajña iva*. We will quote the whole passage bearing on this point: *Samkṛity = Achchhāvāka-sāma bhavati | utsanna-yajña iva vā ēsha yad = Aśvamēdhaḥ | kim vā hy = ētasya kkrīyatē kim vā na | yat = Samkṛity = Achchhāvāka-sāma bhavati Aśvasy = aiva sarvatvāya*² "The Samkṛiti (tune) is the Achchhāvāka's Sāman. Verily what is (called) *Aśvamēdha* is, as it were, a decayed sacrifice. Because something thereof is performed, and something not. When the Samkṛiti is the Achchhāvāka'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-yajña ēsha yaḥ Aśvamēdhaḥ | katham utsanna ity = ata āha — kim vā h = iti | yasya dharmāḥ pūrva-yōnau (yugē ?) prayujyantē tēshām kimchit kalau kriyatē kimchin = na kriyatē | tataś = cha Samkṛitir = Achchhāvāka-sāma bhavati* | In the same footnote Eggeling says that a similar passage is found also in the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (V. 4.12.3). If we examine it, we find that it also contains the words: *utsanna-yajñō vai ēsha yad = Aśvamēdhaḥ* | Sāyaṇa in his gloss upon it explains it by saying that it is *utsanna-yajña*, because some parts of it (*avayava*) were either *vinashṭa*, 'utterly lost', or *ativismṛita*, 'completely forgotten', and that it was consequently necessary to chant the *Samkṛiti*, namely, the Achchhāvāka's Sāman, in order that the *Aśvamēdha* may be restored to *sarv-āvayava-sākalya*, "completeness through the totality of elements"⁴ If we thus take into our careful consideration the two Vedic passages relating to the *Aśvamēdha* 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 *Samkṛiti*, just adverted to, to rectify this defect. This is why *Aśvamēdha* was known as *utsanna-yajña* "a dilapidated sacrifice". It will thus be seen that it is not simply the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* but also the *Taittirīya-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 *Aśvamēdha* as *chir-ōtsanna*, the term *utsanna* in this phrase cannot but be taken in the same sense. We have therefore to suppose that *Aśvamēdha* 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 *Aśvamēdha*, 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 *Aśvamēdha*, the inscriptions of his descendants make prominent mention of it. But they do so in two different phrases. One of these, namely, *chir-ōtsann-Āśvamēdh-āharttā*, we have just

¹ *Studies in Gupta History*, pp. 44-45.

² *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 3.3.6.

³ *SBE.*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 333-34.

⁴ *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, (Bibliotheca Indica), Vol. V, pp. 114-15.

⁵ This explains why we have a double description of the *Aśvamēdha* in the XIII Book of the *Śatapatha-Br.* (*Adhyāyas* 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-Āśvamēdha-yājī*, which occurs in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā,¹ 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-Āśvamēdh-āharttā*. Surely this new expression cannot be appropriately translated by "the performer of (many) *Āśvamēdhas* 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-Āśvamēdha-yājī*, 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 *Āśvamēdhas*. If the Śuṅga king Pushyamitra and the Śātavāhana ruler Vēdiśrī Sātakarṇi celebrated *Āśvamēdha* 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 *Āśvamēdhas*, it demands a very high stretch of imagination to believe it, even though in his time the Vākāṭakas were *samrāḍs* or suzerains, as their inscriptions inform us. When, however, we are told that the Vishṇukunḍin king, Mādhavavarman I, celebrated no less than eleven Horse Sacrifices,² 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 *Āśvamēdha*. Because the *Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra* lays down that the *Āśvamēdha* may be celebrated even by *a-sārvabhauma* rulers, who must *inter alia* include 'feudatory chieftains'. If any proof is needed, it is furnished by *Harivaṁśa*, which, as was first pointed out by J. C. Ghosh, adduces the instance of Vasudēva, father of Kṛishṇa, who, although a *kara-dāyaka* or 'tributary', is represented as performing a *Vājimēdha*.³ In later history the case is very well known of Savāi Jayasinhā, the Kachchāhā founder and ruler of Jaipur in Rajputana, who celebrated an *Āśvamēdha*, 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 unmolested 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."⁴ 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 Vishṇukunḍin prince, Mādhavavarman I, celebrated an *Āśvamēdha* 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

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39-44 and Plate.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 134, line 3.

³ *IC.*, Vol. II, pp. 140-41. A most interesting discussion as to whether a feudatory can perform *Āśvamēdha* was carried on by Atul Sur, Dinesh Chandra Sircar, Miss Karunakara Gupta and Sushil Kumar Bose in the pages of *IC.*, Vol. I, pp. 114-15; 311-13; 637, note 1; 704-06; Vol. II, pp. 53 ff.

⁴ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (S. K. Lahiri and Co.), Vol. II, p. 354.

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 Yudhishtira in connection with his *Aśvamēdha*. "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 *Bahusuvarṇaka* (Profuse-Gold Sacrifice). Increase here the *dakṣhiṇā* threefold, O great king, and thy (sacrifice) shall become threefold. The Brāhmaṇas are competent for this purpose. Having thus accomplished three *Aśvamēdhas* each with profuse *dakṣhiṇā*, thou shalt be freed, O king, from the sin committed in consequence of the slaughter of thy kinsmen."¹ This is a most significant passage, because it clearly says that he, who gives *dakṣhiṇā* 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 Pravarasēna I and Mādhavavarman I disbursed *dakṣhiṇā* four and eleven times respectively, of that actually prescribed for that sacrifice, and were credited with having performed four and eleven *Aśvamēdhas* 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 *anēk-Āśvamēdha-yāji* 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 *dakṣhiṇā* 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-gō-hiranyakōṭi-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 *Āśvamēdhika-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* we learn that the *Aśvamēdha* is called *Bahusuvarṇaka*, because profuse quantities of gold are given by way of *dakṣhiṇā*. 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 Nānāghāt cave inscription is the most important in this connection. There the Śātavāhana king, or rather, his queen, is represented as having celebrated *Śrauta* sacrifices of various kinds, and the various *dakṣhiṇās* distributed by this charitable monarch in connection therewith have also been described.² Even a cursory glance is enough to show that the kine formed an important item of *dakṣhiṇā* in the case of most of his sacrifices. But there is no mention of *suvarṇa* except in the case of the *Aśvamēdha* performed by him.³ Vēdiśrī performed two *Aśvamēdhas*, 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 *Suvarṇa* as we also know from the *Mahābhārata*, and not silver or *Kārshāpaṇas* which we find invariably associated with all other sacrifices of Vēdiśrī in the Nānāghāt cave inscription.

It is but natural that the memory of such an important event as the celebration of *Aśvamēdha* by Samudragupta should be preserved in a variety of ways. We have already described what is called the *Aśvamēdha* 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 *Aśvamēdha* ceremony.⁴ But this seems unlikely, because these coins,

¹ *Mahābhārata*, XIV, 88, 13-15, to which we drew attention long ago in *IC.*, Vol. I, pp. 116-17.

² *ASWI.*, Vol. V, pp. 60-64.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 60, line 1, (No. II-B Right Wall).

⁴ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. xxxi; R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 25.

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, *Aśvamēdha-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 *Aśvamēdha* 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 Khairīgarh in the Khēri 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 *ddaguttassa dēyadhamma* 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 *dēyadhamma* 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 Ghaṭōtkacha 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 *Aśvamēdha* type, and *rājan* 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) *Apratiratha*, (2) *Kṛitānta-paraśu*, (3) *Parākrama*, (4) *Vyāghra-parākrama* and (5) *Aśvamēdha-*

¹ *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 102.

² *CASIR.*, 1914-15, pp. 77-78.

³ *JRAS.*, 1893, pp. 97-98.

parākrama. Of these the first is found on his coins of the Archer type, and in the amplified form of *prithivyām = apratiratha* in line 24 of the Allahabad pillar inscription and epigraphic records of his successors. The second, *Kṛitānta-paraśu*, 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 *Parākrama*. In the first place, he was *Parākrama* or Valour Incarnate, and is, therefore, called *Parākrama* on his coins. The Allahabad pillar inscription gives the epithet *Parākramānka*, which must mean "he whose appellation (*anika*) is *Parākrama*."¹ Then this *Parākrama* has also been joined to *vyāghra*, and he becomes *Vyāghra-parākrama*. 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."² 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 *Vyāghra-parākrama* is coined and is assumed by a king who is always encouraged by the *Arthasāstra* to develop a liking for hunting.³ If Samudragupta's *parākrama* 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, *Aśvamēdha-parākrama*. As the common factor of these combinations, namely, of *Vyāghra-parākrama* and *Aśvamēdha-parākrama* is *Parākrama*, and as *Parākrama* by itself also forms his epithet, Samudragupta appears to have been regarded as *Parākrama par excellence* just as his son, Chandragupta II was *Vikrama*, and his grandson, Kumāragupta I, *Mahendra*, 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-ōchhchēttā*, (2) *Prithivyām = apratirathaḥ*, (3) *Chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśāḥ*, (4) *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-samaḥ*, (5) *Kṛitānta-paraśuḥ*, (6) *Nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiranya-kōṭi-pradaḥ*, and (7) *Chir-ōtsann-Āśvamēdh-āharttā*. Of these the fourth appellation, namely, *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-samaḥ*, occurs in line 26 of the Allahabad inscription and the fifth, namely, *Kṛitānta-paraśuḥ*, 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 Prabhāvati-guptā.⁴ They are (1) *Prithivyām = apratirathaḥ*, (2) *Sarva-rāj-ōchhchēttā*, (3) *Chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśāḥ*, and (4) *Anēka-gō-hiranya-kōṭi-sahasra-pradaḥ*. 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,

¹ See note on this appellation in the translation of the Allahabad pillar inscription (No. 1, below).

² Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, p. 17.

³ *Arthasāstra*, ed. by Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1919, 8.3.119 (p. 329).

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39-44, and Plate.

namely, (1) *Sarva-rāj-ōchchhētā*, (2) *Prithivyām=apratirathaḥ*, and (3) *Chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśāḥ*?¹ 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 Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ. 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 *Akālavarsha*, *Prabhūtarvarsha* or *Amōghavarsha*, there are others which are common to them all, namely, *Prithivīvallabha*, *Vallabharāja*, 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 Chandragupta 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 Śaṅkaragaṇa, with whose name are coupled these three Gupta epithets in the Sarasavṇī plates.³ Not far removed from Śaṅkaragaṇa was the Chalukya chieftain Vijayarāja of Gujarat known from his Kairā grant dated Kalachuri year 394. Curiously enough this grant applies to his name the following epithets:⁴ (1) *Prithivyām=apratirathaḥ*, (2) *Chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśāḥ* and (3) *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-sama-prabhāvaḥ*. 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, Harishēṇa 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 exhibition 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 Allahabad pillar inscription, no doubt, is. And consequently when the court panegyrist goes further, and says that Samudragupta "put to shame (Bṛihaspati) 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 Bṛihaspati in respect of his sharp and polished intellect. We know that

¹ It is worthy of note that this epithet has been associated also with Kumāragupta I in the Karamdaṇḍā stone inscription (No. 21 below).

² *BG.*, Vol. 1, part ii, pp. 390 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 298, line 9 and p. 299, note 9. [Cf. also *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 54.—Ed.]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 248, lines 5-6. [Cf. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 169.—Ed.]

⁵ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, p. 18; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 100.

Bṛihaspati was the counsellor of Indra, the ruler of the gods. Bṛihaspati was also the reputed founder of a school of *Danḍanīti*.¹ Consequently, when Harishēṇa compares his lord and master to Bṛihaspati, 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-ōddharaṇa*, '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 *prachanḍa-sāsana*, 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 *Chāturanta*, or *Chakravartin*, the ideal set before a king by the *Arthaśāstra*. He therefore subjugated Dakṣiṇāpatha by means of *grahaṇa-mōksha*, which, as we have seen above, was the policy of a *dharma-vijayin*. *Pari passu* with these modes of conquest he adopted the policy of *utsanna-rāja-vamśa-pratishṭhāpana*, '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 Bṛihaspati by Harishēṇa. The keynote to his phenomenal success was 'severity tempered with mercy'. This is clear from another statement of Harishēṇa where he informs us that Samudragupta's "*Āyukta* Officers were always occupied with the restoration of the wealth (*vibhava*) 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, Harishēṇa 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.² It has been defined by Rājaśekhara as follows: *Yas=tu tatra tatra bhāshā-viśēshēshu tēshu tēshu prabandhēshu, tasmimś=tasmimś=cha rasē svatantraḥ sa kavirājah | tē yadi jagaty=api katipayē*,³ "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 Apabhraṃśa. 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.

² Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Studies in Gupta History*, (University Supplement of *JIH.*), p. 42.

³ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (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-kai kai-rāō* from *Karpūramāñjarī*, I. 9.

is expected to be conversant, they are all detailed in works of poetics. Suffice it to say, the term *Kavirāja* bears a specific signification, and it must be in this sense that Samudragupta has been called a *Kavirāja*. 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."¹ 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 *Kāvya-ālamkāra-sūtra-vṛitti*, who flourished in circa 800 A.D. He quotes the first half of a stanza² as an example of *sābhiprāyatvam* or 'Significance' and remarks that it contains a reference to the ministership of Subandhu. The couplet in question is as follows:

*Sō=yam samprati Chandragupta-tanayaḥ chandra-prakāśō³ yuvā
jātō bhūpatir=āśrayaḥ kṛita-dhiyām diṣṭiyā kṛit-ārtha-śramaḥ*

"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 Vikramāditya of Hindu tradition, who is celebrated as a munificent patron of arts and literature.⁴ 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 *kṛit-ārtha-śramaḥ* 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,

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 *chandra-prabhāvō*, 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 but 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 *sachiva*.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 *Vāsavadattā* 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 *Vāsavadattā*—wail at the passing away of Vikramāditya.

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 Bṛihaspati 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 tranquility 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 Sarasvatī (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 *Dēvīchandraguptam*, a production of Viśākhadatta, apparently the same as the author of the *Mudrārākshasa*. Three extracts from this play are contained in the *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhōja, and were brought to light by Ramakrishna Kavi and A. Rangasvami 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 *sāchivya* 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.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LII, pp. 181 ff.

⁵ *Jour. Asiatique*, Vol. CCIII, 1923, pp. 193-218.

⁶ Since published in *Gaekwad's Or. Series*, No. XLVIII. For the necessary extracts, see pages 71, 84, 86, 118, 141-42 and 193-94.

⁷ *JBORS.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 223 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 134 ff.

rendered into Persian in 1026 A.D., from which is quoted *ad verbatim* this story of Rawwāl and Barkamāris by Abul Hassan 'Ali.¹ The Muhammadan version is thus older than even 1026 A.D. This story has such a close resemblance to the plot of the *Dēvīchandrāguptam* that it may be safely and judiciously used to fill in the details on which the extracts shed no light.²

Sylvain Lévi does not believe in the historicity of the *Dēvīchandrāguptam*, because the Gupta inscriptions do not speak of any Rāmagupta intervening between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Besides, they mention Dhruvadēvī as the wife of this last Gupta king only. But grounds will be adduced in the course of this account, showing that Sylvain Lévi'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 *Dēvīchandrāguptam* 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 *Mudrārākshasa*, 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 Dhruvadēvī made such a deep impression upon the people living in the eighth century, that is, in the period of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa that they are referred to even in their copper-plate charters, as we shall see later on. All things considered, the plot of the *Dēvīchandrāguptam*, 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 Aḷipura, 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 Dhruvasvāminī 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 Dhruvasvāminī 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 *Tawārikh* 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

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 *Prakṛitīnām=āśvāsānāya* 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 Alipura, which has wrongly been changed once into Aripura. But where was this Alipura? 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 Pāṭaliputra, 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 Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* 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 Himālaya from where Śarma(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 *Dēvīchandraguptam*. There is, however, difference of name to be accounted for namely, Śarma(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 Śa-ka reversed. And as Khaśas were perhaps known better than Śakas, especially in the Himālayan region, the letters which were originally Śa-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 Himālayan caves be taken to reverberate 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 Himālayan 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 Kārttikēyapura lay in the valley of the Gōmatī and near the present village of Baijnāth which is comprised in the Almora District of U.P. and thus situated in the Himālayas. It is mentioned in the *Dēvī-Purāṇa*.³ The town and district of

¹ *Dattoā ruddha-gatiḥ Khaś-ādhipatayē dēvīm Dhruvasvāminīm yasmāt khaṇḍita-sāhasō nivatṣṭitē*

Śrī-Śarma(Sēna)guptō nṛipah |
tasminn=ēva Himālayē guru-guhā-kōṇa-kvaṇat-Kinnarē gīyantē tava Kārttikēya-nagara-strīṇām gaṇaiḥ kirtayah ||

Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (G.O.S., No. 1), p. 47.

² Vol. XI, p. 463 and pp. 48 ff.

³ Chap. IX.

Kārttikēyapura are mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar copper-plate grant of Lalitāsūradēva, assigned to about the middle of the ninth century A.D.¹ Kārttikēyapura is also mentioned in the two Talēśvara charters of Dyutivarman, which have been ascribed to about the sixth century.² 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*³ also says that "Baijnāth lies in the centre of the Katyūr valley, and was formerly known as Kārttikēyapura, a capital of the Katyūri Rājās." Further, as pointed out above, Katyūr seems identical with Kartṛipura 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 Kartṛipura, who was the Preceptor of the Śakas,⁴ 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-Tawārikh*. 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 *Dēvīchandrāguptam*. It seems that Chandragupta had to remain in hiding to counteract the malicious intentions of his elder brother, in the house of a courtesan called Mādhavasēnā⁵ 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 Sañjān copper plate grant⁶ 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 *Tawārikh*. 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

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 178.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 115 and 118. It seems that Kārttikēyapura was also known as Aḷipura.

³ Vol. VI, p. 217.

⁴ Raghavan has cited two passages to show that somehow the Mlēcchha rulers are called *Mlēcchh-āchāryāḥ* in the epics (*loc. cit.*, pp. 45-47).

⁵ She seems to be the Sūtradhārī (the wire puller) who is mentioned in two extracts from the drama in the *Nātyadarpaṇa*. She was in the camp and helped the prince with the dress and ornaments of Dhruvadēvī 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, courtesan of Pauṇḍravardhana, who helped Jayāpīḍa (*IC.*, 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 *JBORS.*, 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 *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka? It is a mistake to identify Safar with Śikharasvāmin who was a *Mantrin* and *Kumārāmātya* of Chandragupta II (No. 21 below). Because Kāmandaka, or, more accurately, Kāmantaka is, like Kauṭalya,¹ 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 *Tawārikh*, burnt himself.

The story of the *Dēvichandraguptam* 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-Tawārikh*, which tells us that Dhruvasvāminī had really chosen Chandragupta in a *svayamvara* 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 Dhruvasvāminī 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.² 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 *Sarvarājōchchhētā*, which in inscriptions had been associated with Samudragupta and Samudragupta alone. This was the view which was once propounded by V. A. Smith³ 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 Vākāṭaka 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 *Sarvarājōchchhētā*. If *Sarvarājōchchhētā* thus becomes an epithet not only of Samudragupta but also of Chandra-

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

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

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 259.

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 *Sarvarājōchchhētā* 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 Kacha 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 twentyfive 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 '*Aśvamēdha*' 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 *Dēvīchandraguptam*, Samudragupta was succeeded by Rāmagupta, which, as pointed out before, must be a mislection for Kāchagupta. Two objections may, however, be raised to this view. The first is the omission of Kācha'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 Kācha was omitted from the dynastic list, as being irrelevant, as that of Skandagupta was from the Bhitari 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 Kācha, being on the spot, was in a position to seize the throne, of which he maintained possession for a brief space. The paucity of Kācha'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

¹The coins of Kācha were at first attributed by Prinsep and Thomas to Ghaṭōtkacha, the second prince of the Gupta dynasty, and in 1884 V. A. Smith followed them (*JASB.*, Vol. LIII, 1888, p. 2, note 4). Thereafter Fleet pointed out good reasons to show that they could not have been struck by Ghaṭōtkacha and that they must be assigned to Samudragupta (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 95; *CIL.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 27, note 4). And Smith agreed with him (*JRAS.*, 1889, pp. 74-76). Rapson threw out the suggestion that Kācha or Kacha was not, as Fleet 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 (*JRAS.*, 1893, p. 81), but



[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 *Dēvīchandraguptam* 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 Dattadēvī. 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 *parigrihīta* or selected as *Yuvarāja* 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 *svayamvara*, are details which have also been narrated above.

For his reign we possess a number of inscriptions. The earliest of these is the Mathurā pilaster 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 (*anvaya-prāpta-sāchivya*) of Chandragupta II. The minister is named Virasēna and surnamed Śāba. He belonged to the Kautsa *gōtra* 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 (*kṛitsna-pṛithvī-jay-ārthēna*). This is confirmed

Contd. from page 51.

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. Edwardes, 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 *Dēvīchandraguptam* 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 Virasēna, 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 Virasēna has been called *Pāṭaliputraka*, "an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra". It thus seems that Virasēna Śāba was Minister of Peace and War of the emperor Chandragupta II and came to Vidiśā from Pāṭaliputra 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 *Aśvamēdha* 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, Kāchagupta, 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 Pāṭaliputra 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 Kshatrapas, which added Surāshṭra to his dominions. It is true that, to begin with, these Kshatrapas exercised sway over Malwa, part of Rajputana and Gujarat and practically the whole of Kāṭhīāwāṛ and Cutch. But about the time when the Guptas rose to eminence, they were shorn of their power over all these territories except Kāṭhīāwāṛ and Cutch.¹ The date of this event, namely, the conquest of Surāshṭra, has not yet been ascertained, but can be fixed within fairly narrow limits. The latest dated coins of the Western Kshatrapas are those of the *Mahākshatrapa Svāmī* Rudrasimha III, son of *Svāmī* 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

¹ All the coins of the later Kshatrapas have been found in Kāṭhīāwāṛ and Cutch only. The latest hoard of their coins outside these provinces was found at Sarvāṇīā in the erstwhile Banswara State, Rajputana, with coins ranging from those of Rudrasimha I (Śaka 101-14) to Rudrasēna III (Śaka 270-73) (*A. R. ASI.*, 1913-14, pp. 227 ff.). As regards Malwa no Kshatrapa coins have been discovered except perhaps of the *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradatta at Besnagar (*ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 88). On the other hand, an inscription has come to light at Kānākhērā (Sāñchī) which is dated 241 and is of the reign of the *Mahādandanāyaka* Śaka Śrīdharavarman, son of Śaka 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 *J.P.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 343 ff. The record gives the regnal year 13 of Śrīdharavarman and describes it as *sva-rājy-ābhivṛddhikarē vaijayikē samvatsarē trayōdaśamē*. This shows that Śrīdharavarman was an independent king though he is styled *Mahādandanāyaka*. The case is not unlike that of *Sēnāpati* Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga family (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57). Further palaeographic considerations require that the date 241 of Śrīdharavarman should be referred to the Śaka 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 Śrīdharavarman, who, though he was a Śaka by extraction was styled *Mahādandanāyaka*. As regards Western Malwa, it was held by the Nāga families of Dhārā and Padmāvati.

of Surāshṭra during the reign of Chandragupta II is to be seen in rare silver coins which are more directly imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas¹ and are found in Kāṭhīāwār 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 (=388 or 388 plus X A.D.) and the earliest dated coin of the Guptas struck in Kāṭhīāwār (=409 or 409 plus X A.D.). When then did the Gupta conquest of Surāshṭra 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 90, 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 Surāshṭra 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 Pāṭaliputra. The only argument that may be urged against this inference is that there is a gap of some twenty years between the last Kshatrapa Rudrasīnha 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 Kāṭhīāwār, 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, Pāṭaliputra, 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 Harishēṇa's *prasaṣti* of Samudragupta. Nevertheless, we cannot get rid of the idea that some meagre, though not detailed, account of Chandragupta's *dig-vijaya* 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.² According to some, again, the inscription does not belong to the Gupta

¹ E. J. Rapson's *Catalogue Coins Andhra Dyn.*, Intro., p. cli.

² James Fergusson, 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* 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." (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, 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 Mihirapurī (*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 Chwang. 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 (*JRAS.*, 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 Chandravarman who is mentioned as 'the lord of Pushkaraṇa' in a rock inscription¹ found at Susuṇiā in the Bankura District of West Bengal.² 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 (Ayōdhyā) only. It cannot suit Chandravarman of the Susuṇiā 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 Pōkarṇā in the Jodhpur District, and showing thereby that, although he was originally a ruler of Mārṅwār, 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 Susuṇiā rock. But, as we have already pointed out, it is a mistake to identify his capital town Pushkaraṇa with Pōkarṇā in Mārṅwār so far away from Susuṇiā, when there is a place called Pōkharaṇ about 25 miles from Susuṇiā itself, as K. N. Dikshit has informed us. Where is the evidence, again, that this Chandra of the Susuṇiā 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 Simhavarman, 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 Simhavarman 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 Susuṇiā 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 Himālayas 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.

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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 Pōkarṇā in Jodhpur (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, 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 Vidiśā (*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 *IHQ.*, Vol. I, pp. 254-55.

Let us now study more closely the contents of the Meharauli 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 Vālhikas 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 *dharma-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 *praśasti* of Harishēṇa. Nevertheless, as Samatāṭa 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 Suhma and Samatāṭa and comprises the modern districts of Bakarganj, Khulna 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 Raghu.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 Vālhikas. 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 Vālhikas 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 Vālhikas have been mentioned many a time in the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā* 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 Bākh 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 Vālhikas? In this connection we have to note a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 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 Girivraja, capital of Kēkaya. They start from Ayōdhyā and take a north-western route. They pass through Kuru-Jāṅgala to Pañchāla and cross the Ikshumatī river, which is identified with Kālī-nadī (East) which flows through Kumaon, Rohilkhand and Kanauj.⁴ The messengers then pass through the Vālhika country to the Sudāman hill and see Vishṇupada and the two rivers Vipāśā and Śālmali. This is the most apposite reference to Vālhika, because here it is associated with Vishṇupada, which is specified in the third and last stanza

¹ *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 35-36.

² *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. xxxvi.

³ *ABORI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 173 ff.

⁴ Nundolal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 77.

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 Vipāśā or Beas in the Himālayas.

Further, we have to note that Vālhikas have been mentioned again in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in two consecutive chapters. Thus in the *Kishkindhā-Kāṇḍa* (*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 Surāshṭras.¹ This agrees with the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini VIII. 4. 9, where we read *Sauvira-pānā Bāhlikāḥ*, "the Bāhlikas are fond of Sauvira drink". This shows that according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* 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) Kushāṇas who were the last foreign horde to migrate into India from Balkh.

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."² And he has been followed by Allan³ and other scholars. It is the first two lines of this stanza that are more important. The first of these is: *khinnasy=ēva visṛijya gām narapatēr=ggām=āśritasy=ētarām*. 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, *mūrt[t]yā karmma-jit-āvanim gatavatāḥ kīr[t]tyā sthitasya kshītau*, "moving in (*bodily*) form to the land (*paradise*) won by (*the merit of his*) actions." Here the most important word is *mūrttyā*, 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 *mūrttyā* must mean 'in bodily form' and as no human being can go to the other world in his corporeal form, *karma-jit-āvanim* 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 (*kshiti*) 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

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.

² *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 140.

³ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. xxxvii.

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 (*prithivī*) and those, in the mid-region (*antariksha*). The passage to which our attention was first drawn by J. C. Ghosh¹ runs thus:

prithivyām yāni tīrthāni antarikshacharāṇi cha |
nadyō hradās=tadāgās=cha sarva-prasravaṇāni cha ||

(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 *prithivī* should be taken as 'the plains' and *antariksha* 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 *prithivyām Naimisham tīrtham=antarikshē cha Pushkaram* (verse 203), which occurs further in the same chapter of the *Vanaparvan*. Of these two, Naimisha has been identified with Nimkhār or Nimsār,² 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 *prithivī*, and, not in *antariksha*. There is, however, a Pushkara-*tīrtha* which is apparently to be located in the Himālayas. Thus the *Sabhāparvan*³ of the *Mahābhārata* has the following:

punaś=cha parivṛitty=ātha Pushkar-āranyavāsinaḥ |
gaṇān=Utsavasamkētān vyajayat purusharshabhaḥ ||

"And having turned his back again, the bull among men (Nakula) then conquered the tribes called the Utsavasamkētas residing in the Pushkara forest." Utsavasamkēta is mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* 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."⁴ And as these Utsavasamkētas 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 Vishṇupada, is a synonym of *Antariksha* according to the *Amarakōśa* (I. 2.1-2).

To return to our point, how was Vishṇupada exactly situated—Vishṇupada where the pillar was originally erected? Where this Vishṇupada 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 Vipāśā (Beas). That surely indicated a sufficiently high altitude to enable us to class it under *antariksha-tīrthas*. And, as a matter of fact, Durgāchārya, the commentator, while explaining a passage from Yāska, unequivocally locates Vishṇupada in *antariksha*, as Ghosh has pointed out.⁵ And further, we have to note that even the *Amarakōśa*⁶ gives Vishṇupada as a synonym of *antariksha*. How could this word have acquired the sense of 'the mid-region?' It is true that Kshīrasvāmin, who has written a commentary upon the *Amarakōśa*, says: *Vishṇōḥ padaṁ kramō=tra Vishṇupadam*.⁷ But this is

¹ IC., Vol. I, p. 516.

² Nundolal Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, etc., p. 135.

³ Chap. 32, verses 8-9.

⁴ JBORS., Vol. II, p. 36.

⁵ IC., Vol. I, p. 516.

⁶ I.2.2.

⁷ And, in fact, this is supported by what we are told in the *Udyōga-parvan* (Chap. 110, verses 21-22) namely, that in covering the three worlds Vishṇu with one stride created what is called Vishṇupada situated in the northern region and not far from Kailāsa.

not enough, because Vishṇu 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 Vishṇu come to be called Vishṇupada, especially the one on the plains (*prithivī*)? The truth of the matter is that since only one Vishṇupada 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 Vishṇupada 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 *gō*, that is, the earth, and as having been settled on another *gō*, that is, the mid-region, because, as just pointed out, Vishṇupada where the column was at first standing was perched on such a high eminence that Vishṇupada 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 Vishṇupada 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 *mūrttyā*, 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 Vishṇupada. Here two questions arise: (1) Where precisely was this Vishṇupada, 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.'¹ 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 Anaṅgapāla, the founder of the Tōmāra dynasty,'² and raises the surmise that like the Aśōka 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'³ 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."⁴ 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 Kēśava once stood, and which may very probably prove to be Vishṇupada-*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 Vishṇupada 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."⁵ But he was not able to identify the spot accurately. This was, however, done by J. C. Ghosh with practically the same materials.⁶ The most important of these is a

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 140 ff.

² *CASIR.*, Vol. I, p. 171; *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 141 and note 1.

³ *CASIR.*, Vol. VI, p. 28 and Pl. V.

⁴ *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 16-17.

⁵ *ABORI.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 172 and ff.

⁶ *IC.*, Vol. I, pp. 515 and ff.

passage, from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which gives an account of the travels of the emissaries sent by Vasishṭha to bring Bharata back to Ayōdhyā from Girivraja, the capital of the Kēkaya country. It runs as follows:

Yayur=madhyēna Vāhlikān Sudāmānam cha parvatam 1
Vishṇoḥ padam prēkshamāṇā Vipāśān ch=āpi Śālmalim 11
Rāmāyaṇa, II. 68. 18-19.

“They went through the Vāhlika¹ country to Mount Sudāman, viewing Vishṇupada and also the Vipāśā and the Śālmali.”

If we read carefully the second half of this Chapter, namely, Chapter 68, we note that the emissaries of Ayōdhyā crossed the Ganges at Hastināpura, thereupon with their faces turned towards the west reached the Pañchāla country after passing through Kuru-Jāngala, thence entered the city of Kuliṅgā, from there repaired to the river Ikshumatī sacred to the Ikshvāku ancestry, and thereafter to Mount Sudāman passing through the Vāhlika country, from there viewing Vishṇupada, the Vipāśā and the Śālmali. From there the emissaries finally reached Girivraja, their place of destination. This Girivraja, the capital town of the Kēkaya country Cunningham identifies with Jalālpur of the Gujarat District, Panjab, now in Pakistan, the ancient name of which was Girjāk.² And this identification has been approved by F. E. Pargiter in his translation of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*.³ The whole passage is of great significance; first, because Vishṇupada is here mentioned not alone, but along with Vāhlika—just the two localities which are mentioned also in the Meharauli inscription, showing clearly that this is just the Vishṇupada 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 Vipāśā, which, we know, is the modern Beas, where it is joined by another river, which must therefore be the Śālmali. Thirdly, it is worthy of note that this Ikshumatī was much to the south-east of the Beas. It cannot thus be identified with the Oxus near Balkh as one scholar⁴ has thought fit to do. Besides, the Oxus was never considered sacred to the Ikshvāku ancestry. The old name of the Oxus, again, was Vañkshu.⁵ If the Ikshumatī of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has to be located, it had better be identified with the Ikshu mentioned in the *Purāṇas*⁶ as having sprung up from the Himālayas along with the Vipāśā 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:

ētat=Vishṇupadam nāma driśyatē tīrtham=uttamam 1
ēshā ranyā Vipāśā cha nadī parama-pāvanī 11
Kāsmīra-maṇḍalam ch=aitat sarva-punyam=arindama 1
(Vanaparvan, Ch. 130, verses 8 and 10)

It will be seen from this description that not only the Vipāśā but also Kāsmīra was

¹ It is worthy of note that Vāhlika or Bāhlika is the reading found in the three recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* namely of Bombay, Madras (Kumbhakonam) and Bengal (Calcutta). The Madras and Bengal recensions specify various readings, but nowhere is the reading Vāhlika given for Bāhlika. On the other hand, be it noted that the latter gives the reading *Sudāsāmś*—instead of *Sudāmāmś*—(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. 86 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 *Vāhlika* and *Bāhlika* published in *IC.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 85 and ff. See also O. Stein's *Round the Meharauli Inscription* in *NIA.*, Vol. I, pp. 196-98.

² *CASIR.*, Vol. II, p. 14.

³ P. 318, note.

⁴ *JRASB.* (Letters), Vol. IX, p. 179, note 6.

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

⁶ *Vāyu-P.*, Chap. 45, verses 95-96; *Matsya-P.*, Chap. 114, verses 21-22.

visible from Vishṇupada. Vishṇupada was thus on a hill near the Vipāsā from where Kāśmīra was not far distant. "It appears that the Vipāsā had her source in the mountains of the Kāśmīra region in the time of the ancient Aryans. On emerging out of Kāśmīra into the country of the Saptasindhavaḥ (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 Śālmālī. Vishṇupada was surely somewhere there.

Before we dismiss this subject, we have to note again that the passage quoted above from the *Rāmāyaṇa* associated Vishṇupada with the Vālhika country and that both these localities are referred to in the Meharauli inscription also. We have further to note that stanza 1 of this epigraphic record speaks of Chandra as having conquered the Vālhikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu or the Indus. Evidently, therefore, Vishṇupada was situated in the province subjugated by him. This throws a most welcome light on the line *karma-jit-āvanim gataṅgataḥ*, etc. in stanza 2 of the inscription. Fleet, 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 (*avani*) conquered through (*his own*) deeds." What it means is that he was then in the country of the Vālhikas 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 Vishṇupada? I think, the reply is furnished by the line, *khinnasy=ēva viṣṭijya gām narapatēr=ggām=āsritasy=ētarām*. This means that he quitted one *gō*, that is, the earth, and repaired to another *gō*, that is, the mid-region where Vishṇupada 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 Vishṇupada, 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 Vishṇupada.¹ This is not the first instance of an Imperial Gupta ruler abdicating the throne and becoming a Vānaprastha. 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, Pāṭaliputra, 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 Guttal. It was Fleet himself² 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 *vaṁśa*. Gutta here is doubtless a Prakrit form of *Gupta*, because one member of the family is styled *Gupta-vaṁśa-Triṇētra*, "a very Triṇētra (Śiva) in the Gupta race"; another, *Gupt-ānvaya-bhūkānta*, "a king belonging to the Gupta lineage"; and a third, *Gupta-vaṁśa-vārdhi-wardhana*, "increasing (like

¹ That Vishṇupada was somehow connected with the Imperial Gupta dynasty may be seen from the fact that along with the seals of Dhruvasvāminī, of the Yuvarāja and his officials picked up by Bloch during his excavations at Basāḥ have been found a seal with the inscription: (1) *Śrī-Vishṇupadasvāmi-Nā* (2) *rāya[ṇa]*, "Nārāyaṇa, Lord of the holy Vishṇupada" (*CASIR.*, 1903-04, p. 110, No. 31). Bloch, however, thinks that this Vishṇupada is perhaps the temple of Vishṇupada 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 Vishṇupada known to exist in the early Gupta period is the Vishṇupada mentioned in the Meharauli pillar inscription.

² *B.G.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 578-80. Attention to this was later drawn by R. G. Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XX, p. 398.

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-vamś-ōdbhava*, "born in the race of Vikramāditya" but also as *Chandragupta-vamś-ōdbhava*, "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-ādhiśvara*, "supreme lord of Ujjayani, the best of towns" and *Pāṭalipuravar-ādhiśvara*, "supreme lord of Pāṭali, 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 Pāṭaliputra. 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 Pāṭaliputra and once as Ujjayani, the natural conclusion is that this Chandragupta II had two capitals, one Pāṭaliputra 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 *Vyāghra-Parākrama* of Samudragupta, we have *Simha-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 Kāṭhiāwār, in the Gīr 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 Kāṭhiāwār and parts of Rajputana".⁴ The Lion-Slayer Type cannot thus be taken as a sure indication of Chandragupta's conquest of Kāṭhiāwār. 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 *Simha-Vikrama* but *Simha-Chandra* also.⁵ This combination of names is not noticeable in the case of other Gupta kings. Thus we have *Vyāghra-Parākrama* and *Simha-Mahendra*, but not *Vyāghra-Samudra* and *Simha-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-

¹ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, pp. 35-37 and 49-50; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 109.

² Allan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.; V. A. Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 105 ff.

³ Allan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.

⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, pp. 217-18.

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 *Āditya*, both signifying 'the sun'. And, as a matter of fact, from the time of this king onwards *Āditya* forms the second half of the composite title assumed by the Gupta sovereigns. We thus have *Mahēndrāditya* for Kumāragupta I, *Kramāditya* for Skandagupta and so forth. If this interpretation of the title *Vikramāditya* is not accepted and if it is taken to mean 'the Sun of Valour', the question arises as to how we are to interpret *Mahēndrāditya*? Is it possible at all to take the latter expression in the sense of 'the Sun of Mahēndra'? The rendering 'the Sun of Mahēndra' conveys no meaning at all, and the phrase has to be translated by 'Mahēndra who is (also) the Sun'. This shows that the composite title *Vikramāditya* 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 *Vikramāditya* but also to be the *Vikramāditya* 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 *Vikramānka*, which we find coupled with his name on his silver coins, all found in Kāthiāwār. This no doubt corresponds to *Parākramānka* of Samudragupta which occurs in line 17 of Inscription No. 1 below. *Vikramānka* 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 *Simha-Chandra* which has been noted above. Chandragupta had another appellation which is worthy of note. The copper plate charters of the Vākāṭaka kings have been known and published a long time since. The mother of Pravarasēna II is, in all of them, mentioned as *Prabhāvatiguptā*, daughter of *Dēvagupta*. Who this *Dēvagupta* was, was not known for a long time. It was the discovery of the Poona plates¹ of *Prabhāvatiguptā* 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 *Dēvagupta* being Chandragupta II.² We then also pointed out that another form of the name was *Dēvarāja* which occurred in a Sāñchī 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 *Dēvarāja* or *Dēvagupta* to be his another name, the meaning is the same. *Dēva* here must signify not 'a king' but 'Indra', because the former sense is not possible in the form 'Dēvarāja', which, in that case has to be taken in the sense of "the king (*rāja*) of kings (*dēvas*)" where the word used for 'king' in one case is *rājan* and in the other *dēva*—a singular procedure.

Of the *birudas* or laudatory appellations of Chandragupta II, four are known. They are found associated with his name in the Poona plates of *Prabhāvatiguptā*, who was his daughter and was queen of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna II. The appellations are: (1) *Prithivyām=apratirathaḥ*, (2) *Sarva-rāj-ōchchhētā*, (3) *Chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśāḥ*, and (4) *Anēka-gō-hiranya-kōṭi-sahasra-pradaḥ*. 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 Bilsaḍ inscription (No. 16 below) of his grandson Kumāragupta I. The fourth, again, is practically identical with the *biruda*: *nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiranya-kōṭi-pradaḥ* which is conjoined to the name of Samudragupta. The second of these, moreover,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 39-44.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 160-61.

as remarked above, was adopted by Kāchagupta as his epithet. Any way, these were not the distinctive appellations 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 Kaṭachchuri family, as we have seen above.

Chandragupta had at least two wives, one Dhruvadēvī 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 Dhruvadēvī and in one (No. 13 below) Dhruvasvāminī. 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 Dhruvadēvī 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 Basāṛh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar, which has been identified with the ancient Vaiśālī. Its legend means: "The Great Queen (*Mahādēvī*), the prosperous Dhruvasvāminī, wife of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous Chandragupta (and) mother of the *Mahārāja*, the prosperous Gōvindagupta." The names Chandragupta and Dhruvasvāminī mentioned in the seal are doubtless Chandragupta II and his wife Dhruvadēvī, 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 Dhruvasvāminī 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 Pāṭaliputra, that of the crown prince should be Vaiśālī. It thus seems that Gōvindagupta was stationed there as *Yuvarāja*. And further it seems that Dhruvasvāminī 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 Prabhāvatiguptā referred to above. There, she is described as the daughter of Chandragupta II, from his wife, the great queen (*Mahādēvī*), Kubēranāgā, who belonged to the Nāga family. It seems tempting to connect Kubēranāgā with king Kubēra of Dēvarāshṭra in South India whom Samudragupta vanquished and thereafter reinstated. But there is nothing to show that this ruler of Dēvarāshṭra was a Nāga by extraction. On the other hand, we know that there were no less than three Nāga families ruling over Dhārā, Padmāvati 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 know for certain that the two had a daughter called Prabhāvatiguptā who was the *agramahishī* or Chief Queen of the Vākāṭaka *Mahārāja* Rudrasēna (II). She is also described in the Poona plates as "the mother of the *Yuvarāja*, the prosperous Divākarasēna." 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 Divākarasēna was a minor and continued to be *Yuvarāja*, whereas his mother Prabhāvatiguptā played the role of Queen-Regent. The year 13, the date of these plates must therefore denote the year of the regency. Whether Divākarasēna 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, Pravarasēna II. One of these¹ 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 *Mahārāja*s Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna." This means that Divākarasēna never became a *Mahārāja*, that is, died without becoming a king, but that after him the Vākāṭaka throne was occupied first by Dāmōdarasēna and afterwards by Pravarasēna (II). Their mother, Prabhāvatiguptā, 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 Pravarasēna 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-bhaṭṭārikā* 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 Vīrasēna 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*).³ 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 *praśasti* of Samudragupta, engraved on the Aśōkan pillar now in the Allahabad fort. It was composed by Harishēṇa who calls it a *kāvya*. Elsewhere we have pointed out that this panegyric was a meritorious production worthy of being styled a *kāvya*. But what was the official position of Harishēṇa at that time? He too was a *Sāndhivigrahika*. In fact, this office was of such a character that the occupant of it had perforce to be a master of style. It is rather unfortunate that no piece of composition from the pen of Vīrasēna 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 Vishṇupālitabhaṭṭa and grandson of Kumāravabhaṭṭa who was a teacher of the Chhandōga Vēda and was of the Aśvavājin *gōtra*. Śikharasvāmin is there designated as both *Mantrin* and *Kumārāmātya*. The first of these designations, namely, *Mantrin*, is of a generic character and seems to be synonymous with *Sachiva* applied to Vīrasēna 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 Sāñchī, known in ancient times as Kākanādabōṭa. The purport of this epigraph is to record the benefaction of twentyfive *Dināras* and of a place called Īśvaravāsaka purchased with the money realised by selling off three royal palaces by a donor, called Āmrakārdava, son of Undāna. These

¹ *CII.*, Vol. V, No. 8, pp. 33 ff.

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 Āryasaṅgha or confraternity of Buddhist monks, that was settled in the Great Monastery of Kākanādabōṭa, that is, pertaining to the line of teachers connected with Sāñchī Stūpa No. 1. From each of the donations five monks were to be fed daily and a lamp maintained in the Jewel-House (*ratna-griha*), 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-āvāpta-vijaya-yaśaḥ-patākāḥ*, 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 Vidiśā, on the outskirts of which, no doubt, Kākanādabōṭa 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 Viṣṇupada. 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 *Vānaprastha 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* 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 Mandasōr and dated the 5th of the bright half of Āśvōja (Āśvina) of the Mālava (or Vikrama) 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 Viśvavarman in the Gaṅgdhār inscription² of Vikrama year 480. And further we know from another Mandasōr inscription (No. 35 below) that Viśvavarman's son was Bandhuvarman. It will thus be seen that Naravarman belonged to the line of feudatory chieftains that ruled over Daśapura (Mandasōr) 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 *Siṃha-vikrānta-gāmin*, "a follower of *Siṃha-Vikrānta*". *Siṃha-Vikrānta* is obviously the same as *Siṃha-Vikrama* which, we know from Gupta coins,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 320 ff.

² *CII.*, Vol. III, 1883, No. 17, pp. 72 ff.

was a title of Chandragupta II. And we have already seen from a Sāñchī 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, Viśvavarman 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 *Siñhāsana dvātrīṃśat*, *Vētālapañchavīṃśati*, Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and Rājaśekhara's *Chaturvīṃśatīprabandha* but also in Kshēmendra's *Bṛihatkāthāmañjarī*, Sōmadēva's *Kathāsarit-sāgara* and Kālidāsa's *Jyōtirvidābharana*. It is quite clear from these popular tales and traditions that Vikramāditya, whosoever he was, was not only a *yōgī* and *Siddha* who could tackle and control evil spirits but also a Śakāri 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 *yōgī* 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 Ujjayanī 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 *ashṭamahāsiddhi*, "eight great supernatural powers", and another, that he ruled over the *Vētālas* or 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 *Vētālas* 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 *Dēvīchandraguptam* Chandragupta is represented as being intent upon performing some ceremony to propitiate Vētāla with a view to warding off the calamity threatened by the *Śakapati* 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 Sāngli³ and Cambay⁴ plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa 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 *Antarjyōtiḥ* 'Inner or Spiritual Light'. The verse number three it calls him a *ṛishi* in the phrase *rājādhirāj-arshēḥ* coupled with his name. And the term *ṛishi* means not only 'a saint or sage', but also 'an ascetic or anchorite'. Epigraphic evidence, contemporary and later, thus points to the *Siddha* or *yōgī* Vikramāditya of tradition being no other than Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta line. That the epithet *Śakāri*, which is applied to Vikramāditya of tradi-

¹ B.G., Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 579-80.

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 *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, pp. 207 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250, lines 23-25.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38, verse 22.

⁵ *IHQ.*, Vol. X, pp. 48 and 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 Śakāri 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 Dhirendranath 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 Saṁvat. 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 *Jyōtir-vidābharaṇa* 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 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*¹ 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, Māṭṛigupta, sought the court of this Vikramāditya, and, after long futile endeavours, attracted the attention of the king who sent Māṭṛigupta 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 Māṭṛigupta 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".² It is true that Kalhaṇa further tells us that Pravarasēna II "replaced Śilāditya-Pratāpaśila, son of Vikramāditya, who had been dethroned by enemies, in the kingdom of his father",³ 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.⁴ It is forgotten, however, that this Mālava was situated on the south-eastern side of the *Mo-ho* (verse 1, *Mo-hi* = *Mahī*) river and is distinguished from the country of Ujjayinī.⁵ 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

¹ Book III, verses 129-320; Stein's Trans., Intro., pp. 83-84.

² *Ibid.*, verse 125.

³ *Ibid.*, verse 330.

⁴ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 242; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 261.

⁵ Watters, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 242 and 250; Beal, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 267 and 270-71.

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 Kalhaṇa, it looks probable that the second name Harsha had clung to Vikramāditya perhaps through the mistake of the scribe. It seems that originally he was known as Chandra-Vikramāditya. 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 Mātṛigupta, the poet of the court of Vikramāditya, who was placed in charge of Kashmir? It is true that the existence of a poet, Mātṛigupta, is attested by the verses cited from his compositions by Kshēmēndra and other Kashmirian litterateurs. 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 Bhau Daji which identifies Mātṛigupta with the great poet Kālidāsa.¹ His arguments are principally based on the two names being practically synonymous (*Kālī*=*Mātṛi*; *dāsa*=*gupta*); on the absence of any mention of Kālidāsa in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which, however, speaks of Bhavabhūti, Vākpati and others; and on the ascription to Kālidāsa of the composition of *Sētubandha* at the bidding of a king Pravarasēna. Now even if we do not accept that Mātṛigupta 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 *prastāvanā* of all his dramas, had the other appellation of Śrikanṭha. It is quite possible that Mātṛigupta was similarly another appellation of Kālidāsa. Again, it is a point worthy of note that one work of Kālidāsa has been styled *Vikramōrvaṣīya* and another *Kumārasāmbhava*. 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 *Raghuvamśa*. This poem speaks of the Hūṇas, 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 *Raghuvamśa* 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-prabhavō vamśaḥ*). It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Guptas were a solar race and that the *Raghuvamśa* 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 *āditya* which means 'the sun'. Thus Chandragupta is called *Vikramāditya*; Kumāragupta I, *Mahēndrāditya*; Skandagupta, both *Kramāditya* and *Vikramāditya*; Narasimhagupta, *Bālāditya*; Kumāragupta II, *Kramāditya*; Chandragupta III, *Dvādaśāditya*; and so on.³ What does the term *āditya* in these epithets signify? To begin from the beginning, *Vikramāditya* is generally taken in the sense of 'the sun of valour'. But how will this translation suit, e.g., *Mahēndrāditya* or *Bālāditya*? The first of these is an epithet of Kumāragupta I. But what is meant by saying that he was *Mahēndrāditya* if *Mahēndrāditya* is taken in the sense of 'the sun of the great Indra'? In fact, this rendering is not only

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 *Mēghadūta*, pp. vii ff.

³ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, pp. 34 ff.; pp. 89 ff.; pp. 117 ff.; pp. 122 ff.; pp. 137 ff.; pp. 140 ff.; and p. 144.

meaningless but confusing. We have therefore to translate it by "Mahēndra who is (also) the Sun". Similarly, *Vikramāditya* 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 *Āditya* and the first is a second appellation which is peculiar to the Gupta king. Whether he is *Vikrama* or *Mahēndra*, he is uniformly *Āditya*. Similarly, Narasiṃha is styled *Bālāditya* or 'the rising Sun'; and Chandragupta III, *Dvādaśāditya*, 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 *Āditya*, 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, Kālidāsa aspires to describe the life and doings of the Raghu 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 *svayanivara*, or bridegroom selection by the Vidarbha princess, Indumatī, which has been set forth in Canto VI of the *Raghuvamśa*. Sunandā, 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 Indumatī is introduced? He is the ruler of Magadha which is thus accorded the place of honour. This would not have been possible if Kālidāsa 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.¹ 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.² As Sanskrit poets are noted for *double entendre* in many of their verses, this continuance of sacrificial rites most probably refers to Samudragupta who celebrated the *Aśvamēdha*, and the Indra invited to attend them is most likely his own son Chandragupta II, whose another name, we have seen, was *Dēvarāja*, 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 *Aṅga*,³ 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.⁴ This description can suit Chandragupta best. We have pointed out above that in inscriptions he is described as *pratigrihīta* or 'selected for succession' by his father. This means that he was *Yuvarāja* for some time. And the province that had been ear-marked for *Yuvarājaship* in the Gupta period was *Tirabhukti* whose headquarters then was *Vaiśālī*, as is clear from the seals found at *Basārh* which is the modern representative of that place. And this was but natural, because *Vaiśālī* 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 *Pāṭaliputra*, the heir-apparent, to begin with, ruled at *Vaiśālī* then included in *Tirabhukti* which practically coincided with the *Aṅga* country. It is quite possible that while the sacrificial rites of Samudragupta were being performed in Pushpapura, Chandragupta, the *Yuvarāja*, 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 *Śuṅga* dynasty, who, when he celebrated the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, invited there his son *Agnimitra* who was then stationed as Viceroy at *Vidiśā*, as Kālidāsa tells us in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Some such references to the contemporaneous Gupta monarchs are traceable in the *Raghuvamśa*, which, though none of them by itself is of a convincing nature,

¹ *Raghuvamśa*, vi. 22; also *ABORI.*, Vol. VIII, p. 202.

² *Raghuvamśa*, vi. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi. 29.

produce cumulative evidence of some cogency.¹ 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 Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri;² and the second by Pandit Lachhmi Dhar Kalla.³ 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 Bhau Daji's suggestion that Mātṛigupta who, according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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 Kshēmendra, a native of Kashmir, distinguishes between Mātṛigupta and Kālidāsa in his *Auchityavichāracharchā*. But there were probably two or three different Mātṛiguptas, one a poet referred to by Kshēmendra, another a writer on *Alaṅkāra* mentioned by Vāsudēva in the *Karpūramañjarī* and a third who wrote a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.⁴ That does not preclude the possibility of either Kālidāsa being confounded with Mātṛigupta in the legend connected with Vikramāditya in Kashmir and narrated by Kalhaṇa, or again of Kālidāsa having borne the appellation of Mātṛigupta just as Bhavabhūti bore that of Śrīkaṇṭha. What we have further to note in this connection is that the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* mentions also a third personage who was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and Chandragupta-Vikramāditya, namely, Pravarasēna II.

As Chandragupta was the imperial ruler, we can understand how Mātṛigupta (=Kālidāsa) could be appointed as the governor of one province in Kashmir and his grandson Pravarasēna of another as he was then a mere prince of the Vākāṭaka territory, his elder brother Divākarasēna being then the *Yuvarāja* with their mother Prabhāvatiguptā as queen-regent. The connection of Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya and Pravarasēna did not cease here, and Kālidāsa seems in the later period to have been dispatched as *Tantrapāla* or *chargé d'affaires* to the Court of Pravarasēna 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 *Kuntalēśvarakāvya*, wrongly shortened into *Kuntēśvarakāvya*. 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 Rājaśekhara (10th century A.D.) as the latter quotes one verse from this poem.

It was during the period that Pravarasēna 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 *Sētubandha*, also called *Daśamukhavadhā* or *Rāvaṇavadhā* under the inspiration, probably with the help of Kālidāsa. Even Kalhaṇa mentions vaguely a tradition about this work of Pravarasēna when he says that the latter constructed the 'Great Bridge' (*Bṛihat-sētu*) built on the Vitastā. This *Bṛihat-sētu* cannot be a physical construction, as understood by him and also by the translator, but must be taken to be the

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.

² *JBORS.*, Vol. I, pp. 197 ff.

³ *The Birth-place of Kālidāsa* (Delhi University Publications, No. 1).

⁴ Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt. I, p. 448.

well-known poem of Pravarasēna, called *Sētubandha*. That this Pravarasēna 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-Vikramāditya.¹ But Kalhaṇa speaks also of another Pravarasēna who was his grandfather. The latter is, however, described as the protector of the earth.² This Pravarasēna is doubtless the founder of the Vākāṭaka 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 Pravarasēna II, perhaps the grandfather of his grandfather. But as we have remarked above, the first three books of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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 Pāṭaliputra is somewhat difficult to determine. As early as 1904 a clay seal was exhumed by the late T. Bloch during his excavations at Basāṛh, the ancient Vaiśālī (No. 13 below). It pertains to the *Mahādēvi* Dhruvasvāminī, 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 Dhruvasvāminī. 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 Jayanātha, a prince of this feudatory family, is, in one inscription, called Muruṇḍadēvi, and, in two, Muruṇḍasvāminī.³ It seems that the terms *dēvi* and *svāminī* were used synonymously. There can thus remain no doubt as to the Basāṛh 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 Basāṛh excavations which leave no doubt as to Vaiśālī having been not only the headquarters of Tirabhukti but also a seat of the *Yuvarāja*, at any rate, in the earlier part of the Gupta period.⁴ It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to conclude that Gōvindagupta was *Yuvarāja* stationed at Vaiśālī. Vaiśālī 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 Vaiśālī should be the seat of the *Yuvarāja* 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 *Yuvarāja* and posted at Vaiśālī, 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 inscription⁵ which speaks of Gōvindagupta in verse 4. The verse following it says: "When his lotus-like feet were touched by the heads

¹ M. A. Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (trans.), Vol. I, Intro., p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Bk. iii, verse 97.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 128, 132 and 138.

⁴ *A.R. ASI.*, 1903-04, p. 107, Nos. 4, 6, 11, 12, 20, 21, 22, 25 and 29.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 12 ff.

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 *Aśvamēdha* 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-Kramāditya* 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 *Gōvinda-gupta*.

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 Sāñchī 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.¹ On the other hand, the earliest date for his son Skandagupta is Gupta year 136 given by the celebrated Junāgaḍh 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 Dāmōdarpur (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 Dāmōdarpur plates. The three couple with the name of the king the paramount titles *Paramadaivata*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. The first component of this royal formula is noteworthy, namely, *Paramadaivata*, which clearly indicates that in the Gupta period the king was identified with the supreme divinity.² 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 *Āyuktaka* Officer, whose name ended in *-viṣṇu* approached certain Brāhmaṇas and the *Aṣṭakul-ādhipikarāṇa* of the village for the purchase of some land at the rate prevalent in the District (*viśaya*) of Khādā(ṭā?)pāra. His application was complied with, and he in turn made a grant of it to a Chhandōga or Sāmavēdin Brāhmaṇa called Varāhasvāmin. Of the Dāmōdarpur plates of Kumāragupta, one is dated 124, and the other, 128. In both the years, the province (*bhukti*) of Puṇḍravardhana was being administered by Chirātadatta who was

¹ *JASB.*, Vol. LXIII (1894), pt. i, p. 175; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 261.

² D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* (Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 1925), p. 164.

appointed *Uparika* or Governor thereof by the Emperor himself. The Governor, in his turn, appointed *Kumārāmātya* Vētravarman to administer the court of the town along with four other officials, namely, the *Nagara-śrēṣṭhin* Dhṛitipāla, the *Sārthavāha* Bandhumitra, the *Prathama-Kulika* Dhṛitimitra and the *Prathama-Kāyastha* Śāmbapāla. It is to this town *kachēri* that a Brāhmaṇa called Karpatika applied for one *kulyavāpa*, that is, a strip of land where one *kulya* of seed could be sown, land, again, which could be held in perpetuity according to the *nīvi* 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 *Agnihōtra* rites. It was waste land, unploughed and not yielding (any produce). The record keepers (*Pustapālas*) Risidatta, Jayanandin and Vibhudatta went into the case and fixed upon some land north-west of Ḍōṅgā, 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 *pañcha-mahāyajñas*, two *drōṇas* 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 Baigrām 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 *Kumārāmātya* Kulavṛiddhi of Pañchanagarī and the *Adhikaraṇa* or Court of the District (*viśhaya*) called thereafter, to the village officials, of Trivṛitā and Śrīgōhālī connected with Vāyigrāma (Baigrām). Here Kulavṛiddhi is spoken of as meditating on the feet of the *Bhaṭṭāraka*, that is, the sovereign, who, in this case, must be Kumāragupta I. And it seems that Pañchanagarī was the name not only of the District but also of its headquarters. Bhōyila of Trivṛitā and Bhāskara of Śrīgōhālī, we are told, applied to this court for three *kulyavāpas* and two *drōṇavāpas* 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 *drōṇas*. The price of one *kulyavāpa* is expressly stated as two *dināras*; and one *kulyavāpa*, we know, was equivalent to eight *drōṇas*. 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. *Rūpaka* has several meanings. One meaning is simply 'a coin', that is, any coin. In that sense occur such terms as *suvarṇa-rūpaka* and *svaṛṇa-rūpaka*, both in the *Rājataranṅinī* and in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*.² It is also used in the sense of 'a silver coin', corresponding to the Hindi *Rupiyā* 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*, *viṃśōpaka* and *karsha* while recording benefactions to a Jaina temple.³ Of what metal the *viṃśōpaka* was made is doubtful. But there can be no doubt as to *rūpaka* and *karshaka* 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

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff.

² *Car. Lect.*, 1921, p. 131.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 24, lines 26-27.

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 *pañcha-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 Bilsaḍ in Etah District in Uttar Pradesh and is dated "in the ninety-sixth year of the increasingly victorious (Gupta) rule (*abhivarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara*) pertaining to the prosperous Kumāragupta (I), the *Mahārājādhirāja*." It records that one Dhruvaśarman constructed a *pratōlī* or gateway, established a *sattra* or almshouse and erected the column in question, in connection with a temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsēna. 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 *dīnāras* for the maintenance of a *sattra* or almshouse, apparently, to a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the community of Sadāsattra. The other inscription, the year of which has been effaced, seems to record two gifts, one of ten *dīnāras* for the maintenance of a *sattra* and apparently to a Brāhmaṇa of the same community. There are two more Gaḍhwā inscriptions² 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 Sadāsattra or Perpetual Almshouse, and the Brāhmaṇas thereof as *Sadāsattrasāmānya*, that is, as 'pertaining to the Community of Sadāsattra'.

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 Mālwā. 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 these³ was found at Gaṅgdhār in the erstwhile Jhalawar State, Rajputana, and is of the time of a prince called Viśvavarman, 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-ṛaṭapura, doubtless Gaṅgdhār also called Gaṅgrāḍ. He had two sons, Viśṇubhaṭa and Hari-bhaṭa, who were engaged in business and who, at the instance of their father, constructed a temple of Viśṇu, whereas Mayūrāksha himself built an edifice of the Divine Mothers, full of female ghouls (*dākinī*), and also a large drinking step-well. The next inscription (No. 35 below) which we have to notice was originally found at Mandasōr, 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 Viśvavarman, 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 *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 64, pp. 264 ff.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 17, pp. 72 ff.

a guild of silk-weavers who originally belonged to the Lāṭa country but who afterwards migrated to Daśapura and settled down there. While Kumāragupta was ruling over the earth and Bandhuvarman was a prince of Daśapura, the guild, we are told, built and consecrated the Sun temple which was standing in the western ward of Daśapura, "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 Vatsabhaṭṭi, 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 Ēraṇ, the ancient Airikiṇa, 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 Airikiṇa 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 Vaiśāli. 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 Vaṭōdaka, 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 Bharādhi Dīh near Karam-ḍāṁḍā, 12 miles from Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh. It registers a benefaction by Pṛithivishēṇa, son of Chandragupta's *Mantri-Kumārāmātya* Śikharasvāmin, who was the son of Vishṇupālita-bhaṭṭa, son of Kumāravabhāṭṭa, of the Chhandōgas and of the Aśva-Vājin *gōtra*. Pṛithivishēṇa has been described, like his father, as *Mantri-Kumārāmātya*, not, however, of Chandragupta II, but of Kumāragupta I. But at the time when the benefaction was made, he was *Mahābalādhikṛita*. The benefaction was made for the worship of Mahādēva, known as Pṛithivishvara, apparently, the *liṅga* of our inscription founded by and named after Pṛithivishēṇa. The portion of the inscription, which recorded the object thereof, is not well preserved, but what remains shows that the donees were some Brāhmaṇas from Ayōdhyā, connected with Mahādēva Śailēśvara, who appears to be the principal deity of the religious settlement. The Brāhmaṇas belonged to different *gōtras* and *charaṇas* and were proficient in their penances, Vedic recitation, *mantras*, *sūtras*, *bhāshyas* and so forth. The benefaction was made to enable them to perform some duties in connection with the *dēvadrōṇī* at Bhāraḍī, which apparently is the same as Bharādhi Dīh, the place where the *liṅga* was found. And it seems that the money grant contributed by Pṛithivishēṇa 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 Kaṅkālī Ṭilā at Mathurā and now deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. The inscription was first deciphered by Bühler who read the date as 113 (?). But the date is clearly 107 and mentions the twentieth day of the intercalary month Śrāvaṇa. 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 Śāmāḍhyā, daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava and wife of Guhamitrapālita, who was a *Prārtharika* (= *Prāstarika*), 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 Tīrthamkara 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 Gōśarman, himself descended from the teacher Bhadra. The secular name of the donor was Śaṅkara, and we are told that he was a son of Saṅghila-Ripughna through Padmāvati. We are further told that he hailed from some country in the north which was as exquisite as that of the Northern Kurus.

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 *Bhikshu* named Buddhmitra whom the late K. B. Pathak identified with a *Bhikshu* of the same name, who was the teacher of Vasubandhu, whose patrons, according to Paramārtha, were Skandagupta-Vikramāditya and Narasimhagupta-Bālāditya. In this record Kumāragupta has been styled simply *Mahārāja*, not *Mahārājādhirāja*, 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 Pushyamitras and the inroads of the Hūṇas adverted to in the Bhitari 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 Kushāṇa 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 *Upāsikā*, named Harisvāmini, wife of *Upāsaka* Sanasiddha, made to the Ārya-Saṅgha at the Great Buddhist Convent of Kākanadabōṭa near the great *Stūpa* at Sāñchī, for the purpose of feeding one *Bhikshu* 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 Dēvatā, who describes herself as *Vihārasvāmini* or 'Lady Superintendent of *Vihāra*'. 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 *Mahendra* which was to him what *Vikrama* was to Chandragupta II,

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 61, pp. 258 ff.

² *Ibid.*, No. 62, pp. 260 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 63, pp. 262 ff.

and *Parākrama* to Samudragupta. Many combinations were formed out of *Mahendra* as they were out of *Vikrama* and *Parākrama*. Thus, like *Vyāghra-Parākrama* of Samudragupta or *Siṃha-Vikrama* of Chandragupta, we have *Siṃha-Mahendra* for Kumāragupta on the Lion-slayer Type. But what is noteworthy is that this *Siṃha-Mahendra* is sometimes found reversed into *Mahendra-Siṃha*, showing clearly again that it is a *karmadhāraya* compound, signifying that Kumāragupta is here described as "Mahendra 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 *Siṃha-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 Kāthiāwār and sometimes in the Sunderban jungles of Bengal. The case is, however, different in regard to the *Aśvamēdha* Type struck by him. This is almost an exact imitation of the *Aśvamēdha* Type issued by Samudragupta. On the obverse there is a horse wearing breast-band and saddle and facing a *yūpa* 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 *Aśvamēdha*, as in the case of Samudragupta, must be taken as an indication of the rank of *Sārvabhauma*, attained by Kumāragupta. And we have already seen that in an inscription¹ 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 *Mahendra-Kumāra* and on the reverse Kārttikēya, riding on the peacock and holding a spear over his shoulder and with the name *Mahendra-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 Rāshtrakūṭa 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 Kshatrapa prototype, and display great originality of treatment, not the least important feature of which is the discarding of the representation of Garuḍa, 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 Vaishṇava legend, in which the epithet *Paramabhāgavata* 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

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 12 ff.

² *B.G.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 401.

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 Prithivishēṇa, son of Śikharasvāmin who was *Mantri-Kumārāmātya* to Chandragupta II. Prithivishēṇa like his father was at first *Mantri-Kumārāmātya* but afterwards became *Mahā-balādhikṛita* and was so in Gupta year 117 when inscription No. 21 below was engraved. The Dāmōdarpur 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 (*bhukti*) and the other was the *Kumārāmātya* Vētravarman who was put by the former in charge of the City Court of Kōṭivarsha.

Ghaṭōtkachagupta 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 Tumain inscription of Kumāragupta (No. 20 below) speaks not only of this Gupta sovereign but also of one Ghaṭōtkachagupta who apparently was his son and governor of Airikiṇa (Ēraṇ) 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta (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 Lichchavis, was the seat of the *Yuvarāja* 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta also was found at Basāḍh, Ghaṭōtkachagupta seems similarly to have been raised to the dignity of the *Yuvarāja* soon after Gupta year 116 when he was Governor of Airikiṇa 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta 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.¹ 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.² 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Tumain inscription, of the Basāḍh

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, Intro., p. liv.

² *Ibid.*, p. 149.

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

But the extreme paucity of Ghaṭōtkachagupta'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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta? 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 Pushyamitras. That was no doubt supported by the reading of Fleet, namely, *Pushyamitrāṁś=cha jītvā*. Bhagwanlal, however, reads *Pushyamitraś=cha jītvā*.¹ Some time ago, the reading =*Yuddhy=amitrāṁś=cha* was suggested on grounds of plausibility by H. R. Divekar.² 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 Indrajī. In fact, they show that this reading is as good as certain. It is true that the existence of the Pushyamitras is attested by both a Mathurā Jaina inscription and the *Purāṇas*. Nevertheless, it is highly strange that such an insignificant clan as the Pushyamitras 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, Garuḍa, which rendered devoid of poison, the Serpent (*bhujaga*) Rulers, who had uplifted their hoods in pride and arrogance." As *bhujaga* 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, Garuḍa 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.

² *ABORI.*, Vol. I, pp. 100-01.

is represented on the one hand as impressing his Garuḍa signet on the Nāgas and on the other as repairing to his mother in tears just as Kṛiṣṇa did to Dēvakī after he had laid low his enemy. It seems that on the demise of Kumāragupta, Ghaṭōtkacha 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. Ghaṭōtkacha 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta came to the throne, and were not restored till Skandagupta made himself supreme.

The Bhitari 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 Junāgaḍh rock inscription (No. 28 below), which says: "And, moreover, he alone has conquered, whose fame enemies proclaim (being caused to return) to the Mlēchchha 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 Mlēchchhas who invaded the Gupta territory but were forced to return to their Mlēchchha 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 chieftain himself invited the Hūṇa monarch to come to his succour. The result, to begin with, was certainly disastrous, as Ghaṭōtkacha 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 Raghū, 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 Kshīrasavāmin, in his gloss on *Amarakōśa*, II.6.124, on the word *Vāhlika* which means 'saffron', explains it by *Vahlīka-dēsajam* | *yad* = *Raghōr* = *uttara-dig-vijayē*.

"*Dudhuvur* = *vājinaḥ skandhām* = *lagna-kuṅkuma-kēsārān*"

Thus according to Kshīrasavāmin, the country described in the *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 66-68, is Vāhlikadēśa 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 *Raghuvamśa* was composed by Kālidāsa. It was from this region that the Hūṇas rushed forth and

¹ K. B. Pathak, *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, Intro., p. viii; also *Kālidāsa and the Hūṇas of the Oxus Valley*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 265-67.

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 Pūrugupta 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 Anantadēvi. As Chandragupta II had another appellation, namely, Dēvagupta, and Kumāragupta had Gōvindagupta, 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 Śrī-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 Saraswati for the first time correctly pointed out² that the legend read as *Pura* by Allan, as a matter of fact, was either *Busha* 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 Gōvindagupta 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 146. For Kumāragupta II we have Gupta year 154, for Budhagupta dates ranging from 157 to 175, for Vainyagupta 188, for Bhānugupta 191, and so forth and so on. It is then quite natural to take Kumāragupta who issued the Bhitari and Nālandā seals as the grandson of Skandagupta. If we, however, take Skandagupta and Purugupta as two separate brother kings we are forced to cramp 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 Narasimhagupta 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 Bhitari pillar and the Junāgaḍh 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 Śārṅgin (Vishṇu) which would be a monument (*kīrtti*) 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

¹ *ABORI.*, Vol. I, pp. 73-74.

² *IC.*, Vol. I, pp. 691-92.

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-nadī, 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-griha* of the Gupta family. The next record that we have to consider is the Junāgaḍh rock inscription which speaks of Skandagupta as having appointed, as his governor of Surāshṭra (Kāthiawār), one Parṇadatta 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 Girnār, near where the inscribed rock is situated, gave way on account of excessive rain on the night of the sixth day of Praushṭhapada (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 (*rāshṭriya*), under Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty and that it was afterwards furnished with conduits by the Yavana ruler, Tushāspa, under Aśoka.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, Palhava minister (*amātya*) of that *Mahākshatrapa*. In the time of Skandagupta when Parṇadatta 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 Āshāḍha in Gupta year 137 (expired)=456-57 A.D. The Junāgaḍh rock inscription further records that in Gupta year 138 (expired), Chakrapālita built a temple of Vishṇu named Chakrabhṛit, apparently after him, perched on Mount Ūrjayat 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 Bhadrāryā attended by Skanda and the Divine Mothers and a sacrificial post—both in Skandaguptabaṭa called after him. This seems to have been an *agrahāra* or *inām* village from which different shares were apportioned to different recipients, one of whom was Anantasēna. 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 *akshaya-nivi*. 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 Guhilasvāmin and the goddess called Bhadrāryyakā.

The fourth record of Skandagupta's reign that we have to take note of is the copper-plate inscription found at Indōr in the Bulandshahr District, Uttar Pradesh. It is dated Gupta year 146=465-66 A.D., when the *Vishayapati* Śarvvanāga was administering the District of Antarvvēdi which here cannot denote the big province intervening between the Ganges and the Jumna as Fleet takes it, but rather the small region of Kanauj between the Ganges and the Jumna known as Antarabēda and commonly called the *Do'ab*. It records that the Brāhmaṇa Dēvavishṇu, who was a student of *Sāmavēda* (*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

¹ *CASIR.*, Vol. I, p. 97 and pl. xxx.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 6 ff.

tailika-srēṇi, 'guild of oil-men' headed by Jīvanta, 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 Kahāurṁ (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 Tirthaṅkaras (*pathi* . . . *arhatām* = *ādi-kartṛīn*) were installed by Madra, sculptured in a lofty stone pillar in the village of Kakubha (Kahāurṁ). 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 (*gurus*) and ascetics (*yatis*). This shows that, though by religious persuasion he was a Jaina, he was a Hindu socially.

There is also a sixth epigraph¹ which we have to note in this connection. It is dated Gupta year 148, and records the setting up of an image of Anantasvāmin (Vishṇu) and the endowment of a grant. Unfortunately the ruler's name has been effaced. But having regard to the phraseology (*pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara*) 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, Narasiṁhagupta, 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 Bhitari 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, Dāmōdarpur and Ēraṇ records (Nos. 36, 38 and 39 below). The other Gupta princes are Vainyagupta with the date Gupta year 188 contained in the Guṇaighar plate² and Bhānugupta with the date 191 given by the Ēraṇ stone pillar (No. 43 below). Similarly we have clay seals found at Nālandā not only of Narasiṁhagupta 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 Bhitari 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 Dāmōdarpur 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 Chandradēvī than anything else. And we shall not be far from right if we presume that like Narasiṁhagupta he was a son of Pūrugupta and

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 66, pp. 267-69.

² *IHQ.*, Vol. VI, pp. 53 ff.

Chandradēvī. 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 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Vainyaguptaḥ*. 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 Chandradēvī 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 Guṇaighar copper-plate charter,¹ dated Gupta year 188=507 A.D. But the Vainyagupta of the clay seal is not only a *Mahārājādhirāja* but also a *Paramabhāgavata*, whereas the Vainyagupta of the copper-plate grant is a *Mahārāja* and *Bhagavan-Mahādēva-pādānudhyāta*. 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 Guṇaighar 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-Dvādaśāditya. But Ganguly has correctly remarked that what occurs on their obverse is not Chandra but indubitably Vainya.² The coins have thus to be ascribed to Vainya(gupta)-Dvādaśāditya, and not at all to Chandra(gupta) III-Dvādaśāditya. 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 Viṣṇu. 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 Chandradēvī. 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta, 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta 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, Māṭṛivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu, the former of whom was a chief of the province round about Airikiṇa (Ēraṇ). As the inscription bears the date Gupta year 165 and the latest of his coins, Gupta year 175,¹ the former seems to belong to the early part of Budhagupta's reign. A second inscription² 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* Tōramāṇa" and states that it was the gift of the younger brother of Dhanyavishṇu whose elder brother Māṭṛivishṇu is described as gone to heaven. Since Māṭṛivishṇu is mentioned as alive in the Budhagupta and dead in the Tōramāṇa epigraph, it follows that Tōramāṇa 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 Tōramāṇa, we cannot take it that it was the first year of the Hūṇa rule. For, as we learn from Yuan Chwang, the Hūṇa capital was Śākala in the Panjab. What the Ēraṇ inscription may be taken to mean is that Tōramāṇa 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 Tōramāṇa was ruling already in the Panjab is clear from his epigraph found in Kura, Salt Range, Panjab, and deposited in the Lahore Museum.³ Unfortunately, the date portion of it is lost, but it refers itself to the reign of the *Rājādhirāja Mahārāja* Tōramāṇa 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 Tōramāṇa 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 Toramāṇa 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 Tōramāṇa 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 Tōramāṇa 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-

¹ *JRAS.*, 1889, pp. 134-35; 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 *pri* for 70, as seems from Tafel IX in Bühler's *Siebzen Tafeln Zur Indischen Palaeographie*. In that case, we have to suppose that the Hūṇa incursions began soon after Gupta year 165.

² *CIL.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 36, pp. 158 ff.

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 Ēraṇ (No. 43 below), dated Gupta year 191 = 509-10 A.D. It speaks of Bhānugupta 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 Bhānugupta was a Gupta sovereign. This receives support from the fact that he has been called *rājā mahān* and *Pārtha-samō*. It seems that Bhānugupta was a supreme ruler, and Gōparāja, his chieftain, the former having presumably succeeded Budhagupta overthrown by Tōramāṇa and that this Gupta sovereign seems to be no other than Narasimhagupta-Bālāditya about whom we have to take note of what Yuan Chwang 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 persecution 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 Chwang 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-Bālāditya³ 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 Bhitārī copper-silver seal. Neither of the seals furnishes him with a date. They do, however, inform us that his mother was Mitrādēvī. Who succeeded Kumāragupta III is not definitely known. But the fifth Dāmōdarpur 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 (Vishṇu)-gupta, as coins have been found of one Vishṇu-(gupta)-Chandrāditya who is supposed to be the last Gupta king who issued gold coinage 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 Mandasōr, which speaks of a king named Yaśōdharman, 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

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 37, pp. 161 ff.

² Thomas Watters: *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, pp. 288-89.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 245 ff. and 346 ff.

⁴ Since the above was written, a clay seal of Vishṇugupta 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 Sthāṇu (Śiva) and, on account of whom, even the Himālaya bore the pride of the appellation: *Durga* 'Inaccessible'. It is worthy of note that it was Mihirakula who had made the Himālaya 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 (Narasimha-)Bālāditya of Magadha. But what was the date of Yaśōdharman? We have already referred to his inscriptions on the victory pillars found at Mandasōr. 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. Fleet,³ 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 *narādhipatiḥ 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. Tōramāṇa was probably in possession of North India as far as Ēraṇ 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 (=Narasimha-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 (Narasimha-)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 Parivrājaka family. With the years ranging between 163 and 209 and specified in their documents is coupled the significant expression *Gupta-ṇṛpa-rājya-bhuktau*, '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 Saṁkshōbha 199 and 209. It is thus

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 35, pp. 150 ff.

² *JASB.*, Vol. LVIII, pt. i, p. 96; and *JRAS.*, 1903, p. 550.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 35, pp. 150 ff; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 227.

⁴ *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XX, p. 392.

⁵ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, Intro., pp. 20-21.

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 Vishṇugupta furnished by the last Dāmōdarpur plate. What seems to have happened after the defeat of Mihirakula by Bhānugupta (=Narasimhagupta-Bālāditya) in Gupta year 191 may be reasonably guessed as follows. As Yuan Chwang has told us, Mihirakula had to beat a hasty retreat to Kashmir, as the Hūṇa capital Śākala 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 Śākala 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-Vishṇuvardhana, 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 Pratihāras, 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 Vishṇugupta cannot definitely be ascertained.

The following is the chronological statement that may be tentatively put up as descriptive of this troublous 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 Narasimhagupta-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 Narasimhagupta-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 Vishṇuvardhana, *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 *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya 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 Basāḍh, the ancient Vaiśālī. 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) *Śrī-Paramabhaṭṭārakapādiya-Kumārāmātya-ādhiparāṇa*¹
- (2) *Śrī-Yuvarājapādiya-Kumārāmātya-ādhiparāṇa*²
- (3) *Yuvarājapādiya-Kumārāmātya-ādhiparāṇa*³
- (4) *Tīra-Kumārāmātya-ādhiparāṇa*⁴
- (5) *Vaiśālī-vāma-kuṇḍē Kumārāmātya-ādhiparāṇa*⁵
- (6) *Kumārāmātya-ādhiparāṇa*⁶

It will be seen that these six seal legends are connected with the officer designated *Kumārāmātya*, who, it seems, may be attached to the king, crown-prince or Revenue Division or any region. *Kumārāmātya* thus seems to have been a big officer,—an inference confirmed by the fact that he had an *ādhiparāṇa* or office of his own, wheresoever he was posted. But what is meant by *Kumārāmātya*? The late K.P. Jayaswal⁷ has, in this connection, drawn our attention to a passage occurring in Act II of Bhāsa's *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*. When Śālaṅkāyana, minister to king Pradyōta Mahāsēna, having captured Udayana, ruler of Kauśāmbī, brings him to the gate of Ujjayinī and the news is announced to Mahāsēna, the latter instructs the *Kāñchukīya* or Chamberlain: *Gachchha, Bharatarōhakaṁ brūhi: "Kumāra-vidhi-viśiṣṭhēna satkāreṇa Vatsarājam = agrataḥ kṛtvā pravēśyatām = amātya iti"*⁸, "Go and tell Bharatarōhaka to receive the minister (*amātya*) with the honours due to a prince and bring him in with the Vatsa king."⁹ It is thus quite clear from the above passage that *Kumārāmātya* is not an ordinary *amātya* but an *amātya* 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 *amātya* or minister on the one hand and from a *Kumāra* or Prince on the other. That there were officers called simply *Amātya* is known from many seals found at Bhīṭā.¹⁰ But *Kumārāmātya* was an *amātya* par excellence and could therefore be attached to the king or the crown-prince and consequently designated as *Paramabhaṭṭārakapādiya-Kumārāmātya* and *Yuvarājapādiya-Kumārāmātya* or *Yuvarājapādiya-Kumārāmātya*. Or he may be attached to some nondescript but important office designated e.g., as *Vaiśālī-vāma-kuṇḍē Kumārāmātya-ādhiparāṇa* on a seal picked up by the late D.B. Spooner during his excavations at Basāḍh in 1913-14. Spooner reads *Vēśālī-nāma-kuṇḍē*, but the reading is clearly *Vaiśālī-vāma-kuṇḍē*. The legend has therefore to be translated as "the Office of *Kumārāmātya* at the beautiful water spring of Vaiśālī." What could this water spring be? Vaiśālī, 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

¹ A.R. ASI., 1903-04, p. 108, No. 8.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 6 and 11.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109, No. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 134, No. 200.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 107, No. 3.

⁷ JBORS., Vol. XVII, p. 399.

⁸ *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, No. 16, p. 33.

⁹ *Punjab Univ. Ori. Pub.*, No. 13, p. 20.

¹⁰ A.R. ASI., 1911-12, pp. 53-54.

hear of there having been a special *pushkariṇi* 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 *kunḍa* or *pushkariṇi* 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 *Kumārāmātya*, who, in court etiquette, was equal to the prince in rank and dignity.

We have at least three instances of a *Kumārāmātya* being attached to the king. The first is that of Harishēṇa who composed the *praśasti* contained in the celebrated Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The other two are furnished by the Karamḍāṁḍā stone inscription (No. 21 below) of Kumāragupta, which speaks of two persons, father and son, Śikhara-svāmin and Pṛithivishēṇa, who were *Kumārāmātyas* to the two kings, father and son, Gupta sovereigns, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, respectively. But it is worthy of note that whereas Harishēṇa has been designated *Sāndhivigrahika-Kumārāmātya*, the other two have been styled *Mantri-Kumārāmātya*. The first designation is indicative of the executive function, and the second of the consultative character, with which the *Kumārāmātya* could be entrusted. This inference is confirmed by the fact that Pṛithivishēṇa who was a contemporary of Kumāragupta was at first, we are told, *Mantri-Kumārāmātya* and afterwards *Mahābalādhikṛita*. This shows that the office of *Kumārāmātya* was neither a hereditary appointment nor a permanently personal distinction. The question arises: what kind of an office was held by *Kumārāmātya* as *Kumārāmātya*? That question we have now to consider briefly. We have seen that an officer of the grade of *Kumārāmātya* could be attached to a *yuvarāja*, and, above all, to the king himself as *Mantrin* or *Sāndhivigrahika*. He could also be in charge of a division, as is clear from the seal legend reading *Tira-Kumārāmāty-ādihikarāṇasya*, "Of the Office of *Kumārāmātya* in charge of the Tira (—Division=*Bhukti*)."² He could not have been the governor of the province, because at Basāḍh itself has been found a seal bearing the legend *Tirabhukty-Uparik-ādihikarāṇasya*.³ *Uparika*, as will be shown later on, means 'the governor of a province.' *Kumārāmātya* of Tirabhukti or Tira 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 *Adhishṭhān-ādihikarāṇa*, as is evident from two of the Dāmōdarpur plates (Nos. 22 and 24 below) which both speak of *Kumārāmātya* Vētravarman as presiding over the Town Administrative Board (*adhishṭhān-ādihikarāṇa*) of Kōṭivarsha 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 *Kumārāmātya*. There is, again, a plate of Lōkanātha 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 (*vishaya*) by *Kumārāmātya* and his *adhikarāṇa* 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 Baigrām copper-plate inscription⁴ where too the *Kumārāmātya* and *adhikarāṇa* convey similar orders in respect of the grant to the officers of the district concerned. There is mention in this inscription also of the

¹ D.R. Bhandarkar's *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 150.

² *A.R. ASI.*, 1903-04, p. 109, No. 20.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 306 and p. 302.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff.

pustapālas or record-keepers but no reference at all to the *Adhishṭhān-ādhiparāṇa*. It seems that *Kumārāmātya's* *adhikarāṇa* 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 *Kumārāmātya* as *Kumārāmātya* 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 *Kumārāmātya Mahārāja*. Nandana who issued the charter was not only a *Mahārāja* or feudatory chieftain but also a *Kumārāmātya*, 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 Valabhī. Thus the Māliyā copper-plate inscription of the *Mahārāja* Dharasēna II sets forth the list of the state officials as follows: *Āyuktaka-Viniyuktaka-Drāṅgika-Mahattara-Chāṭa-Bhaṭa-Dhruvādhiparāṇika-Dāṇḍapāsika-Rājasthānīya-Kumārāmātya-ādi*.² Here the officials have been mentioned in the ascending order from which it is clear that *Kumārāmātya* occupies the highest rank in this list and is therefore higher in rank than *Rājasthānīya* 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 *Mahākumārāmātya*, and occurs *e.g.*, in the Bhagalpur plate³ of Nārāyaṇapāla and the Manahali plate⁴ of Madanapāla, but the sense conveyed by it is something like that suggested by Bhagwanlal Indraji, namely 'an *amātya* minister or councillor, attached to *Kumāra* or prince.' This is clear from the fact that *Mahākumārāmātya* has in these Pāla plates been contradistinguished from *Rājāmātya*, 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 Basāḍh by Bloch, namely, *Tīrabhukty-Uparik-ādhiparāṇa*. Before this seal came to light, the term *Uparika* 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 *Rājasthānīya*, and *Kumārāmātya*.⁶ In later times, the prefix *bṛihat* was added to it to exaggerate the importance of the post just as *mahā* was added in the case of *Kumārāmātya*.⁷ But what the exact position of *Uparika* was remained undetermined, until the Dāmōdarpur copper-plate inscriptions came to light. Just as the Basāḍh seal referred to above speaks of *Tīrabhukty-Uparika*, these inscriptions speak of *Puṇḍravardhanabhuktāv=Uparika*. Now, it is worthy of note that, according to the Dāmōdarpur 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 *Kumārāmātya* Vētravarman as the head of the *Adhishṭhān-ādhiparāṇa* of Kōṭivarsha. Similarly, in Gupta year

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 50.

² *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 166, lines 20-21.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 306, line 33.

⁴ *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, p. 153, line 34.

⁵ *D.R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 321 ff.

⁶ See *e.g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 72, line 9; *ibid.*, Vol IX, p. 287, line 6.

⁷ N. G. Majumdar's *Inscrs. 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 *Bṛihad-Uparika* comes immediately after *Antaraṅga*. One wonders whether the two terms together formed one designation. In the Niviṇna grant of Dharmarājādēva, *Antaraṅga* 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 Dāmōdarpur plate whose year is not preserved, the same emperor appointed *Mahārāja* Jayadatta as the *Uparika* of the same province, who, in his turn, nominated *Āyuktaka* Bhaṇḍaka as the head of the same *Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*, namely, of Kōṭivarsha. The last Dāmōdarpur 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 Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*, appointed by him, is preserved, namely Svayambhudēva who was *Vishayapati* 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 *Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* 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 *hasty-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 *bhukti*, 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 Dāmōdarpur plates, where the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* 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 Dāmōdarpur 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 Amer being nominated the governor of Bengal by the Moghul emperor Akbar.¹ Even long before the Gupta supremacy and during the reign of Aśōka, we know, the Yavana ruler Tushāspa was the provincial governor of Surāshṭra.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-*bhukti*. Both R. D. Banerji³ and R. G. Basak⁴ have remarked on the strength of the Dāmōdarpur inscriptions that the *Vishayapati*, 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 *Vishayapati* called Śarvanāga ruling over Antarvēdī, that is, Antarbēda, the region of Kanauj between the Ganges and Jumna, and speaks of him as *tat-pāda-parigrihīta* "being favoured by that venerable (king)," that is, Skandagupta. This is precisely the expression used in the Dāmōdarpur 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 *Vishayapati* was appointed by the same sovereign. The power of appointment which the *Uparika* possessed was with reference, not to the *Vishayapati*, but to the President of the District Town Board to which

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar's *Aśōka* (2nd edn.), p. 53.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 46-47.

³ *The Age of the Imperial Guptas* (Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 1924), pp. 77-78.

⁴ *The History of North-Eastern India*, p. 190.

office he could appoint anybody—a *Kumārāmātya*, *Āyuktaka* or *Vishayapati*. Here the wording is not *tat-pāda-parigrihīta* 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 Khaṭāpūraṇa as being included in the Nanda *vīthi*. *Vīthi* 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 *vīthi* after Nandapur, the place where the plate was found. We have further to note another expression which occurs in the Pahāḍpur grant.² Here land is granted from various villages which are said to be contained in the Dakṣiṇāmśa *vīthi* and the Nāgiraṭṭa *maṇḍala*. The question arises: which of these terms, *vīthi* and *maṇḍala*, denotes a more extensive territory? This may be compared to the phrasology occurring in the Nālandā plate³ of Dēvapāla and the Naihāṭi plate⁴ of Ballālasēna. In the first we have *Śrī-Nagara-bhuktau* . . . *Gayā-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Kumuda-sūtra-vīthi*, etc. In the second, we have *Śrī-Varddhamāna-bhukty-antaḥpātini* = *Uttara-Rāḍhā-maṇḍalē Svalpadakṣiṇa-vīthyām*. A comparison of the two passages will convince anybody that the terms *vishaya* and *maṇḍala* have been used synonymously and in the sense of a 'district', and *vīthi* in the sense of a 'subdivision.'

The Gupta empire, vast as it was, must have been divided into a number of *bhuktis* and *vishayas*. Of these, the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* and Kōṭivarsha *vishaya* 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 Ēraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta, dated Gupta year 165 (No. 39 below) describes one Suraśmichandra as governing the territory intervening between the Kālindī and the Narmadā as *Lōkapāla*, 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 Māṭṛivishṇu, who, although he belonged to a holy Brāhmaṇa family, "was married by Sovereignty, as if by a maiden choosing herself (her own husband)" (*svayaṃ-varay* = *ēva rājālakshmy* = *ādhiyata*). This means that Māṭṛivishṇu 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 Airikiṇa (Ēraṇ). In fact, Airikiṇa *vishaya* has been mentioned in another Ēraṇ inscription⁵ which is of a somewhat later time and which refers itself to the first regnal year of Tōramāṇa. When this epigraph was engraved, Māṭṛivishṇu 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-anuvidhāyin*, "obedient to him," but also as *tat-prasāda-parigrihīta*, "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 Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta (No. 28 below) informs us. It was this Gupta monarch, who, we are told, appointed him the protector (*gōptṛi*) of the whole Surāshṭra, by which we have to understand that he was the governor of Kāṭhiāwāḍ. And, further, we have to note that Parṇadatta put his son Chakrapālita, 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 Surāshṭra, who was doubtless his father.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 52 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 318 ff.

⁴ *Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74, lines 37-38.

⁵ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 159 ff.

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*,¹ (2) *Dāṇḍapās-ādihikaraṇasya*² and (3) *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭārakapādīya-balādihikaraṇasya*.³ Now, what does *Daṇḍanāyaka* or *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* mean? Bloch takes it in the sense of 'judge', and R. D. Banerji⁴ 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. 1 below). Thus, the officer who got the *praśasti* executed was *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Tilakabhaṭṭa. Nay, the officer who composed it, we know, was the celebrated Harishēṇa, who is designated not only *Sāndhivigrahika* and *Kumārāmātya* 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*, *Sēnādhipati* and *Daṇḍanāyaka*, and speak of his father Kāvaṇa also as *Daṇḍanāyaka*.⁵ This shows that, like 'Duke,' 'Earl' and 'Viscount', *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was a hereditary title of nobility. Nay, there is one inscription—a Kannaḍa inscription⁶ found at Kargudari and dated Śaka 1030, which in lines 40-41 speaks of one Malliyakka as *Daṇḍanāyakiti*, 'the female *Daṇḍanāyaka*.' This reminds us of the titles *Mahārāṭhi-Mahārāṭhini*, *Mahābhōja-Mahābhōjī* and *Mahāsēnāpati-Mahāsēnāpatinī* of the West India cave inscriptions,⁷ and *Mahātalavara-Mahātalavarī* and *Mahāsēnāpati-Mahāsēnāpatinī* of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.⁸ But Malliyakka of the Kargudari inscription was *Daṇḍanāyakiti*, not because her husband, but rather her father, Īsvaramayya, was *Daṇḍādhinātha* 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".⁹ 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,¹⁰ 'a high, probably judicial, official' by Vogel¹¹ and 'a police officer' by ourselves.¹² The sense known to lexicons is 'a military commander.' Thus *Abhidhāna-*

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).

² *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 108, No. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 12.

⁴ *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 77 and 96.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 92.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 252.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 80 and note 4.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 6-7.

⁹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 16 and note 5. Read in this connection U.N. Ghosal's remarks in *S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁰ *A.R. ASI.*, 1911-12, p. 54.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 32.

¹² *A.R. ASI.*, 1914-15, p. 82.

chintāmaṇi (II.9.34) has *chaturāṅga-bal-ādhyakṣaḥ sēnānī*—*daṇḍanāyakaḥ*. 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 *Daṇḍanāyaka* as equivalent to something like a 'Mansabdar' in the Mughal period. According to Irwine, 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, *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahāprachanḍa-Daṇḍanāyaka* and *Sarva-Daṇḍanāyaka*.² This receives further confirmation from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Book VII, verses 975-87, where not only *Daṇḍanāyakas* but also their forces (*sainya*) have been referred to in connection with the capture of Rājapurī by Kandarpa upon the demonstrations of king Harsha. Vexed by the reproaches of the king, when Kandarpa, we are told, entered Rājapurī, only one from among the forces (*sainyas*) of the *Daṇḍanāyakas* followed him, namely, the general (*sēnānī*) 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 Rājapurī 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 *Daṇḍanāyaka* had arrived whose soldiers (*sainikas*) had hidden themselves from fright; so forth and so on. From the above account it is clear that several *Daṇḍanāyakas* with their forces (*sainyas*) had accompanied Kandarpa to Rājapurī, that only one general (*sēnānī*) from among them followed him to the palace and that later on even the *Daṇḍanāyaka* whose soldiers had held back through fear also joined him. What inference is here more natural than that the *Daṇḍanāyakas* were something like Mansabdars who joined the royal army with their forces and that each of these forces was commanded by a *Sēnānī* or General who was not and could not always be the *Daṇḍanāyaka* himself? The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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 commanders, and joined the regular army for the battle as no doubt the *Daṇḍanāyakas* did in the present case, is something which it is difficult to understand. This is not intelligible except on the supposition that *Daṇḍanāyakas* 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 Harishēṇa of the Allahābād pillar inscription is described not only as *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* but also as *Kumārāmātya* and, above all, *Sāndhivigrahika*. If another instance is required, it is supplied by the legend of a Bhiṭā seal which runs thus: *Mahāśvapati-Mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Vishṇurakshitapād-ānugrihita-Kumārāmāty-ādihikarāṇasya*.³ Here we have a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* called Vishṇurakshita who is mentioned as *Mahāśvapati*, 'supreme commander of the cavalry.' That Vishṇurakshita 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.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 49; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 188, line 11; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 167, lines 21-22, where *Sarva-Daṇḍanāyaka* must be taken in the sense of 'the model *Daṇḍanāyaka*' like *Sarva-dhanvin*, 'model archer', that is, Love, or *Sarva-Yōgin*, 'model Yōgin', that is, Śiva.

³ *A.R. ASI.*, 1911-12, pp. 52-53.

The grade of the *Daṇḍanāyaka* survived long after the Gupta rule but was ultimately merged into the Mansabdari of the Moghul period.¹ 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 Kushāṇa records. Thus, one Mathurā inscription² speaks of a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of the time of Huvishka. Similarly, the Māṇikiālā inscription³ 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 (Kushāṇa) race. It is worthy of note that this rank of the *Daṇḍanāyaka* was unknown prior to the time of the Kushāṇas. At any rate, so far as I know, it is not mentioned in Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*. Nor is the term met with in the epigraphs of the pre-Kushāṇa 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 Kushāṇa 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 *Mahāśva-pati* occurring in a legend just referred to. A somewhat more extensive term is *Bhaṭāśvapati*, which is mentioned on a seal thus: *Bhaṭāśvapati-Yakshavatsasya*,⁴ "(seal) of Yakshavatsa, Commander of Infantry and Cavalry." A still more extensive term is *Sēnāpati*, which, although it does not occur in the inscriptions of the Gupta sovereigns, is found in the copper-plate charters of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II, who was a grandson of Chandragupta II. Two of these charters were drawn up when Chitravarman⁵ and Bāppadēva⁶ were the *Sēnāpatīs* respectively. In later times also *Sēnāpati* was distinct from *Daṇḍanāyaka*. Thus, in the Amgāchhi plate of the Pāla king Vighrahapāla, *Mahāsēnāpati* is mentioned separately from *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*.⁷ Similarly, in the Barrackpur grant of the Sēna ruler Vijayasēna also *Mahāsēnāpati* is distinguished from *Daṇḍanāyaka*.⁸ In the pre-Gupta period also *Mahāsēnāpati* is mentioned separately from *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. Thus one Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription speaks of one *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Khamdavisākhamṇaka (=Skandaviśākha).⁹ Here *Mahāsēnāpati* does not seem to be a title of nobility, because his wife Aḍavi-Chāmṭisiri has been styled only *Mahātalavarī*, and not *Mahāsēnāpatinī* as other ladies of the House of king Chārntamūla have been. A fourth term connected with the military department is *Balādhikṛita* and *Mahābalādhikṛita*. The former occurs on a Basāḍh seal bearing the legend: *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka-pādīya-Balādhikaraṇasya*.¹⁰ It is found also in the Shāhpur stone image inscription¹¹ of the later and feudatory Gupta chieftain Ādityasēna. *Mahābalādhikṛita* is found in line 20 of the Majhgawārī plates¹² of the *Mahārāja* Hastin as the designation of the *Dūtaka* called Nāgasimha. Nay, exactly the same designation, namely, *Mahābalādhikṛita* is coupled with the name of Prithivishēna, a staff officer of Kumāragupta I, mentioned in the Karamḍārnḍā epigraph (No. 21 below). We shall not be far from right if we say that *Balādhikṛita*, *Mahābalādhikṛita* and *Sēnāpati* 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

¹ *IHQ.*, Vol. XII, pp. 225 and ff.

² *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 402, line 5.

³ *CII.*, Vol. II, pt. i, p. 149.

⁴ *A.R. ASI.*, 1903-04, p. 109, No. 18.

⁵ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 240 and 243; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 23 and 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 247 and 249; *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 29 and 31.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 297, lines 27-28.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 283, lines 26 and 28.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 18, line 4.

¹⁰ *A.R. ASI.*, 1903-04, p. 108, No. 12.

¹¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 210, line 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

department is *Raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa* which also is met with on a Basāḍh seal¹ and which must signify "Office of Military Store House." The sixth and the last term that we have to note is *Sāndhivigrahika* or *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* or *Mahāsāndhivigrahādhikaraṇādhikṛita*² 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 Khoh plate dated 177, Gallu, the officer who drew up the charter, is called *Sāndhivigrahika*,³ whereas in the Khoh plate of 193, his brother, Manōratha, is styled *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*.⁴ Possibly, in later times there was a distinction made between *Sāndhivigrahika* and *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*. In the earlier Gupta period, however, *Sāndhivigrahika* 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 *Kumārāmātya*. That is a clear indication of the high social and political status he was then enjoying. Nevertheless, the actual designation which he had held at that time was that of *Sāndhivigrahika*, without the prefix *mahā*. Of course, *Sāndhivigrahika* 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 Vīrasēna Śāba of the Kautsa gōtra as being the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Chandragupta II and describes him as a *kavi* 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 *Sāndhivigrahika* or any one of his assistants or subordinates⁶ is generally⁷ found entrusted with the task of preparing the draft of a land grant.

Another officer connected with *daṇḍa* is *Dāṇḍapāsika* mentioned in the legend *Dāṇḍapāsikādhikaraṇasya* on a Basāḍh seal noted above. In this connection we have to take note of the fact that *Dāṇḍapāsika* is distinguished from *Chaurōddharaṇika* not only in the later Pāla and Sēna charters but also in the earlier Valabhi⁸ and Chamba⁹ plates. Further, they are both distinguished from *Dāṇḍika* or *Daṇḍasakti* in the Pāla plates. Thus the Khālimpur record of Dharmapāla has *Daṇḍasakti-Dāṇḍapāsika-Chaurōddharaṇika*,¹⁰ whereas the Mungir inscription of Dēvapāla has *Chaurōddharaṇika-Dāṇḍika-Dāṇḍapāsika*.¹¹ It seems that *Dāṇḍika* is the same as *Daṇḍasakti*. *Dāṇḍika* is not an imaginary term, it occurs also in the Deo-Baraṇār inscription¹² of Jīvitagupta II. In thus settling the meaning of *Dāṇḍapāsika*, we have to consider side by side

¹ *A.R. ASI.*, 1903-04, p. 108, No. 13.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 299, line 34.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 123, line 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128, lines 30-31.

⁵ *Sec.*, pp. 149-63 below.

⁶ Thus we find a Kaṭak grant of Mahā-Bhavagupta I drafted by Māhūka, a Kāyastha, who belonged to the office of Rāṇa Malladatta, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahin* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 350, lines 46-48).

⁷ *Sec. e.g.*, a grant of Daṇḍimahādēvī which was drawn up by the poet Jambala, son of the great poet Jayātman who is mentioned separately from the *Mahākshapaṭalika* and the *Mahāsāndhivigrahin* and *Mahāpratihāra* (*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.

⁹ Vogel's *Chamba Vol.*, p. 166, line 9; p. 193, lines 14-15 etc.; also p. 129. Vogel wrongly reads *Daṇḍavāsika* instead of *Daṇḍapāsika* as Kielhorn correctly reads it (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 11-12, lines 14-15).

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 250, line 45.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 256, line 33.

¹² *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 216, line 9.

with it the sense of the other two terms, namely *Dāṇḍika* or *Daṇḍasakti* and *Chaurōddharaṇika*. From a careful consideration of these three terms it appears to me that *Dāṇḍika* or *Daṇḍasakti* corresponds to the Kōtwāl¹ or the City Police Magistrate, *Dāṇḍapāsika* to the Darōgā or District Superintendent of Police, and *Chaurōddharaṇika*, 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 Basāḍh seal legend thus: *Mahāpratihāra-Taravara-Vinayaśūrasya*.² Vinayaśūra 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 Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. Here we meet with not only *Mahātalavara* but also the feminine form of *Mahātalavari*. We may thus take it that Vinayaśūra was then occupying the social dignity of *Taravara*. Vogel who had edited the inscriptions enquires whether it can have "any connection with Tamil *taḷavāy* (=a general), Tamil *taḷaiyāri* (=a village watchman), or Canarese *taḷavara*, *taḷavāra* (=a watchman, a beadle)."³ Hirananda Sastri further draws our attention to the fact that in early Jaina literature the *Mahātalavaras* are mentioned along with eighteen *Gaṇadhara*s and that in the Panjab there is a subdivision of Khatriis which goes by the name of Talwāḍ. There are other names like Mahēndru, 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 Vinayaśūra held the dignity of *Taravara*. But what was his office designation? That is indicated obviously 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-Mahākārtākṛitika-Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta*⁷ in the specification of the rank and designation of one and the same officer or ruler such e.g., as Dhruvasēna I of Valabhī. On the other hand, he is mentioned in the list of officials mentioned in the partially preserved Dēō-Baraṇārka inscription⁸ along with *Kumārāmātya*, *Rājasthāniya*, *Chaurōddharaṇika*, *Dāṇḍika*, *Dāṇḍapāsika*, etc. What could be the exact signification of *Mahāpratihāra*? It is curious that in Sanskrit literature whereas *dauvārika* denotes 'a male door-keeper' *pratihāri* is employed invariably to denote 'a female door-keeper,' especially with reference to a harem. Even in a Nasik cave inscription⁹ which seems to be a copy of a charter issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his queen-mother, a *Pratihāra(ra)kshi* called Lōṭā is mentioned as having composed the draft of the same. In this connection we have to take note of the following passage from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*,¹⁰ relating to Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, who is represented to have founded five new things, namely, "the *Mahāpratihārapīḍa*, '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 *Mahāpratihārapīḍa* which literally means 'the Porter's chair.' Vogel rightly informs us that "Dhyān Singh, the powerful minister of

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 393; Vol. VI, pp. 97, 529 and 535.

² *A.R. ASI*, 1903-04, p. 108, No. 16.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 7 and note 1.

⁴ H.A. Rose's *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 511 and 515.

⁵ *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 77.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 167.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 105, lines 13-14.

⁸ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 216, lines 8-9.

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."¹ Even in Rajputana up till recently *Dēvaḍhīdār* 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 *Vinayasthithīsthāpaka* who seems to have had his own *adhikaraṇa* or office, as is clear from the seal legend *Tīrabhuktau Vinayasthithi-sthāpak-ādihikaraṇasya*.² Bloch leaves it untranslated, but remarks that *Vinayasthithi-sthāpaka* "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 (*sthithi*) discipline."³ This may be compared to *Raghuvaṃśa* I, 24-25, where both *vinaya* and *sthithi* occur. In later times a somewhat different phraseology was employed to denote the same office or officer, namely, *Mahādharmaḍhyaksha*, *Dharmādihikaraṇika*,⁴ 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*, *Vyavahāra* and *Prāyaścitta*, that is to say, rules of conduct, civil and criminal law, and penances—the three departments of the *Dharma-sāstra*."⁵

Another Officer that we have now to consider is *Āyuktaka* who is mentioned in a Dāmōdar-pur plate (No. 40 below). He is *Bhaṇḍaka* 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 Allahābād 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, *Prādēsikas* and *Rājukas*. In Kauṭalya's *Arthasāstra* not only *Yuktas* 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.⁶ These designations persisted in later times also. Thus, in the Cambay plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda IV of Mānyakhēṭa, *Yuktaka* and *Upayuktaka*⁷ are specified along with *Rāshtrapati*, *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 *Pañchāyat* system in Bengal. *Pañchāyat* 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 *Pañchāyat* is at present found in its best preserved form in the Madras Presidency. In many parts of Mahārāshṭra 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

¹ *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Vol. I, p. 135.

² *AR. ASI.*, 1903-04, p. 109, No. 21.

³ It is not impossible to take this word as *Vinayasthithīsthāpaka* and understand *sthithīsthāpaka* 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.

⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar: *Aśoka* (2nd edn.), pp. 57-58.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol VII, pp. 39-40.

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 Dāmōdarpur 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 Dāmōdarpur plates are five in number, and are all connected with the *vishaya* or district of Kōṭivarsha falling under the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana. Puṇḍravardhana has now been identified with Mahāsthān¹ in the Bōgra District and Kōṭivarsha with Bāṅgarh in the Dinajpur District, West Bengal. Now, it is worthy of note that these records register the orders of the *Adhikaraṇa* of the Kōṭivarsha *adhishthāna* 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 Basāḍh, the ancient Vaiśālī, he lighted upon many seals of the early Gupta period, pertaining to such offices as *Kumārāmātya-ādihikaraṇa*, *Bal-ādihikaraṇa*, *Śrī-raṇabhāṇḍāgār-ādihikaraṇa*, *Daṇḍapās-ādihikaraṇa*, and so forth. This shows that the term *adhikaraṇa* was used in the sense of the modern *Kachhari* or *Kāchhāri*, 'a town-house,' 'an office for transacting public business', whether it was of a judicial, ecclesiastical or military nature or pertaining to customs and excise. Let us now see what court administration is referred to in the Dāmōdarpur plates. It is true that most of these plates have lost their original seals. Fortunately, one has been preserved which clearly calls it *Kōṭivarsh-ādihishthān-ādihikaraṇa*, that is, 'Office of the District Town of Kōṭivarsha.' This shows that *adhishthāna* here denotes the principal town of a district, in this particular case, the district town of Kōṭivarsha. Let us proceed one step further. In all these plates, except one, even the 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 Vētravarman as President and Dhṛitipāla, Bandhumitra, Dhṛitimitra 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 Vētravarman, who is designated *Kumārāmātya*. 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, Dhṛitipāla, was the *Nagara-śrēshthīn*; the second, Bandhumitra, *Sārthavāha*; the third, Dhṛitimitra, *Prathama-kulika*; and the fourth, Śāmbapāla, *Prathama-kāyastha*. Of these the *Nagara-śrēshthīn* has survived in the modern *Nagarsheth* of Gujarat. "In all the chief centres of trade," says the *Bombay Gazetteer*,² "some of the leading Vania 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 *Nagara-śrēshthīn* was the head of all the artisan guilds of the district town. And this suits here exceedingly well. As regards *Sārthavāha*, 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

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 88.

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."¹ India seems to have hardly changed in this respect up till a century ago, the only difference being that the original *Sārthavāhas* were later on known as Vanjārās or Lōbānās. These last "were the great travelling traders and carriers of Central India, the Deccan and Rajputana; and under the Afghān and Mughal empires were the commissariat of the imperial forces."² It will thus be seen that the *Nagaraśrēṣṭhin* represented the special industries of the district and the internal mercantile dealings, and *Sārthavāha* 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: *kulānām tu samūhas= tu Gaṇaḥ sa parikīrtitaḥ*, "Gaṇa is an aggregation of clans."³ 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*.⁴ *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*,⁵ we find that after the specification of the state officials mention is made of *Khaśa-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 Khaśa, but also of the Gauḍa, Mālava, and Hūṇa, *Kulikas*.⁶ 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 Basāḍh, such as those of *Kulika-Nāgadatta*, *Kulika-Hari*, *Kulika-Ōmabhaṭṭa*.⁷ What is further noteworthy is that there has been picked up at least one seal from Basāḍh where with the individual name Hari is coupled not simply *Kulika* but rather *Prathama-kulika*,⁸ showing that this Hari was the first and foremost of the *Kulikas* of Vaiśālī. *Kulas* or clans seem to have been further divided into *Kuṭumbas* or families. The heads of these *Kuṭumbas* are similarly called *Kuṭumbins*; and they have been actually referred to as such in the cave inscriptions of Mahārāshṭra.⁹ Thus in one of these inscriptions a *Hālakīya* or agriculturist named Usabhaṇaka has been actually styled *Kuṭumbin*, whereas his son is described merely as a *Gṛihapati*, that is, a member of the Middle Class as it was then called. In fact, the *Kuṭumbins* were the peasant proprietors and the *Kulikas* the Zamindars. In later times, though the term *Kulika* was forgotten, the term *Kuṭumbin* is traceable in the

¹ *Buddhist India*, p. 98.

² H. A. Rose's *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North-Western Frontier Province*, Vol. II, pp. 62-63.

³ *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 151.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 149 and ff.

⁵ p. 166, line 8.

⁶ *Gauḍa-lékhamālā*, 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 *Kuḷmbī* and the Gujarātī *Kaṇbi* and is now used to denote exclusively the cultivators. Though the term *Kulika* 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-kulika* represented, in the *Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* or the District Town Board, the *Kulika* 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 *Nyāyakandalī* by Śrīdhara, which is a commentary on Praśastapāda's *Vaiśeshikasūtra*.¹ There he tells us that he composed the work at a place called Bhūriṣiṣṭi in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā 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 Gupta year 188=506 A.D. and speaks of Naradatta as the officer who drew up the grant. There he has been designated *Sāndhivigrahādhikaraṇa-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 Rāmgāṅj plate of Īśvaraghōsha, 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 *Karaṇika* or 'the writer' or *Akṣapaṭalika* 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 Dharmapāla, the list of officials specified therein clusters together *Jyēshṭha-Kāyastha*, *Mahāmahattara*, *Mahattara* and *Dāsagrāmika* as *Vishaya-vyavahārins*⁴ 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 *Dāsagrāmika*, that above him was a *Mahattara*, and above the latter a *Mahāmahattara* and that above every one of them was placed a *Jyēshṭha-Kāyastha*. Now the term *Jyēshṭha-Kāyastha* or the Chief Kāyastha implies that the other officials, namely the *Mahāmahattaras*, *Mahattaras* and *Dāsagrāmikas* 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 *Jyēshṭha-Kāyastha*, obviously denotes the highest grade among the Kāyasthas whose subordinate ranks were represented by the *Mahāmahattara*, *Mahattara*, and *Dāsagrāmika*. 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 Gupta period by a Board of Five. Three members of this Board were *Nagara-śrēshṭhin*, *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

¹ R. P. Chanda's *The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 198.

² *IHQ.*, Vol. VI, p. 45, lines 17-18.

³ *Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 153, lines 13 and 15.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 250, line 47.

⁵ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, 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 Dāmōdarpur 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 Dāmōdarpur 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, *Kumārāmātya* has been specified twice and *Āyuktaka* 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 Dāmōdarpur and other kindred copper-plate inscriptions. Another duty must have been the settlement of town disputes as is clear from Act IX of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* where the *Śrēshṭhin* and *Kāyastha* figure in the *Adhikaraṇa* along with its head. Here the latter is called merely *Adhikaraṇika*, and the three *Adhikaraṇa-bhōjaka* and the Hall where they worked *Adhikaraṇa-maṇḍapa*. 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 Nasik cave inscription which relates the benefactions of Ushavadāta (Ṛishabhadatta) to the Buddhist mendicants staying in the residential cave excavated by him for them. Ṛishabhadatta, we know, was a son-in-law and general of the *Mahākshatrāpa* Nahapāna (c. 125 A.D.). After citing the details of his charities, the inscription says: *srāvita nigama-sabhāya nibadha cha phalakavārē charitratōti*,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 *Pustapālas* of the Dāmōdarpur 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 Bhinmāl inscription may be compared profitably with a similar one from a Dāmōdarpur record. The first runs as follows: *Śrī-Śrīmālē Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Udayasimhadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē tan-niyukta-Maham Gajasīha-prabhṛiti-panchakula-pratīpattau*, "In prosperous Śrīmāla, during the blessed and victorious reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Udayasimhadēva and during the administration of the *Pañchakula* (consisting of) *Mahamta* Gajasimha and others appointed by him and of others."² This may be compared to *Puṇḍravardhana-bhuktāv = Uparika-Chirātadattēn = ānuvaha-mānakē Kōṭivarsha-vishayē cha tan-niyuktaka-Kumārāmātya-Vētravarmmany = adhishṭhān-ādihikaraṇaṇ = cha Nagara-śrēshṭhi- . . . Sārthavāha- . . . Prathama-kulika- . . . Prathama-kāyastha- . . . pūrōgē samvyavaharati*, "While the Kōṭivarsha District is running on with (*the rule of*) Chirātadatta, Uparika of the Puṇḍravardhana Province . . ., and while Kumārāmātya Vētravarmān, appointed by him, is administering the Board of the Town, (*and*) presiding over the *Nagara-śrēshṭhin* . . ., the *Sārthavāha* . . ., the *Prathama-kulika* . . ., (*and*) the *Prathama-Kāyastha* . . ." It will be seen that the *Adhishṭhān-ādihikaraṇa* 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 Pañchōlī

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 Dāmōdarpur and other kindred records. In this connection may be cited the following passage from inscription No. 38 below: *Palāśavṛindakāt=sa-Viśvāsam Mahattar-ādy-Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇam grāmika-kuṭumbinaś=cha Chaṇḍagrāmaka-brāhmaṇ-ādhyaksha-kshudra-prakṛiti-kuṭumbinaḥ kuśalam=uktvā . . .*, 'From Palāśavṛindaka, the *Ashṭakula* Board headed by the *Mahattara*, in conjunction with *Viśvāsa*, 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-Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa*. Of these the term *adhikaraṇa* signifies 'the Administrative Board.' *Ashṭakula* 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 *Kuṭumbins* or husbandmen may be inferred from *Mahattar-ādi-kuṭumbins* in line 3 of the Pahāḍpur copper plate inscription¹ and *saṁvyavahāry-ādi-kuṭumbins* in lines 1-2 of the Nandapur copper plate inscription² showing clearly that the *Mahattaras* were *saṁvyavahārins* or officials placed over the *Kuṭumbins*. The *Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa* 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 *Viśvāsa*, as we can also see from line 1 of the Nandapur copper plate inscription referred to above. Who was this *Viśvāsa*? In this connection it is worthy of note that *Biśwās* is a surname which is very common in Bengal. It is found not only among the Kāyasthas but also among the Bārēndra Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. And what is further noteworthy is that the surname *Biśwās* 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 *Bhaṇḍārī*, *Munshī*, *Majumdār*, and *Chakladār*. But what was the meaning of the designation *Viśvāsa*, at the outset? As in the phrase quoted above, *Mahattara* denotes the Head of the village community called *Ashṭakula*, *Viśvāsa* signifies in all probability the Accountant invariably associated with that community. This agrees with the fact that the term *Viśvāsa* means 'trust' and may thus secondarily denote "an officer holding the post of trust." If this sense of *Viśvāsa*, 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 *Mōkshadharmmārthadīpikā* in accordance with the order of *Gauḍēśvara-Mahāmantri-śrīmad-Viśvāsa-rāya*, that is, "the illustrious *Viśvāsa-rāya* who was the chief counselor of the king of Gauḍa." Similarly the Bengali dramatist, Rāmachandra Guha, says that his father had attained to the distinction (*padavī*) of *Viśvāsa-khāna*, being the chief counsellor (*mahāmātya*) and poet-laureate (*kavi-panḍita*) of the king of Gauḍa. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *Viśvāsa-rāya* and *Viśvāsa-khāna*³ were something like the modern 'Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer.' We cannot explain these designations satisfactorily, unless *Viśvāsa* is

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 *Viśvāsa* 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 *Ashṭakula*. The case is not unlike the *Kulkarnī* of Mahārāshṭra who keeps an account sometimes of more than one village. Even the Marāṭhī word *kuḷ* or *kūḷ* signifies 'a ryot paying revenue to Government.'

It will be seen that the Head of the *Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa* was *Mahattara*, and with them is associated *Viśvāsa*, 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-kuṭumbinaḥ*. We have already seen that the *Kuṭumbins* were the peasant-proprietors just as the *Kulikas* were the Zemindars. There were various grades amongst *Kuṭumbins*. One grade is certainly represented by the *Grāmika*, who, as pointed out elsewhere, were village headmen, or rather the heads of village guilds. It is these village headmen who, along with the *Viśvāsa*, constituted the *Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa* presided over by the *Mahattara*, in the discharge of the village business. That there were various grades among the *Kuṭumbins* 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-prakṛiti-kuṭumbinaḥ*. 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*, *Viśvāsas* or *Grāmikas* were stamped as *kshudra-prakṛiti*, or inferior ryots. But they were *Brāhmaṇ-ādhyaksha*, that is, presided over by the Brāhmaṇas. With this may be compared *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān = Mahattar-ādi-kuṭumbinaḥ* in line 3 of the Pahāḍpur copper plate inscription¹ and *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān = samvyavahāry-ādi-kuṭumbinaḥ* in lines 1-2 of the Nandapur copper plate inscription.² Evidently, the Brāhmaṇas are here distinguished from the *Kuṭumbins* 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 Sēna period we meet with the expression *Kshētrakarāṁś = cha 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 *Pañchāyat* 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-āgrahārāt = sa-Viśvāsam = adhikaraṇam Jaṅgōyikā-grāmē Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān = samvyavahāry-ādi-kuṭumbinaḥ*, etc. In the first place, the *Adhikaraṇa* here must denote the *Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa* as mention is made of *Viśvāsa* along with it. Secondly, this *Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa* 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 Palāśa-vṛindaka. Similarly, in the Nandapur plate it passes these instructions from an *agrahāra* called Ambila-grāma to villagers in Jaṅgōyikā. Surely an *agrahāra* 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 *Ashṭakul-*

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).

ādihikaraṇa was a body which was independent of the *Adhishṭhān-ādihikaraṇa*, 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-ādihikaraṇa* conveyed lands which were outside the strictly territorial limits of the *Adhishṭhāna*, whereas the *Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa* does not seem ever to have included any *adhishṭhāna* in its jurisdiction. Nevertheless, both forms of *Pañchāyat* 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 Vajji kingdom. When a culprit was found, we are told, he was, in the first instance, sent to an officer called *Viniśchaya-Mahāmātra*. If he was found guilty, he was transferred to the Body of *Vyavahārikas*, then to the *Sūtradhāras*, thence to the Board of *Ashṭakulikas*, thereafter to the *Sēnāpati*, *Uparāja* and finally to *Rājan* (king), who consulted the *Paveṇi-pothaka* or "Book of Precedents", and inflicted a suitable punishment.¹ The *Ashṭakulikas* mentioned here must be the *Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa* of the Dāmōdarpur and Dhanaidāha plates, and were certainly endowed with power to try criminal cases under the Vajjian constitution.

Nothing further is definitively known about the *Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa*. We may, however, indulge in a little speculation about its composition. We have already seen that the *Adhishṭhān-ādihikaraṇa* 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 Mahārāshṭra. 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), *Kuḷkarṇī* (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 Māngs. If we compare this characteristic of the Village-Council of Mahārāshṭra with what we have culled about the composition of the *Ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa* from a critical study of inscriptions, it seems that *Pāṭil* and *Kuḷkarṇī* 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 Mahārāshṭra 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 Vajjian administration has been described by Buddhaghōsha in his comment upon *porāṇam Vajjidhamman' ti* occurring in *Dīghanikāya* (P.T.S. edn., Vol. II, p. 74, line 10) in his *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, ed. H. Dharmmakitti Siri Devamitta Mahāthera, Vol. I, p. 356, Colombo, 1918, Sinhalese edn.). For this information, we are indebted to G. D. Chatterji.

sense of 'an individual' is found in several Pāli texts.¹ 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*.² This is perhaps the best and most correct explanation of *Pañchakula* or *Ashṭakula*. These bodies thus comprise the chiefs of five or eight corporations or classes of a town or village. The *Ashṭakula* 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 Gupta dynasty began to rise to power. Among the instances quoted from inscriptions was one found at Bhārhut of the Śuṅga regime which records the erection of a *tōraṇa* or gateway by Dhanabhūti, son of Aṅgāryut and grandson of Viśvadēva. Viśvadēva is here styled a *rājan* 'king.' It is thus evident that Dhanabhūti who erected the *tōraṇa* belonged to a ruling family. What we have further to notice is that the names of the three princes are coupled with metonymics and that whereas Viśvadēva and Dhanabhūti have been styled Gārgīputra and Vātsīputra respectively, Aṅgāryut is called Gōtīputra (=Gauptīputra). 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 Śuṅga period may be seen from a Kārle cave inscription of the second century A.D. which speaks of a *Mahārāṭhi*, Agni-mitraṇaka, as being Gōtīputra (=Gauptīputra).³ That *Mahārāṭhi* 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 Guptas did not adopt any Brāhmaṇa *gōtra*. Things, however, appear to have changed soon, because when the Guptas became an Imperial power, they did adopt a Brāhmaṇa *gōtra*. This is clear from the copper-plate charters of Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II. There she styles herself *Dhāraṇa-sagōtrā*, "belonging to the Dhāraṇa *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,⁴ Vishṇuvṛiddha pertained to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*. But instead of Dhāraṇa we find Dhāriṇi mentioned by Laugākshi-Kātyāyana⁵ and as belonging to the Agastī *gōtra*. Dhāriṇi must be a mislection for Dhāraṇa, which reading is clearly established by the grants of Prabhāvatiguptā, and, as a matter of fact, the *gōtra* lists enumerated in the *Śrautasūtras* are full of such misreadings. We may thus take it that as the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas are thus called Dhāraṇa and Vishṇuvṛiddha, they were considered as having belonged to the Agastī and Bharadvāja *gōtras* respectively.

Though the Guptas 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 Prabhāvatiguptā call her *Dhāraṇa-sagōtrā*. 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 *Mahābodhivaṅsa*, ed. Strong, p. 154, Kambodian *Mahāvāṅsa*, chapter 19, verses 1-3; *Mahāvāṅsa*, ed. Geiger, pp. 148 and 155; especially *Mahāvāṅsa* Translation by Geiger, p. 128, note 1. Our attention to these texts was kindly drawn by C. D. Chatterji.

² Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* and V. S. Apte's *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *sub-voce*.

³ Lüders' *List*, No. 1088.

⁴ *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam* (Bombay edn.), pp. 44 and 45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

doubt on this point, her Riddhapur copper-plate inscription¹ not only mentions her mother as Kubēra-Nāgā but also describes her as *Nāga-kul-ōtṭannā*, 'sprung from the Nāga 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 Śātavāhana family, whose inscriptions have been found in the Nasik, Kārlē and Kaṇhērī caves. The earliest of them was Gautamīputra; his son, Vāsishṭhiputra; and one successor of theirs, Mādharīputra. 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 Śātavāhanas were of the Brāhmaṇa caste.² This conclusion, they say, is supported by two passages in Nasik cave inscription No. 2.³ The first, which is in line 5, is *Khatiya-dapa-māna-madanasa*, "of (Gautamīputra), who humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas." From this it is inferred that Gautamīputra 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 *ēkabamhaṇasa*, which has been translated by Senart as "the unique Brāhmaṇa."⁴ But *bamhaṇa* can stand as much for *brahmaṇya* 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."⁵ The other translation makes Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi "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-Bamhaṇasa* as equivalent to *ēka-Brāhmaṇasya*, "of (Gautamīputra) the unique friend of the Brāhmaṇas." The expression is not unlike *atyanta-(dēva)-Brāhmaṇa-bhakta* which we find applied to the *mahārāja* Hastin in the copper-plate inscriptions⁶ of the Nṛpati-Parivrājaka family. What then becomes, it may be asked, of *Khatiya-dapa-māna-madana* which is used with reference to Gautamīputra? *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 Chenāb 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 Khatraioi by Ptolemy.⁸ Both seem identical with Kshatriya. That there was a tribe of the name of Kshatriya is clear from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* which mentions it along with Kāmbhōjas and Surāshṭras as a corporate tribe (*śrēṇī*) subsisting both

¹ CII., Vol. V, No. 8, pp. 33 ff.

² K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 365-66; H.C. Rayachaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India* (3rd edn., 1932), pp. 280-81. This matter has been discussed in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 32 and 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 Brāhmaṇa" (*ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 110).

⁵ *Trans. Inter. Cong. Ori.*, London, 1874, pp. 310-11; *Coll. Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. I, p. 236.

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.

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 *Śrautasūtras* always make a distinction between *gōtra* and *pravara*. Thus the Māthara *gōtra* from which the metronymic Mātharīputra is derived has the three *pravaras*: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva. But these *pravaras* are not the monopoly of Māthara only but are possessed in common by no less than eighty other *gōtras*, such as Kāśyapa, Chhāgari, Aitiśāyana 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 Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. The kings mentioned in these records are Chāntamūla, his son Virapurushadatta and the latter's son Ehuvala-Chāntamūla. The first and the third of these princes are Vāsishthīputra and the second Mātharīputra, but they are all known by the Kshatriya clan name, Ikshvāku. Again, these Ikshvākus enter into matrimonial alliances with the Pūgīyas (Pūkīyas), Kuluhakas, Hiraṇyakas and Dhanikas. These are not found as the names of Brāhmaṇa *gōtras* in any one of the *Śrautasūtras* and must therefore be presumed to be Kshatriya clans. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that one Pūgīya, Skandaśrī, who had married a sister of Chāntamūla, styles himself Vāsishthīputra. 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 Vāsishthī and Mātharī. 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 *pratilōma* type. The history of these Ikshvākus 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 Śātavāhana overlord, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Therein, be it noted, she calls herself Gōtamī Balasiri (=Gautamī Balaśrī).² It is quite evident from this that the mother of Gautamīputra retains her *gōtra* name, namely, Gautamī, though this Śātavāhana king is nowhere mentioned by any Brāhmaṇa *gōtra* appellation. Such is exactly the case with the rulers and noblemen adverted to in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. They are all mentioned by their Kshatriya clan names, such as Ikshvāku, Pūgīya and so forth but never by any Brāhmaṇa *gōtra*. Such was not, however, the case with the Brāhmaṇas of this period. Thus the Silaharā cave inscriptions speak of their being excavated by an *amātya* of king Svāmidatta who is called Mūladēva and styled Vātsa and Maudgalīputra.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 Maḷavalli pillar record⁴ which speaks of the grantee Nāgadatta as not only of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* but also as Kauśikīputra. 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 Rājputānā. If a Rājput marries more than one princess, they are distinguished one from the other,

¹ *Baudh. Śr. Sūt.* (Bibli. Ind.), Vol. III, pp. 448-49.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60, line 9.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 30 and ff.

⁴ Lüders' *List*, No. 1196.

according as she is a Hāḍī-jī, Rāṇavat-jī 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 Brāhmaṇas, as the instances adduced above clearly show. There can thus be no doubt that up till *circa* 400 A.D., the Brāhmaṇa mothers, whether they were married in the Brāhmaṇa 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 Kauśāmbī who were both contemporaries of the Buddha and belonged to the earlier epoch have been styled Vaidēhīputra in early Pāli literature. Evidently their mothers belonged to Vidēha, 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 Prabhāvatiguptā, 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 Brāhmaṇa *gōtra*, Dhāraṇa, to keep themselves on the same social footing as the Vākātakas who were of the Brāhmaṇa caste and of the Viṣṇuvṛiddha *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 *Śrautasūtras* and that metronymics 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 *Śrautasūtras* 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 Brāhmaṇa *gōtras*, apparently those of their Purōhitas. Thus Aśvaghōṣa's *Saundarānanda* (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:

Ēka-pitrōr=yathā bhrātrōḥ
ṣṛīthag-guru-ṣarigrahāt |
Rāma ēv=ābhavad=Gārgyō
Vāsubhadrō=ṣi Gō(au)tamaḥ || (23)

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

¹ Rhys Davids in *Buddhist India*, pp. 25-26, and *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 313.

It is thus clear that from the second century A.D. onwards the ruling princes somehow began to affiliate themselves to the *gōtras* of their Purōhitas with the result that their descendants generally continued the same *gōtra* 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 *Dhāraṇa-sagōtrā*, she calls herself (Prabhāvati-)Guptā. Which Gupta prince adopted apparently the Dhāraṇa *gōtra* of his Purōhita, it is now difficult to say. Similarly, it is equally difficult to determine which Vākāṭaka prince originally had or assumed the Brāhmaṇa *gōtra* of Viṣṇuvṛiddha. Certainly it was there in the time of Rudrasēna II, husband of Prabhāvati-guptā. And it is not impossible that it was the *gōtra* of Vindhyaśakti who, according to an Ajaṅṭā cave inscription, was the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and was himself a *dvija*, which, from the second century A.D. onwards, always denoted a Brāhmaṇa. This agrees with the fact that his son Pravarasēna I is described in the Vākāṭaka plates as having celebrated many sacrifices among which is mentioned not only *Vājapēya* but also *Bṛihaspatisava*. "*Bṛihaspatisava* is the name of a sacrifice by which, according to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, the priest who desired to become a *Purōhita* obtained that office. According to the *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*, it was the sacrifice to be performed by a priest after the *Vājapēya*, while the king performed the *Rājasūya*."¹ It is true that "in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Bṛihaspatisava* is identified with the *Vājapēya*; but such identity is clearly not primitive." And, as a matter of fact, in the Vākāṭaka records Pravarasēna is represented as having performed not only *Vājapēya* but also *Bṛihaspatisava*. The two were of course considered as separate sacrifices when he actually celebrated them. It is thus evident that Pravarasēna must have been looked upon as a Brāhmaṇa when he performed them. Whether his descendants continued to be of Brāhmaṇa caste right up to the end or only up to the time of Rudrasēna II we do not know. But this much may be taken as certain that the family was of Brāhmaṇa origin and pertained to the Viṣṇuvṛiddha *gōtra*. And further, it seems that when the marriage alliance took place, doubtless of *anulōma* character, between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas, the latter, to raise themselves to a higher social dignity, assumed a Brāhmaṇa *gōtra*, Dhāraṇa, probably of their Purōhita. Thus originated the practice of Kshatriya rulers adopting the Brāhmaṇa *gōtra* of their *gurus* which continued right down to the fourteenth century, as is clear from epigraphic records. Thus a Chāndpur inscription² dated Vikrama year 1207 speaks of one Udayapāla who belonged to the Mahā-Pratihāra family and the Vatsa-*gōtra*. The Mahādā plates of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman,³ Lord of Vaūdhā (Baudh) describe him as pertaining not only to the solar race and the Kalikāla lineage but also to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. Similarly, a *satī* stone inscription⁴ found at Pushkar records the death of a Ṭhākur of the Guhila lineage and the Gautama *gōtra*. 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 Brāhmaṇa *gōtra*, before probably they entered into a matrimonial alliance with a Brāhmaṇa family, namely, the Vākāṭakas whose *gōtra* was Viṣṇuvṛiddha which pertained to the Bhāradvāja stock. As the custom was and is to avoid marriage in the same *gōtra*, the Guptas had to adopt Dhāraṇa *gōtra* which belonged to the Agastī stock.

Now arises the fourth question, namely, how *pratilōma* marriages took place between the Ikshvākus and Śātavāhanas on the one hand and certain Brāhmaṇa families on the other, as detailed above? There is one passage in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription which is worth consider-

¹ Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 72.

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: *Ikhāku-rāja-pavara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṃsa-sambhavaśa*,¹ "Of (Buddha), born of a race which was the source of hundreds of Ikshvāku kings who were *gōtra*-originator sages (*pravara-ṛishis*)."² It thus appears that the Ikshvākus of Southern Kōsala had preserved some *pravaras* of their own which they naturally avoided when they married Brāhmaṇa girls. What these *pravaras* were we have now no means of knowing. Anyhow this much is certain that originally the Kshatriyas had *pravaras* of their own and had preserved them for a long time. Thus one can quite understand the exact significance of it when the *Āpastamba Śraustasūtra* says:² *Atha yēshām (=Kshatriyāṇām) mantrakṛitō na syuḥ sa-purōhita-pravarās =tē pravṛiṇīran*. 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 Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachchandrādēva of Kanauj,³ with dates ranging between Vikrama years 1233 and 1236 and recording grants to one and the same grantee, namely, the *Rāuta* Rājyadharavarman, son of the *Mahāmahattaka*, the *Ṭhakkura* Vidyādihara, and son's son of the *Mahāmahattaka*, the *Ṭhakkura* Jagaddihara, a Kshatriya. Now, what does Kshatriya mean here? Does it mean "a member of the second or military order" or "an individual of the Khatri 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 *Ṭhakkura*, "a Rajput chief," he himself is called merely *Rāut*, that is, Rājput. 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 *Ṭhakkura* 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-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurova-Jāmadagny-ēti-paṃcha-pravarāya-pautṛāya-putṛāya rāuta-śrī-Rājyadharavarmmaṇē kshatriyāya*.⁴ This may be compared with the passage in another grant of Jayachchandra concerning a Brāhmaṇa grantee. It is as follows: *Śārkkarāksha-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurova-Jāmadagny-ēti paṃcha-pravarāya-pautṛāya-putṛāya Mahāpaṃḍita-śrī-Hṛishikēśa-śarmmaṇē 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 *Mahāpaṃḍita* 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 Śārkkarākshi 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 Jayachchandra issuing grants for the augmentation of the spiritual merit not

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 22, line 1.

² *Pravara-khaṇḍa*, III. 15.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 135-143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136, lines 27-28.

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 *gōtras* 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-Nāgā. As the latter is further described as having sprung from the Nāga family, there can be no doubt that the post-fix *Nāgā* 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* Vishṇuvṛiddha. 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*, Vishṇuvṛiddha, is not specified. Their clan names were already different, namely Gupta and Vākāṭaka. That was enough to enable one clan to marry into the other, just as Kubēra-Nāgā 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 Vishṇuvṛiddha. 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 Rājyadharavarman as a grantee in Jayachandra'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 Rājput̄s 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 *Smṛitis*, such as *Manu*, and *Yājñavalkya*, and *Nārada* and *Vishṇu*. *Gautama Dharmasūtra* (IV. 2) says: *a-samāna-pravarair=vivāhaḥ*. *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, Bōdhāyana asserts that *sa-gōtrām gatvā Chāndrāyaṇam charēt*, "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-Hārīta-smṛiti* says:

vivāh-ādīni karmāni smaraṇāt pīṭi-gōtrataḥ |
saṁvatsarē vyatītē tu tad-gōtram nīyatē punaḥ || (V. 62)
tri-parikramaṇād=agnēr=hṛiday-ālambanāt tathā |
svāmi-gōtrēṇa kartavyā piṇḍa-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 *piṇḍa* etc., were performed with reference to the latter. The *Likita-smṛiti* is more drastic and has the following:

vivāhē ch=aiva nirvṛittē chaturthē='hani rātrishu |
ēkatvam sā gatā bhartuḥ piṇḍē gōtrē cha sūtakē || (V. 25)
sva-gōtrād=bhraśyatē nārī udvāhāt=saptamē padē |
bhartṛi-gōtrēṇa kartavyā dānam piṇḍ-ōdaka-kriyāḥ || (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 therefrom is at one with the *piṇḍa*, *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 *Smṛitis*, *Nārada* and *Vishṇu*, and the latter (24.9) says: *na sa-gōtrām na samān-ārsha-pravarām bhāryām 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 Dhruvasvāminī, 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 *Dēvī-Chandraguptam* by Viśākhadatta who was the author of another historical play entitled *Mudrā-Rākshasa*. 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 Dhruvasvāminī, 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:

nashṭē mṛitē pravrajitē klībē cha patitē patau |
pañchasv=āpatsu nārīṇām patir=anyō vidhīyatē ||

It occurs not only in the *Parāśara* but also in the *Nārada-smṛiti* (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-smṛiti* 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-

demned in two of the Rāshtrakūṭa 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 Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Bombay Gujarāt.¹ We were then engaged upon a study of this Brāhmaṇa community with the help of Valabhī inscriptions and certain *Pravarādhyāya* texts discovered by the late Vallabhji Haridatta Acharya of Rājkoṭ, the greatest Nāgar Brāhmaṇa archaeologist and historian of the last generation. The texts cite a verse setting forth *Śarmans* or clan affixes going with the various *gōtras* of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas. The verse runs as follows:

Datta-Guptau Nanda-Ghōshau
Śarma-Dāsau cha Varma cha |
Nāgadattas = Trāta-Bhūtau
Mitra-Dēvau Bhavas = tathā ||

The texts in question are three manuscripts of the work *Pravarādhyāya* connected with the Nāgars. One of these is dated *Samvat 1788 Vaiśākha śuda 8 Bhṛigu*. And they all distinctly and unmistakably state that the *gōtras*, *pravaras*, etc., therein specified are those which were in existence before *Samvat 1283*. The thirteen *Śarmans* set forth in the verse quoted above must therefore have been in use among the Nāgar 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 *Śarmans* only, namely, *Mitra* and *Trāta*. In the *Pravarādhyāya*, *Mitra* has been assigned two *gōtras*, namely, *Śārkarāksha* and *Gāngyāyana*. The following extracts from the copper-plate inscriptions of the Maitraka princes, all found at Alinā, are worthy of consideration:

(1) *Ānarttapura-vinirggata-khētaka-nivāsi-Śārkkarākshi-sagōtra-bahvṛicha-sabrahmachāri-brāhmaṇa-Ādhyamitra-putra-brāhmaṇa-Vishnumitrāya*²

(2) *Śrīmad-Ānandapura-vāstavya-tach-chāturvidya-sāmānya-Śārkkarākshi-sagōtra-bahvṛicha-sabrahmachāri-bhaṭṭa-Ākhaṇḍalamitrāya bhaṭṭa-Vishnu-putrāya*³

(3) *Ānarttapura-vinirggata-Kāsaragrāma-nivāsy-Ānarttapura-chāturvidya-sāmānya-Śārkkarākshi-sagōtra-bahvṛicha-sabrahmachāri-brāhmaṇa-Kēśavamitra-putra-brāhmaṇa-Nārāyanamitrāya*⁴

(4) *Ānandapura-vinirggata-Khētaka-vāstavy-Ānandapura-chāturvidya-sāmānya-Śārkkarākshi-sagōtra-bahvṛicha-sabrahmachāri-brāhmaṇa-Kēśava-putra-brāhmaṇa-Nārāyaṇa*⁵

The above four plates were all found at Alinā in the Kaira District of Gujarat State. They were issued by different Maitraka rulers of Valabhī to Brāhmaṇa grantees who were natives of Ānandapura or Ānarttapura. Both are names of Vaḍnagar to which pertained a branch of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇa community called Vaḍnagrā.⁶ There can thus be no doubt as to the grantees of these charters having been Nāgar Brāhmaṇas. This is proved further by the fact that they were all of the *Śārkkarākshi gōtra*, a *gōtra* which, the Nāgars maintain, is to be met with in no other caste than their own.⁷ Further still, it deserves to be noticed that the names of the donees and their fathers end in *Mitra*, so far as the first three inscriptions go. What could be

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 32 and ff.

² *Ibid. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 72, Pl. II, lines 4-5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85, lines 26-27; *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 179, lines 65-66.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 75, Pl. II, lines 15-17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79, Pl. II, lines 14-15.

⁶ *B.G.*, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 6; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 295, 299 and 303.

⁷ *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, Śārkkarāksha and Gāṅgyāyana in *Pravarādhyāya*. That this statement of the work is correct may be seen from the fact that the Brāhmaṇa grantees, mentioned above as Mitras, actually belonged to the Śārkkarākshi *gōtra*.

The *Pravarādhyāya*, again, mentions *Trāta* as another *Śarman* and assigns to it two *gōtras*, namely, Bhāradvāja 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-vāstavya-brāhmaṇa-Skandatrāta-Guhatrātābhyām Bhāradvāja-sagōtrābhyām Chhandōga-sabrahmachāribhyām, 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 Bhāradvāja *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*, *Śarmans*, etc., specified therein as being in existence until Vikrama year 1283, is thoroughly borne out by the plates of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī, 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, Vallabhji Haridatta Acharya, assured us in 1910 that they were in full swing up till that year and that even the *Śarmans* were not forgotten as, at the time of performing religious ceremonies, it was customary to say Bhagvānlāl-Trāta for mere Bhagvānlāl, Maṇiśaṅkar-Gupta for mere Maṇiśaṅkar and so forth. Here, at any rate, *Trāta* and *Gupta* are not mere suffixes, for we have them already in *lāl* of Bhagvanlāl and *śaṅkara* of Maṇiśaṅkara. The conclusion is not unreasonable that their *Śarmans* originally represented the families or clans that were incorporated in the Nāgar race.

Let us proceed one step further. Of the thirteen *Śarmans* 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, Dās, Barmā, Bhūt, Mitra and Dēb. 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 Valabhī 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 Dāmōdarpur³ 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=

¹ *Vienna Ori. Jour.*, Vol. VII, p. 299.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 193-216; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 76-77.

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*, *Kumārāmātyas* or *Āyuktakas* selected by them, being helped by a council of four consisting of *Nagara-śrēshṭhin*, *Sārthavāha*, *Prathama-Kulika* and *Prathama-Kāyastha*. One minor but not insignificant official of the district was the *Pustapāla*. Now in these Dāmōdarapur plates, we do find the names of these officials ending in Kāyastha surnames. Thus the provincial governors mentioned are Chirāta-Datta, Brahma-Datta and Jaya-Datta. The *Vishayapatis* are Vētra-Varman and Svayambhū-Dēva. Those who formed the councils are Dhṛiti-Pāla, Bandhu-Mitra, Dhṛiti-Mitra, Śāmba-Pāla, Ṛibhu-Pāla, Vasu-Mitra, Vara-Datta, Vipra-Pāla, Sthāṇu-Datta, Mati-Datta and Skanda-Pāla. The *Pustapālas* named in these grants are Risi-Datta, Jaya-Nandin, Vibhu-Datta, Patra-Dāsa, Vishṇu-Datta, Vijaya-Nandin, Sthāṇu-Nandin, Gōpa-Datta and Bhaṭa-Nandin.

It will be seen that most of the above names terminate in Dāsa, Datta, Dēva, Mitra, Nandin 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 Sāmbapāla need not necessarily denote a person who is called Sāmba and surnamed Pāla, but rather an individual who is named Sāmbapāla in the sense of "protected by the god Sāmba." 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 Chirāta-Datta, Bandhu-Mitra, Patra-Dāsa, Nara-Nandin, Bhaṭa-Nandin and so forth. What philological ingenuity can interpret Chirāta-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 Śūdra communities respectively. But even here they can be taken as corresponding to the well-known surnames, Barman and Dās, 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 *dhṛitēr=mitram* (=Dhṛitimitraḥ) and the latter by *dhṛitīm pālayat=īti* (=Dhṛitipālah). 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 officers 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 Kāyastha at this early period was an office designation and had not crystallised into a caste. We have already seen that the Dāmōdarapur plates themselves speak of a *Prathama-Kāyastha* side by side with *Nagara-śrēshṭhin*, *Sārthavāha* and *Prathama-Kulika*, who together formed the administrative board of a district town. This shows that like *Nagara-śrēshṭhin* and so forth, *Prathama-Kāyastha* was an office designation. In fact, the earliest mention of Kāyastha is in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (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 Kāṭhiāwāḍ as early as the time of the Valabhī princes, they are found in Bengal even two centuries earlier, that is, in the time of the Gupta kings. But in Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ 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 Nidhanpur in Pañchakhaṇḍa, 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 Mahāmahōpādhyāya, 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 Nidhanpur charter was no doubt issued by Bhāskaravarman of Prāgjyōtisha, 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 Kāṭhiāwāḍ who, about 700 years ago, bore similar *Śarmans* or clan-names, namely, Datta, Ghōsha, Varman, Nāga and Mitra. Is it possible that these Pañchakhaṇḍa (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 Banias. Now, there is a *liṅga* of this name actually existing in the Pañchakhaṇḍa.³ In fact, it has been known ever since the time of Vanamāla, who belonged to the Bhauma dynasty of Haruppēśvara and who flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D. His Tējpur plates⁴ represent him to have renovated the temple of Hāṭakaśūlin (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 Pañchakhaṇḍa, who, like the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of the Valabhī 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 *Pāradārīka* 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, Gauḍas and so forth. But in regard to Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 65 ff.; Vol. XIX, pp. 115 ff. and 245 ff.

² *B.G.*, Vol. IX, pt. i, pp. 14 and 73.

³ *Assam District Gazetteers*, Vol. II, p. 87.

⁴ *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*, p. 62, verse 24.

it is the Nagara-Brāhmaṇas,¹ 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 Kaliṅga, whom are we to understand thereby? Obviously they are Brāhmaṇas, hailing from Nagara. It is well known that the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ point to Nagar or Ānandapura 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 Nagar or Nagarkōṭ, the old name of Kāṅgḍā, which is situated in the Panjab in the Sawālakh or Sapādalaksha hills. Just as they migrated south to Gujarāt, they must have migrated east to Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, 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 Barṅār inscription, found in the Shahabad District, Bihar, speaks of Nagara-bhukti,² 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 Sylhet. There are, again, two rivers of that name in North Bengal,—one running from Purnea to Dinajpur and the other from Bogra to Rajshahi.³ Further and now, if we turn to the *Karatōyā-māhātmya* which describes the holy sites of Mahāsthāna, or old Puṅḍravardhana, 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.⁴ 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 (*dvijas*).⁵ 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 Dākshinātya-Vaidika*⁶ 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 Kāṭhiāwāḍ but not among the members of any high caste of Bengal except the Dākshinātya 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 *Kāmasūtra*, verse 6,41 (p. 301 of Bombay edn.).

² *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 216, line 6.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 46 and note 20.

⁴ *Mahasthan and its Environs* (Varendra Res. Soc.'s Monograph No. 2), p. 11 and p. 26, verses 22 and 24; also *Kāyastha-Samāj* (Nasik), B.S. 1336, pp. 496-97.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 250, lines 50-51.

⁶ P. 46.

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*,¹ 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."² 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 Bhitari inscriptions, Samudragupta is represented, says R. G. Bhandarkar, as having performed the *Aśvamēdha*, which is pointedly spoken of as having gone out of use for a long time (*chir-ōtsann-āśvamēdh-āharttuḥ*). "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 *Aśvamēdha-Parākrama* on the reverse. Similar coins bearing on the reverse the legend *Aśvamēdha-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 Sātakarṇi were well known to scholars. There Sātakarṇi, or rather his wife,³ is represented to have performed not only a good many sacrifices, but, above all, celebrated *Rājasūya* once and *Aśvamēdha* twice. This clearly indicates his or her rank as a supreme ruler. Slightly earlier than this record is that found at Ghōsuṇḍi, not far from Chitōr-gaṛh in Rajasthan. The contents of this inscription also were fairly well known⁴ 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 Nagari in the *Epigraphia Indica*.⁵ This also credits Gājāyana Pārāsarīputra Sarvatāta with the celebration of a similar *Aśvamēdha*, as is clear from the text *rājñā bhāgavatēna Gājāyanēna Pārāsarīputrēna Sarvatātēna Aśvamēdha-yājina* etc. The patronymic Gājāyana 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 Ayōdhyā which has *dvir=Aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ Sēnāpatēh Pushyamitrasya*.⁶ This conclusively shows that Pushyamitra, like Sātakarṇi, 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-ōtsann-āśvamēdh-āharttā* which has been used in Gupta inscriptions with reference to Samudra-

¹ Vol. XX, pp. 356 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 392 ff.

³ *ASWI.*, Vol. V, pp. 60 and ff.

⁴ *JASB.*, Vol. LVI, pt. i, pp. 77 ff., No. 1 and Plate V. a.

⁵ Vol. XXII, pp. 198 ff.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

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, Viṣṇu, 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, Viṣṇu, the Sun and Mahāsēna can be considered to be Brāhmanic deities even in the Gupta period. In modern times there is hardly any important shrine of Viṣṇu, 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 Ṛigvedic 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 Viṣṇu, every student of the *Ṛig-Vēda* knows that while the hymns and verses, dedicated to the praises of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, etc., are extremely numerous, those in which Viṣṇu is celebrated are much fewer.³ Not only is the power by which Viṣṇu takes his three strides described as being derived from Indra but also Viṣṇu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises. We shall not be far from right if we say that Viṣṇu occupied a subordinate place in the estimation and affections of the Ṛishis who composed the *Ṛiks*. It is again doubtful whether and how far Viṣṇu 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 *avyāṅga*. 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.

² D. R. Bhandarkar's *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 22-23; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p 17.

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, Mahāsēna also cannot be taken to be a Brahmanical deity for this period.

How Śiva, Viṣṇu 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 Aryans 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 Aśvins, Apām-ṇapāt, 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 Aryans. They celebrated many such sacrifices as the *Aśvamēdha*, the *Rājasūya*, the *Agnyādihēya*, the *Anvārambhaṇīya* 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 Nānāghāt cave inscriptions. A careful study of these records gives us the following information. Sātakarṇi was the supreme ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha (the Dekkan). His queen was Nāganikā. 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 *Aśvamēdha* 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 Brāhmaṇas who perform such sacrifices for them (*stri-yājaka*) are severely blamed."¹ But anybody who impartially studies *Jaimini-Sūtra*, 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 Aryans. It is so beautifully enunciated in the *Ṛik*:

*Indraṃ Mitrāṃ Varuṇam = Agnim = āhur = athō
divyaḥ sa Suparṇō Garutmān |
ēkaṃ sad = viprā bahudhā vadanty = Agnim
Yamaṃ Mātariśvānam = āhuḥ || (RV, I. 164. 46):*

"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, and that celestial noble-winged Garutmān. 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: *ēkaṃ 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

¹ *ASWI*, Vol. V, pp. 66-67.

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 Vaishṇavism 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 *kāruṇya* or compassion. In the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*¹ no less than twenty-two incarnations of Viṣṇu have been specified, of whom the first was Ṛishabha, son of Nābhi and Mērudēvi,² doubtless the first Tirthaṅkara of the Jainas. This clearly shows that Vaishṇavism, 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 Dēvi, Mātṛi or Ambikā. Let us take up Viṣṇu first. The following are his names that are met with in Gupta inscriptions: Ananta-svāmin,³ Bhagavat (No. 12 below, line 6), Chakrabhṛit (No. 28 below, line 27), Chakragadādhara,⁴ Chakrapāṇi,⁵ Chakrasvāmin,⁶ Garuḍakētu (No. 39 below, line 2), Gōvinda (No. 28 below, line 25), Gōvinda-svāmin,⁷ Indrānuja (No. 41 below, line 1), Janārdana (No. 39 below, line 9), Madhusūdana,⁸ Nārāyaṇa,⁹ Puruṣa (No. 14 below, line 1), Śārṅgin (No. 31 below, line 17) and Vāsudēva.¹⁰

The Viṣṇu of the Gupta period is Vedic Viṣṇu, Puruṣa-Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudēva-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 Puruṣhāy=āmit-ātmanē [/]
chatus-samudra-paryyaṅka-tōya-Nidrālavē namaḥ [/*]*

“Obeisance to that Thousand-Headed Puruṣa (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 *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Ṛig-Vēda* (X. 90), which opens with *sahasra-śirshā Puruṣaḥ*. The second half of the verse reminds us of *Manu* (I. 10), where we are told: “The waters are

¹ I-3-5 to 25.

² *Ibid.*, V. 3. 20.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 66, text line 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 17, text line 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 7, text line 12.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 317 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff., text line 4.

⁸ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 17, text line 21.

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 (*ayana*), he is thereby remembered as Nārāyaṇa". 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 *Purusha-sūkta* itself is attributed to Nārāyaṇa, just as some hymns are to Paramātman, 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 Nidrālu. That Nidrālu 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 Vaishṇava 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 Kṛishṇa. It is thus incontrovertible that Viṣṇu of the Gupta period is the Vedic Purusha-Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudēva-Kṛishṇa 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 vibhuś = chatur-bhujaś = chatur-arṇava-
vipula-salīla-paryyāṅkaḥ [/*]
jagataḥ sthity-utpatti-nya[y-aika]-hētur =
Garuḍa-kētuh [/*]*

"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 *Ṛig-Vēda* X. 149. 3, mention is made of Savitṛi's strong-pinioned (*suparna*) Garutman who obeyed his law for ever. So this association of Garuḍa with Viṣṇu is a development from the Ṛigvedic period. Inscription No. 39 below is of the time of Budhagupta and is dated Gupta year 165=484 A.D. It records the erection of the *dhvaja-stambha* of the god Janārdana by *Mahārāja* Mātṛivishṇu and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu. Things were different when Tōramāṇa's Ēraṇ inscription¹ came to be engraved on the body of the stone image of Varāha. This happened when Mātṛivishṇu was dead and Dhanyavishṇu alone alive. That was again in the first year of the reign of Tōramāṇa, the first ruler of the Hūṇas 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 Dhanyavishṇu is represented to have erected the stone temple of the god Nārāyaṇa who has the form of a Boar. It is the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā* (37.5) and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (14.1.2.11) which first speak of Ēmūsha 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 *Śāntiparvan* (Chap. 342, verse 68) of the *Mahābhārata*, Bhagavat

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 36.

We have seen how the Asura Bali was dealt with by Vishṇu. But there was another demon called Madhu who is associated with Vishṇu and was in fact killed by him. In fact, he was for that reason called Madhusūdana. The second half of verse 15 of the Gaṅgdhār inscription referred to above has the following: "when it is the time of the ending of the slumbers of (Vishṇu) who destroyed Madhu and was a scion of Śūra." Here three points are involved. The first is that Vishṇu is called Madhusūdana, 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 grandfather of Kṛishṇa.¹ This is additional evidence of the identification of Kṛishṇa with Vishṇu during this period. As regards the first point, the *Purānas* represent Madhu to be killed along with Kaiṭabha by Vishṇu. They were demons sprung from the ears of Vishṇu, while he was asleep, and were slain by him as they were about to devour Brahman.² Of course, the *Purānas* 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 Vishṇu killed them both and was for that reason known not only as Madhusūdana but also as Kaiṭabhajit. Of course, the epithet, *Madhusūdana*, is mentioned in the Gaṅgdhār Inscription and Kaiṭabhajit is not yet found in any Gupta record. But this *ab silentio* argument is no good, as all the *Purānas* mention Madhu and Kaiṭabha together and as being slain by Vishṇu. The third and most important point raised is that Vishṇu sleeps and is awakened from his slumbers. This no doubt refers to the myth that Vishṇu sleeps four months of the rainy season, that his slumber commences on the 11th of the bright half of Āshāḍha and that it ends on the 11th of the bright half of Kārtika. Those days have been named *Śayanī* and *Prabōdhinī Ēkādaśīs* respectively in the *Padma-Purāna*. This, however, seems to be a new development in the mythology of Vishṇu 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 Purāṇic Vishṇu, is Purusha-Nārāyaṇa about whom we have said enough above. The third deity that has been so merged is Vāsudēva-Kṛishṇa. We have already adverted to the Bhitari pillar inscription (No. 31 below), where Skandagupta is, after destroying his enemy, described as visiting his mother just as Kṛishṇa did Dēvakī. The story about Kṛishṇa, Dēvakī 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 Vishṇuvardhana.⁴ They describe one Bhagavaddōsha as a prop to his relatives just as Uddhava was to the Andhakas 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 Dēvabhāga, brother of Vāsudēva. He was fond of carrying on discussions on philosophy⁵ 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.'⁶ *Sabhā-Parvan*, 50.8, says that Vidura was well conversant with the Science of Polity on which Bṛihaspati discoursed to Indra; and *Udyōga-Parvan*, 32-40, actually sets forth, under the title *Vidura-vākya*, his own views on the same subject, namely, Polity. There is a third incident in the life of Vāsudēva-Kṛishṇa which is also incidentally

¹ *Padma-P.*, V. 13. 108-09; *Vāyu-P.*, 96. 143-44; *Matsya-P.*, 46. 1; *Harivaṁśa-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-Vaivarta-P.*, I. 4. 26-28; *Padma-P.*, V. 37. 19 and *MBh.*, III. 202; and *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.*, 81. 50 ff.

³ *Vishṇu-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.

⁴ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 35.

⁵ *Bhāgavata*, XI. 6. 40-29.49, which is known as *Uddhava-gītā*.

⁶ *Udyōga-Parvan*, 32. 5.

referred to in the opening verse of the Tuśām Rock inscription,¹ which runs thus: "Verily victory has over and over again been achieved by Vishṇu, 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 Jāmbavat, 'king of bears.' There was a gem called Syamantaka which was given by the sun to Satrājīt who passed it on to his brother Prasēna as he did not want it to go to Kṛishṇa. One quality of this jewel was to project its wearer, when good, but to ruin him, when bad.² Prasēna was wicked and was killed by a lion, which was carrying off the gem in its mouth, when it was encountered and slain by Jāmbavat. Kṛishṇa tracked Jāmbavat till the latter submitted to him, gave up the gem and presented him also with his daughter Jāmbavatī. Jāmbavat 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 *kapi* 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 *Kapīndra-putrī* (verse 41) and at another time, that is, in the very next verse (verse 42) *Vidyādhārēndrasya 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 Vishṇu in the inscription, although it was achieved by Vāsudēva-Kṛishṇa. 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-Kṛishṇa, who was merged into Vishṇu, we have already considered the contents of the Mandasor inscription (No. 14 below) of Naravarman which throw light on the principal incident in his life story and have pointed out how he too was lost into the individuality of Vishṇu. We shall now discuss whether there was any Vaishṇava sect in existence in the Gupta epoch. The sects that loom large in the Vaishṇava 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 *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, has shown on inscrip-tional evidence that there was any Vaishṇava 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 Tuśām⁴ 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* Sōmatrāta, who was the younger brother of *Āchārya* and *Upādhyāya* Yaśastrāta (II). The latter pertained to the Gōtama *gōtra* and was a son of *Āchārya* Vasudatta 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 Yaśastrāta (II) is said to belong to the Gōtama *gōtra* is enough to show that this family of *Āchāryas* was Brāhmaṇa by caste. Vasudatta's father was Yaśastrāta (I), and this Yaśastrāta was a devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), to whom, we are told, the Yōga 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 Yōga.

¹ *CH.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 67.

² Dowson's *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, etc., pp. 131-32.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 107.

⁴ *CH.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 67.

⁵ *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam* (Lakshmi-Venkateshwar Press edn.), p. 26.

This receives a most welcome confirmation from the *Sātvata-saṁhitā*, the contents of which have been so admirably summed up by R. G. Bhandarkar.¹ Rāmānuja² 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 *Sātvata-saṁhitā*: 'This is the supreme Śāstra the great Brahmōpanishad, which imparts true discrimination to see 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' (*sūkshma*), 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, Kṛishṇa, etc., in whom the highest Being becomes manifest; by the *vyūha* the four-fold arrangement or division of the highest Reality, as Vāsudēva, Saṁkarshaṇa, 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 *Sātvata-saṁhitā* supports the above statement in every way and supplements it in one respect. The most important point is that the Brahmōpanishad, the highest Śāstra, reveals itself to a qualified Brāhmaṇa only, when he worships Vāsudēva as Brahman. The second important point noticeable in his summary is that "This Śāstra along with Rahasya is fruitful to those who have gone through Yōga with its eight parts and whose soul is devoted to mental sacrifice. The Yōgins, 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."³ Thus the second important point noteworthy about the Sātvata sect is that there is a special type of Yōga connected with it. Now, both these points are noticeable about the Sātvata sect described in the Tuśām record. The *Āchāryas* of this sect are all Brāhmaṇas and belonged to the Gōtama *gōtra*. Secondly, the first of these *Āchāryas* named Yaśastrāta is described not only as a devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), but also as "one to whom the Yōga practice of the *Ārya* Sātvatas had come down through many generations." After this agreement in important points, can there be any doubt that there was a Vaishṇava sect called the Sātvatas which was in existence in the Gupta period? Further, we have to note that this Sātvata sect was, in regard to the order of succession, more akin to the Vallabhāchārī where the succession was from father to son than to the Rāmānuja, Madhva or Nimbārka where the succession was from a *Samnyāsī* teacher to his *Samnyāsī* pupil. There are two more points relating to the Sātvata 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 *Achārya* in the sense of "a teacher." Here was therefore a line of teachers pertaining to the Sātvata sect where the Sātvata 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 *Sātvata-saṁhitā*, 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

¹ *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, pp. 39-40.

² *Vēdānta-sūtras*, II. 2.42 (*SBE.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 525).

³ *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, p. 40.

at the end of chapter 66 of the *Bhīṣma-parvan* to Saṅkarshaṇa's having sung or expounded Vāsudēva according to the Sātvata rites (Vidhi) 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 Tuṣām 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 Vaishṇava record,¹ which again is of the same age though it is found in the eastern part of India, namely, in a cave of Susuṇiā 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 Gañj² and the other at Nāch-nē-ki-talāi³ where also was existing one Vaishṇava cave.

Īśa (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 *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* that Śiva is, for the first time, found mentioned as a deity though as a form of Rudra. There were many divinities of this class such as Bhava, Śarvan, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Mahādēva and Īśāna who have been mentioned in this ascending order and as manifestations of Ēka-vrātya, in Book XV of the *Atharva-Vēda*. 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 Paśupati 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 Bhagīratha 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 Pināka 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 Pinākin in verse 132 and indulging in *Vādyā-nṛitya* and *aṭṭahāsa* in verses 142-43 and 145.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 12 ff.; *CII.*, Vol. V, No. 22.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 54; *ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 21.

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.

thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of Lakulin 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, Tripurāntaka, was a contemporary of Sāraṅgadēva 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 Gārgya or Gārgēya. While the Cintra *praśasti* gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprung up in the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakulin, the Mathurā record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulin. In other words, it appears that while some descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Sōmnāth in Kāthiāwāḍ, those of Kuśika did at Mathurā.

It is evident that the teachers mentioned in the Mathurā record pertained to the Lakulin 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 Upamitēśvara and Kapilēśvara named after Upamita and Kapila who were his teacher and teacher's teacher respectively. What did Upamitēśvara and Kapilēśvara denote? As the ending *īśvara* 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 Lakulin which we contributed elsewhere, namely, to the *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*.¹ There, we have shown that wherever Lakulin appears, he figures as a human being, invariably with two hands and with his characteristic signs, namely, a *Lakuṭa* or staff in his left hand, a citron in his right, and above all, with *ūrdhva-mēdhra*. There are, however, two representations of his, at Kārvāṇ—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 Lakulin, 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 Upamitēśvara 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 *Ārya*. 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 *Purānas*² adverted to above.

Tatr=āpi mama tē putrā bhaviṣyanti tapasvinaḥ |
Kuśikaś=ch=aiva Gargaś=cha Mitrāḥ Kaurushya ēva cha ||131
Yōg-ātmānō mah-ātmānō brāhmaṇā Vēda-pāragāḥ |
prāḥya Māheśvaraṁ Yōgaṁ vimalā hy=ūrdhva-rētasāḥ ||132
Rudra-lōkaṁ gamiṣyanti punar=āvṛitti-durlabham |
ētē Pāśupatāḥ siddhā bhasm-ōddhūlita-vigrahāḥ ||133

¹ 1906-07, pp. 179 ff.

² *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXII, p. 154.

Here have been named the four disciples of Lakulin who were the founders of the four lines of Pāśupata teachers. They are described not only as possessed of bodies besmeared with ashes, as *ūrdhva-rētaśa*, i.e., *ūrdhva-mēḍhra*, but also as having practised *Māhēśvara-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 *Pāśupata-yōga*. So it is named not only in the Ēklingji stone inscription¹ of Naravāhana but also in the *Vāyu-Purāna*, 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 *prāṇa-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 *liṅga* which served to distinguish them from one another along with the order of successions in which their *liṅgas* 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-Purāna*, of Lakulin 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 *Yūpa* or sacrificial post and refers again to Bhadrāryā 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) Brāhmī, (2) Māhēśvarī, (3) Chaṇḍī, (4) Vārāhī, (5) Vaishṇavī, (6) Kaumārī, (7) Chāmuṇḍā 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 Śaktis of Brahmā, Mahēśvara 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 *Vishṇu-Purāna*, V. 1 and 2, which speaks of *Yōga-nidrā* of the Creator of the Universe (*Jagad-dhātṛi*) who in this case is Vishṇu himself. *Yōga-nidrā* has consequently been styled Vaishṇavī Mahāmāyā. She has been commanded by the god to transfer a number

¹ *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XXII, p. 167, verse 13.

of foetuses to the womb of Dēvakī. When Kṛishṇa is born of Dēvakī, she herself shall be born of Yaśōdā, and thereafter Vāsudēva shall effect the exchange of infants. For the execution of this duty, Viṣṇu promises that the people will address her, morning and afternoon, with reverence and praise, call her Āryā, Durgā, Dēvagarbhā, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakālī, Kshēmyā and Kshēmaṅkarī, 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 Bhadrakālī and Kshēma[m]karī 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 (=Āi) 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-saṁhitā*, (III. 58) which says: *Ēsha tē Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā tañ juhasva svāhā Ava Rudram=ādīmahy=ava dēvam 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."¹ 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 Bhadrakālī was an amplified form of Bhadrā, so was Kshēmakarī of Kshēmā. If any doubt remains on this point, it is removed by verse 2 of the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalāta, dated Vikrama year 682=625 A.D. The second line of this verse runs thus: *Kshēmāryā Kshēmakarī vidadhātu śivam nas=satatam*.² Here Kshēmā and Kshēmakarī 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 Dhātṛī (Creator) and Viśvayōni, both of which are names of Brahman. Nevertheless, the same stanza tells us that she was the wife of Śiva. The inference is not unreasonable that Durgā, Bhadrā or Bhadrakālī and Kshēmā or Kshēmakarī 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 Mātṛis and how he conferred powers upon them has been narrated in the *Skandōpākhyāna* of the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.³ But in this account the Mātṛis named are entirely different from those anywhere mentioned, such as Kākī, Halimā, Mālinī, Bṛīṅhikā, Āryā, Palālā and Vaimitrā.⁴ Besides, here Skanda, Mahāsēna, 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 Kushāṇa regime, one type of Huvishka's coins bears on the reverse the three gods, Skanda, Kumāra and Viśā-

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar's *Some Aspects of Indian Culture*, (Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1938-39), pp. 42-43.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 191.

³ Chapter 224, verses 10-16; chapter 225, verses 22-25; chapter 229, verses 14 and 15.

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, chapter 227, verse 9.

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 Kushāṇa 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 *Amarakōsha* the god has been called Agni-bhūḥ, 'son of Agni', the story of the *Skandōpākhyāna*, that he was the son of Agni and Svāhā may be accepted though it is mixed up with details, connected with the other gods such as Shaḍānana, later known as Kārttikēya. When Svāhā 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 Shaḍānana. This much of the *Skandōpākhyāna* 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 Bhadrāryā and others? Let us recall to memory what has been summarised above from the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*. We have pointed out there that Vishṇu ordered Yōganidrā of the Creator to transfer some extraneous foetuses, in succession, to the womb of Dēvakī 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 Āryā, Durgā, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Kshēmā and so forth, and, above all, being propitiated with the offerings of wine and flesh (*surā-māms-ōpahāraiś=cha bhakshya-bhōjyais=supūjitā*). 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 Mātṛis is the Gaṅgdhār inscription of Viśvavarman, of which verse 23 speaks of Mayūrāksha, the counsellor of the king, having built a formidable edifice of the Divine Mothers (*Mātṛis*), interspersed with female ghouls (*Ḍākiṇī*)—the Divine Mothers who stir up oceans with mighty gales through magic incantation. Here two things are worthy of note. The first is that *Ḍākiṇīs* 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 *Ḍākiṇīs* with *Mātṛis*. 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 *Mātṛis* are the Śivā, and the *Ḍākiṇīs* 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, Kālī, Chaṇḍī 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-vēda*, 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.

¹ Winternitz's *A History of Indian Literature* (English Translation), Vol. I, p. 605.

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 Vishṇu, Śiva and Ambā. There is nothing, however, to show that Brāhmanism was responsible for this stupendous change. It is true that at present most of these gods are in the charge of Brāhmaṇa priests who alone have the right of allowing the votaries to have *darśana* of the deities and have turned it into a lucrative source of living. But there is nothing to show that in the Gupta period Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests in the shrines of either Vishṇu, Śiva or Ambā.

There can, however, be no doubt as to the Brāhmaṇas rising to prominence shortly before the Gupta period. Every student of history knows who Ushavadāta (=Ṛishabhadatta) was. He was a son of Dīnika and son-in-law of the *Mahākshatrapa* Nahapāna, who belonged to the Kshaharāta family. Dīnika, Nahapāna, *Kshaharāta* and *Kshatrapa* are all non-Hindu names and titles. This unmistakably points to the alien origin of Ushavadāta. This is exactly in consonance with the fact that in one inscription he is called a Śaka. But his name is Ushavadāta =Ṛishabhadatta. His wife's name is Saṁghamitrā. These are distinctly Hindu names. This is quite in conformity with what is said of him. Thus, in one inscription, he is called *tri-gō-śata-sahasrada*, "the giver of three hundred thousand kine." He is also spoken of as having granted sixteen villages to the gods and Brāhmaṇas. And, to crown the whole, he is described as *anumarsham Brāhmaṇa-śatasāhasrī-bhōjāpayitā*, "the feeder of one hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas every year." Those charities stamp Ushavadāta as a very staunch adherent of the Brahmanical religion.¹ This also shows that the Brāhmaṇas had begun to acquire general ascendancy 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 Mathurā inscription which was brought to our notice by Dayaram Sahnī and which speaks of a *dēvakula* or shrine raised to the memory of the grandfather of Huvishka and the excavation of a tank connected therewith.² It seems that the structure fell into disrepair in the time of this Kushāṇa monarch and was renovated by some Bakanapati 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 Brāhmaṇas who were *naitiyik-ātithis*, 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 Brāhmaṇas. It is well-known that Manu (III. 69-70) enjoins the performance of Five Great Sacrifices (*Pañcha-mahāyajña*) by the householders and that the last of these is *Atithi-pūjana* 'the hospitable reception of guests.' These five are generally mentioned in inscriptions in the abbreviated forms: *bali*, *charu*, *Vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and *atithi*.³ It thus seems from the above record that the Brāhmaṇas 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 Brāhmaṇa community is furnished by another Mathurā inscription of the same Kushāṇa king. Its purport is to record the endowment of a *punya-śālā* or a Hall for acquiring merit through feeding and distribution of alms. It was made by a donor of foreign extraction. It was an *akshayanīvi*, 'a permanent endowment', the capital of which could not be touched. Five hundred and fifty Purāṇas were deposi-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 79; D. R. Bhandarkar's *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1938-39, pp. 61-62.

² *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 402.

³ *CH.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 166-67, lines 27-28; p. 179, line 66.

ted each in two *śrēṇis* or guilds.¹ 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-śālā* is described as *prāchīnī* and *chatuḍiśī*. The latter term means that 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 Gaḍhwā in the Allahabad District which speak of grants being made for the free boarding of Sadāsattra-sāmānya, whether they belonged to the Brāhmaṇa or other castes. Sadāsattra-sāmānya must here denote the people who pertained to the township (*sāmānya*) 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 *Punyaśālā* of Mathurā and the Sadāsattra of Gaḍhwā 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 Pāśupata and Sātvata sects. In regard to the former, the *Purāṇas* say that the four disciples of Lakuliśa were not only Brāhmaṇas conversant with the Vēdas but also experts in the Māhēśvara (= Pāśupata) *yōga*. The same was the case with the Sātvata sect connected with the Viṣṇu 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 ascendancy 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—Viṣṇu, 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 Karamḍāmḍā inscription (No. 21 below) of Kumāragupta I runs counter to this supposition, because it connects the two temples of Mahādēva-Śailēśvara and Pṛithivīśvara, with Brāhmaṇas who had come from Ayōdhyā and were conversant with *Mantras*, *Sūtras*, *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 Ayōdhyā 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.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 60-61.

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 *pañcha-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 Śvētavarāha-svāmin, two primeval gods existing on the table-land of the Himālayas. The first of these was for the purchase of land by Ṛibhupāla, the *Nagara-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 Ayōdhyā on behalf of one of these gods only, namely, Śvētavarāha-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 Śvētavarāha-svāmin, the two well-known forms of Viṣṇu, 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 Kaṇishka and specifies the date 84, and not 14 as taken by Sahni.³ The characters are almost exactly the same as those of the

¹ *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath* (1914), p. 19.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff.

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 Kaṇishka 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*]sambuddhasya sva-matasya dēvasya*.¹ 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, Saṃghilā, 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) *Svamata*." 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 Brahmā. 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 Brahmā 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 take 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-mat-āvuddhasya*. 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 Sāṃmitīya, 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 Sāṃmitīya. It occurs for the first time in a Sārnāth inscription of the early Gupta period, which is wrongly read as *Sa[mmi]tiyānam* by Vogel.² It is to be transcribed as *svamyātiyānām* and corrected into *svāmatīyānām*, "Of those who propound the doctrine of *sva-mata*." *Svā-matīya* can be easily Prakritised into *Sāṃmatīya*. But what can be this doctrine of *Sva-mata* after which the sect is called *Svāmatīya*? "The most important tenet of the Sāṃmitīya creed. . . .," says Poussin, "is the *Pudgalavāda*, the belief in a *pudgala*, a sort of person or soul."³ 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 (*svaṃ matam yasya saḥ*)." 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 (*avayavin*) to its part (*avayava*). The Sāṃmitīyas 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

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172.

³ *E.R.E.*, Vol. XI, p. 169.

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 Sāṃmitīyas asseverate that 'the doctrine of *pudgala* has been taught by Buddha'. Well might inscription No. 25 below, therefore, describe Buddha as *sva-mat-āvīruddha*, 'uncontroverted in his doctrine of *sva* (= *pudgala*).' Buddhāmītra who made a gift of the image of Buddha must, therefore, have been an adherent of the Sāṃmitīya sect.

It will thus be seen that the Sāṃmitīyas 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 Sāṃmitīyas, who were Vātsīputras, 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 Sāṃmitīya, of which no Buddhist text or no Buddhist scholar has yet been able to give a satisfactory derivation. That they were Vātsīputrikas is also clearly proved by a Sārnāth inscription.¹ But now we learn from the Mathurā inscription referred to above that the Sāṃmitīyas 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 Lōkōttara-vādins it is very difficult to determine. What we are told according to traditional history is that whereas the Sāṃmitīyas belonged to the Thēravāda, the Lōkōttaras were Mahāsāṃghikas.

Let us now proceed one step further. The Sāṃmitīyas were not the only Buddhist sect that were settled at Sārnāth. For at least two inscriptions of the Sarvāstivādins 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 Mahāsāṃghikas with whom the Sarvāstivādins were in opposition just a century ago, as is clear from an inscription on the Mathurā Lion Capital.³ It was in the Kushāṇa period that the Sarvāstivādins 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 Kaṇishka and recording the donation of Bhikshu Bala, conversant with Tripiṭaka and co-resident brother (*saddhyēvihāri*) of Bhikshu Pushyavuddhi. He was associated in this donation, among others, with (the nun) Buddhāmītrā, 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 Saheṭ-Maheṭ (Śrāvastī).⁵ It also records the gift of the statue of Bōdhisattva

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172.

² *A.R. ASI.*, 1904-05, p. 68; 1906-07, pp. 96-97.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 146, note.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 176.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

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 Kaṇishka 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.¹ It records that a Bōdhisattva was set up by the nun Dhanavatī, sister's daughter of the nun Buddhāmitrā, conversant with the Tripiṭaka and a female disciple of the monk Bala who knew the Tripiṭaka. There can thus be no doubt about the identity of this monk with the monk Bala mentioned in the Saheṭ-Maheṭ and Sārnāth inscriptions. The only point to notice is that here we have the seated image of Bōdhisattva. 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.² Again, it will be seen that the three images are of Bōdhisattva 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.³ Both the royal dress and ornaments which were hitherto thought to characterise the Bōdhisattva 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 Bōdhisattva. What then are we to understand by 'Bōdhisattva'? According to Monier Williams, Bōdhisattva 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 Bōdhisattva. The conclusion is irresistible that Bōdhisattva here means Buddha. And, as a matter of fact, the primary sense of Bōdhisattva 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 Śākya sage.⁴ 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 *Bōdhisattva* 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.⁵ They were also strong in the Panjab as is clear from the Shōrkōṭ (Śibipura) inscription of the [Gupta] year 83.⁶ As regards the Sārnāth, 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 Rājyaśrī was a Bhikṣuṇī 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.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 178.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 141.

⁵ *Fa-Hien's Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* by James Legge, p. 99.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 15.

period. It is the Mandasor inscription¹ 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*, *prapā* and orchard surrounding it, which, we are expressly told, were all included within the bounds of the *vihāra* of the Lōkōttaras. The latter must be the same as the Lōkōttaravāda or Lokōttaravādins of the Buddhist works. The Lōkōttaras, like the Chaityavādins, were an offshoot of the Mahāsārngihikas, paving the way for the evolution of the Mahāyānism 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 Sthaviravāda 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 Sthaviravāda 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 Vaishṇava 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 Hieun-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-śāstra*. On his way to India he met a learned Buddhist priest whom he interrogated: "Have you here the Yōga-śāstra or not?"² Mōkshagupta branded it as a heretical work and further remarked that no true disciple of Buddha studied it. This made Hieun-Tsiang angry who now regarded him as dirt. And he rejoined: "In our country too we have long had the Vibhāshā 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-śāstra* 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 Hieun-Tsiang visited India. It was not Śaivism and Vaishṇavism 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."³ 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 Hieun-Tsiang*, p. 39.

³ *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Second edition, pp. 9 and ff.

ideal the Yōgī who, by a system of Yōga 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 Gandhāra 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 *Kāvya* 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 Aśvaghōsha who was a contemporary of the Kushāṇa sovereign Kanishka (*circa* 125 A.D.) and was the author not only of the *Buddhacharita*, *Saundarānanda* and *Sūtrālamkāra* but also of the drama *Śrīputraprakaraṇa*. These works of Aśvaghōsha are genuine *kāvyas* 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 *Mahābhāshya* 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 *Saumanōttarā*, noticing also an exception in the case of *Bhaimarathī*. This means that in the time of Patañjali at least three *Ākhyāyikās* were known, namely, *Vāsavadattā*, *Saumanōttarā* and *Bhaimarathī* 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: *Ākhyān-ākhyāyik-ētiḥāsa-purāṇēbhyaś=cha ṭhag=vaktavyaḥ*. "The affix *ṭhag* comes in the sense of 'one who studies' or of 'one who knows' after (the names of) stories (*ākhyāna*) and narratives (*ākhyāyikā*), and after (the words) *itiḥāsa* and *purāṇa*." It is in this connection that Patañjali refers again to *Vāsavadattā* and *Saumanōttarā* as *Ākhyāyikās* but under the forms *Vāsavadattika* and *Saumanōttarika* (=one who has studied or is conversant with the *Vāsavadattā* or *Saumanōttarā* narrative). In regard to the *Ākhyānas* also he cites the forms *Yāvakrītika*, *Priyaṅgavika* and *Yāyātika* which mean "one who has studied or is conversant with the *Yavakrīta*, *Priyaṅgu* and *Yayāti* stories." It is reasonable to hold that the terms *Ākhyāna* 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 *Ākhyāna*, *Ākhyāyikā* and *Kathā*. But if the *Harshacharita* has been styled an *Ākhyāyikā* and the *Kādambarī* 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 *Ākhyānas* were *Ākhyāyikās* and some were *Kathās*, as Daṇḍin and Viśvanātha assure us, *Ākhyāna* must be taken to mean 'a story' so as to include both 'a narrative' and 'a romance'. It will thus be seen that many *Ākhyānas* 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 *Vārarucham kāvyam*, that is, 'a Poem composed by Vararuchi', and reminds us of the *Raghuvamśa* and *Kumārasāmbhava* of Kālidāsa, the *Kirāt-ārjunīya* of Bhāravi, the *Śiśupālavadhā* of Māgha and the *Naishadhacharita* of Śrīharsha—the traditional *kāvya*s 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 *Mahābhāshya* which "appear to be quotations from poetical works composed from classical Sanskrit".¹ Many of these exhibit "the ornate metres of the late Kāvya style" such as the *Mālatī*, *Praharshinī*, *Pramitāksharā* and *Vasantatilakā*. These, again, "agree, in point of contents as well as the mode of expression, not with epic works but with the court *kāvya*s"; compare, for example, *vara-tanu sampravradanti kukkūṭāḥ*,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 *Kāvya* or Artificial Poetry prospered in the age of Patañjali.

Now, one of the chief constituents of *Kāvya* is *Alamkāra* or Figure of Speech. It is this feature which makes poetry artificial and distinguishes principally an epic composition from a *Kāvya par excellence*. If we take our stand upon the occurrence of a Figure of Speech in a composition, we have to trace Artificial Poetry to the Vedic period itself. Thus, there is a well-known text beginning *dvā suṣarṇā sayujā sakhāya* which occurs not only in the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* (IV. 6) and the *Muṇḍaka* (III. 1.1) but also in the *Ṛigveda* (I. 164. 20). Anybody who has studied the tenth *Ullāsa* of Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa* will at once be able to say that the text in question is an instance of *Atiśayōkti*, representing the first variety of it described in the words *nigīry=ādhyavasānam tu prakṛitasya parēna yat*. Another Upanishadic text is *apāni-pādō Javanō grahitā* which is found in the *Śvetāśvatara* III. 19. This is a clear instance of the Figure of Speech called *Vibhāvanā*. Similarly, in the *Ṛigveda* we have a philosophical hymn devoted to *Jñāna*. It comprises a text commencing with *uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa Vācham* (*Ṛigveda* X. 71. 4). There can hardly be any doubt as to this being an apt illustration of the *Viśeshōkti alamkāra*. Or we may take the well-known stanza opening with *chatvāri śṛiṅgā trayō asya pādāḥ*. It occurs not only in the *Mahānārāyaṇa-Upanishad* (X. 1), *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* (X. 10. 2) and *Gōpatha-Brahmaṇa* (I. 2. 16) but also in the *Kāthaka-Saṃhitā* (XL. 7), *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā* (XVII. 91) and, above all, the *Ṛigveda* (IV. 58. 3). Two traditional but different interpretations of this stanza have been adduced, one by Yāska in his *Nirukta* (XIII. 8) and the other by Patañjali about the beginning of his *Mahābhāshya*. In both these interpretations the Figure of Speech is evidently *Atiśayōkti* of the first variety, such as that noted above. Or, we may take another philosophical stanza *Indram Mitram Varuṇam=Agnim=āhuḥ* which is to be found not only in the *Atharva* (IX. 10. 28) but also in the *Ṛigveda* (I. 164. 46). This obviously is an illustration of *Ullēkha* which, though it is not noticed by Mammaṭa, has been taken cognisance of by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (X. 37). It may now be remarked that there are so many varieties of *Upamā*, simple and complicated, noticed in Sanskrit treatises on Rhetoric, and it may, therefore, be asked whether any instance can be cited from the *Ṛigveda* of any fully developed *Upamā*. We can draw upon the same philosophical hymn upon which we drew for an instance of *Viśeshōkti* Figure of Speech. The text in question runs as follows: *saktum=iva titainā punantō yatra dhīrā manasā vācham=akrata* (*Ṛigveda*, X. 71. 2). Evidently this aptly illustrates what is known as *Pūrṇa-śrautī vākyagā Upamā*, where the *upamāna* is denoted by *saktum*, *upamēya* by *vācham*, 'the conveying comparison' by *iva*, and 'the common property' by *punantō*. The instances collected here of *Alamkāras* occurring in Vedic literature are just a few out of many that are

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XIV, pp. 326-27.

² This may be compared to *Chakkavāka-vahue āmantehi sahaōram / uvaḥḥiā raññi* 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 *Kāvya*. But it may be urged against it that if the religious and philosophical hymns contain so many and so varied examples of *Alamkāra*, 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*¹ has referred to the significance of the Girnār inscription and Harishēṇa's *praśasti* engraved on the Aśōka 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*.² 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 Mandasōr, dated Vikrama year 529 = 472-73 A.D. in the reign of Kumārgupta I. The second is an earlier record, but of the Gupta Age, namely, Harishēṇa'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 Girnār inscription dated (Śaka) 72 (=150 A.D.) in the reign of *Mahākshatrāpa* Rudradāman; and the fourth is the Nasik cave inscription, dated in the nineteenth regnal year of Śrī-Puṣumāvi (*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 *Mahākshatrāpa* 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.

Harishēṇa's Panegyric of Samudragupta

The Gupta inscription that we shall now examine is Harishēṇa'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."³ This, how-

¹ 2nd edn., pt. II, pp. 1159-60 and 1169-70.

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 *mahāvākya* of the rhetoricians. It is true that the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (Bibli. Ind. edn., p. 9, sec. 7-8) e.g. defines *mahāvākya* by quoting a verse from Bhartrihari's *Vākya-padīya*, viz.,

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 *yaḥ* or *yasya*. So also verse 8 also has *yaḥ*, but corresponding to it is the demonstrative pronoun *asya* 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 *kāvya*. It runs as follows: "And may this poetic composition (*kāvya*) of Harishēṇa, the slave of the very same venerable Bhaṭṭāraka, whose mind has expanded through the favour of remaining near (him), who is the *Sāndhivīgrahika*, *Kumārāmātya* (and) *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, (and who is) a native of Khādyāṭapāka,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 *Sāndhivīgrahika* he was expected to be a poet just as the *Sāndhivīgrahika* of Chandragupta II, Virasēna Śāba, was. Nevertheless, it is somewhat strange that a poet of this early period claims for his composition the title of *kāvya*, especially as it is of such a small length. Kālidāsa nowhere speaks of any one of his compositions as a *kāvya*. Even Vālmīki, who is the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which has been designated the *ādi-kāvya*, does not call his work a *kāvya* though it is a very extensive production, but is content with saying:

prāpta-rājyasya Rāmasya Vālmīkir = bhagavān = ṛishiḥ |
chakāra charitaṁ kṛitsnaṁ vichitra-padam = arthavat ||

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

The first two verses of this *prasasti* 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 (*ājñā*) of (Poetic) Excellence, clustered together (*guṇita*) 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 *Kāvya-lamkāra-sūtravṛitti*, *prasāda* is *artha-vaimalyam*, 'Perspicuity of Sense'. The *Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa* says: *Yat = tu prākāṭyam = arthasya prasādah sō = bhidhīyatē*. Mallinātha also in one place in his commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* quotes *prasiddh-ārtha-padatvaṁ yat = sa prasādō nigadyatē*, "The use of words with well-established sense

Contd. from page 148

sv-ārtha-bōdha-samāptānām = aṅg-āṅgitva-vyapēkshayā |
vākyānām = ōka-vākyatvaṁ punaḥ saṁhatya jāyatē ||

"Out of the sentences, completed as regards the conveying of their own sense, when joined together, there develops the nature of a single sentence, through the mutual relation of the parts to the whole." But, as instances of this *mahāvākya*, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* cites the names of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Raghuvaṁśa*. Surely Harishēṇa's *prasasti* cannot possibly be classed with them and designated *mahāvākya* (gigantic sentence).

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 the Muses and Plutus. To put the same thing in other words, Bühler thinks that here we have got an allusion to the favourite allegory of the Sanskrit poets which depicts perpetual animosity between Śrī and Sarasavatī 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-kāvya-śrī-virōdhān* (line 3) of this stanza contains the Poetic Imperfection *Adhika-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 *Kāvya-pradīpa*, Poetry (*kāvya*) is *lōkōttara-varṇanā-niṣṭhā-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 Harishēṇa's special care for the choice and arrangement of words", which constitutes a merit of poetry called *udāttatā* which the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa* explains as *Ślāghya-viśēṣhaṇa-yōgyatvam*, "compatibility of apt attributives." This good quality of a poem is well-exhibited by the use of such words as *utkarṇṇitai rōmabhīḥ*, *snēhavyālulītēna*, and, above all, *udvikshitaḥ*. The preposition *ud* in *udvikshita* indicates beautifully the feelings of *nirvēda* and *vishāda* described by the authorities on Sanskrit poetics. Here *nirvēda* is a *saṁchārī* and not a *sthāyī bhāva* and is self-disparagement caused by *īrshyā* or bitter jealousy manifested in the gesture, *viz.*, the raising of the neck involved in *udvikshāṇa*.¹ *Vishāda* is "a loss of vigour (or despondency) arising from the absence of ex-

¹ *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (Nirṇaya Sagar, 1936 edn., p. 146), *Parichchhēda* III, *kārikā* 141.

pedients"¹ to achieve the end devoutly wished for. Both these feelings have been superbly depicted by the preposition *ud* in *udvikshitaḥ* used by Harishēṇa with reference to the rival kinsmen of Samudragupta. Again, the word employed by him to denote rival kinsmen is *tulya-kulaja*, 'born in the same family.' This also is a most apt phrase denoting the *Artha-guṇa* or Merit of Sense called *ōjas* or Vigour. This *ōjas*, according to the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, is *svābhiprāyatvarūpam*, 'consisting in pregnancy of meaning.'² 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-pisunaiḥ* and *utkarṇitaiḥ*, which are adjectives of *rōmabhiḥ*. Here *utkarṇitai rōmabhiḥ* without *bhāvāpisunaiḥ* would have been better. Because, as the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* says, *harsh-ādbhuta-bhay-ādibhyō rōmāñchō rōmavikriyā*,³ "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 *utkarṇitai rōmabhiḥ* by itself gives rise to the *vyañjanā* or suggestion that Chandragupta's mind was replete with joy. Thus, the other phrase *bhāva-pisunaiḥ* not only is superfluous but mars this implication, causing the Poetic Imperfection called *guṇibhūta-vyaṅgya*, 'Implication of secondary type.' Similarly in line 3, we have *bāshpa-guruṇā . . . chakshushā*. Here the expression *bāshpaguruṇā* is cumbrous and detrimental to the development of the Poetic Excellence, *Udāttatā*, which has already been animadverted upon. It should have been either *bāshp-ālasēna* or *bāshpa-bharitēna*. Again, in the last line we meet with the word *nirikshya* which, however, goes with *chakshushā* in the previous line. In between stand the words *yaḥ pitr=ābhihitō*. This has caused the Poetic Imperfection called *Garbhitatā* which is explained by the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* as *vāky-āntarē vāky-āntar-ānupravēśō*,⁴ "intrusion of one sentence into another."

In this appreciation of Harishēṇa's *prāśasti* 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-guṇa* known as *ōjas* which we have discussed above. The expression that arrests our attention in this verse is *Pushp-āhvayē krīḍatā*, '(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 he 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 *daṇḍa* or forces, while he was himself sporting at his capital Pushpapura ((Pāṭaliputra). Here the phrase *Pushp-āhvayē krīḍatā* is 'pregnant with meaning' (*svābhiprāya*) as every example of *ōjas* should be. The words *Pushp-āhvayē krīḍatā* 'sporting in Pushpa' (flower and also Pāṭaliputra) indicate with what ease he captured the fourth member of the confederacy. The expression *Pushp-āhvayē krīḍatā* thus forms a *hētu-garbha viśēṣhaṇa*, 'an adjectival phrase impregnated with a purpose' which is the same thing as *svābhiprāyatva*, the characteristic of this *ōjas*.

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 *sphuṭa-bahu-rasa-snēha-phullair*, where either *sphuṭa* or *phulla* had better be deleted. Otherwise it is susceptible of what is known as *Adhika-pada dōsha*.

Stanza 8 has twice received the attention of Bühler. First he turns to it for the expression *śaśi-kara-śuchayaḥ kīrttayāḥ sa-pratānāḥ*, with which he seems to have been exceedingly fascinated.

¹ *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, (pp. 160-61), *Parichchhēda* III, *kārikā* 167.

² *Ibid.*, p. 454.

³ *Ibid.*, (p. 138), *Parichchhēda* III, *kārikā* 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

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 *śuchi* 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 asseverates that the whole expression "bears evidence to his (Harishēṇa's) being aware of the well-known idea of the *kīrttivallī* or the creeper of fame, which covers over the three worlds with its tendrils." The word *pratāna*, no doubt, signifies 'a sprout, tendril'. But Bühler forgets that the compound word *sa-pratānāḥ* is intended to be taken with both *kīrttayaḥ* and *śāsi-kara-śuchayaḥ*. 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 *kīrttivallī* is not quite justifiable. To take another instance, *sīmantiṇī* is no doubt synonymous with *vadhū* 'woman', but not the word *sīmanta*. So, from the mere use of *sīmanta* we cannot jump up to the notion of *sīmantiṇī*. The notion of *kīrttivallī* here is thus a little far-fetched. How, again, can this imagery of 'creeper' be made applicable to 'the rays of the moon'? Bühler does not explain. There is, however, one fault in the body of this poem which Bühler has not noticed. It occurs in line 3 of the verse which reads *kō nu syād=yō=sya na syād=guṇa iti vidushām*. Here *syāt* is repeated twice and thus gives rise to the Imperfection called *Kathita-pada-vākya*. This stanza Bühler alludes to, a second time, to prove that Harishēṇa's composition does not at all belong to the beginning of the *Kāvya* 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 *kāvya* 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 *praśasti* consists of eight stanzas and covers lines 1 to 16. Thereafter commences the *gadya* portion of the *kāvya* 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 Bühler 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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	— — —
2	— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
3	— — — — — —
4	— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
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— — — — —

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— — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — | — — — — — |
— — — — — |

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 *Daṇḍakas*.” 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 Harishēṇa in prose composition but also the high standard reached by the *gadya* portion of *Kāvya* literature in the fourth century A.D. The only remark of Bühler to which exception can be taken is his use of the word *daṇḍaka* 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 extinguished 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 kingdoms 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 Jaina monk Hēmachandra's *praśasti* to his Grammar, eulogising his master, namely, the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla. But the stanza represents Kumārapāla'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, Kumārapāla'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 Kumārapāla. But, in the Allahābād pillar *praśasti*, if we are to adopt Bühler's translation, 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha, his description ends with the words *sarvva-Dakṣiṇāpatha-rāja-grahaṇa-mōksh-ānugraha-janīta-pratāp-ōnmiśra-mahā-bhāgyasya*. Similarly, his account of Samudragupta's exploits in North India in line 21 closes with *anēk-Āryyāvartta-rāja-prasabh-ōddharaṇ-ōdvṛitta-prabhāva-mahataḥ*. Further, in lines 22-23, Harishēṇa describes the stern control which his master exercised over the tributary chieftains and tribes, in the words *sarvva-kara-dān-ājñākarāṇa-praṇām-āgamana-paritōshita-prachanḍa-śāsanasya*. 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-upāya-sēvā-kṛita-bāhu-vīryya-prasara-dharaṇi-bandhasya*. This expression, like *prasabh-ōddharaṇ-ōdvṛitta-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-vīryya*) 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-Varuṇ-Ēndr-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 *Raghuvamśa*, likens Daśaratha to *Yama-Kubēra-Jalēśvara-Vajriṇām*. The author of the *Naishadhīya-charita*, however, expresses the same idea but in the general terms: *Dig-īśa-vṛind-āmśa-vibhūtiḥ*. 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 *Arthaśāstra*.¹ 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.² The rising up of this bold conception of kingship is traceable even in Harishēṇa's *praśasti* in the phraseology (in line 28) *lōka-samaya-kkriy-ānuvidhāna-mātra-mānushasya lōka-dhāmṇō 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-daivata*, 'Supreme

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 Dāmōdarpur 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 Harishēṇa by taking note of the sentence with which the prose passage ends. It runs as follows:

sarva-prithivī-vijaya-janit-ōdaya-vyāpta-nikhil-āvanitalām Kīrttim=itas=tridaśapati-bhavana-gaman-āvāpta-lalīta-sukha-vicharaṇām=āchakshāṇa iva bhuvō bāhur=ayam=uchchhritaḥ 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 *Raghuvamśa* (VI. 77).

*Ārūḍham=adrīn=udadhīn vitīrṇam bhujāṅgamānām vasatīm pravishṭam |
ūrdhvam gatam yasya na ch=ānubandhi yaśaḥ 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 Raghu 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 Raghu 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 *ūrdhva* used in the verse. In fact, Raghu's fame is to be taken as having extended over the three worlds. Harishēṇa, 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 *Tridaśapati-bhavana* or heaven, but rather to *Tridaśapati-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-*sabhā*. Kālidāsa's conception, it will thus be seen, is more complex because he has represented Raghu's Fame to have spread over not two but three worlds. It is more mechanical, because the original notion of *Kīrtti* spreading over the worlds is in no wise maintained by Kālidāsa. According to him Raghu's Fame has travelled mechanically as if she were a mere female globe-trotter. Harishēṇa, 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 *darbar*, though like other poets he has personified his master's Fame and made her travel all over the earth, before

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 Amṛitadatta, describing the glory of the Kashmir Sultan Shāhābuddīn (1352-70 A.D.) which has been quoted by Bühler himself.¹ It runs thus:

*Kīrtis=tē jāta-jādy=ēva chatur-ambudhi-majjanāt |
ātapāya dharā-nātha gatā mārtanḍa-maṇḍalam ||*

“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 Harishēṇa’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-mārgam* and *upary-upari-samchay-ōchchhrita* 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-samchay-ōchchhrita*). 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 Harishēṇa 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 Harishēṇa’s language.” By ‘artificial’ Bühler obviously means the frequent employment of *Alaṅkāras*. What he, in other words, means is that Harishēṇa does not much indulge in Figures of Speech. Nothing, however, is more erroneous. “Of the Śabdālaṅkāras,” Bühler proceeds, “he (Harishēṇa) uses only the simplest kind of alliteration, the *Varṇānuprāsa*, and even this occurs principally in the prose-parts and that, too, not many times.” In the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 174.

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 *kīrti*. The *Amarakōśa* and other lexicons make the two words synonymous with each other, so that no difficulty can arise so far as this *praśasti* 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 Rāmacharaṇa Tarkavāgīśa, in his comment upon the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, VII (page 437), quotes the following passage in favour of it: *khudg-ādi-prabhavā kīrtir=vidy-ādi-prabhavam yaśaḥ |*

first place, there is no such term as *Varṇānuprāsa* known to the science of poetics. The technical word used to denote 'alliteration' is simply *Anuprāsa*, which is described by Daṇḍin as *varṇa-vṛittir = Anuprāsaḥ padēshu cha padēshu cha*. As *Anuprāsa* is here defined as *varṇa-vṛitti*, it is possible that Bühler has jumbled the two together and invented the phrase *Varṇānuprāsa*. 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) *Vṛitty-Anuprāsa*, (3) *Śrutya-Anuprāsa*, (4) *Anty-Ānuprāsa* and (5) *Lāṭ-Ānuprāsa*. Instances of almost all these varieties are found in this *praśasti*. To take only two, *adbhut-ōdbhinna* in verse 5 is an example of the first variety, namely of *Chhēk-Ānuprāsa*, and *parākram-aika-bandhōḥ Parākramānkasya* in line 17, of the last variety, *Lāṭ-Ānuprāsa*. "Of the *Arthālamkāras*," Bühler further remarks, "he uses *Rūpaka* very often, and *Upamā* and *Ślēsha* more rarely." Nothing is farther from the fact. As Bühler admits that Harishēṇa is fond of using *Rūpaka*, no instances need be cited here. We must, however, take note of one instance he has adduced in this connection, namely, *sādhv-asādh-ūdaya-pralaya-hētu-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 *Ślēsha-mūlam 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 *ślēsha* 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 *Yathāsamkhy-ālamkāra*. Again, Bühler is not correct in asserting that Harishēṇa 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 *amanuja-saḍṛiśāni* in stanza 5 is *upamāna-luptā Upamā*, *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-samasya* in line 26 is *dharma-luptā Upamā*, whereas *prithivyām = apratirathasya* in line 24 is *dharm-ōpamāna-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 *āchakshāṇa iva bhuvō bāhuḥ* in line 30, which has already been cited *in extenso*, represents *Utprēkshā*, another variety of which, namely, *pratiyamānā Utprēkshā* is noticeable not only in *samidhāsya vighrahavatō lōk-ānugrahāsya* in line 26 but also in *sañchay-ōchchhritam* etc., in stanza 9. Again, stanza 4, which begins with *Āryy = 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 *Kāvya-liṅga*. While this stanza represents one variety of this Figure, namely, *pad-ārtha-gata*, the other variety, *vāky-ārtha-gata* *Kāvya-liṅga* 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-prāchīra-bandhaḥ*. This is just a brief survey of the *Alamkāras* 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 *Kāvya-pradīpa* 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,

prajñā nava-nav-ōnmēsha-śālīnī pratibhā matā |
tad-anuprāṇanāj = jīvēd varṇanā-nīpuṇaḥ kavīḥ ||
tasya karma smṛitam kāvyam

"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 Kāvya." 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 *Vāsavadattā*, *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 *Vāsavadattā*, pp. 121-29¹ (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 *Vāsavadattā*, 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 *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitōpadēśa*, 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 *Sāhityadarpaṇa*² places *Kathā* in the category of *gadya-kāvya* and defines it as follows:

(Text)

Kathāyām sarasām vastu gadyair—ēva vinirmītam |
kvachid—atra bhavēd—Āryā kvachid—Vaktr-Āpavaktrakē ||
ādaṁ padyair—namaskāraḥ khalādēr—vṛitta-kīrtanam |

(Commentary)

Yathā Kādambarī-ādīḥ

(Translation)

(Text)

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

¹ This is a mistake for pp. 123-24.

² Pp. 356-57 (*Parichchheda* 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 Kathāvat syāt kavēr=vaṁś-ādi-kīrtanam |
asyām=anya-kavīnām cha vṛittam gadyam kvachit kvachit ||*

(Commentary)

Yathā Harshacharit-ādīḥ etc. etc.

(Translation)

(Text)

"The *Ākhyāyikā* (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-kāvya*s, 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-kāvya* by the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. 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-kāvya*, 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-kāvya*, the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* proceeds to speak of the *gadya-padya-mayāni* (*Kāvyaṁ*). And the first variety thereof that he specifies is the *Champū* which he defines as follows:

(Text)

Gadya-padya-mayam Kāvyaṁ Champūr=ity=abhidhīyatē ||

(Commentary)

Yathā Dēśarājacharitam.

(Translation)

(Text)

“A Poem composed in prose and verse is designated *Champū*.”

(Commentary)

“For example, the *Dēśarājacharita*.”

Surely, the *Dēśarājacharita*, which is the instance given of *Champū* here, must mean “the *Adventures of Dēśarāja*,” 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 Harishēṇa’s *Kāvya* is a *Champū* simply because it is partly in prose and partly in verse is to say that the *Kādambarī* and the *Harshacharita* are also *Champūs* in spite of the fact that they have been classed by the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* under *gadya-kāvya*. The critical test here, in all these cases, is *vastu* or plot. This answers the question in the negative. Harishēṇa’s *kāvya* may be partly in prose and partly in verse. But, as it has no *vastu* or plot, it cannot be styled *Kathā*, *Ākhyāyikā* or *Champū*. But we ought not to stop here. For the very next variety which has been mentioned of the *gadya-padya-maya-kāvya* in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* is *Biruda* which is thus defined:

(Text)

Gadya-padya-mayī rāja-stutir=Birudam=uchyatē |

(Translation)

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

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

We shall now discuss the *Rīti* or the Style of Composition to which this *prāśasti* pertains. Bühler has no doubt that Harishēṇa follows the style of the southerners, or the Vaidarbhī *Rīti* 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 Vatsabhaṭṭi, are carefully avoided.”¹ “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

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 175.

than 120 syllables." If the Allāhābad pillar *praśasti* answers to Vaidarbhī Rīti, 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 *Kāvya-darśa*, 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 *Udvēl-ōdita-bāhu-vīryya-rabhasāt*, and stanza 9 with *pradāna-bhujā-vikkrama-prasamaśāstra-vāky-ōdayair*. 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 Vaidarbhī or Gauḍī-Rīti. There are other characteristics also of these styles, which Bühler has apparently forgotten. The *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (IX. 2-3) thus describes the Vaidarbhī Style:

(Text)

Mādhurya-vyañjakair=varṇai rachanā lalit-ātmikā || 2 ||
avṛittir=alpa-vṛittir=vā Vaidarbhī Rītir=uchyatē |

(Translation)

"A dulcet composition with letters manifesting Sweetness with few or no compounds, is designated the Vaidarbhī 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)

Mūrdhni varḡ-āntya-varṇēna yuktāsh=ṭa-ṭha-ḍa-dhān=vīnā |
ra-ṇau laghū cha tad-vyaktāu varṇāḥ kāraṇatām gatāḥ ||
avṛittir=alpa-vṛittir=vā madhurā rachanā tathā |

(Translation)

"All letters, excepting *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *dh*, which are preceded by the last of every series, and by *r* and *ṇ* 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)

Ōjaḥ-prakāśakair=varṇair=bandha āḍambaraḥ punaḥ || 3 ||
samāsa-bahulā Gauḍī (IX, 3-4)

(Commentary)

Yathā chañchad-bhuja ity=ādi

(Translation)

(Text)

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

(Commentary)

“For example *chañchad-bhuja* etc.”

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

(Text)

Ōjaś=chittasya vistāra-rūpaṃ dīptatvam=uchyatē || 4 ||
Vīra-Bībhatsa-Raudrēshu kramēṇ=ādhiyam=asya tu |

(Commentary)

Asya Ōjasaḥ | atr=āpi Vīr-ādi śabdā upalakṣhaṇāni | tēna Vīr-ābhās-ādāv=apy=asy=āvasthitiḥ |

(Text)

Vargasy=ādya-tṛitīyābhyāṃ yuktāu varṇau tad-antimau || 5 ||
upary-adhō dvayōr=vā sa-rēphaḥ ṭa-ṭha-ḍa-ḍhaiḥ saha |
śakāraś=cha shakāraś=cha tasya vyañjakatām gatāḥ || 6 ||
tathā samāsō bahulō ghaṭan=auddhatya-śālinī |

(Commentary)

Yathā chañchad-bhuja ity=ādi |

(Translation)

(Text)

“The blazing-up of mind assuming dilation is termed Vigour (*Ōjas*). Of this, there is an ascendancy successively greater, in the Heroic, the Disgustful and the Furious.”

(Commentary)

“‘Of this’ means ‘of Vigour’. Here also the terms Heroic, etc., are used in a comprehensive sense so that it may be comprised in the Semblance of the Heroic and so forth.”

prescribe that a *Mahākāvya* should comprise descriptions of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons and so on. These characteristics, Vatsabhaṭṭi's *pūrvā* 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 Daśapura 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 *Kāvya* style. Setting aside *Anuṣṭubh* (verses 34-37 and 44), we have *Āryā* in verses 4, 13, 21, 33, 38, 39, 41 and 42, *Drutavilambita* in verse 15, *Hariṇī* in verse 16, *Indravajrā* in verse 17, *Mālinī* in verses 19 and 43, *Mandākrāntā* in verse 29, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* in verses 1-2, *Upajāti* in verses 10, 12 and 28, *Upēndravajrā* 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 *Mahākāvya*s and *Kāvya*s, 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:¹

dvābhyāṃ Yugmam=iti prōktam
tribhiḥ ślōkair=Viśēshakam ||314||
Kalāpakam chaturbhiḥ syāt
tad-ūrdhvaṃ Kulakam 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 Rīti, 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 *Kāvyaḍarśa* (I. 47-50), according to which a verse composed in the Vaidarbhī Rīti maintains *samatā* 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-

¹ *Parichchhēda* VI, verses 314 and 315.

ments. In illustration of this statement of Daṇḍin, Bühler quotes the following stanza (verse 26) from Vatsabhaṭṭi's *praśasti*:

Tasy=ātmajō sthairya-nay-ōpaṇṇō
bandhu-priyō bandhur=iva prajānām |
bandhv=artti-hartā nṛipa-Bandhuwarmā
dviḍ-dṛipta-paksha-kshapaṇ-aika-dakshaḥ ||

“The first three *pādas*,” 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 *pāda*, on the other hand, where the *Raudra rasa* prevails, contains only hard sounding syllables and agrees quite well with Daṇḍin’s typical illustration, *Kāvyaḍarśa*, I. 72: *nyakshēṇa kshapitaḥ pakshaḥ kshatriyāṇām kshaṇād=iti.*”

The next important internal characteristic of Artificial Poetry is the use of *Alamkāras*, which are of two kinds: *Śabd-ālamkāra* and *Arth-ālamkāra*. As regards the former we will leave aside the wrong use of the phrases *Varṇānuprāsa* and *Padānuprāsa* by Bühler, which are unknown to treatises on rhetoric. We have already animadverted upon it. One variety of Alliteration, namely, *Chhēk-ānuprāsa*, is noticeable in almost every stanza of this poem. An instance of another variety, namely, *Lāṭ-ānuprāsa* is furnished by verse 26 cited above, where the word *bandhu* is repeated thrice. Further instances of the same variety are supplied by *siddhaiś=cha siddhy-arthibhiḥ* in verse 1, *kiṁnara-naraiḥ* in verse 2, *prathit-ōruvamśā vamś-ānurūpā*⁰ in verse 18, *=anātha-nāthaḥ* in verse 25 and *=aty-udāram=udārayā* in verse 37. Of the *Arth-ālamkāras*, says Bühler, Vatsabhaṭṭi uses only the most familiar ones, namely *Upamā*, *Utpṛēkshā* and *Rūpaka*. Nothing, however, is more untrue. Thus, stanza 5 contains an illustration of *Kāvyaḷiṅga*, stanza 6 of *Samāsōkti*, stanza 7 of *Svabhāvōkti*, stanza 19 of *Kāvyaḷiṅga* and *Samuchchaya*, stanza 27 of *Viśēshōkti*, *Utpṛēkshā* and *Vibhāvanā*, stanza 42 of *Mālōpamā*, and so on and so forth. It will thus be seen that a plethora of *Arth-ālamkāras* is noticeable in the panegyric of the Sun temple by Vatsabhaṭṭi and not simply the most familiar, *Upamā*, *Utpṛēkshā* and *Rūpaka*, as Bühler gives us to understand.

If we now consider the contents of Vatsabhaṭṭi’s composition, we find that it contains many images and turns of expression characteristic of the *Kāvya* 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 *pūrvā* of Vatsabhaṭṭi—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 Vatsabhaṭṭi wrote at a time when the science of Indian Poetics had evolved itself to an eminent degree. We may proceed one step further; Vatsabhaṭṭi 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 Vatsabhaṭṭi 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 *Sūryaśataka*, 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 expatiate 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-śataka*, prayers are offered to the Sun in the morning, as Bühler has pointed out, by the *Siddhas*, gods, *Chāraṇas*, *Gandharvas*, *Nāgas*, *Yātudhānas*, *Sādhyas*, *Mun-īndras* (chiefs of sages), and *Mōkshins* (seekers of emancipation),¹ and that according to verse 1 of the *praśasti* the same prayers are offered to the same god by such classes of beings as gods, *Siddhas*, *Yōgins* (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) Pṛiti 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 Vindhya mountain: *Rēvayā priyatamay—ēva prasārīta-vīchi-hastay—ōpagūḍhaḥ*,² "Encircled by the Rēvā (Narmadā) as by a beloved with extending arms, namely, (extending) waves." The second citation is from the *Bṛihatsamhitā* (XII, 6), namely, *rahasi madana-saktayā Rēvayā kāntay—ēv—ōpagūḍham*, "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 *prasārīta-vīchi-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 *Bṛihatsamhitā*." "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:

*Siddhaiḥ siddhānta-mīśraṃ śrīta-vidhi vibudhaiḥ—chāraṇaiḥ—chātugarbham
gītyā gāndharva-mukhyair—muhur—ahīpatibhir—yātudhānair—yatātmā |
sārgham sādhyair—munīndrair—muditatama-manō-mōkshibhīḥ pakshapātāt
prātaḥ prārabhyamāṇa-stutir—avatu ravir—viśva-vandy-ōdayō vaḥ ||*

² *Vāsavadattā* (Bibliotheca Indica edn.), p. 102, lines 1-2 (Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1906 edn., p. 114, lines 1-2).

where Kālidāsa describes Alakā, the capital of Kubēra, and to which our attention was first drawn by Bühler. It runs as follows:

*Vidyutvantam lalita-vanitāḥ s-ēndrachāpam sa-chitrāḥ
saṅgītāya prahata-murajāḥ snigdha-gambhīra-ghōsham |
antas-tōyam maṇi-maya-bhuvāḥ = tuṅgam = abhramliḥ-āgrāḥ
prāsādās = tvām tulayitum = alaṁ yatra tais = tair = viśēshaiḥ ||*

“Where the palaces can stand comparison with thee 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 Mandasōr 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 Kālidāsa in this respect. The words *taḍil-latā*, *abalā*, *atyartha-śuklāni*, and *adhik-ōnmatāni* of this verse correspond, roughly, and, as would be expected of a third-rate poet, with *vidyutvantam*, *lalita-vanitā*, *maṇi-maya-bhuvāḥ*, and *abhramliḥ-āgrāḥ* respectively of the stanza from the *Mēghadūta*. Only *sa-chitrāḥ*, *saṅgītāya 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, *gāndharva-śabda-mukharāṇi* and *nivishṭa-chitra-karmāṇi*. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Vatsabhaṭṭi is here imitating Kālidāsa 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 Kālidāsa, it is furnished by verse 31 of the Mandasōr inscription. It is as follows:

*Rāmā-sanātha-bhavan-ōdara-bhāskar-āmśu-
vahni-pratāpa-subhagē jala-līna-mīnē |
Chāndr-āmśu-harmya-tala-chandana-tālavṛinta-
hār-ōpabhōga-rahitē 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, palmleaf fans, and garlands; and when the water-lilies are bitten by the frost.”

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

*Niruddha-vātāyana-mandir-ōdaram
hutāsanō bhānumatō gabhastayaḥ |
gurūṇi vāsāmsy = abalāḥ sa-yauvanāḥ
prayānti kālē = tra janasya sēvyatām || 2 ||*

*Na chandanam chandra-marīchi-śītalam
na harmya-pṛishṭham śarad-īndu-sundaram |
na vāyavaḥ sāndra-tushāra-śītalā
janasya chittam ramayanti sāmpratam || 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 *hutāsanō bhānumatō gabhastayaḥ* and *na chandanam chandra-marīchi-śitalam* and *na harmya-priṣṭham* of these verses correspond to *bhāskar-āmsu-vahni-pratāpa* and *chandr-āmsu-harmya-tala-chandana . . . upabhōga-rahitē* of the inscription. And, perhaps, if we turn to the *Ritusamhāra*, Canto I, verse 8, *chandana . . . vyajana . . . hārayashṭi* of the same easily answers to *chandana-tālavṛinta-hār-ōpabhōga-rahitē* of the Mandasōr *prāśasti*. This common group of ideas indicates that Vatsabhaṭṭi is conversant not only with the *Mēghadūta* but also with the *Ritusamhāra* 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 *Ritusamhāra*, or, for the matter of that, any other poem. Again, there are two stanzas in Vatsabhaṭṭi'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 he 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 *Kāvya*s which were known when Vatsabhaṭṭi lived and wrote, upon which he drew as he did upon the *Mēghadūta* and the *Ritusamhāra*, but which have now been lost to us.¹

Let us now try and appraise the poetic merit of Vatsabhaṭṭi's composition. Bühler seems to be quite right in saying that "Vatsabhaṭṭi 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 *prativibhāti* of which the prefix *prati* is meaningless. So also is *su* of *su-*

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

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

kiraṇ—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 *prakāśam* 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-bhūtam* in which *bhūtam* is superfluous and retards from the proper development of the *alamkāra*. Similarly, the *anta* in *-tīr-ānta-*, line 2, verse 7, is redundant. *Tulya-ōpamānāni*, in line 4 of verse 10, involves the fault of tautology. If *tulya* is retained, *upamāna* is unnecessary; and if *upamāna* is adopted, *tulya* becomes superfluous. In verse 12, the word *prāsāda* is found in line 1 and *grihāṇi* 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 *pravijṛimbhita-sauhṛidāḥ*, *pratimānitāḥ* and *pramuditāḥ*, but there is no *viśēshya-pada* or qualified word. If we now turn to stanza 18, we find, in the first place, that *praṇayinām*=*upakāra-dakshāḥ* and *dṛiḍha-sauhṛidās*=*cha* mean practically the same thing and are, thus, tautologous expressions; and secondly that line 4 thereof has *viśrambha-pūrvam* which is a *kriyā-viśēshana* without any *kriyāpada* as its *viśēshya*. If we proceed to the next stanza, we notice not only that the *abhi* of *abhivighāti* in line 4 is meaningless, but that *vijita-vishaya-saṅgaiḥ* and *mukta-rāgaiḥ* are tautologous phrases. Similarly, *tatas*=*tu* 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 *bhūtasya abhaya-pradaḥ*, and not *bhūtasya 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 *Parasmaipada*, never *Ātmanēpada* even with any preposition. Bühler thinks that Vatsabhaṭṭi has used the *Ātmanēpadī* 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*) *spṛisann*=*iva*, which goes with *griham* in the preceding one. It is true that Fleet proposes to correct it into *spṛisat*=*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 *spṛisan*. The root here is *spṛis*, which belongs to the sixth conjugation, and the present participle Nominative Singular of this root even in the masculine gender must be *spṛisad*, and never *spṛisan*. And as Vatsabhaṭṭi has employed such an utterly ungrammatical form as *spṛisan*, 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: *māsham*=*api māsham kuryād*=*vṛitti-bhaṅgam vivarjayēt*, 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 *mātrā* 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 *Parasmaipada* and *Ātmanēpada* and sometimes take a root as belonging to both. But to use such

a form as *spriśan* is to murder Grammar completely. Similarly, Bühler quotes the second half of verse 30, namely, *yad=bhāti paśchima-purasya nivishṭa-kānta-chūdāmaṇi-pratisamaṁ nayan-ābhirāmam*, and observes that here "we come across something worse, a fault in construction." "The genitive *paśchima-purasya*," he further proceeds, "goes with *chūdāmaṇi*, and there is no substantive which is connected with *nivishṭa*. The grammatically correct form should have been *paśchima-purē*, 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 *paśchima-purē* had really been the grammatically correct form, Vatsabhaṭṭi who is so fond of expletives could have easily composed the line thus: *Yad=bhāti paśchima-purē hi nivishṭa-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 *sarāmsi*, 'the lakes' in general is used, then again *kvachit sarāmsi* 'the lakes in some places' is used. Further, in verses 10-12, the poet first speaks of *grihāṇi* 'the houses', then again *anyāni* '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 *Sauras*, 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 *Sūryasataka* 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 *aṅganā-jana*' of stanza 3 of the *Mandasōr 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 *aṅganā-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 Śēsha. 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 *Kāvya*s. 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 *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XII, verse 70 and the other is Māgha's *Śiśupālavadhā*, 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 Śēsha 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 Bharukachchha. 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 *Kāvya*s 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, Ujjayinī or Pāṭaliputra, his performance would have been of a much higher order and would have been comparable to the *praśasti* of Samudragupta by Harishēṇa. 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 *Kāvya* 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 *Mēghadūta* 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 *Ṛitusamhāra* 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 Aśvaghōsha, Bhāsa 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 Vatsabhāṭṭi'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 *Ṛitusamhāra* and the *Mēghadūta* 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, Māṭṛigupta and Pravarasēna, who loom so large in the first three books of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. 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, Māṭṛigupta 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 Prabhāvatiguptā, 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 *Sētubandha*. 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' (*Bṛihat-sētu*) built on the Vitastā.¹ There can be no doubt that this *Bṛihat-sētu* here is not a physical construction but the *Sētubandha*, the celebrated composition of the king. So, one who carefully studies the first three books of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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 Māṭṛigupta, who, we have pointed out above, can be no other than Kālidāsa himself. The only question that arises in this connection is how Māṭṛigupta 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 *Sāndhivigrahika* which was held by Harishēṇa in the time of Samudragupta and by Śāba Kautsa in that of Chandragupta II. That Harishēṇa 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 *Kāvya*. That he occupied not only the high administrative post of *Sāndhivigrahika*, but also a high social position, is clear from the fact that he, like his father, has been styled a *Mahā-Daṇḍanāyaka*. This and other points connected with Harishēṇa have been set forth above.

¹ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Bk. III, verse 354.

As regards Śāba Kautsa, inscription No. 11 below tells us that he was not only the *Sāndhivigrahika* 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 *Sāndhivigrahikas*. Kings themselves aspired to become poets. It has been pointed out above that Samudragupta himself has been styled *Kavirāja* in the Allahābād *prāśasti*. 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 Vikramāditya. It is worthy of note in this connection that many verses have been attributed to Vikramāditya, singly and sometimes, jointly, in anthologies, such as *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*, *Śāringā-dharapaddhati*, *Subhāshitāvali*, and so forth. Who was this Vikramāditya? It seems tempting to identify him with Chandragupta II. But it is worthy of note that this was also an epithet borne by Samduragupta.¹ Further, we have to note that in 1941 the *Kathā-prastāvanā* of a work called *Kṛishṇacharitam* was published by the well-known scholar Rājavaidya Jivaram Kalidas Shastri of Goṇḍal in Kāthiāwār, which from its colophon appears to have been composed by *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta, designated not only *Parama-bhāgavata* but also *Vikramānka*. 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 Vikramāditya in the *Subhāshitāvali* is *rujāsu nāthaḥ paramam hi bhēshajam*, which is placed under *Śrī-Bhagavat-svarūpa-varṇana-paddhatiḥ* (No. 3494). *Kṛishṇa* is known to be *bhagavat*. And it is not impossible to infer that this work of *Kṛishṇacharitam* 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, Rudrasēna (II), and had three sons, namely, Divākarasēna, Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna. Divākarasēna has been called *Yuvarāja*, and it seems that he died without coming to the throne when his mother was queen-regent. The *Saduktikarṇāmṛita*² of Śrīdharadāsa cites a Sanskrit verse which is attributed to *Yuvarāja* Divākara who presumably is this eldest son of Prabhāvatiguptā. As regards Pravarasēna, we have pointed out that he was the author of *Rāvaṇavaho*, also called *Sētubandha*, a well-known Prākṛit 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 Vikramāditya and ascribed to his grandson Pravarasēna of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. If we weigh these traditions properly, it seems that Chandra-Vikramāditya, Pravarasēna II and Kālidāsa *alias* Mātṛigupta were contemporaries of one another.

This contemporaneity of three personages receives confirmation from a most unexpected quarter. Bhōjadēva, in his *Śyīngāraprakāśa* (*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

asakala-hasitatvāt kshālītān=īva kāntyā
mukulita-nayanatoḍ=vyakta-karṇ-ōtpalāni |

¹ *Jour. Numis. Soc. India*, Vol. V, pp. 136 and 140.

² IV, 31, 4.

³ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara (Gaek. Ori. Series, 3rd edn. 1934), pp. 60-61 and Explanatory Notes, pp. 214 and ff.

that he was so helped at the bidding of Vikramāditya. It, therefore, seems that Vikramāditya, Pravarasēna and Kālidāsa were contemporaries of one another. If this position is once accepted, Vikramāditya can be no other than Chandragupta II and Pravarasēna the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II, son of Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Chandragupta II. But how could this Pravarasēna be, on the one hand, Bhōjadēva as mentioned by Rāmadāsa, and, on the other, Kuntalēśvara as styled by Kṛishṇa? Now, Bhōjadēva need not be taken to be identical with Bhōjadēva, who belonged to the Paramāra family ruling over Mālava,¹ and was a patron of literature and artists. Bhōjadēva can also mean 'a king of the Bhojas' or 'a ruler of the Bhōja country'. And it is scarcely necessary to add that the 'Bhōja 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 Ajaṅṭā² which speaks of Kuntala as being conquered once by Pṛithvīshēṇa, a prince of this dynasty, and, at a later time, by Harishēṇa, their minister. This Kuntala is probably co-extensive with the Kannaḍa-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;³ and this seems to be the reason why Kṛishṇa, who wrote the *Bharatacharita*, describes the author of the *Sētubandha* 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. Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. V. Mirashi, however, rightly says that Sarasēna of the Vatsagulma line has been known to be the author of a *kāvya* called *Harivijaya*, as mentioned by Ānandavardhana in *Dhvanyālōka*.⁴ It seems that the work was composed in Mahārāshṭrī, but with the plot somewhat altered.

THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE GUPTA ERA

As we shall see later on in detail, Al Bērūni, 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 Valabhī and the two Harsha eras. And what is worthy of note here is that whereas he speaks of the *t'ārīkh* of Srī-Harish, the *t'ārīkh* of Balba and the *t'ārīkh* of Bikramādīt, he speaks of the Shag-kāl and the Gubit-kāl. In other words, it seems that in his time the first three eras were known as Harsha-saṁvat, Valabhī-saṁvat and Vikramāditya-saṁvat, and the second two as Śaka-kāla and Gupta-kāla. Of these, the epoch of Valabhī-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 Bērūni 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 Mōrbī grant⁵ of Jāinika, edited

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 Mm. V.V. Mirashi that the early Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura 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 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. liv—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 258 and pl. opp. p. 258, text line 17.

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: *pañchāśītyā yutē=tītē samānām śata-pañchakē | Gaupṭē dadāv=adō nṛpaḥ sōparāgē=rkka-maṇḍalē* ॥ “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 Jāiṅka 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 *pratipādītām* with which line 4 begins. *Pratipādītām*, 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 *pratipādītām*, which is in the neuter. It cannot stand in apposition with any such word as *grāmaḥ* but, rather, with *nivartanam*, 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 *gaupṭē* at all, but *gōpṭē*; 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 *pañchakē*, 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 ण, 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 णी 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 *Gaupṭē*. “But even then” says Fleet, “the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, *pañchakā*, 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 *śloka* 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 *gōpṭē* into *gōpṭrē*, ‘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 *Gaupṭē*. There is, therefore, no good reason first to assume it as *gōpṭē* and then amend it into *gōpṭrē*. Secondly, *Gaupṭē*, 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 Śāṅḍilya *gōtra* and of the Maitrāyaṇīya *śākhā* as the grantees. Nay, Fleet proceeds one step further in this fallacious line of

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 Lichchhavis 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 Valabhī family, who were mere *Sēnāpatīs* 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, Śrī-Gupta or his son Ghaṭōtkachagupta, 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-Saṁvat 930, as he himself admits, for the commencement of the reign of Vikramāditya V, and Śaka-Saṁvat 1060 for the end of the reign, and it may be safely assumed, the death, of Sōmēśvara III in the third generation after him. Let us also suppose that Vikramāditya 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 Lichchhavis 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, Vishṇuvaradhana III, 37 years
 No. 9, Vijayāditya I, son of No. 8, 18 years
 No. 10, Vishṇuvaradhana IV, son of 9, 36 years
 No. 11, Vijayāditya 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 $33\frac{3}{4}$ or $34\frac{3}{4}$. 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 *Vaṃśāvalī* 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 Kumāradēvī, 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 Jayadēva 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 535, 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 Jyēshṭha-[mā]sē śukla-pakshē pratipadi 1 [Rō]hiṇi-nakshatra-yuktē chandramasi m[u]hūrttē praśastē = bhijiti.

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 Muhūrta, 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 Mānadēva 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=635 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 Mathurā stone pilaster 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 Harishēṇa'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 Ṭhakura 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 Bērūni 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 Bērūni, 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 Bērūni 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) *Vikramāditya*; (3) *Śaka*; (4) *Valabha*; and (5) *Gupta* . . . The era of Valabha is called so from Valabha, the ruler of the town of Valabhī, 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-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 213 and ff.

² *B. G.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 258 and ff.

Yazdajird corresponds to "the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya" 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 Vikramāditya" 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 Chaulukya (Vāghēlā) Arjunadēva of Aṇahillapāṭaka has the following: "*Bōdhaka-Rasūla-Mahānmada-saṃvat 662 tathā śrī-nṛīpa Vikrama-saṃ 1320 tathā śrīmad-Valabhī-saṃ 945 etc. etc.*"¹ Kielhorn 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-saṃvat 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 Valabhī-saṃvat 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 Valabhī, 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 (Valabhī) era is identical with the Gupta-kāla. It is well-known that Kāthiāwāḍ 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 Junāgaḍh (No. 28 below) which, in two places, speaks of their era, once actually in the words *Guptānām kāla(-gaṇanāthaḥ)* (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 Dharasēna IV onwards, the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* are coupled with their names. But all the previous rulers of Valabhī are called simply *Mahārāja*. Their inscriptions mention as the founder of this dynasty the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭakka (=Bhaṭārka). He is followed successively by four of his sons. The first of them is Dharasēna I, who is also called *Sēnāpati*. But his younger brother is the *Mahārāja* Drōṇasimha and his younger brother is the *Mahāsāmānta Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna I, with 206 as the earliest date for him.⁴ Whether there was any meaning in the additional title *Mahāsāmānta* 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* Drōṇasimha, who was first raised to the dignity of the feudatory. And, as a matter of fact, we have a plate dated 183 issued from Valabhī by the *Mahārāja* Drōṇasimha who is described as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*.⁵ It is true that in this record he is not mentioned as a son of Bhaṭārka, nor as a Maitraka. Nevertheless, the name Drōṇasimha and the mention of Valabhī and of the title *Mahārāja* are enough to convince us that he is the first Valabhī ruler who was raised to the rank of a feudatory by some *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* who must be a Gupta overlord, especially as

¹ Bhandarkar's *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 565.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 180, No. 129.

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 Valabhī-Saṁvat is mentioned is furnished by the Ūnā plate of the time of the Imperial Pratihāra Mahēndrāyudha.¹ It records a grant of his feudatory Balavarman of the Chālukya lineage and is dated *Śrī-Valabhī-saṁvat 574*. It is worthy of note that though the era is here called Valabhī-saṁvat, it was not forgotten in Kāthiāwād that it was Gupta era also. Just eleven years thereafter was issued the Mōrbī plate of Jāiṅka, specifying 585 as the Gupta year, that is, the year of the Gupta era.² The Valabhī era continued to be used, as we have seen above, till Valabhī-saṁvat 945=1264 A.D., more than two centuries after Al Bērūni 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 (Valabhī) era was remembered as identical with the Gupta-kāla, up till his time.

Wherever we possess means of controlling Al Bērūni'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 Ēraṅ inscription (No. 39 below) of Budhagupta which, in lines 2-3, gives the following date: *Śatē pañcha-shashty-adhikē varshānām bhūpatau cha Budhaguptē Āshāḍha-māsa-śukla-dvādaśyām Suragurōr=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 Āshāḍha; 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 Ēraṅ inscription, we have to add 241 as was the practice up till Al Bērūni'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 Saṁkshōbha who belonged to the Nṛpati-Parivrājaka family. The first of these is: *Shatpañchās-ō(śad-u)ttarē=bda-śatē Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Mahā-Vaiśākha-saṁvat-sarē Kārttika-māsa-śukla-paksha-tritīyāyām*,³ "when a century of years increased by fifty-six (*had elapsed*), the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings continuing, in the Mahā-Vaiśākha *saṁvatsara*; on the third lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika." 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 heliacally 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 *nakshatra Viśākhā* but Jupiter was 3°40' behind the first point of the *nakshatra*-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 *Sūrya-siddhānta*, xiv, 16-17, it was sun's *nakshatra*, 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 *nakshatra viśākhā* and the year begun was consequently the *Mahāvaiśākha* year of Jupiter."⁴ 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. 1378.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 21.

⁴ *JRASB.* (Letters), Vol. VIII, p. 49.

*tri-shashty-uttarē = bda-śatē Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau Mah-Āśvayuja-saṁvatsarē Chaitra-māsa-śukla-paksha-dvitiyāyām*¹ "when a century of years, increased by sixty-three (*had elapsed*), the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings continuing; in the Mah-Āśvayuja *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 tentative 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 *nakshatra* Bharani. Hence the year to come got its name Āśvayuja. 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 *Vaiśākha* 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 scientific *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 *Chitrā* 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 *Vaiśākha* of 1941.

The date of the inscription is thus correctly obtained as the 7TH APRIL, 482 A.D.; the Jovian year begun was Mah-Āśvayuja year."²

In the time of J.F. Fleet two more copper-plate charters of the Nṛipati-Parivrājaka family were known. The dates of both were calculated by S. B. Dikshit as of others. The first of these³ 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"⁴ Here, as has been pointed out above, several times, the Gupta-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 Khoh, gives for calculation, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *saṁvatsara*, as current on the thirteenth *tithi* or lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in Gupta-Saṁvat 209 current. "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," says S. B. Dikshit, "the Mahā-Āśvayuja

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 22.

² *JRASB.* (Letters), Vol. VIII, p. 50.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Intro., p. 114.

Samvatsara was current on the given date. And the result gives Śaka-Samvat 451 current (A.D. 528-29), as the equivalent of the given current Gupta year.

As a matter of fact, the Mahā-Āśvayuja *samvatsara* was current on the given date, Chaitra śukla 13, in the following year, Śaka-Samvat 452; as well as in Śaka-Samvat 451. . . .”¹ Here also, as has been shown above several times, the Gupta Samvat 209 has to be taken as an expired year. Its equivalent therefore is Śaka-Samvat 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* Saṁkshōbha, which gives, for calculation, *Mahā-Mārgaśirsha-samvatsara* on the tenth *tithi* or lunar day of the month Kārttika in Gupta-samvatsara 199.² Unfortunately, the lunar fortnight, to which this *tithi* belonged, has not been specified. But F. Kielhorn has conclusively pointed out that it is “the 10th *tithi* of the *dark half* probably of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika of our Tables, but that possibly it may be the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina of the Tables. On the first alternative the date would correspond to Monday, the 15th October, 518 A.D., when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika ended 8 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise; on the second alternative, to Saturday, the 15th September 518 A.D., when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina (i.e. possibly, the first *pūrṇimānta* 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-Mārgaśirsha year, as required by the wording of the original date.”³

“The late Mr. S. B. Dikshit”, continues Kielhorn, “has fully explained that a Mahā-Mārgaśirsha 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* Mṛigaśiras and Ārdra, 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* Mṛigaśiras, and that, therefore, the year which then commenced was a Mahā-Mārgaśirsha 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-Pausha 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-Phalgunā 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.”

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, *Intro.*, p. 117.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 287, lines 2-3.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90.

KRITA ERA

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 inscriptions¹ dated according to it. While discussing the sense of the passage containing the date Kṛita year 480, he makes the following remarks: "It leaves *kṛitēshu*, 'made, done, performed,' as a suprefluous 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', *kṛitēshu* occurs in line 1 of the Byānā inscription of Viṣṇuwardhana, 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 *yātēshu*, 'having gone by', or any similar word. My first inclination about the present passage was that *kṛitēshu* 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."² 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 Mandasōr dated 461.³ 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."⁴ 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 inscription⁵ and is Vikrama year 1226, describing it as *Mālavēśagata-vatsara*—"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 Gyārāspur inscription has *Mālava-kālāch* = *chharadām shatṭṛim (ttrim) śat-samyutēshu* = *atītēshu | navasu śatēshu*,⁶ 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-*

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, Nos. 17 and 59.

² *Ibid.* p. 73, note 1.

³ *PRAS. W. C.*, 1912-13, pp. 58 and ff.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XX, p. 404.

⁵ D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 346.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 37.

gata-vatsara-śataiḥ dvādaśaiś = cha śaṭvimśa-pūrvakaiḥ,¹ that is, “with 1226 years elapsed from the Mālava lord (or lords)”. This corresponds to a Gwalior inscription dated *ēkādaśasv = atītēshu saṁvatsara-śatēshu cha ēkōnapañchāśati cha gatēshv = advē (bdē)shu Vikramāt || Pañchāśē ch = Āśvinē māśē kṛishṇa-pakshē . . . amkatō = pi 1150 || Āśvina-bahula-pañchamyām*,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, *Mālavēśa-gata-vatsara-śataiḥ* of the Mēnālgadh record must be interpreted to mean “with 1226 years gone by since the Mālava lord.” On the other hand, the Kaṇaswā inscription has the following: *saṁvatsara-śatair = yātaiḥ sa-panchanavaty-arggalaiḥ saptabhir = m Mālavēśānām*, “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 Mēnālgadh inscription clearly implies. The tradition referred to in the Kaṇaswā 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 that 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 Vikramāditya himself. Thus, we have the copper-plate grants of the Chaulukya kings, Bhīmadēva and Tribhuvanapālādēva, containing various dates described as *Śrīmad-Vikramādityōtpādita-saṁvatsara*.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 Saṁvat 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-sthityā yātē śata-chatusṭṭayē tri-navaty-adhikē = bdānām . . .* 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 Saṁvat 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.”⁷ 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:

Pañchasa śatēshu śaradām yātēshv = ēkānna-navati-sahitēshu | Mālava-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

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar: *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 346.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 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.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 201; *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 87.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 228; *CII.*, Vol. III, p. 158.

not able to surmount it. F. Kielhorn tries to explain it away in his article entitled "Kaṇaswā 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-sthityā* 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 *Aupapātika-vṛitti*, which is mentioned in our *Report on Sanskrit Mss.*, p. 50, we read: *granthāgram 3135 akshara-gaṇanayā sthāpitam=iti*, i.e., "the *granthāgra* has by counting the *aksharas* been settled to be 3135." Here we have, in construction with each other, the word *gaṇanā* which is etymologically related to *gaṇa* (one of the synonyms of which is *saṁkhyā*), and *sthāpita* derived from the same root *sthā* from which we also have *sthiti*. *Gaṇanayā sthāpayitum* 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 *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā* 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 *gaṇanā*, calculation, computation. It is no use saying that etymologically *gaṇa* is related to *gaṇanā* and is synonymous with *saṁkhyā*. 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 *gaṇanā*? Similarly, *gaṇa* is no doubt synonymous with *saṁkhyā* which signifies 'enumeration, reckoning, calculation.' But *saṁkhyā* also means 'a number'; and so does *gaṇa*. Consequently it was by no means certain that *gaṇa* and *gaṇanā* were exactly synonymous. When, therefore, we wrote the paper on *Vikrama Era*,¹ we were not far from right when we said that "the word *gaṇa* has never the sense of *gaṇanā*, 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 *gaṇanā* according to the *Śabdārṇavakōśa* which has *gaṇas=tu gaṇanāyām syād=Gaṇēṣe Pramathē chayē*.² It is true that the *Śabdārṇavakōśa* 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 *Mēghadūta*. No doubt can thus be now entertained as to the correctness of Kielhorn's interpretation of the phrases: *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā* 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 *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthiti* or *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti* of the Mandasōr 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

¹ *R.G. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.*, pp. 187 and ff.

² *Jour. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. X, p. 144.

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-gaṇa-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 Saṁvat year at that early period? This question we have now to tackle. In 1913 a third inscription³ was found at Mandasōr. The date of this record is set forth in the verse:

Śrīr-mMālava-gaṇ-āmnātē praśastē Kṛita-saṁjñitē |
Ēka-shashty-adhikē prāptē samā-śata-chatusṭayē ||

In this verse there are two expressions which are worthy of consideration. The first is *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnātē*, which doubtless corresponds to *Mālavanām gaṇa-sthityā* and *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* of the other two Mandasōr inscriptions. The natural sense of *āmnāya*, as given *e.g.* in the *Amarakōśa*, is *saṁpradāya* (=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 *gaṇa* 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 *āmnāta* 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-gaṇa-sthiti* being practically identical with *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāta*. So, the question arises: what was the name of this era? The reply is furnished by the second expression in the verse cited above, namely, *Kṛita-saṁjñitē*, which qualifies the phrase expressing the date. As the word *saṁjñitē* shows, the year 461, the date of the inscription, is itself intended to be called Kṛita. But, as indicated by *Śrīr-Mālava-gaṇ-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 Bijayagaḍh stone pillar inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana, and the Gaṅgdhār stone inscription of Viśvavardhana referred to above. In the first, the date is specified as follows: *Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-śatēshu = aṣṭaviṁśēshu* 400 20 8, etc. The second sets forth the date in the verse: *Yātēshu chaturshu Kṛitēshu śatēshu saumyē = śṭāṣīti-sōttara-padēshu = iha vatsa[rēshu]*. As pointed out above, J. F. Fleet, who has edited both these records, translates the word *Kṛitēshu* by "fully complete", but admits that it involves a straining. Besides, with this meaning, the word is made redundant by *yātēshu*, which is used along with it in the second inscription. But now that we know that *Kṛita* was the name of Vikrama Saṁvat, the occurrence of the term in the Bijayagaḍh 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.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 315 ff., and *ASI. A.R.*, 1922-23, p. 187.

⁴ *R. G. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.*, p. 191.

seven miles north of Chittōrgaḍh 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 481.¹ Others were discovered at Baḍvā in the former Kōṭāh State, Rājasthān.² They are engraved on three separate *Yūpa* pillars and bear one and the same date, namely, *Kṛitēhi* 200 90 5 *Phālguna-śuklasya pañchē di*.³ 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 *Yūpa* pillars were set up by the three brothers Balavarddhana, Sōmadēva and Bālasimha. They were the three sons, no doubt, of Bala, but are themselves styled Maukharis and *Mahāsēnāpatīs* as correctly pointed out by N. P. Chakravarti.⁴ The Maukharis thus pertained to a class of nobility or feudal lords called *Sēnāpati* such as those mentioned in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of the southern Ikshvāku rulers⁵ and flourishing in the south-eastern part of Rājputānā. To say, therefore, that "*Sēnāpati*, 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"⁶ 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 Barṇālā 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 *Yūpa* pillar inscriptions. The earlier is dated *Kṛitēhi* 200 80 4 *Chaitra-śukla-pakshasya pañchadaśi* 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 *Jyēshṭha-śuddhasya pañchadaśi* and is translated by Altekar thus: "The fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of (the month of) Jyēshṭha of the year 335 by the Kṛita (reckoning)."⁷ "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 Nāndsā⁸ 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 *Kṛitayōr=dvayōr=vvarsha-śatayōr=dvyaśitayōh* 200 80 2, *Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-śatēshv=ashṭāvimśēshu* 400 20 8, *Yātēshu chaturshu Kṛitēshu śatēshu saumyēshv=ashṭāśita-sōttara-padēshv=iha vatsarēshu*, and so on and so forth. In such expressions, the suspicion is

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, etc., No. 5.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 and ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52, note 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 6 and 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 47.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 120 and 123.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53 and plate; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 283-85 and plate.

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 Yūpa pillar inscriptions found at Baḍvā² and Barṇālā.³ There, the word *Kṛitēhi* occurs alone and by itself without being preceded or followed by *varsha* or *vatsara*. This shows without even the least shadow of a doubt that *Kṛitēhi* stands for *Kṛitaiḥ* and means *Kṛitaiḥ (gataiḥ)* "when the Kṛita years (*had elapsed*)."⁴ In other words, Kṛita by itself denotes the Kṛita year, and the Mandasōr inscription of Naravarman (No. 14 below) was correct in calling the years 461 (passed) of its date as Kṛita, which was, in fact, the designation (*saṃjñā*) of these years. Things were, however, changing soon after Kṛita 480, the date of the Gaṅgdhār inscription. With the Kṛita 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-ḡaṇ-āmnāta* and *Kṛita-saṃjñita* 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: *Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-śatēshv = ēkāśīty = uttarēshv = asyām Mālava-pūrvvāyām* [400] 80 1 *Kārttika-śukla-pañchamyām*.⁴ The first portion of the date speaks of four hundred and eighty-one Kṛita 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 out⁵ that the word *pūrvvā* has a specific sense of 'detailed description or specification' and is used in connection with the setting forth of dates. The Bijayagaḍh inscription of Vishṇuvardhana, *e.g.*, has *Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-śatēshv = aśṭāvimśēshu* 400 20 8 *Phālguna-bahulasya pañchadaśyām = ētasyām = pūrvvāyām*, "when four centuries of Kṛita years increased by twenty eight, *i.e.* 428 (*had passed*), on the 15th of the dark half of Phālguna, when this was the specification (*of the date*)."⁶ If we compare *ētasyām = pūrvvāyām* of this epigraph with the corresponding *Mālava-pūrvvāyām* 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 Kielhorn, while some years of the Vikrama era pertain to the Kārttikādi, some others pertain to the Chaittrādi, mode of reckoning; and in the earlier times, the *pūrvvānta* scheme of lunar months was more commonly followed than the *amānta*. And, strange to say, the phrase *Mālava-pūrvvā* or *Mālavanām ḡaṇa-sthiti* we find mentioned only in connection with the months of Āśvina, 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 on the scanty evidence at our disposal at present. This much may be taken as certain, that not only the *tithis* but also the years were affected thereby. We can, therefore, safely reiterate that *Mālavanām ḡaṇa-sthityā* or *Mālava-ḡaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* must

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 163.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 118 ff.

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, etc., No. 5.

⁵ *NIA.*, Vol. I, pp. 142-43.

āditya, which was the epithet, apparently of Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. And the era was now generally known as *Śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛpa-kāla*, *Śrī-nṛpa-Vikrama-saṃvat*, *Vikrama-saṃvat* and so forth. But what is meant by these expressions? Exactly what was denoted by *Mālav-ēśa*? Thus, the copper-plates of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II give one explanation, as follows: *śrīmad-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṃvatsara-*, “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 gatēshu*, *gatēshv-abdēshu Vikramāt*, *Vikramārka-gatē kālē*, and so forth. If any doubt arises about the correct interpretation of these expressions, it is set at rest by what Amitagati says in setting forth the date of his work the *Subhāshitaratnasamdhōha* as follows: *samārūdhē pūta-tridaśa-vasatīm 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-vaṃśa* which is found in the epigraphic record of Prabhākara. *Mālava-vaṃśa* developed, on the one hand, into *Mālavēśa-gata-vatsara-śataih*, and, on the other, into *saṃvatsara-śatair=yātaiḥ . . . Mālavēśānām*. What was the inchoate form in the case of *Śrīmad-Vikramāditya-ōtpādita-saṃvatsara* and *gatēshv=abdēshu Vikramāt*? The incipient form of these traditions seems to be preserved in the wording of the Dhōlpur inscription¹ as follows: *vasu nav=āshṭau varshā gatasya kālasya Vikram-ākhyasya*, “when the time called Vikrama had gone by, namely, the years 898.” This, Kielhorn explains as follows:² “autumn (*śarad*) 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 (*śarad*) 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 Amitagati’s *Subhāshitaratnasamdhōha*. 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 G. V. Vaidya 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 Mandasōr inscription of Naravarman,³ forgetting, however, to mention the name of Vaidya. 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-saptasatī* (verse 64) which runs thus:

Saṃvāhaṇa-suha-rasa-tōsiṇa dentēṇa tuha karē lakkham |
chalaṇēna Vikkamāichcha-chariam=aṇusikkhiam tissā ||

¹ *ZDMG.*, Vol. XL, pp. 39 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 407 and ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 320.

Evidently this verse makes mention of Vikramāditya and refers to his munificent nature. And as Hāla, the author of the *Gāthāsaptasatī*, is ordinarily spoken of as a Śātavāhana, and as this name occurs in the *Purāṇas*, and is placed there before that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi 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 *Subhāshitaratnasamdhā* composed in Vikrama Samvat 1050 that we hear for the first time of a prince Vikrama in connection with it;¹ 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 not 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 *Gāthāsaptasatī* was such an early work as has been assumed? In the first place, that its author, Hāla, was a Śātavāhana 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 Śātavāhana having composed a *Kōśa* of songs, but there are no grounds to suppose that this *Kōśa* is Hāla's *Saptasatī*, as has been well pointed out by Weber.² 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 *Pañchatantra*³ 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 century⁴ though the earliest instance of its use is found in the Ēraṇ inscription (No. 39 below) of Budhagupta dated 484 A.D. And we shall not be far wrong if we assign Hāla of the *Gāthāsaptasatī* 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. Bhandarkar⁵ or with his grandson Skandagupta with K. B. Pathak,⁶ 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

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar's *Second Report* (1882-83), p. 228.

² *Ueber des Saptasatakam des Hāla*, pp. 2-4.

³ *Pañchatantra* (Bom. Skt. Series, No. IV), p. 38.

⁴ *JRAS.*, 1912, pp. 1044-45.

⁵ *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XX, p. 398.

⁶ *Mēghadūta* (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 Baḍvā 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 Viśvādēvas; Vāsudēva had given it to one of his sons from Rōhiṇī; a pupil of Hiranyābha was known by that name; and fathers of Uparichara 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?"¹ 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 *Kārta-varsha* or *saṁvatsara*, on the analogy of the expression *Gauṇt-ābdē 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 *Kārta* (*saṁvatsara*) is quite possible in their compositions." By "the present inscriptions" he, of course, means the *Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas*. But what is the language of these records? On page 46 he says: "The language of the record may be described as incorrect Sanskrit."² He has apparently forgotten that this represents the Gāthā dialect or the mixed Sanskrit in which the Buddhist works and the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period were composed. We shall, however, consider the earliest Kṛita date, namely, of the Nāndsā record which reads as follows: *Kṛitayōr=ddvayōr=varsha-śatayōr=dvyaśītayōh 200 80 2 Chaitra-pūrṇamāsy=asyām=pūrvoāyām*, "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 *Kārta-varsha*, but *Kṛitayōr* ... =*varsha-śatayōr*. Here Kṛita stands exactly in apposition with the group of years, showing

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 Bijayagaḍh pillar inscription which is the next earliest Sanskrit inscription and is dated, as follows: *Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha-śatēshv=ashtāvinśēshu 400 20 8 Phālguna-bahulasya pañcadaśyām=ētasyām pūrvāyām*. 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 Mandasōr inscription of Naravarman, as he himself admits,¹ "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 confounded 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,² which, strange to say, was not known to Altekar when he wrote his learned articles on the Baḍvā and Barṇālā 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 *Vikramāṅka* Number published by the *Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Patrikā* in Śaṁvat 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 Śuṅgas 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*.³ In the second of these, he has quoted a passage from the *Harivaṁśa* attached to the *Mahābhārata* where Pushyamitra 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 *Vanaparvan* 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 *stūpas* (*ēḍūka*) and that India itself would be overrun by the Mlēcchha 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 Kṛitayuga is ushered in. In regard to the Kṛitayuga, we are informed that a Brāhmaṇa named Vishṇuayaśas will be born as Kalki in the town of Sambhala in a Brāhmaṇa family and that he will be not only a supreme ruler (*chakravartin*) but also a righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayī*). He will exterminate the Dasyus, perform a great Horse Sacrifice, give back the earth to the Brāhmaṇas, establish the worship of *triśūlas*, *śaktis* and deer-skins, and will usher in the Kṛita Age (Chapter 191, verses 1-9).

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 51.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 101 and ff.

³ *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, pp. 257 and ff.; Vol. XIV, p. 24.

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 *Harivaṃśa*, according to which this state of things was ended by Sēnānī *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 *Matsya-purāṇa* says that the Buddha was born as the ninth (*avatāra*) and that Kalki, Viṣṇuyaśas, the leader of the Parāśaras 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 Viṣṇu 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 Ayōdhyā runs counter to the above date of Pushyamitra. It refers to the reign of Dhanadēva, son of Phalgudēva and Kauśikī, who was Lord of Kōśala. But the most important point about it is that Dhanadēva says that he was sixth in descent from "Sēnāpati Pushyamitra, who twice performed the Aśvamēdha 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 Sahnī, 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 Ayōdhyā 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 seized power about this time, but he must have been engaged in internecine warfare for a pretty long period before he could put down the Mlēchchha 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 first established his power. But it

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 145-46.

² Bengali edn., p. 5, 89, 102, etc.

³ D. R. Bhandarkar's *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 58 and note 1.

⁴ *ABORI.*, Vol. VII, p. 160.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

⁶ The most knotty phrase in this Ayōdhyā inscription is *Pushyamitrasya shashṭhēna* qualifying Dhanadēva. This expression is interpreted by some scholars as denoting Dhanadēva as "the sixth son of Pushyamitra" (*JBORS.*, 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 signalled 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 (*dharmavijayī*). So the Kṛityayuga 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 Saṁvat years are years of the Kṛita era. It may reasonably be asked how Kṛita in such a case stands in apposition to *varsha*. We would rather have *Kṛita-vatsarāḥ* or *Kṛitāḥ 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-saṁvatsara*,¹ but that they are generally Śaka-saṁvat. It is true that there are some inscriptions, where Śaka seems to stand apparently in apposition with *saṁvatsara* as Kṛita does. Thus, a grant of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty has the following: *Śrī-Śakē trayōdaś-ādhika-triśat-ōttara-sahasrē gatē*.² If we proceed to an earlier period, the Paiṭhaṅ plates of the Dēvagiri-Yādava Rāma (=Rāmachandra) have: *Sa(Śa)kē cha ēkādaśasu triṇavaty-adhikēshv=atītēshu* 1193³ etc. Similar is the case if we go up to a still earlier period. Thus the Kokaṭnūr plates of the Kalachuri *Mahārājādhirāja* Sōma (=Sōmēśvara) give the date: *Shanṇavaty-adhika-sahasratamē Śakē*⁴ etc. If any inscription from Northern India is required in support of our proposition, it is supplied by that of Sōmavarmśi king Karṇarāja of Kākaira, bearing the date *Chaturdaś-ōttarē s=ēvam=ēkādaśē śatē Śakē*.⁵ In all these cases *Śakē* has been used in the sense of "the years of the Śaka era, i.e., (*Śaka-saṁvatsarēshu*)" which means that the original sense of *Śaka-nṛipa-kāla* is completely forgotten. If we want an instance about the Vikrama era in a similar deteriorated sense, it is supplied by the Delhi (Siwālik) pillar inscription of the Chāhamāna Viśaladēva Vighararāja, one date of which is *Saṁvat śrī Vikramādityē* 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 *Vaikramādityē*".⁶ Kṛita 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 Mandasōr inscription as shown above where the years have been explicitly called Kṛita (*Kṛita-saṁjñitāḥ*). 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 Kṛita Age. The question, however, arises: when did it commence? In this connection we may notice a couplet which occurs not only in the Vāyu, Vishṇu and other Purāṇas but also in the *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparvan*, Chapter 190, verse 91, and which runs as follows:

Yadā chandraś=cha sūryaś=cha tathā Tishya-Bṛihaspatī |
ēka-rāśau samēshyanti tadā Kṛita-yugam bhavēt ||

"And then when the Sun, the Moon, and Bṛihaspati will, with the constellation Pushya, be together in the same sign (*rāśi*), the Kṛita Age will begin again."

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

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 210.

² *JBBRAS.*, Vol. IV, pp. 115 and f.

³ F. Kielhorn's *List Inscr. South India*, No. 369.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 288.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 185 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 218, note 22.

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."¹ This agrees with the Jaina tradition to which R. Shamasastri has drawn our attention. Further, he remarks as follows²: "From these facts I am led to believe in the existence of a historical personage Kalki, king of Pāṭaliputra, 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 Śrī-Vikramāditya 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 Bērūni 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) Śrī Harsha, (2) Vikramāditya, (3) Śaka and (4) Valabha, also known as Gupta, because the epoch of both these eras is "241 years later than the Śaka-kāla."³ 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."⁴ 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 Rājputānā and Mālwā, and that appears to be the reason why these Kṛita years were regarded as *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāta*, "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-pūrvāyām*—this being the detailed specification (*of the date*) according to the Mālavas."

¹ JPASB., Vol. XXI, p. 217.

² An. Rep., Mysore Archaeological Department., 1923, p. 19.

³ Sachau, Alberuni's India, Vol. II, pp. 5 and 7.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

To sum up, the evidence points to the almost irresistible conclusion that the Vikrama Saṁvat was originally an era started by an astronomer or astronomers of Mālwā 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 Śrī-Harsha era by Al Bērūni. It is exactly four hundred years prior to the era of Vikramāditya. Surely no king of the name of Harsha is known to have lived about 457 B.C. "His era" says he, "is used in Mathurā and the country of Kanōj. Between Śrī Harsha and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian calendar I have read that Śrī Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya."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 Saṁvat, the earliest popular era of that time. Al Bērūni no doubt says that Śrī Harsha era was used in Mathurā 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

¹ Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p. 5.

² *NIA.*, 1940, pp. 244 and ff.

THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

No. 1 : PLATE I

ALLAHĀBĀD STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

This inscription¹ 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 Saṁhārikā, 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 *āchakshāṇa iva bhuvō bāhur* = *ayam* = *uchchhritāḥ stambhaḥ*, "this lofty column (*is*) the raised arm of the earth, proclaiming as it were, (the fame of Samudragupta)," he read *rōma-charmaṇaḥ ravi-bhuvō bāhur* = *ayam* = *uchchhritāḥ stambhaḥ*, 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 Indrajī, 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

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, thirtyfive 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 Aśōka 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 **Kōsam**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 Firōz Shāh, just as the two Aśōka columns now at Delhi are known to have been brought there by him from their original positions at Mēraṭh and in the Śiwālik hills. The point in favour of the former supposition is that the column contains a short Aśōka edict addressed to the *Mahāmātras* of Kauśāmbī.⁴ The latter supposition seems unlikely, because, Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, not Allahābād, which, on the other hand, was founded, or refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar. It is more likely that this ruler⁵ removed the pillar from Kōsam to Allahābād,—an inference supported by the records of his favourite Birbal and of his son Jahāngīr 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 $\frac{7}{16}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$.

¹ It is generally assumed that the pillars on which Aśōka'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 *Dharmalipi* 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, Aśōka 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. I, 1877, p. 39.

³ *CASIR.*, Vol. I, pp. 304-05 and Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 1975, pp. 330 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 91 and 141; *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 503 ff., and 1927, pp. 689 ff.; *A.R. ASI.*, 1923-24, p. 123.

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 Aśōka's edict where the second word *Kōsa[m*]biyam* is quite clear.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xx.

⁶ [In this Volume, the measurements are given in feet and inches.—Ed.]

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."¹ 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,² 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 *Mahākshatrpa* Rudrasēna. 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.,⁴ 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 Pāṭaliputra. 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

¹ *Indian Palaeography*, 1959, p. 65.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 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 *ḍ*, as distinct from *ḷ*, exhibited in *krīḍatā*, line 14, *Ḍavāka*, line 22, and *vrīḍita*, line 27; and the lingual *ḍh*, exhibited in *virūḍha*, line 18. On the other hand, in the *ḷ* which occurs in *vyālulita*, line 8, *Kaurāḷaka*, line 19, *Saimhaḷaka*, line 23, and *laḷita*, 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 *śōbhā*, line 18, *Vishṇugōpa*, line 19, and *gōśata*, line 25, the vowel *ō* is formed in a rather peculiar way, which, so far as the right-hand stroke is concerned, is followed also in the vowel *ā* as attached to the same consonants, e.g., in *śāsana*, lines 23 and 24, and *Gāngam*, 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 *vīryya*, 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 *kuryāt*, 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, *kkriyā*, lines 27 and 28, and *vikkrama*, line 30; (2) the doubling of the consonant following *r*, as in *ta[ttvā]rttha-bharttuḥ*, line 5, *kīrtti-*, line 6, *utkarṇitai*, 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 *addhyēya*, line 16, and *sāddhv-asādhu*, line 25; and (4) the use of the southern *ḷ*, 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 Gupta** 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 **Chandragupta 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 *Kāvya* 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 **Pāṭaliputra** which is now represented by the modern **Pāṭnā** 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 Śōṇ, spread lengthwise along the bank of the latter, as is known to us from Megasthenes and Patañjali.¹ 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 Pāṭaliputra has fallen into ruins. It is also well-known that formerly the Śōṇ 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 Śōṇ. The antiquity of the name **Kusumapura**, is vouched for by Hiuen Tsiang,² who speaks of the city under both names, *K'u-su-mo-pu-lo*, or *Keu-su-mo-pu-lo*, which he also explains by the Chinese *Hwa-kong* or *Hwa-kung*, 'flower-palace' and *Hiang-hu-kong-sh'ing*, 'city or royal precinct of the scented flowers; and *Po-ch' a-li-tsu-ch'ing*, 'the city of Pāṭaliputra.' 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 Pushapurī was in use in early days. As a matter of fact, both these forms are found in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharita* which "probably dates from the sixth century A.D."³ The name Pushpapura occurs also in Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākshasa* which has been ascribed by some scholars to 800 A.D. and by some to 400 A.D.⁴ Kālidāsa also mentions Pushpapura as the capital of Magadha in the *Raghuvamśa*,⁵ 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 Pāṭaliputra 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 Pāṭaliputra. 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 Pāṭaliputra. (2) Though Pāṭaliputra 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 Pāṭaliputra. He tells us that the old capital of Kanyākubja, 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 Kanyākubja seems to indicate that he understood Kusumapura to be the ancient name of the very site, which, in his time, was called Kanyākubja. 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 Kauśāmbī, 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."⁶ Let us now consider, briefly, of course, the arguments urged by Fleet against the identification of Samudragupta's Pushpa with Pāṭaliputra. He says that Kusumapura was another name also of Kanyākubja and that its synonym, Pushpa, which is mentioned in the Allahābād pillar inscription, had better be taken to denote this place rather than Pāṭaliputra. And, in support of his first state-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 131; *Mahābhāshya* (Third edition, edited by Kielhorn), Vol. I, II, i, 16, p. 380; *IC.*, Vol. II, p. 57.

² S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 83 and note 4; Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 87 ff.

³ Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 332. See also A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 296-97.

⁴ Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 365; Smith, *EHI* (Fourth edition), p. 45, note 1.

⁵ Canto VI, verse 24.

⁶ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 5.

ment he quotes the authority of Hiuen Tsiang. But the Chinese traveller does not say that Kusumapura was another name of Kanyākubja in his time but rather in some pre-historic period.¹ Many instances of old towns bearing many names in pre-historic times are known, especially from the Pāli Buddhist *Jātakas*. Thus Bārāṇasī, we are told, was called Surundhana in the Udaya Birth, Sudassana in the Chullasutasōma, Brahmavaddhana in the Soṇandana, Puppavati in the Khaṇḍahala, and Ramma City in the Yuvañjaya Birth.² This does not mean at all that Bārāṇasī was known by all these names in historic times. We may, therefore, take it that Kanyākubja was never known as Kusumapura in any historic period and that Kusumapura or its synonym Pushpapura was another name of Pāṭaliputra alone, so far as we know. The mention of Pushpa in the Allahābād pillar inscription thus points to the natural inference that Pāṭaliputra 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 Pāṭaliputra, giving rise to the presumption that their capital was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Allahābād or Kauśāmbī where the inscription-pillar originally stood. But, since then many copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Kumāragupta I and Budhagupta have been found which have been discovered equally far to the east of Pāṭaliputra 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 Pāṭaliputra 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 Pāṭaliputra is mentioned, as pointed out by Fleet himself. One of these is the Gaḍhwā 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 Pāṭaliputra, 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 Virasēna Śāba, Minister for Peace and War. He had come thither, 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 Virasēna that the inscription tells us that he was 'an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra.' "The natural inference is", says Bühler correctly, "that the town was the capital of the empire."³

We have also to take note of two geographical divisions mentioned in this inscription, namely, **Āryāvarta** and **Dakṣiṇāpatha**, 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 Āryāvarta. 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 Āryāvarta, Manu distinguishes it from Madhyadēśa. The latter denotes the land bounded by the Himālayas in the north, the Vindhya in the south, Prayāga or Allahābād in the east, and Vinasāna, or the place where the Sarasavtī disappears, in the west.⁴ And Āryāvarta is defined as the land between the Himālaya and the Vindhya on the one hand, and between the eastern sea and the western sea, on the other. Āryāvarta is generally understood to mean "the abode of the noble or excellent ones," and with this agrees one dictionary

¹ S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 207; Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 341.

² D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 50-51.

³ *VOJ.*, Vol. V, p. 227.

⁴ *Manusmṛiti*, Chapter II, Verses 21-22.

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 Ādarśa, apparently a country situated between the Rāvī and the Beās, and on the east by Kālaka-vana or Kālakā-vana which corresponds to the modern Jhāḍkhaṇḍ. 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 Rāvī and the Chenāb. It thus seems that in the time of Samudragupta, Āryāvarta had extended more westward, that is, gone beyond the Ādarśa country which was situated between the Rāvī and the Beās. Similarly, the political supremacy of this Gupta monarch had spread over such frontier provinces as Samataṭa, Ḍavāka 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 *Manusmṛiti*, according to which it was bounded on the east and the west by the seas.

The second territorial division that engages our attention is Dakṣiṇāpatha. Originally it was with reference to the Middle Country (Madhyadēśa) that the terms Dakṣiṇāpatha 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, Dakṣiṇāpatha and Uttarāpatha,⁷ came into vogue. The term Dakṣiṇāpatha has been pretty frequently used in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purānas*.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 Brahmanic, literature.⁹ One of the oldest Pāli works, the *Suttanipāta*, speaks of a Brāhmaṇa *guru* called Bāvarin as having left the Kōsala country of his patron king, Pasenadi (Prasēnajit), and retired to a place on the Gōdāvarī in the Assaka (Aśmaka) pro-

¹ K. S. S., No. 104, I, ii, 10, p. 9.

² B.S.S., No. XXIII, I, 8, p. 1.

³ Notice e.g., the phrases *kumbhīdhānyā alōlupā* of Baudhāyana (I, i, 5, p. 2) in his definition of the *śiṣṭas* which occur also in *Mahābhāshya*, Vol. III, VI, iii, 109, p. 174. See also *JBRAS.*, Vol. XVI, p. 335.

⁴ Introduction, p. 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 44.

⁷ Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha denote literally 'Path or Road Northward and Southward.' But they are intended apparently to mean 'the Northern Region and the Southern Region.'

⁸ *BG.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 133-34.

⁹ The author of the *Periplus* also speaks of Dakṣiṇāpatha = Dakṣiṇāpatha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143), which shows that the name was popular in the first century A.D.

vince in Dakṣiṇāpatha (Dakṣiṇāpatha).¹ 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 Aśmaka. They first went to Paṭiṭṭhāna (Pratishṭhāna) of the Mūlaka country, then to Māhishmatī, and so on. It will thus be seen that the Aśmaka country and Bāvarin's settlement on the Gōdāvarī were to the south of Pratishṭhāna, or Paiṭhaṇ in Aurangabad District, Maharashtra State, the principal town of the Mūlaka province. Dakṣiṇāpatha thus, in the Buddha's time, stretched so far south as to contain not only Mūlaka but also Aśmaka.

The same appears to be the case with the term Uttarāpatha.² One Buddhist *Jātaka* speaks of certain horse-dealers as having come from Uttarāpatha to Bārāṇasī or Vārāṇasī.³ Uttarāpatha cannot here signify Northern India, because Vārāṇasī itself is in Northern India. Evidently it denotes a country at least outside and to the north of the Kāśī kingdom whose capital was Vārāṇasī. As the horses of the dealers just referred to are called *saindhava*, it clearly indicates that they came from the banks of the Sindhu or the Indus. We have seen that according to Manu, the Sarasvatī formed the western boundary of Madhyadēśa. It was thus with reference to the Middle country that the name Uttarāpatha also was devised. Up to the seventh century A.D., we find the term Uttarāpatha used in this sense. Thus, when Prabhākaravardhana, king of Sthāṇvisvara, sent his son Rājyavardhana to invade the Hūṇa territory in the Himālayas, Bāṇa (c. 625 A.D.), author of the *Harshacharita*, represents him to have gone to Uttarāpatha.⁴ As the Hūṇa territory has thus been placed in Uttarāpatha, it is clear that Prabhākaravardhana's kingdom was excluded from it. And as Sthāṇvisvara, 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 Hūṇa territory seems to have been described as being in Uttarāpatha. Similarly, the poet Rājaśekhara (880-920 A.D.), in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*,⁵ places Uttarāpatha on the other side of Pṛithūdaka, 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 Dakṣiṇāpatha and Uttarāpatha came into vogue only in regard to Madhyadēśa. It must, however, be borne in mind that although Uttarāpatha in Northern India denoted the country north of Madhyadēśa, in Southern India about the time of Bāṇa the term denoted Northern India. Thus Harshavardhana, Bāṇa's patron, has been described in South Indian inscriptions as Sovereign of Uttarāpatha which must here signify North India.⁶

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

TEXT 7

[Metres: Verses 2, 3, 5 and 8 *Sragdharā*; verses 4 and 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 6 *Mandākrāntā* and verse 9 *Pṛithvī*.]

1 [Yah]⁸ kulyaiḥ svai.....ātasa.....

2 ya(?)sya(?).....[|| 1*]

¹ *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 4-5, 19 and 22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ *Jātakas*, Vol. II, p. 287, line 15.

⁴ *Harshacharita* (B.S.P.S. No. LXVI), p. 210.

⁵ G.O.S. No. I, 1934 edition, p. 94, line 9.

⁶ *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XIV, p. 26; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46, and Vol. IX, p. 127.

⁷ From estampages supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle.

⁸ The first four lines of this inscription contain the first two of its stanzas. The letters that remain of the first do not suffice to determine what its metre was. But what remains of the second shows that it is in the *Sragdharā* metre. [Most probably the metre of the first stanza is also *Sragdharā*.—Ed.].

- 3 Pu(?)m̄v.....tra.....
- 4 sphā(?)ra-dva(?).....kshaḥ sphuṭ-ōddhva[m̄*]sita.....
.....pravitata.....[11 2*]
- 5 Yasya [prajñ-ānu]shaṅg-[ō]chita-sukha-manasaḥ śāstra-ta[ttv-ā]rttha-bharttuḥ --
stabdḥ-ō - - - [ha]ni - - - - n-ōchchḥṛi - - - - [1*]
- 6 [sa*]t-kāvya-śrī-viraudhān¹=budha-guṇita-guṇ-ājñ-āhatān=ēva kṛtvā [vi]dval-
lōkē vi[ri]²-sphuṭa-bahu-kavitā-kīrtti-rājyaṁ bhunakti [11*] [3]
- 7 [Ā*]ryy=[ai*]h=īty=upaguhya³ bhāva-piṣunair=utkarṇṇitai rōmabhīḥ sabhyēsh=
ūchchvasitēshu tulyakulaja-m[1*]ān-ānan-ōdvī[kshi][ta*]ḥ [1*]
- 8 sn[ē]ha-vyālulitēna bāshpa-guruṇā tattv-ēkshīṇā chakshushā yaḥ pitr=abhihitō
[n]i[r]i[kshya] nikhi[lām pāhy=ēva]m⁴= [u]rv[v]im=i[t]i [11*] 4
- 9 [Dṛi]shṭvā karm māṇy=an[ē]kāny=amanuja-sadṛiśāny=adbhut-ōdbhinna-harshā
bh[ā]vair=āsvāda[ya] - - - - - [kē]chit [1*]
- 10 vīryy-ōttaptāś=cha kēchich=chharaṇam=upagatā yasya vṛittē praṇāmē=py=
[ar]t[t]i(?) - - - - - [11*] [5]
- 11 Samgrāmēshu sva-bhuja-vijitā nityam=uchch-āpakārāḥ śvaḥ-śvō mānapra - - -
- - - - - [1*]
- 12 tō[sh]-ōttuṅgaiḥ sphuṭa-bahu-rasa-snēha-phullair=mmanōbhīḥ paśchāttāpaṁ va
- - - - - masya [dvishantaḥ]⁵ [11*] [6]
- 13 Udvel-ōdita-bāhu-vīryya-rabhasād=ēkēna yēna kshaṇād=unmūly=Āchyu[ta]-
Nāgasēna-G - - - - -⁶ [1*]
- 14 daṇḍair=grāhayat=aiva **Kōta**-kula-jam **Pushp**-[ā]hvayē kriḍatā sūryyē [nē
- - - - - taṭa] - - - - - [11*] [7]
- 15 Dha[rmma]-prāchīra-bandhaḥ śāsi-kara-śuchayaḥ kīrttayaḥ sa-pratānā vaidushyaṁ
tattva-bhēdi praśama - - - [uku - y . k - mu(?) t - - - - - ārttham] (?) [1*]
- 16 [addhyēyaḥ] sūkta-mārggaḥ kavi-mati-vibhav-ōtsāraṇam ch=āpi kāvyam kō nu
syā[d]=yō=[s]ya na syād=guṇa [iti]⁷ v[i]dushām dhyāna-pātram ya ēkaḥ
[11*] [8]
- 17 Tasya vividha-samara-śat-āvatarāṇa-dakshasya sva-bhuja-bala-parākkram-aika-
bandhōḥ Parākkram-ānkasya paraśu-śara-śaṅku-śakti-prās-āsi-tōmara-
- 18 [bhi]nd[i]pāla-n[ā]rācha-vaitastik-ādy-anēka-praharaṇa-virūḍh-ākula-vraṇa-śat-
ānka-śōbhā-samuday-ōpachita-kāntatara-varshmaṇaḥ
- 19 **Kausalaka-Mahēndra-Māh[ā]kāntāraka - Vyāghrarāja-Kaurāḷaka⁸-Maṇṭa-**

¹ Read -kāvya-śrī-virōdhān.

² Restore it to *vikṛiṣṭam*. [Dr. V. Raghavan would restore it to *visālē* (*JOR.*, Vol. XVI, p. 160) while Dr. Sircar restores as *vināsi* (*Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 263). —Ed.]

³ Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, however, reads *ēhy=ēh=īty=upaguhya* (*IC.*, Vol. XIV, p. 143).

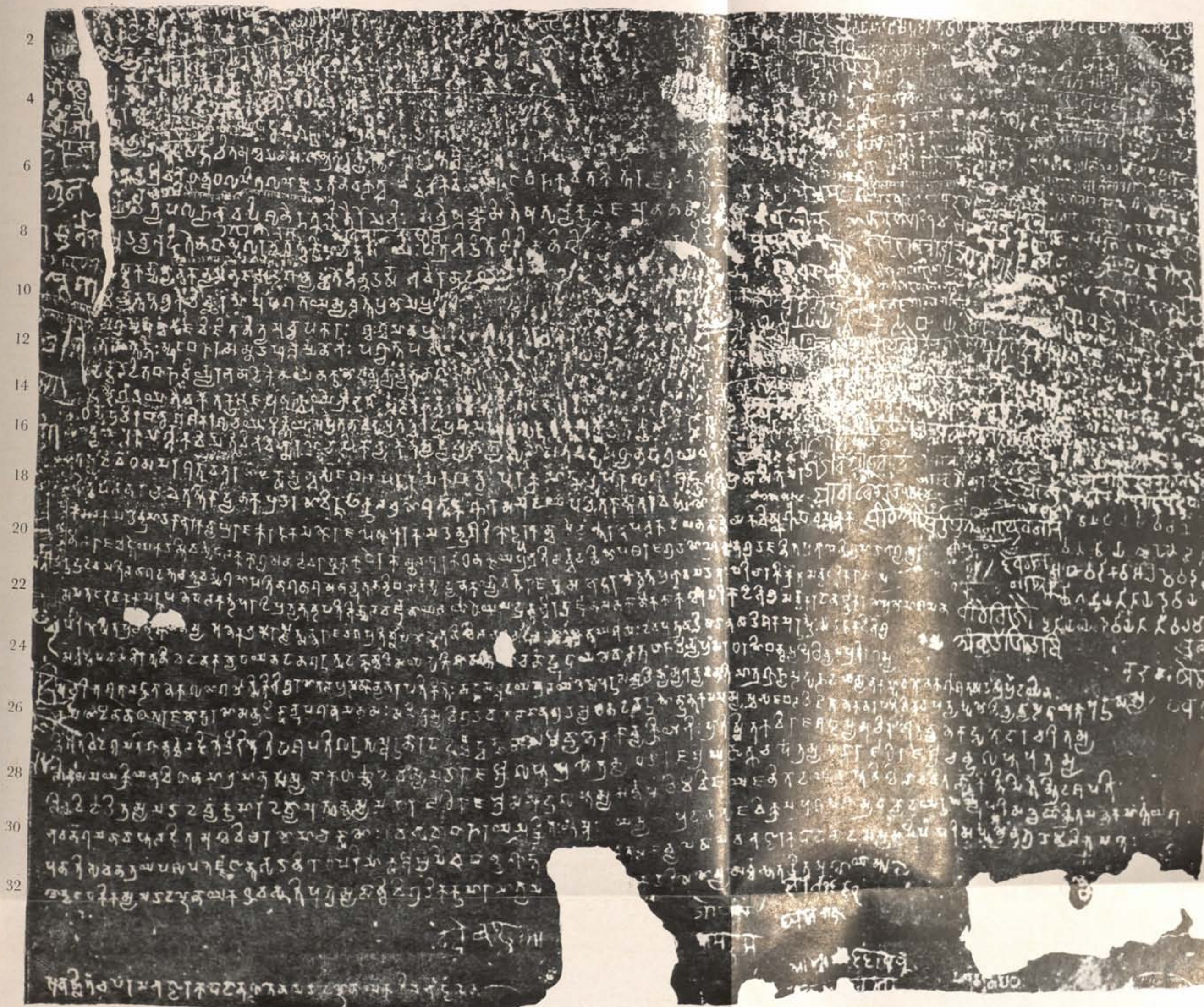
⁴ [Better read *pāhi tvam=urvīm=iti*. See the article on Chandragupta's Abdication, *Ibid.*, pp. 141 ff.—Ed.]

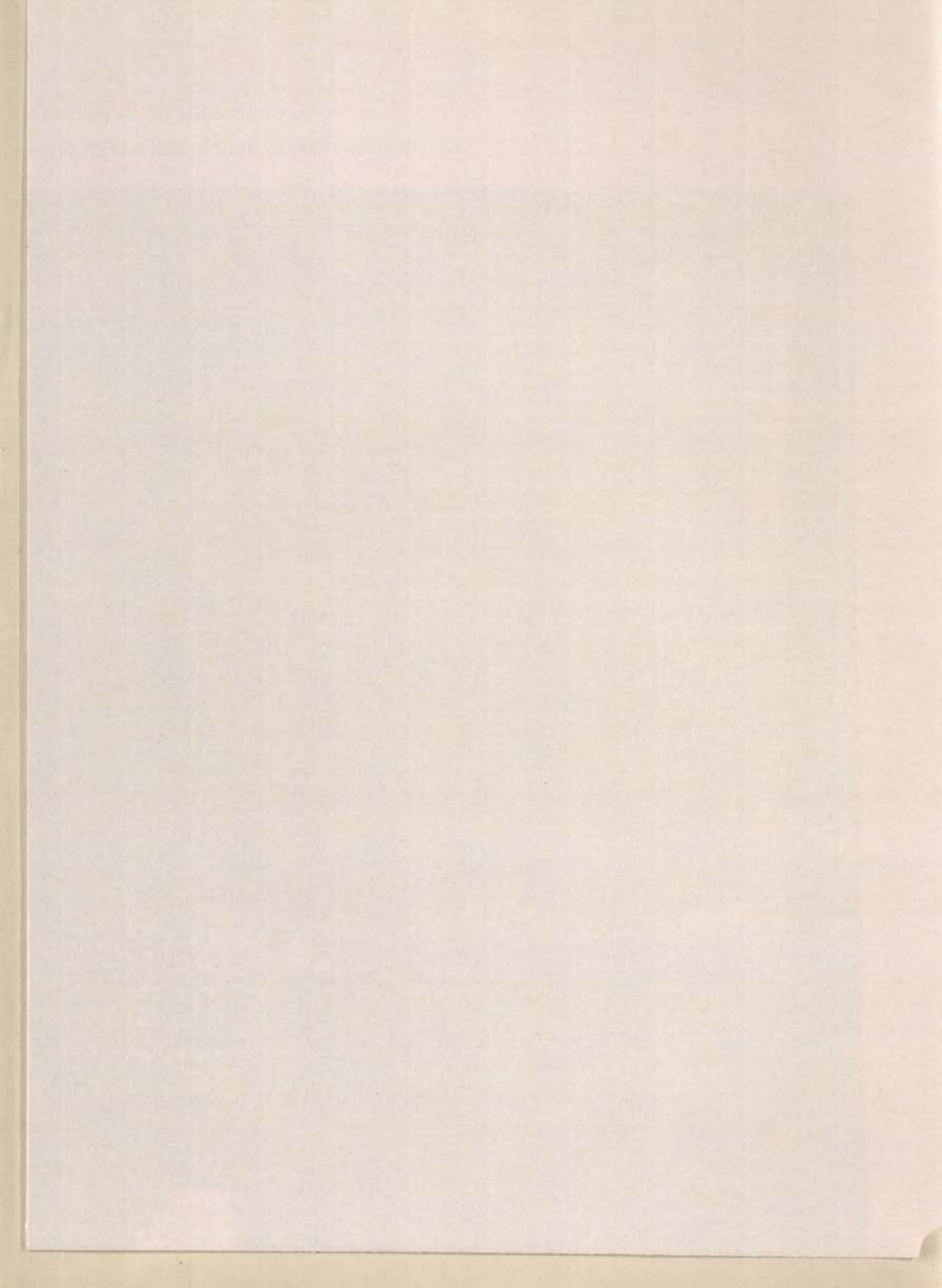
⁵ This is Bühler's reading which is preferable to Fleet's : *ma[m̄(?)] sy[ā]d=vasa(?)nta[m(?)]*.

⁶ Restore it perhaps to *Gaṇapān=ājau samēty=āgatān*. [Sircar would restore as *Gaṇapaty-ādīn=nṛipān saṅgarē* (*Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 264, note, 1).—Ed.]

⁷ [Fleet reads *mati*.—Ed.]

⁸ Fleet corrects Kaurāḷaka into Kairāḷaka, 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 *kaurāḷaka*, by mistake for *kairāḷaka*, 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 *Kaurāḷaka*, wrongly for *Kairāḷaka*. 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 Kunāḷa of the Aihole inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.) and both with the modern Kōllēru (Collair) lake.





- rāja-Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatt¹-Airāṇḍapallaka-Damana-Kāñchēyaka-Viṣṇugōp-Āvamuktaka-**
- 20 **Nīlarāja-Vaiṅgēyaka-Hastivarmma-Pālakkak-Ōgrasēna-Daivarāshṭraka-Kubēra-Kausthalapuraka-Dhanañjaya-prabhṛiti-sarvva-Dakṣhiṇā-patha-rāja-grahaṇa-mōksh-ānugraha-janita-pratāp-ōnmiśra-māhābhāgyasya**
- 21 **Rudradēva-Matila-Nāgadatta-Chandravarmma-Gaṇapatināga-Nāgasēn-Āchyutanandi²-Balavarmma-ādy-anēk-Āryyāvartta-rāja-pṛasabh-ōddharaṇ-ōdvṛitta-prabhāva-mahataḥ parichāraḥ-kṛita-sarvv-āṭavika-rājasya**
- 22 **Samataṭa-Ḍavāka-Kāmarūpa-Nēpāla-Kartṭipur-ādi-pratyanta-nṛipatibhir = Mmālav-Ārjunāyana-Yaudhēya-Mādrak-Ābhīra-Prārjuna-Sanakā-nika-Kāka-Kharaparik-ādibhiś = cha sarvva-karadān-ājñākaraṇa-praṇām-āgamana-**
- 23 **paritōshita-prachanḍa-śāsanasya anēka-bhrashṭa-rājy-ōtsanna-rāja-varṣa-prati-shṭhāpan-ōdbhūta-nikhila-bh[uva]na-vi[cha][ra]ṇa-[śrā]nta-yaśasaḥ Daiva-putra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi-Śaka-Muruṇḍaiḥ Saimhaḷak-ādibhiś = cha**
- 24 **sarvva-dvīpa-vāsibhir = ātmanivēdana-kanyōpāyanadāna-garutmadaṅka-sva-visaya³-bhukti-śā[sana]-[y]āchan-ādy-upāya-sēvā-kṛita-bāhu-vīryya-prasara-dharaṇi-bandhasya prithivyām⁴ = apratirathasya**
- 25 **sucharita-śat-ālaṅkṛit-ānēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ōtsiktibhiś = charaṇa-tala-pramṛiṣṭ-ānya-narapati-kīrttēḥ sādhdh-āsādh-ūdaya-pralaya-hētu-purushasy = āchintyasya**

¹ This is not an easy passage to deal with. Bhau Daji renders it by "Svāmidatta of Piṣṭapura, Mahēndragiri and Kuṭūra" (*JBBRAS.*, Vol. IX, p. cxcviii), where *Kuṭūra* is a mis-reading for *Kōṭṭūra*. But "this is not admissible" as Fleet correctly remarks, "because it would require *mahēndragirika* 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-Auṭṭūraka*. And, as a matter of fact, the passage has been translated by Bhagwanlal Indraji thus: "Svāmidatta of Paiṣṭapura Mahēndra-Giri and Auṭṭura" (*BG.*, Vol. I, Part i, p. 63). Even then this procedure is open to the objection that we should have had *Mahēndragirika* instead of *Mahēndragirika*. "If *mahēndragiri* is to be taken as one word and as denoting the mountain", it is possible, says Fleet, to render the passage by "Svāmidatta of Piṣṭapura and of Kōṭṭūra on Mahēndragiri," "And it might be supported by the fact that we have a Kōṭṭūr on almost the same range of hills as that to which the Mahēndragiri belongs; viz., the 'Kailaskoṭṭa and Kylascottah' of the map (Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 107; Lat. 19° 14'; Long. 83° 36' E.) which represents Kailāsa-Koṭṭa and Kailāsa-Kōṭṭūr 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 Svāmidatta with Kōṭṭūra only, and to find the name of another king in connection with Piṣṭapura. The first inclination then might be, to divide the text thus, *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta*; and to translate, 'Mahēndragiri of Piṣṭapura and Svāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra'." It is a great pity that Fleet did not stick to his first inclination, and divided the words following Maṅṭarāja into *Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahēndra* and *giriKauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta* and translated them as "Mahēndra of Piṣṭapura, Svāmidatta of Kōṭṭūra on the hill". The reason he specifies in support of this view is that "though *giri* or *gir* is a very common termination of proper names in the present day,it is used only as a religious title, and is affixed only to the names of Gōsāvīs; and even among them it would seem to be confined to one particular division of the Daśanāmī-Gōsāvīs [see *H. H. Wilson's Works* (Rost's edition), Vol. I, p. 202; Molesworth, *Marāṭhī Dictionary*, s. v. *gir*; and Monier Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v., *giri*]. 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 *vṛiddhi* in *Kauṭṭūraka* clearly shows that the word *giri* preceding it is to be connected with *Mahēndra*. If *giri* had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler Svāmidatta was, we should have had *Gairikōṭṭūraka* instead of *Girikauṭṭūraka*. Besides, it is not necessary to take *giri* here as a suffix similar to that of *giri* or *gir* of Gōsāvīs, as he has done. It is best to understand the whole of Mahēndragiri as the proper name of the ruler of Piṣṭapura. Instances are not unknown of names of sacred mountains being adopted as individual names whether in ancient or modern times (see above, Introduction, p. 15).

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

³ Read *-vishaya-*

⁴ Read *prithivyām =*

bhakty-avanati-mātra-grāhya-mṛidu-hṛidayasy = ānukampāvatō = nēka-gō-
śata-sahasra-pradāyinaḥ

- 26 k[ri]paṇa-dīn-ānāth-ātura-jan-ōddharaṇa-sattra-¹ diksh-ābhyupaganu²-manasaḥ
samiddhasya viḡrahavatō lōk-ānugrahasya Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-
samasya sva-bhuja-bala-vijit-ānēka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarppaṇā-nitya
-vyāpṛit-āyukta-purushasya
- 27 niśita-vidagdha-mati-gāndharvva-lalitair = vṛiḍi[ta]-tridaśapatiguru-Tumburu-
Nāradādēr = vvidvaj-jan-ōpa[ji]vy-ānēka-kāvya-kkriyābhiḥ pratishṭhita-kavi-
rāja-śabdasya suchira-stōtavy-ānēk-ādbhut-ōdāra-charitasya
- 28 l[ō]ka-samaya-kkriy-ānuvidhāna-mātra-mānushasya lōka-dhāmnō dēvasya mahā-
rāja-śrī-Gupta³-prapautrasya mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pautrasya mahā-
rājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-putrasya

¹ [Fleet reads *māmtra* in place of *sattra*. —Ed.].

² Read *-ābhyupagata-*.

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 (*EHI*, 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-tsing, who was in India in the second half of the seventh century, mentions 'a great king' (*mahārāja*), Śrīgupta, who lived about 500 years prior to him (*JRAS*, 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 in this 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 *mahādēvyān śrī-Śrīmatyām = utpannaḥ* in line 2 of the Deo-Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, Plate XXIX B); *śrī-Śrīpathāyām puri*, in verse, in line 6 of the Bayānā inscription of V.S. 1100 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 10), and *śrī-Śrīpathāyām*, in prose, in the Bayānā inscription of V. S. 1503 (*Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 239). Similarly, we should have had in this record *mahārāja-śrī-Śrīgupta-prapautrasya*, 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-tsing 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 Bühler to show from Sanskrit literature that shortening of names was in popular use in ancient India and was allowed even by the grammarian, Kātyāyana. Thus, the latter's *vārttika* 4 on Pāṇini VII, 3, 45 shows that in his time Dēvaka and Yajñaka were well-known short forms of Dēvadatta and Yajñadatta. Similarly, Bühler correctly adduces the instances of the popular shortening of such common nouns as *mṛiganābhi* into *nābhi*, and, of such proper nouns as Satyabhāmā into Satyā or Bhāmā. Likewise, Fleet on his own initiative cites many instances of such abbreviated names from inscriptions. When he gives Vikrama and Mahēndra as short forms of Vikramāditya and Mahēndraditya—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 Ghaṭōtkacha, 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 Guptagupta which sounds very fanciful. On the other hand, it seems more natural to suppose that Ghaṭōtkacha'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 Nānāghāṭ cave the following name is labelled: "the Kumāra Sātāvāhana" (Lüders' *List*, No. 1118). Now Sātāvāhana 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 Ghaṭōtkacha 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

- 29 **Lichchhavi**-dauhitrasya mahādēvyām **Kumāradēvyām**=utphannasya¹ mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Samudraguptasya** sarvva-pṛithivī-vijaya-janit-ōdaya-vyāptanikhil-āvanitalām kīrttim=itas=tridaśapati-
- 30 bhavana-gaman-āvāpta-laḷita-sukha-vicharaṇām=āchakshāṇa iva bhuvō bāhur=ayam=uchchhritaḥ stambhaḥ [1*] yasya 1² Pradāna-bhuja-vikkraprasāma-śāstravāky - ōdayair=uparyyupari - sañchay - ōchchhritam=anēkamārggam yaśaḥ [1*]
- 31 punāti bhuvana-trayaṁ Paśupatēr=jjaṭ-āntar-guhā-nirōdha-parimōksha-śīghram=iva pāṇḍu Gāṅgam [payah] [11 9*] Ētach=cha kāvyam=ēshām=ēva bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām dāsasya samīpa-parisarppaṇ-ānugrah-ōnmilita-matēḥ
- 32 Khādyatāpākikasya³ mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Dhruvabhūti-putrasya sāndhivigrahikakumārāmātya-ma[hādaṇḍanāya]ka-**Harishēṇasya** sarvva-bhūta-hitasukhāy=āstu ।
- 33 Anushṭhitam cha paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātēna mahādaṇḍanāyaka-**Tilabhaṭṭakēna** । [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 (*ājñā*) 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. Altekar, *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: *Guhyō Gabhīrō Gahanō Guptaś=Chakragadādharaḥ* (verse 58 of the *Vishṇusahasranāma*). See the article on *Coin Legends of Gupta Emperors and Vishṇusahasranāma*, *JNSI*, Vol. IX, pp. 137 ff., and its Hindi version in the *Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Patrikā* (N.S.), Year 54 Samvat 2006, pp. 1 ff.—Ed.]

¹ Read =utphannasya.

² This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

³ [Dr. Sircar would restore the reading as *Khādyakūṭāpākika*, *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 268, note, 1.—Ed.]

⁴ Attention may be invited to Pāṇini II, 2, 15 *trijakābhyaṁ kartari*. And, as *bhartri* here is part of the compound, it has to be taken as *trij-pratyay-ānta*, denoting *tāchchhilya*.

⁵ The translation of this stanza by Fleet is anything but clear. Bühler renders it as follows: "The order of the possessor (*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, in 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 *kīrtirājya* on account of his own poetry, by removing the discord between Śrī and Sarasvatī 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 *bhuniktē* and not *bhunakti*, according to Pāṇini I, 3, 66 —*bhujō=navanē*.—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 impetuosity of the prowess of (his) arm, which grew to overflowing, having singly and in a moment uprooted **Achyuta** and **Nāgāsēna** and [**Gaṇapati**]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

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-parigrihita*, "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 *nikhilām pāthy=ēvam=urvīm=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 *vānaprastha* by putting Samudragupta in charge of the *urvi* or earth which he had conquered and held (see above, Introduction, p. 8). Compare the last verse of the third canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. [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. Then his 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 Gaṇapa in this stanza. The name, however, is identical with Gaṇapati 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 *śāstras*);.....study of the belles-lettres; and poesy 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 *Parākrama*,¹ 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 (*śanku*), spears (*śakti*), barbed darts (*prāsa*), swords, iron clubs (*tōmara*), javelins for throwing (*bhindipāla*), barbed arrows (*nārācha*), span-long arrows (*vaitastika*)² 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,³ all the kings of **Dakṣiṇāpatha** such as **Mahēndra** of **Kōsala**⁴ **Vyāghrarāja** of **Mahākāntāra**, **Maṅṭarāja** of **Kurāḷa**, **Mahēndragiri** of **Piṣṭapura**, **Svāmidatta** of **Kōṭṭūra**, **Damana** of **Ēraṇḍapalla**, **Vishṇugōpa** of **Kāñchī**, **Nilarāja** of **Avamukta**, **Hastivarman** of **Vēngī**, **Ugrasēna** of **Pālakka**, **Kubēra** of **Dēvarāshṭra**, and **Dhanañjaya** of **Kusthalapura**.

(Line 21) (Who) is great through the extraordinary valour, namely, the forcible extermination of many kings of **Āryāvarta** such as **Rudradēva**, **Matila**, **Nāgadatta**, **Chandravarman**, **Gaṇapatināga**, **Nāgasēna**, **Āchyuta-Nandin** and **Balavarman**;⁵ 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 **Samataṣṭa**⁶ **Ḍavāka**, **Kāmarūpa**, **Nēpāla**, and **Kartṭipura**, and, by the **Mālavas**, **Ārjunāyanas**, **Yaudhēyas**, **Mādrakas**, **Ābhīras**, **Prārjunas**, **Sanakānikas**, **Kākas**, **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 (*dharāṇi-bandha*) put up by means of service⁷ through such measures

¹ The word *anika* in *Parākkram-anika* is synonymous with *lāñchhana* (epithet) as in *Śrikanṭha-pada lāñchhana* occurring in the description of Bhavabhūti about the beginning of all his dramas. One commentator, Ghanaśyāma, explains the term either as *vyavahāra* (nickname), *anika* (epithet) or *biruda* (laudatory appellation), and, in support of his position, quotes *lāñchhanam vyavahār-anika-birudeshu iti Rudra-Kēśavau*. This suits here excellently so that we can safely take this passage to mean that *Parākrama* 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 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 102).

² In regard to *vaitastika* Fleet says: "The word is not explained in the dictionaries. It must be a derivative from *vitasti*, 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 *Mahābhārata* (*BORI*, critical edition), *Drōṇa-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 *-grahāṇa-mōksh-ānugraha-* of the text may aptly be compared to the phrase *grihīta-prati-muktasya* used by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa* (IV, 43) to show that Raghu was a righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayī*). See above, Introduction, p. 33.

⁴ Notice that the name of every country in *Dakṣiṇāpatha* is marked with *vyiddhi* in the first vowel and ends with the suffix *ka*. To take one instance, *Kausalaka* is formed as follows: *Kōsalānām rājā Kausalak* (Pāṇini, IV, 1, 168); and then *anukampitaḥ Kausalak Kausalak* (Pāṇini, V, 3, 76) which accords with *mōksh-ānugraha* of the text excellently; otherwise Pāṇini V, 3, 74 may be made applicable. For the identification of the names of kings and countries included in *Dakṣiṇāpatha* see above, Introduction pp. 12-20.

⁵ For the identification of some of these *Āryāvarta* 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 *dharāṇi-bandha*. The prowess of Samudragupta's arm was as unimpeded

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 **Dēvapura-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi** and the **Śaka** lords² and by (rulers) occupying all Island countries, such as **Simhala** 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) Purusha (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) Āyukta 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 Bṛihaspati⁶ 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,

as the flow of water. The unimpeded flow of water is sure to cause devastations unless it is checked by a *dharāṇi-bandha*, i.e. an earthen embankment. So what a *dharāṇi-bandha* is to an unimpeded flow of water, the various forms of service rendered by the foreign monarchs were to the unimpeded flow of Samudragupta's prowess.

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 *garutmadaṅka*, *śāsana*, *vishaya* and *bhukti* 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 Vishṇu Himself, on earth. *JNSI*, Vol. IX, pp. 137 ff.; *Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Patrikā* (N.S.), Year 54, (Samvat 2006), pp. 1 ff.—Ed.]

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

⁵ [Allusion is again to Samudragupta being an incarnation of Achintya, God Vishṇu. *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 *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. IX (*The Munshi Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume*), Part I, p. 277. This accords well. We may thus take the word *upajīvyā* 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 Aśōka 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 movement¹ in that it has repaired from here (*i.e.* from this world) to the abode of (Indra)² the lord of the gods—(the fame) of that prosperous³ **Samudragupta** the *Mahārājādhirāja*,⁴ son of the prosperous **Chandragupta** (I), the *Mahārājādhirāja*, born of the **Mahādēvī**⁵ **Kumārādēvī**, (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 Kushāṇa period. Nevertheless, I agree with Fleet in adopting “a translation that does not bind us to either view.”

¹ Bühler takes *vicharāṇa* in the sense of ‘path’ and observes that “the synonyms *charāṇa*, *gamana* and *yāna* 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 *vicharāṇa*, ‘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 ‘(*and now*),’ (2) the rendering of *vicharāṇa* 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 through the conquest of the whole earth, filled the whole surface of the earth, and found a lovely, happy path in that it wandered from this world to the palace of the lord of gods” (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 173). This rendering is a great improvement upon that of Fleet. Bühler is quite right in suggesting that the word *uchchhrita* goes not only with the pillar but also with the arm of the Earth. He is, however, wrong in taking *vicharāṇa* in the sense of ‘path’. It is true that *charāṇa* like its synonyms *gamana* and *yāna* 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 *Śrī*, ‘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-Āditya-sēnadēva* as in Mandar Hill Rock Inscription (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 45, p. 212, line 1), but also like *Śrīmat-Suvarṇavarshadēva**śrīmad-Vallabhanarēndradēvaḥ* (*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 *Mahārāj-ādhirāja* 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 *Mahādēvī* seems to have been here used as the title of a wife of a paramount sovereign. It is curious that while derivatives of *rājan* such as *Mahārāja* and *Mahārājādhirāja* have been coined as titles of supreme rulers, neither *rājñī* nor its derivatives, but *Mahādēvī* is employed to denote their queen-consorts. The term *rājñī* was certainly in existence during this period, but signified ‘the wife of a ruler (*rājan*)’ and was not used as a title. Hence we find

(contd. on p. 220)

daughter's son of the **Lichchhavi**,¹ son's son of the prosperous **Ghaṭōtkacha**, the *Mahārāja*² 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 composition (*kāvya*) of **Harishēṇa**, the servant of the very same venerable *Bhaṭṭāraka*,⁴ whose mind has been enlightened through the favour of dwelling near (him), who is the *Sāndhivigrahika*, *Kumārāmātya* (and) *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, (and who is) a native of *Khādyatāpāka*,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**⁶ who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*.

No 2 : PLATE II

ĒRAṆ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

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 *rājñi* and *Mahādēvi* used in conjunction with the name of the wife of a paramount sovereign, compare, e.g. *Paramabhaṭṭārikā-rājñi-Mahādēvi-Kōṇadēvi* of the Mandar Hill rock inscription of Ādityasēna (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 212). In the later part of the Gupta period, however, *Mahādēvi* was applied even to the wives of *Mahārājas*, e.g., throughout the *Kārītalāi* grant of Jayanātha (*Ibid.*, p. 118).

¹ Note the spelling of the tribal name here; it is *Li-chchha-vi*. Elsewhere, e.g., in line 3 of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta (No. 31 below), it is *Li-chchhi-vi*, 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-pādānām* but *bhaṭṭāraka-pādāyōḥ*. 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 *ēva* in *ēshām=ēva* which immediately precedes *Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām* clearly shows that it must denote the king who has been the subject of the panegyric up till 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 Bundēlkhaṇḍ and Māl̄wā. 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 thereafter annotated first by K. P. Jayaswal in the *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, pp. 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

Ēraṇ, the ancient **Airikiṇa**, is a village on the left bank of Binā, eleven miles to the west by north from Khurāī, the chief town of the Khurāī 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 consequence 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 *paribṛiṇhana(ṇa)*, line 26; and (2) the doubling of *k* and *dh*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *vikkrama*, line 13 and *parākkrama*, lines 17 and 21; and in *ddhrutam*, 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 **Airikiṇa**, *i.e.*, **Ēraṇ**. 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 *PIHC* (1951), pp. 62 ff., and *JOI.*, Vol. XX, pp. 51 ff.

² *CIL.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 36, pp. 158 ff.

³ *CASIR.*, Vol. X, p. 89.

⁴ See also note 1 on page 224 (of the Translation), below.

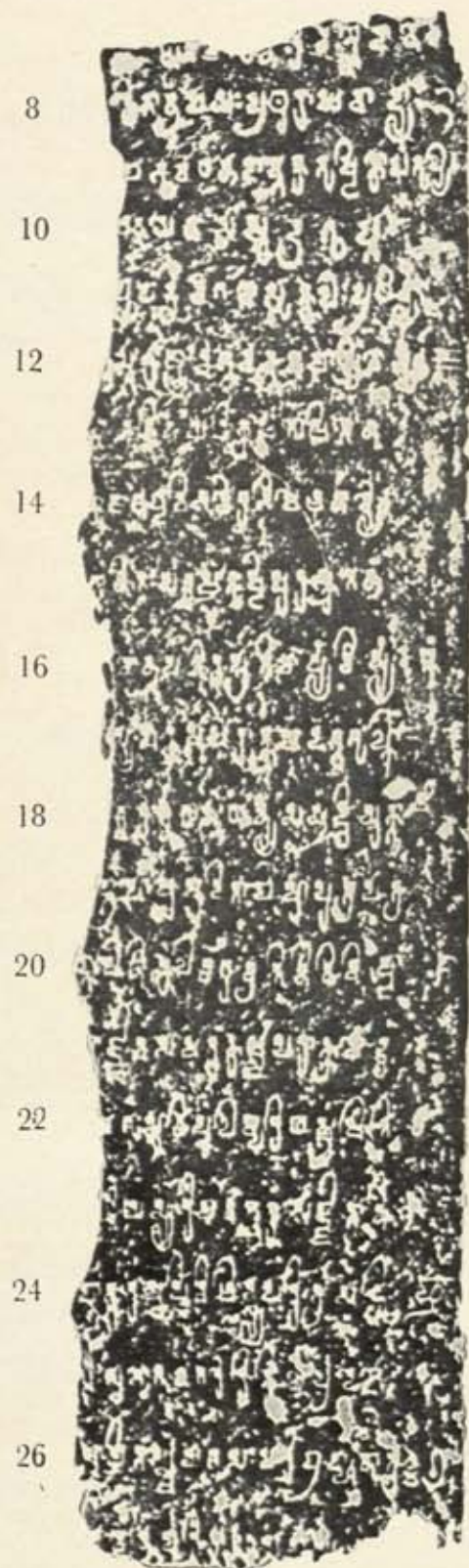
TEXT¹(Metre: *Vasantatilakā* throughout)

(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 [---] suvarṇṇa-dānē²
 8 [---] ritā³ nṛpatayah⁴ Pṛithu-Rāghav-ādyāḥ [11*] 2
 9 [---]⁵ babhūva Dhanad-Āntaka-tusṭi-kōpa-tulyaḥ⁶
 10 [---] ma-nayēna⁷ **Samudraguptaḥ** [1*]
 11 [---] pya⁸ pārtthiva-gaṇas=sakalaḥ pṛithivyām
 12 [---]⁹ [sva]-rājya-vibhava-[ddh]rutam=āsthītō=bhūt [11*] 3
 13 [---] [va]¹⁰ [bha]kti-naya-vikkrama-tōshitēna
 14 [yō] rāja-śabda-vibhavair=abhishēchan-ādyaiḥ [1*]
 15 [---] nitāḥ¹¹ parama-tusṭi-puraskṛitēna
 16 [---] vō¹² nṛpatir=aprativāryya-vīryyaḥ [11*] 4
 17 [---] sya¹³ paurusha-parākkrama-datta-śulkā
 18 [Hasty-a]śva-ratna-dhana-dhānya-samṛiddhi-yuktā [1*]
 19 [---] n¹⁴=gṛihēshu muditā bahu-putra-pautra-
 20 [sa?]nkrāmiṇī kula-vadhūḥ vratini¹⁵ nivishṭā [11*] 5
 21 [Yasy=ō]rjjitam samara-karmma-parākkram-ēddham
 22 [---]¹⁶ [ya]śaḥ su-vipulam=paribambhramīti [1*]
 23 [---] n¹⁷ yasya ripavaś=cha raṇ-ōrjjitāni
 24 [sva]pn-āntarēshv=api vichintya paritrasa[nt]i [11*] 6
 25 [---] pta[?]ḥ¹⁸ sva-bhōga-nagar-**Airikiṇa**-pradēśē
 26 [---] āpitas=sva-yaśasaḥ paribṛinhan-²¹
 ārttham [11*]
 27 [---] vō nṛpatir=āha yadā [---] [1*]

¹ From the original stone.² The lacuna may possibly be filled up with *yēn=ārthi-kalṣaviṭapēna*.³ Restore it to *saṁvāritā*.⁴ The letter *ta* 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 *pādas* of each verse.⁷ This may be restored to [sad-āga]ma. Dr. Sircar restores as *parākkrama* (*Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 269).⁸ Restore it to *ājñāpya*. Dr. Sircar restores as *yaṁ prāpya* (*ibid.*).⁹ Restore it to *yēna*. Dr. Sircar restores as *pariyasta* (*ibid.*).¹⁰ Restore it to *pitṛ=aiva*. Dr. Sircar restores as *tātēna* (*ibid.*).¹¹ Restore it to *saṁmānitāḥ*.¹² This may be restored to [Bhū-vāsa]vō. Dr. Sircar restores as *sō=yaṁ dhrvō* (*ibid.*).¹³ Restore it to *śrīr=asya*. Dr. Sircar restores as *Dattāsyā* (*ibid.*).¹⁴ Restore it to *nityaṅ=*¹⁵ Read *kula-vadhūr=vratini*.¹⁶ This may be restored to *śukram* or *śuklam*. Dr. Sircar restores as *Pṛithivyām* (*ibid.*).¹⁷ Restore it to [karmā]ni. Dr. Sircar restores as *kāryāni* (*ibid.*).¹⁸ This may perhaps be restored to *bhaktim nidarśayitum=Achyuta-pāda-piṭhē*.¹⁹ Restore it to *prāptaḥ*.²⁰ This may perhaps be restored to *dēv-ālayaś=cha kṛitin=ātra Janārdanasya*.²¹ Read *paribṛinhan-*.

ĒRAN 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) Pṛithu, 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

¹ Compare the customary expression *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-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 *Aśvamēdha* type "the last word is *aprativāryavīrya*, 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, Dattadēvī. But the expression *ṣauruṣa-parā-krama-dattaśulkā* 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 *Bhōga* 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, *s-āshṭa-bhōga*. Thus the Naḍupūru 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 Koṅkuduru plates of Allaya-Doḍḍa refer to the *s-aiśvarya-bhōg-āshṭaka* grant of the Gumpiṇi village (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 59, lines 46-47). What these eight *bhōgas* 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 *bhōgika* in the sense of 'one who enjoys the *bhōgas*' is found in inscriptions. Thus a Sāṅkhēḍā inscription has at the end the following: *likhitam ch=ātra Sāndhivigrahikēn=Ā(ṅ=Ā)ditya-bhōgikēna* (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 20, lines 9-10). As *Sāndhivigrahika* is the office designation of Āditya, *Bhōgika* must be taken to be his personal title indicative of his zemindary. Similarly, the Koṅṇūr inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I was drafted by *Vālabha-kāyastha-vaiśā-jātēna dharmādihikaraṇa-sthāna Bhōgika-Vatsarājēna* 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 *Bhōgika*, i.e., a Zemindar". But the word *bhōga* occurs in epigraphic records also in the other sense, namely, "a tract or country enjoyed by way of rule or sway." The derivative *bhōgika* and the compound word *bhōgapati* are also met with in this sense. Thus the Sātārā grant of the Eastern Chālukya Viṣṇuvarhana has *Śrīnilaya-bhōgē Aṅṅpaly-agrahārasya* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309, line 18). Again, the Vaḍṇēr plates of the early Kalachuri Buddharāja have *Vaḍṇanagara-bhōgē Bhaṭṭāurikā-Pratyāsanna-Kōṅiyānām ēsha grāmas=* etc. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 34, line 19). Exactly in the preceding line in the same inscription occurs *rāja-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-*, etc. And the question arises in what sense we are to take this word *bhōgika*. As it comes immediately after *rāja* and *sāmanta*, it seems to signify 'a zemindar.' On the other hand, as it immediately precedes *vishayapati*, it appears to denote some officer set to govern a *bhōga*, a territorial division apparently more extensive than *vishaya*. But it is worthy of note that in line 23 of the same Vaḍṇēr grant we have *āgāmi-nṛipati-bhōgapatibhiḥ*. It will thus be seen that in one and the same record we meet with both

place named **Airikiṇa**, the town of his own district,⁴ (the virtuous one) has set up (here a temple of Janārdana) 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 Dēvapāla. 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

bhōgika 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 Sarsavaṇī plates of the early Kalachuri Buddharāja where also the terms *bhōgika*, *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-vishay-āntargata-Gōrajā-bhōgē Bṛihannārikā-pratyāsanna-Kumāri-vaḍāo ēsha grāmaḥ*. This clearly shows that in Gujārāt and in the time of the early Kalachuris *bhōga* as a territorial unit was smaller in area than *vishaya*. This agrees with the fact that in the Khalimpur plates of the Pāla king Dharmapāla *bhōgapati* is placed between *vishayapati* and *shashṭhādhipikṛita* (*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 *bhōgika* by itself means 'a zemindar' and is not identical with *bhōgapati*. Nevertheless, *bhōgika* 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 Ēraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of Tōramāṇa (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888 No. 36, pp. 158 ff.), Airikiṇa 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 Tōramāṇa.

¹ "The lacunae in this verse," says Fleet, "render it impossible to say whether here, and below, *sva*, '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 Ēraṇ (p. 221 above).

² *A. R. ASI.*, 1927-28, p. 138.

³ *A list of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 290, note 1.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 50 ff.

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 10½" 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 ¼". 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*, *h* 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 *t* throughout, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *prapauttrasya*, line 3, *-dauhittrasya*, line 4; *-pittrōr=*, line 6, *=ttraividasya*, line 8, and so on; (2) the doubling of consonants following *r* e.g. in *sarvva*, line 1, *°mēdh-āharttur=*, line 3, and so forth; (3) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, *Viditam=bō*, line 6, *sambat*, line 10; (4) the use of *v* for *b*, in *mahavalādhikṛita*, line 11; and (5) the use of *upadhmaniya* in such cases as *utpannaḥ=parama*, line 4 and *ch=aitāḥ=prabhṛiti*, lines 8-9.

The inscription is one of *Mahārājādhirāja Samudragupta* of the **Imperial Gupta** 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 Brāhmaṇa Jayabhaṭṭisvāmin by name, styled *Traividya* in subsequent lines. The grant was written at the orders of Gōpasvāmin, the *Akshapaṭalādhikṛita*, *Mahāpīlūpati* and *Mahābalādhikṛita*. At the end occurs the name of the prince (**kumāra**) **Chandragupta**, apparently as *Dūta*, 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 *uchchhētṭuḥ*, line 1, to *dauhittrasya*, line 5, the epithets of Samudragupta are uniformly in the genitive case; the drafter of the inscription was copying from a grant of Chandragupta II 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, *utpannaḥ. . . Samudraguptaḥ*, 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. Sircar cites the indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* as one of the reasons for its spuriousness. [*Contra.*, see Dr. G.S. Gai's article in *JGJRI.*, Vol. VI, p. 308—Ed.].

² See inscription No. 4, below.

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 255.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 50.

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 (. . . *uchchhēttuḥ* *apratirathasya* . . . *prapautrasya* *putrasya* *dauhtitrasya* *utpannaḥ Samudraguptaḥ*.) If the plate be regarded as genuine, it is puzzling why the secretariate 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 Sastri,—especially the silly error of Samudragupta's secretariate 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 Vindhyaśakti have . . . *Chaturaśvamēdhayājinas = samrāja [ḥ*] Vṛishṇivṛiddha-sagōtrasya* *śrī-Pravarasēna-pautrasya* *śrī-Vindhyaśaktēr*."² This inscription has been edited by both Dr. D. C. Sircar³ and Prof. Mirashi⁴ who have freely corrected *śrī-Pravarasēna-pautrasya* into *śrī-Pravarasēnasya pautrasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēna-putrasya* into *śrī-Sarvasēnasya putrasya*. How was then this ungrammatical construction in the genealogical description of Vindhyaśakti tolerated in the secretariate 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 Vindhyaśakti as "a *samrāj* who performed four *Aśvamēdhas*" and the other sacrifices and his grandfather "merely as Śrī Pravarasēna without any kingly epithet"? Can error further go? Nevertheless, this silly error was caused in the composition of the genealogy of Vindhyaśakti for which the secretariate 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 Vṛishṇivṛiddha, and not Vishṇuvṛiddha 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: *Śrī-Kīrttivarman-prithivīvallabhamahārājas = tasy = ātmajas = samarasamsaktasakalōttarāpathēśvara-śrī-Harshavarddhana-parājay-ōpātta-paramēśvaraśabdasya = tasya Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanayasya*.⁶ As has been shown by F. Kielhorn, the above draft should be corrected into *Kīrttivarman-mahārāj-ātmajasya Harshavarddhana-parājay-ōpātta-paramēśvaraśabdasya Satyāśraya--paramēśvarasya*, 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 *Akshapaṭalādhikṛita* Gōpasvāmin. There is thus no definite evidence to show that the Nālandā grant is a spurious record.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, p. 51.

² *I.C.*, Vol. X, p. 77.

³ *IHQ.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 182 ff.

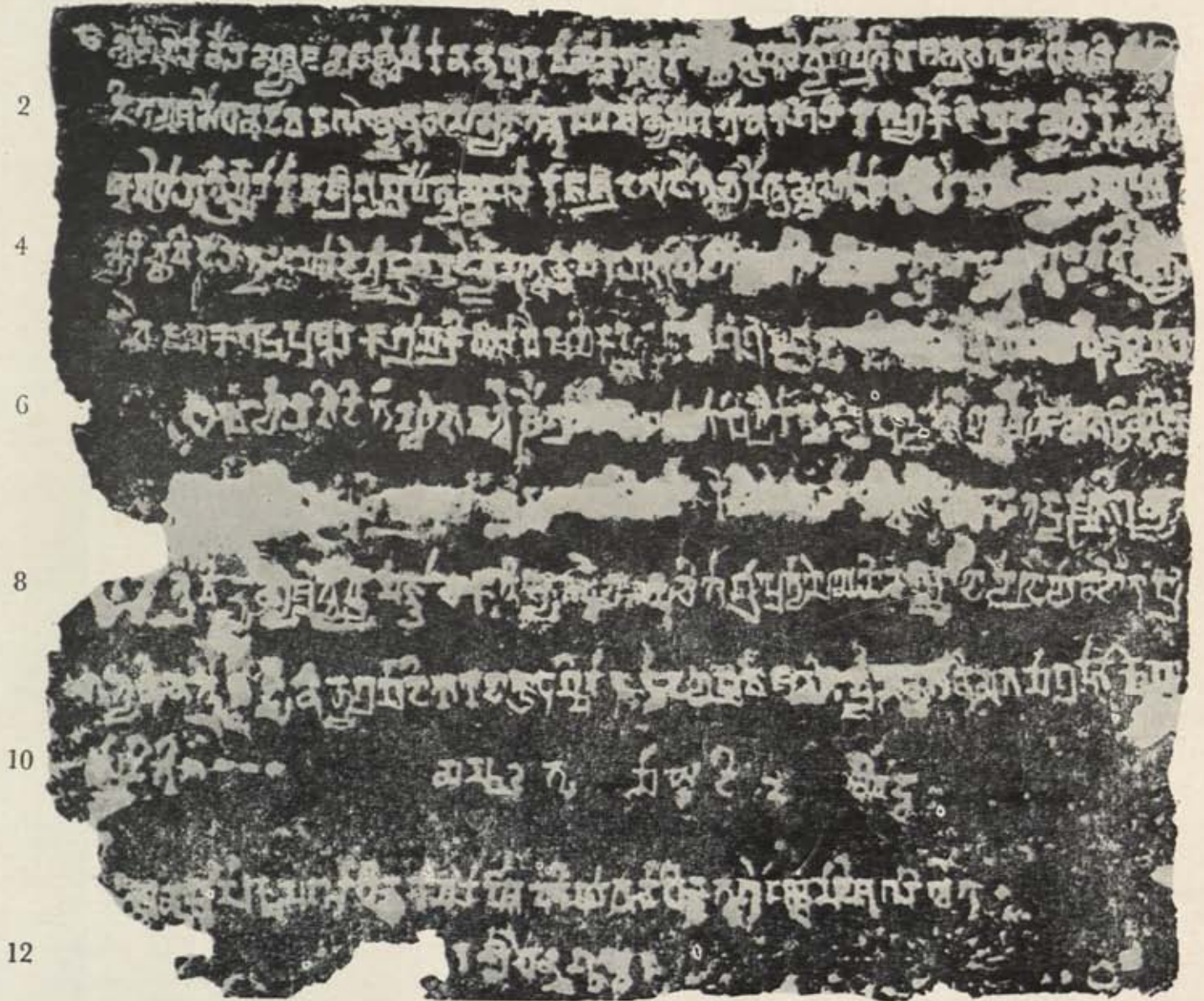
⁴ *CII.*, Vol. V, No. 23, pp. 93 ff.

⁵ *PIHC.*, Third Session (1939), pp. 449 ff.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 202.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 127, line 8 and p. 130, line 8.

NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: THE YEAR 5



G. S. Gai

From photograph

TEXT¹

- 1 Ōm² [i*] Svast[i*] [ma]hā-nau-hasty-aśva-jaya-skandhāvār-Ānandapura-vāsakāt = [sar]vva-rā[j-ōch]chh(ē)ttu³ pṛithivyām = apratirathasya⁴ chatur-udadhi-sali[l]-ā[s]vā-
- 2 dita-yaśasō⁵ Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Ānta-samasya⁶ Kṛitānta-paraśōr⁷ = nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-kōṭi-pradasya⁸ chir-ōtsa[nn-]ā-
- 3 śvamēdh-āharttur = mMa⁹hārāja-śrī-Gu[pta*]-prapauttrasya¹⁰ Mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya¹¹ [Mah]ārā[jād]h[irā]ja-[śrī]-Cha[ndragupta]-puttra-
- 4 sya¹² Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya¹³ mahādēvyān = Kumāradēvyām = utpannaḥ = paramabhāgava[tō] [Ma]hā[rājād]hirāja-[śrī-Samud]ra[gu]ptaḥ Vāvi[r]i[k]shya[ra]-
- 5 vaishay[i]ka-Bhadrapushkaraka-grāma-Kri[vilā]¹⁴-vaishayika-[Pūrṇanā]ga-grā [mayōḥ brāhmaṇa-purōga]-grā[ma]-valatkōśābhyām = āha [i*]
- 6 Ēvañ = ch = āha vidita[m]m = bō¹⁵ bha[va]tv = ēshau¹⁶ grā[m]au [mayā mā]tā-pittrōr = ātmana[ś = cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddha]yē Jayabhaṭṭi-svāminē-
- 7 [s-ōparika]r-ō[ddēśēn = āgrāharatvēn = ātisṛish]ṭaḥ¹⁷ [i*] tad = yushmābhir = a[s]ya
- 8 cha ttr[ai]vidyasya śrōttavyam = ājñā¹⁸ cha kartavyā [sarvvē cha samu]chitā grā-[ma*]-pratyāyē[na] hira[ṇ]y-ādayō dēyā[h*] [i*] na ch = aitāḥ = pra-
- 9 bhṛity = anēna ttraividyēn = ānya-grām-ādi-karada-kuṭumbi-kā[ruk-āda]yaḥ = pravēśayi[ta]vyā [n-ā]nyathā niyatam = āgrahār¹⁹-ā[kshēpaḥ]
- 10 [sy]ād = iti — — —²⁰ Sambat²¹ 5 Māgha-di 2 nibaddha[m*] [i*]
- 11 [Anyā]-²²grām-ākshapaṭalādhikṛita-mahāpīlūpati-mahāva (ba)lādhikṛita-Gōpa[s]vām-ādēśa²³-likhitaḥ [i*]
- 12 [Dūtaḥ Kumā*]ra-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ [||*]

¹ From an impression and photograph supplied by Hiranand Sastri.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read ^orāj-ōchchhētā.

⁴ Read ^orathaḥ.

⁵ Read ^oyaśāḥ.

⁶ Read —Āntaka-samaḥ. Mr. Ghosh reads —Antaka-, but there is no ka here.

⁷ Read —paraśur =.

⁸ Read —pradaś =.

⁹ Read —āharttā Ma.

¹⁰ Read —prapauttrō.

¹¹ Read —pauttrō.

¹² Read —puttrō.

¹³ Read —dauhitrō.

¹⁴ Mr. Ghosh reads *Krimilā* which does not seem to be warranted by any estampages. *Krivilā*, however, is practically the same thing as *Krimilā*.

¹⁵ Read *viditam = vō*.

¹⁶ Read = *ētau*.

¹⁷ Read ^oshṭau.

¹⁸ Read *śrōttavyam = ājñā*.

¹⁹ Read = *agrahār-*.

²⁰ There are four short horizontal strokes here.

²¹ Read *samvat*.

²² [The reading seems to be *anu*.—Ed.]

²³ Read ^osvāmy-ādēśa-.

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Ōm! Hail! From the great camp of victory, containing¹ ships, elephants and horses and situated at Ānandapura.

(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) Dhana, 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 Aśvamēdha 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 **Lichchhavi** (and) born of the *Mahādēvī* **Kumāradēvī** — addresses to (the officers) attached to the Treasury of the two villages; (1) **Bhadrapushkaraka** pertaining to the **Vāvirikshyara** district (and) (2) **Pūrṇanāga** pertaining to the **Krivilā** 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 Jayabhaṭṭa-svāmin . . .

(Lines 7-10) You should therefore listen to this *Traividya* (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 *Traividya*; (for) otherwise there would be a forfeiture of the *Agrahāra*.

(Lines 10-12) Registered² (in) the **year 9; the day 2 of Māgha**. Drawn up by the order of Gōpasvāmin, *Mahāpīlūpati*, *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the *Akshapaṭalādhikṛita* of Anyagrāma. The *Dūtaka*, the prince śrī-**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**³ 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.

¹ In the Śātavāhana period we meet with the expression *sēnāyē vējayāntiyē vijayakhadhāvārā* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 71, line 1), the first two terms of which stand apparently for *mahā-nau-hasty-aśva* of this grant, which describes the components of *vaijayantī sēnā*. The grants of Harshavardhana contain practically the same phraseology, such e.g. as, *mahānau-hasty-aśva-jaya-skandhāvārāt śrī-Varddhāmānakōtyā* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 210, line 1). The word *vāsaka* however does not occur. In the Pratihāra charters the phraseology runs as follows: *śrī-Mahōdaya-samāvāsita-anēka-nau-hasty-aśva-ratha-patti-sampanna-skandhāvārāt* (*ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17, line 1). Here the word *samāvāsita* is no 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 Śaṅkaragaṇa (*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 Śātavāhana 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 $7\frac{1}{8}$ ". 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 *vāsakāt*; 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 shew 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 $2\frac{7}{8}$ " by $\frac{3}{8}$ ". It has, in relief on a countersunk surface, at the top, Garuḍa, 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]drag[u]p[taḥ]*, very faintly, at the end of line 5. It must have contained a succinct recital of the genealogy, after the fashion of the Aśirgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman¹ and the Sōnpat seal of Harshavardhana.² The weight of the plate, with the seal, is 2 lbs. 10 oz. The average **size** of the letters is $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include, in line 14, forms of the numerical symbols for 9³ 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*. In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the doubling of *t* throughout, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g. in *prapauttrasya*, line 4; *pittrōr*, line 8; and *sagōtrāya*, line 9; (2) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *Ayōddhyā*, 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 *vrahmaṇa*, lines 7 and 10; *vahvrichāya*, line 9; and *savrahmachāriṇē*, 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 **Ayōdhyā**.⁴ It purports to be **dated**, in numerical symbols,⁵ 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 *valatkaushabhyām*,

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 219 ff.

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.

⁴ The modern Ajōdhyā or Ajūdhyā (the 'Oudh or Ajoodhia' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 87), Lat. 26° 48' N., Long. 82° 14' E., on the south bank of the river Ghāgra or Ghōgra, about four miles north-east of Faizābād, the Chief town of the Faizabad District in Uttar Pradesh.

⁵ 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 *uchchhanna*, 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 Dēō-Baraṇār̥k inscription of Jīvitagupta II,¹ and in line 1 of the Dighwā-Dubaulī 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

TEXT⁵

- 1 Ōm Svasti Mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jayaskandhāvārāj(d) = **Ā(A)yōddhyā**-vāsakāt = sarvva-rāj-ōchchhēttu[ḥ*] pṛi-
- 2 thivyām = apratirathasya chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśa⁶[sō*] Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Ā-
- 3 ntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśōr = nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-kōṭi-pradasya chir-ōchchha-
- 4 nn⁷-āśvamēdh-āharttu[ḥ*] mahārāja-śrī-**Gupta**-prapauttrasya⁸ mahārāja-śrī-**Ghaṭōtkacha**-pauttrasya⁹
- 5 mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya¹⁰ Lichchhivi-dauhitrasya¹¹ mahā-dēvyā[m*] **Ku-**
- 6 **mā**¹²**radēvyām** = utpanna[ḥ*] paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Samudra-**
- 7 **guptaḥ Gayā**-vaishayika-**Rēvatikā**-grāmē vrā (brā)hmaṇa-purōga-grāma-vala-
- 8 tkaushabhyām = āha | Ēva ch = ārtha[m*] viditambō(m = vō) bhavatv = ēśa(sha) grāmō mayā mātāpitrōr = ā-
- 9 tmanaś = cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Bhāradvāja-sagōttrāya Va(ba)hvṛichāya sav[r]a (bra)hmachā-
- 10 riṇē vrā (brā)hmaṇa-Gōpadēvasvāminē¹³ s-ōparika-ōddēśēn = āgrahārtvēn = āti-
- 11 sṛiṣṭaḥ [i*] tad = yushmābhir = asya śrōtavyam = ājñā cha karttavyā sarvvē cha¹⁴ sa¹⁵muchitā grāma-pra-
- 12 tyayā mēya-hiraṇy-ādayō dēyāḥ [i*] na chē(ch = ai)tat-prabhṛity = ētad-āgrahāri-kēṇa(ṇ = ā)nyad-grā-

¹ *CII.*, 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.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 140; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 53.

⁴ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 256.

⁵ From the original plate.

⁶ There is a mark over the letter *śa*, which may be only a rust-mark, but which renders it a little doubtful whether *yaśō-dhanada* was engraved, or *yaśa dhanada* with an omission of *sō*. The other inscriptions, however, shew that the correct reading is *yaśasō dhanada*, etc.

⁷ The other inscriptions all read *utsanna*. Monier Williams, in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, suggests that *uchchhanna*, 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+sad*.

⁸ In order to render the inscription capable of translation, read *prapauttraḥ*. And, at the same time, correct all the preceding genitives into nominatives.

⁹ Read *pauttraḥ*.

¹⁰ Read *puttraḥ*.

¹¹ Read *dauhitrāḥ*.

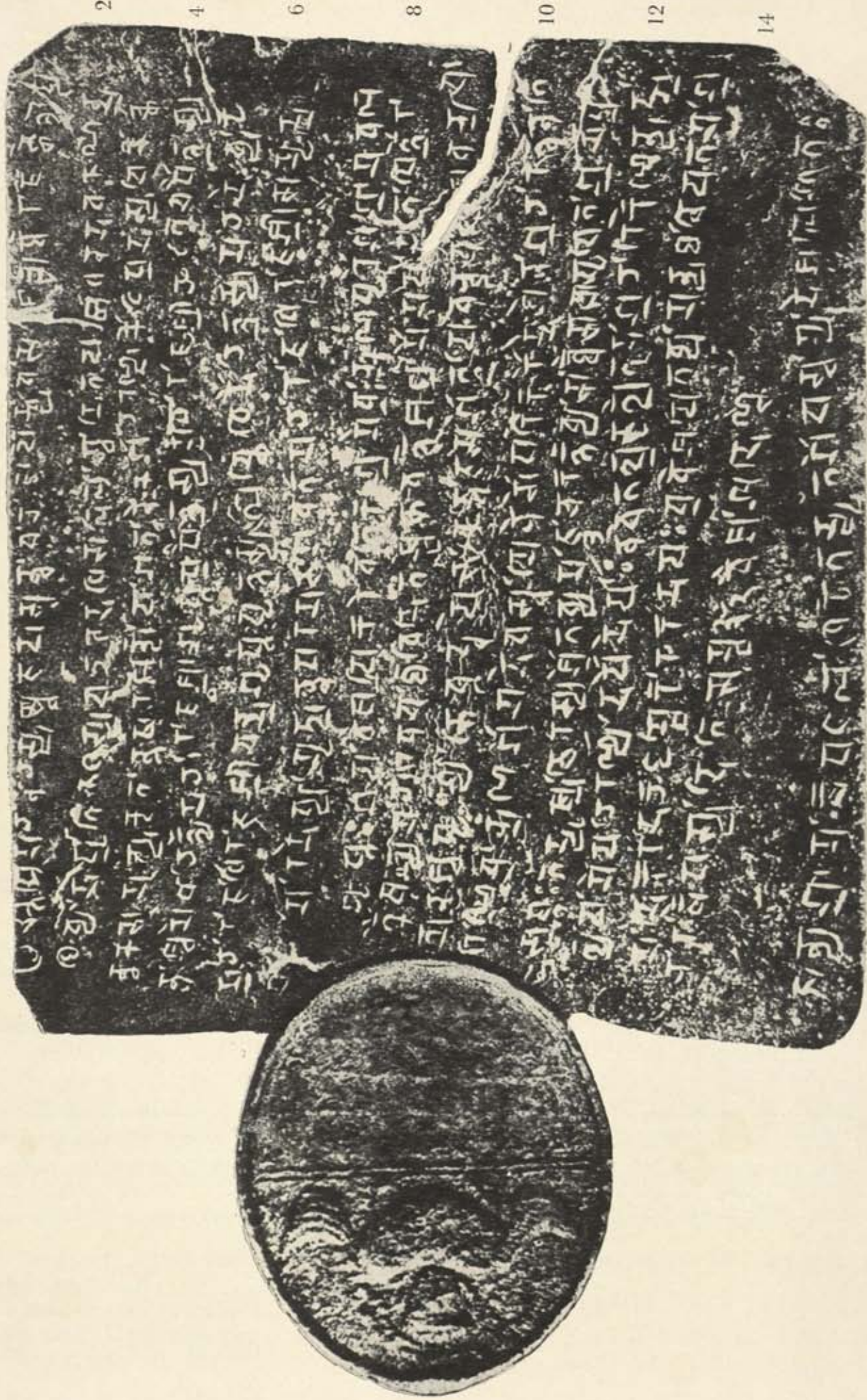
¹² This *mā* was first engraved closer to the margin of the plate, and then, being indistinct there, was repeated.

¹³ [The reading is *Gōmadēvasvāminē*.—Ed.]

¹⁴ *Sa* was engraved here, and then corrected into *cha*.

¹⁵ *Cha* was engraved here, and then corrected into *sa*.

GAYĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: THE YEAR 9



2
4
6
8
10
12
14

- 13 m-ādi-karada-kuṭumbi-kāruk-ādayaḥ pravēśayitavyā ma(a)nyathā
niyatamā(m=a)gra-
14 hār-ākshēpa[h*] syād=iti [||*] **Sama(mva)t¹ 9 Vaiśākha di 10** [||*]
15 Anya-grām-ākshapaṭalādhikṛita-Dyūta-Gōpasvāmy-ādēśa-likhitah² [||*]

TRANSLATION

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

(Lines 1-7) The prosperous **Samudragupta**, the *Mahārājādhirāja* . . . addresses to the pre-eminent (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 Gōpasvāmin,³ of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* (and) the Bahvṛicha (*śākhā*).

(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 Vaiśākha**. Drawn up by the order of the *Dūtaka* Gōpasvāmin, the *Akshapaṭalādhikṛita* of Anyagrāma.

No. 5 A, B and C : PLATE V

VIDIŠĀ 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 Vidišā District of Madhya Pradesh in 1968. They are now kept in the Museum at Vidišā. 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 Sāñchī inscription⁴ of Chandragupta II dated in the Gupta year 93 and to some extent that of the Ēraṇ inscription⁵ of Samudragupta. The individual letters like *u, k, g, n, p, bh, m, y, r, l, ś, s* and *h* appearing in the inscriptions on A and B are very similar to these letters in the Sāñchī inscription. The letters like *y, r, l* and *s* also resemble those in the Ēraṇ 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 *ullēkhō=yam*, or any similar words.

³ [See p. 230 note 13 above.—Ed.]

⁴ *CII*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 25 ff. and plate.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 18 ff. and plate.

southern or western variety of the Gupta alphabet as in the case of the Sāñchī inscription. The medial *i* in these records has, however, more flourish than in the Sāñchī inscription where it is just a circle on the top of the letter. Such a feature appears in earlier records like the Nāndsā Yūpa inscriptions¹ 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 *prabhāvalī* of the images is not so much developed and stylised as in the case of the Buddha images at Sāñchī 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 Tīrthañkaras 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 *Sarppasēna* (A) and that the class-nasal is used in the words *Chandraprabha* (A), *Pushpadanta* (B) and *Chandrakshama*^o (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 *Mahārājādhirāja Rāmāgupta*, 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 Rāmāgupta (*viz.* the making of the image of Chandraprabha) was done on the advice or at the instance (*upadēśa*) of Chēlla-kshamaṇa, son of Gōlakyāntī and disciple of *Āchārya Sarppasēna-kshamaṇa* and the grand-disciple (*i.e.*, disciple's disciple) of the Jaina teacher who is described as *pāñipātrika-Chandraksham-āchārya-kshamaṇa-śramaṇa*. This description is also found in the record on B which gives the name as *Chandrakshamaṇ-āchārya* instead of *Chandraksham-āchārya*. The epithet *pāñipātrika* 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 *Mahārājādhirāja Rāmāgupta*. From the assumption of the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, Rāmāgupta 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 Rāmāgupta of the imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha.

The controversy regarding the existence and historicity of Rāmāgupta 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 *Dēvīchandrāguptam* by Viśākhadatta and it gained fresh momentum after the discovery of some copper coins ascribed to Rāmāgupta in 1951 and afterwards.³

From the evidence of the drama *Dēvīchandrāguptam* and other literary sources and epigraphic references of later period, scholars have tried to reconstruct the story of Rāmāgupta

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 252 ff. and plate.

² *Monuments of Sanchī*, ed. by Marshall and Majumdar, Vol. II, plate LXX.

³ For full particulars about the controversy, see *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI (*The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*), ed. by R. C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, 1946, pp. 161-65 and note on p. 161; *JBRs.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 223 ff.; *IHQ.*, Vol. X, pp. 48 ff.; *JNS.*, Vol. XII, pp. 103-06, *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128-30; *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 108-09; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 340-44; *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 106-07 and 154 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 11-14 and 162-70; and *JIH.*, Vol. XL, pp. 533 ff. See also D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 226-29.

VIDIŠĀ 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 Vidiśā 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 Vidiśā 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=ēyam kārītā ma-
- 2 hārājādhirāja-śrī-**Rāmaguptēna** upadēśāt=pāṇipā-
- 3 trika-Chandraksham⁴-āchāryya-kshamaṇa-śramaṇa-praśishya-āchā-
- 4 ryya-Sarppasēna-kshamaṇa-śishyasya Gōlakyāntyā-satpū(tpu)ttrasya
Chēlla-kshamaṇasy-ēti ||

Inscription on Image B

- 1 Bhagavatō=rhataḥ Pushpadantasya pratim=ēyam kārītā ma-⁵
- 2 hārājādhirāja-śrī-**Rāmaguptēna** upadēśāt=pāṇipātrika-
- 3 Chandrakshama[ṇāchā]ryya⁷-[kshamaṇa]-śramaṇa-praśi[shya]⁸ . . .
- 4 ti⁹

¹ *JIH.*, Vol. XL, pp. 533 ff.

² *The Vākāṅka-Gupta Age*, 1946, p. 164.

³ From impressions.

⁴ The two letters *ksha* 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 *Chandraksham-āchāryya*.

⁸ Only a portion of the letter *sh* is preserved.

⁹ This line is completely effaced.

*Inscription on Image C*¹

- 1 Bhagava[tō]=rha[taḥ]² [Padma]³prabhasya pratim=ēyam
 [kā]ritā mahā[rājā]dhirā[ja]-
 2 śrī-[**Rāmaguptē**]na⁴ u[padēśat=pā]⁵ni-[pātri]
⁶
 3⁷
 4

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) This image of Lord Chandraprabha,⁸ the Arhat, has been caused to be made by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta* under instruction from the mendicant Chēlla, who is the good son of Gōlakyāntī, 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.⁹

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 Raṅgēsvara Mahādēva 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 estampages, one plain, in one whole piece, and the other inked, in two parts. It is on these estampages 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 Lakuliśa. This shows that our sculpture is not

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 *ptē* can be seen on the impression so that the word can be restored as *Rāmaguptēna*.

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 *Āryā* 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 *kīrti*, in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and (2) the use of the *jihvāmūliya* 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 *u*. 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 *gurvāyatanē* 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 *sambōdhanam* (line 12) is worth noting. The rare *ñ* in *viśāṅkam* (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 *bhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārāja* and *rājādhirāja*. The first of these, namely, *bhaṭṭāraka* is associated pretty frequently with the names of the Gupta sovereigns. But the other title which they almost invariably assume is *mahārājādhirāja* instead of what we have in the present record, *viz.*, *mahārāja rājādhirāja*, an exact replica of *mahārāja rājātirāja* 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 Āshāḍha was the intercalary month. The lacuna before *prathamē* can thus be easily filled up with *Āshāḍha-māsē*. We thus find that the month of our date must be Āshāḍha. 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 Sanakānīka 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 *chaturtha* 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 *dasama* 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 *Ārya*, 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 *Gurv-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.*, *īśvara*, 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 Viṣṇu or Śiva either in their own name or in their father's or mother's name.¹ 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 *Gurv-āyatana* which can only mean "the Teachers' Shrine." As none of the *gurus* of the line to which Uditāchārya pertained was then alive, the *Gurv-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 *Gurv-āyatana* was a place where *liṅgas* were installed in the names of all the teachers who preceded Uditāchārya.

But what was this *Gurv-āyatana* like exactly? As has been pointed out above, we have epigraphic evidence to show that in the Kushāṇa times *dēvakulas* or shrines were raised to the memory of the departed kings.² The custom seems to have persisted in India up till the Rajput period. Thus at Maṇḍor, six miles north of Jodhpur, we have a number of structures, commemorative of the various kings of the Rāṭhōḍ family of this place, which look like temples and which are known locally as *dēvlām* (= *dēvakulas*).³ The term *Gurv-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 memorials to the different teachers. It is thus more like the *pratimā-grīha*, described by Bhāsa in his drama *Pratimānāṭaka*, which is "a royal gallery of portrait statues" pertaining to the different princes of the Ikshvāku family.⁴ *Gurv-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 *Gurv-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 *Gurv-āyatanē* 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-pratimā-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 *daśama* or tenth in descent from Kuśika and fourth from Parāśara. While the teachers intervening between Parāśara and Uditāchārya are mentioned and are only two, those between Kuśika 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 Mathanadēva founded an image of *īśvara* (Śiva) called Lachchhukēśvara after his mother Lachchhukā (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 266, line 8). The shrine of Śiva established near a monastery by Nōhalā, queen of the Kalachuri king, Yuvarāja I—Kēyūraravasha, is styled Nōhalēśvara (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 262, line 32). Similarly, the god Nārāyaṇa for whom a temple was built at Dēgāmve by the Kadamba queen Kamalādēvī was called Kamala-Nārāyaṇa (*Bcm. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 569). Kēśava, a general of the Chaulukya king Jayasimha instituted Gōga-Nārāyaṇa for the good of his mother (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 159, lines 7-8). Likewise, Alla, son of Vāillabhaṭṭa, constructed a temple of Viṣṇu called Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 159, line 6).

² Introduction, p. 138; *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 403, lines 1-3; *A.R. ASI.*, 1911-12, p. 124, line 3.

³ *PRAS.*, W. C., 1906-7, p. 31, para 21.

⁴ *Pratimānāṭaka* (Triv. Sk. Series, No. 13), p. 44 ff. (M.R. Kale's edn., Bombay, 1930, pp. 34 ff.).

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 Uditā. Who could this Kuśika be? Years ago I had occasion to point out who Lakulī was. I then drew attention to a passage which is common to both the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and the *Līṅga-Purāṇa*.¹ On the strength of this passage I showed (1) that Lakulī was the last incarnation of Mahēśvara, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyārōhaṇa or Kāyāvātāra which was identical with Kārvāṇ, in the Ḍabhōi 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 Kāṭhiāwāḍ, but is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra in Portugal. The inscription is thus known as the Cintra *praśasti* of the reign of the Chaulukya ruler Sāraṅgadēva, and was last critically edited by G. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. This inscription corroborates practically all that has been said by the *Purāṇas* about Lakulī. 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 *praśasti*, however, tells us one thing more, namely, that these four disciples of Lakulī 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 Lakulī and that the four *Āchāryas* mentioned here were, of course, his descendants. In the Cintra *praśasti* three *Āchāryas* are mentioned, namely, Kārttikarāśi, Vālmikirāśi and Tripurāntaka, the last of whom was a contemporary of Sāraṅgadēva 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 *praśasti* thus gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprang in the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakulī, our present record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulī. It appears that while some descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Sōmanātha in Kāṭhiāwāḍ, those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurā.²

If the teachers mentioned in our inscription belonged to the Lakulīśa sect, it clears up two or three points of our inscription which would otherwise have remained obscure. The first is how the *līṅgas*, 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 *līṅgas*, put up in memory of Upamita and Kapila, also comprise their portraits? I have alluded above to the paper on Lakulīśa 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 Lakulī whether on the door jambs and friezes of shrines, on the outside walls of temples, or in separate sculptures. I have shown that wherever Lakulī appears, he figures as a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic signs, namely, a *lakuṭa* 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 *daśama* 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 Kārvāṇ, the place where this last incarnation of Śiva came off and also passed away. Here we have two *liṅgas* with the portraits of Lakulī sculptured in front. One of these is in the temple of Naklēsvar and the other, in that of Rājarājēśvar, both at Kārvāṇ. If they were mere *liṅgas*, how could they be distinguished one from the other? How could we say that one *liṅga* denoted one *āchārya*, another *liṅga* another *āchārya* and so on? It will thus be seen that the Śiva *liṅga* has been combined with the representation of Lakulī 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 Lakulī was the originator of certain austerities and religious practices called the Pāśupata or Māhēśvara *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 Māhēśvara. But as Lakulī was a worshipper of Śiva, we have to suppose that the two sculptures from Kārvāṇ represent obviously the absorption of Lakulī 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 *liṅgas* set up here but rather *liṅgas* with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them, as is the case with Lakulī in the two images of Kārvāṇ. 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 *yōgins* 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 Lakulī 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 Sāraṅgadēva, during whose time the inscription was engraved. The verse runs thus:

Iha sākshād=Umākāntaḥ śrīmān Gaṇḍa-Bṛihaspatiḥ ।

Āryam=ēnam vinirmāya shashṭham chakrē mahattaram [॥] 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 *prabhu*, “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

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.

² *Martya-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 [i] Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-[rājādhi]rāja-śrī-Samudragupta-sa-
- 2 tputrasya bhaṭṭāraka-ma[hārāja]-[rājādhi]rāja-śrī-Chandragupta-
- 3 sya vija-rājya¹-samvatsa[rē]. kāl-² ānuvarttamāna-sam-
- 4 vatsarē ēka-shashṭhē 60 1³ [pra]thamē śukla-divasē pañ-
- 5 chamyām [i] asyām pūrvvā[yām] [bha]ga[vat-Ku]śikād=daśamēna bhagava-
- 6 t-Parāśarāch=chatur[th]ē[na] [bhagavat-Ka]p[ila]-Vimala-śi-
- 7 shya-śishyēṇa bhagavad[-Upamita]-vimala-śishyēṇa
- 8 āry-Ōdi[tā]chāryyē[ṇa] [sva]-pu[ṇy-ā]pyāyana-nimittam
- 9 gurūṇām cha kirty-a[rtham-Upamitēsva]ra-Kapilēśvarau
- 10 Gurv-āyatanē guru.⁴ pratishṭhāpitō⁵ n=ai-
- 11 tat=khyāty-artham=abhili[kh]ya[tē] [atha] mahēśvarāṇām⁶ vi-
- 12 jñaptih.=kriyatē sambōdhanam cha yathā-kā[lē]n=āchāryyā-
- 13 ṇām parigraham=iti matvā viśaṅka[m] pūjā-pura-
- 14 skāra[m] parigraha-pāripālyam kuryyād=iti vijñaptir=iti [i*]
- 15 Yaś=cha kirty-abhidrōham kuryy[ā]d=yaś=ch=ābhilikhitam=uparyy=adhō
- 16 vā⁷ sa pañchabhir=mah[ā]pātakair=upapātakaiś=cha samyuktas=syāt [i*]
- 17 Jayatī cha bhagavā[n=Daṇḍaḥ]⁸ rudra-daṇḍō=gra-[nā]yakō nitya[m] [i*]

TRANSLATION

Luck!⁹

(Lines 1-5) **In the year 61 according to the era (of the Gupta kings), in the victorious reign of the Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja, the prosperous Chandragupta, the good son of the Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja, the prosperous Samudragupta—the fifth of the bright half of the first (Āshāḍha).**

¹ Read *vijaya-rājya-*.

² This may be restored to *Gupta-nripa-rājya-kāl-*. [See above, p. 236 and note 1.—Ed.].

³ The lacuna may be filled up with *Āshāḍha-māsē-*

⁴ This may perhaps be restored to *guru-pratimā-yutau*.

⁵ The *ō* in *tō* is quite clear at the back of the uninked estampage. Correct the word, however, into *pratishṭhā-pitau*.

⁶ Read *māhēśvarāṇām*.

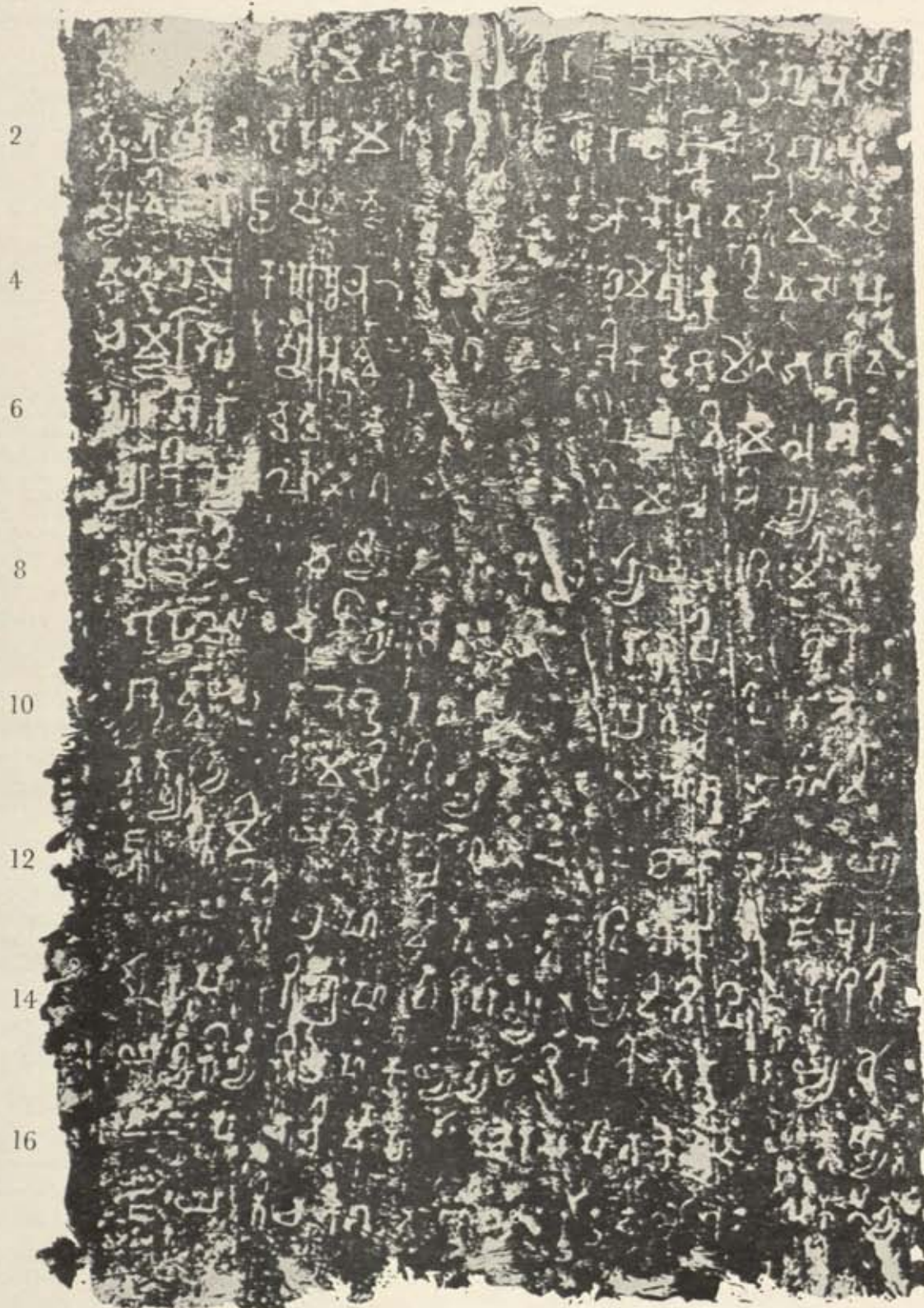
⁷ Read *uchchhindyāt* or some such word after *vā*.

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 Śrīḥ Samvat*, Bühler takes *siddham* 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 *jītam bhagavatā* of the Gaḍhwā inscription of Kumāragupta I (No. 26, below) and the grant of the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugōpavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 51), Fleet takes *siddham* as the remnant of some such phrase as *siddham bhagavatā*, "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 *jītam* as the abbreviated form of *jītam bhagavatā*, we do not find *siddham bhagavatā* as the fuller form of *siddham*. And further what *jītam bhagavatā* means is explained in an amplified form by the verse with which the Tuśām inscription (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 269-70) beigns, to which Fleet himself has drawn our attention. On the other hand, about the commencement of Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* there occurs the following passage which is worthy of note in this connection:

māṅgalika āchāryō mahataḥ śāstr-aughasya maṅgal-ārtham siddha-śabdām=ādītaḥ prayuktē maṅgal-ādini hi śāstrāṇi prathanṭē vira-purushakāṇi cha bhavanti=āyushmat-purushakāṇi ch=ādhyētāraś=cha siddh-ārthā 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

MATHURĀ PILASTER INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: THE YEAR 61



(Lines 5-10) When this was the specification of date,¹ (the *lingas*) Upamitēśvara and Kapilēśvara (comprising the portraits of) the teachers were installed in the Teachers' Shrine. Ārya Uditāchārya, tenth from the *Bhagavat* Kuśika, fourth from the *Bhagavat* Parāśara, a stainless disciple's disciple of the *Bhagavat* Upamita (and) 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 *vārttika*: *siddhē śabd-ārtha-sambandhē* and as the word *siddha* of this *vārttika* is in the locative, it seems that according to Patañjali this word ending in any termination may be used 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 *sidham* or *siddham* and it was so employed by all Hindus—Buddhists, Jains and Brahmanists—sometimes along with auspicious signs like the *svastikā* and others (e.g., in the inscriptions of Junnar caves, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, Pl. XLVIII and ff.). It is true that the word is thus connected with *siddhi* in the sense of 'supernatural 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 *siddham* was being gradually replaced by *siddhih* and even by such a personal word as *siddhi-dātā* as, e.g. in Bengal. The word *siddham* has not, however, completely fallen into disuse and is still generally employed at least in Mahārāshtra.

¹ The word *pūrvā* occurs in many inscriptions and appears to have been used in a sense afterwards lost to it. The expression *asyām pūrvāyām* or *ētasyām pūrvāyām* is met with first in the Kushāṇa, 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 Bühler thus: "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, p. 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 Anāhilapāṭaka, namely, *asyām saṃvatsara-māsa-paksha-vāra-pūrvāyām 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* is has been specified in every one of these Chaulukya records. And it seems not a little suspicious that in all cases where the phrases *asyām* or *ētasyām pūrvāyām* is used, whether in the Kushāṇa 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 Kushāṇa 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 Brāhmī Inscriptions*, etc., where the number standing after *dī* or *divasa* exceeding fifteen which is the maximum number of a *paksha*). What then becomes of the word *pūrvā* occurring in the Kushāṇa 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 *asyām pūrvāyām* 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 *asyām=divasa-pūrvāyām* 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 *divasa* 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 *pūrvā*. 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 Mandasōr inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman (No. 36 below), where, however, Fleet remarks: "supply *praśastih*." This is a curious proposal, because at one time the word *tithau* and at another the word *praśastih* is understood by Fleet after *pūrvā*. The question arises: why not take *pūrvā* 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 *praśastih* after it. That *pūrvā* is in such cases used as a substantive may be seen from the following which occurs in *CII.*, Vol., III (1888), No. 36, pp. 158 ff. *evam rājya-varsha-māsa-dinaiḥ ētasyām pūrvāyām sva-lakṣaṇair=yukta-pūrvāyām*. In this sentence the term *pūrvā* has been used, not once, but twice. We are, therefore, compelled to take both these *pūrvās*, at least the first of them, as a substantive. And further it seems that the word was used probably 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 *pūrvā* had some such meaning appears also from the Nagari inscription (Bhandarkar, *List of Northern Inscriptions* etc., No. 5), where we meet with *asyām Mālava-pūrvāyām*, "when this was the detailed order (of the date) according to the Mālavas". In all other records, therefore, where *asyām* or *ētasyām pūrvāyām* occurs, we had better, for the same reason, translate it "when this was the detailed order (of the date)". [For further discussion on *pūrvā*, see B. Ch. Chhabra, *Sarūpa Bhārati*, pp. 108 ff.; and D. C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 123.—Ed.]

Kapila, for the commemoration¹ 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.

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 *Bhilsa 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 *CASIR.*, 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.

Udayagiri² 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 Bhēlsā,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

¹ *Kīrti* 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 Indrajī, that in certain connection *kīrtana* has the meaning of 'a temple'; e.g. in line 18 of the Khārēpāṭaṇ grant of Anantadēva, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 1016 (*ibid.*, p. 34), which he was then editing. Nevertheless, Fleet lost sight of this meaning when he translated verses in lines 14-17 of the Baroda grant of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa Karka II, dated Śaka 734 (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 163). Soon thereafter R. G. Bhandarkar drew attention to the annotation of Telang and pointed out the error into which Fleet had fallen (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 228 ff.). He was also able to quote three passages from the *Agni-Purāna*, (in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol. I, p. 111), Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, and Sōmēśvara's *Kīrttikaumudī* in which the word evidently has the same meaning. And to these instances Fleet was afterwards himself able to add the 'Dudahi' inscriptions of Dēvalabdhī (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 289), and the Udayagiri inscription, dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1093 (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 185). On the analogy of these authorities, there is every reason for allotting the same meaning, when required, to *kīrtti*, which is a derivative from the same root. But the words *kīrtti* and *kīrtana* 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 *kṛt*, 'to mention, commemorate, praise'. And the particular work referred to may be 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 *kīrtti* has the same meaning, though we have no information now as to 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 Vaidyanātha at 'Deoghar' in the 'Santāl' Parganās in the Bengal Presidency, edited by Rajendralala Mitra in the *JBAS.*, Vol. LII, part i. [See the article on *Kīrti—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 Udyagiri in *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIV, p. 108, and described as "situated in 23° 32' N. and 77° 46' E., between the Betwā and the Besh rivers." See also Atlas, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, New (Revised 1931) edition, pl. 27.

³ The 'Bhilsa or Bhelsa' of maps, etc., spelt Bhilsa in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Vol. VIII, p. 105.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: THE YEAR 82



G. S. Gai

From photograph

Cunningham has named "the Chandragupta Cave."¹ The inscription is on the upper part of a smoothed and countersunk panel, about 2' 4- $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 1' 6" high, over two figures, one of the four-armed god Vishṇu, 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 Mahishāsūramardīnī, 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 Vishṇu.

The **writing** which covers a space of about 2' 3- $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 4- $\frac{3}{4}$ " 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 dimunitively, once in *siddham* and another time in *ekādaśyām*, 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 year² **eighty-two** (400-01 A.D.), and on the **eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha**. The cave appears to be a Vaishṇava one, as on both sides of the entrance there is a figure of standing Vishṇu. 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 Sanakānika³ 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'.⁴

TEXT⁵

- 1 Siddham ॥⁶ **Samvatsarē 80 2 Āshāḍha-māsa śuklē(kl-ai)kādaśyām** [*]
paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhi⁷-śrī-**Chandra**[g]upta-pād-ānuddhyātasya |⁸

¹ CASIR., Vol. X, pp. 49 ff., and Pls. xvi and xvii.

² The wording here is *samvatsarē 80 2* which has to be understood as *samvatsarē dvyaśṭāśītāmē*. The current year is therefore to be understood. If 'eighty-two' had been expired, we should have had *samvatsarēshu* instead of *samvatsarē*.

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.

⁴ B. G., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 64, note 3.

⁵ From inked estampages.

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 mahārāja-**Chhagalaga**-pautrasya mahārāja-**Vishṇudāsa**-putrasya **Sanakāni-**
kasya mahār[āja] . . . **lasy**¹=āyam dēya-dharmah²

TRANSLATION

Luck ! In the year 80 2, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month **Āshāḍha**, (is made) this, the religious benefaction³ of the **Sanakānika**,⁴ the *Mahārāja* . . . dhala (?), the son's son of the *Mahārāja Chhagalaga*; (and) the son of the *Mahārāja Vishṇudāsa*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, 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 Kumāragupta, Nos. 17 and 26, are on a stone that was discovered in 1871-72 by Rājā Śiva Prasād, 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.

Gaḍhwā, which means literally 'a fort,' is the name of several villages in the Arail and Bārā Pargaṇās in the Karchhanā Tahsīl or Sub-Division of the Allahābād District, Uttar Pradesh. The particular Gaḍhwā, where these inscriptions were found, is in the Bārā Pargaṇā, eight miles to the west by south from Bārā, 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- $\frac{1}{2}$ ' broad by 4' thick and 2' 6- $\frac{1}{2}$ ' 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 *lasya*, which is partially preserved, is taken by Fleet as *dha*. But this *dha* is quite unlike *dha* in *Āshāḍha* in line 1. The original name seems to have consisted of four letters.

² Fleet takes this symbol as double *daṇḍa*. But this is clearly one horizontal stroke between the two dots of the *visarga* of *-dharmmah*.

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 Indraji, 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 benefaction' (*Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. I, p. 235).

⁴ See p. 243 above, note 3.

GADHWĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: THE YEAR 88



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- $\frac{1}{2}$ " 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. I). 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 $\frac{5}{16}$ ". 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(ndh)am*, 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 *saṁnyukta*, lines 8 and 9, and *-saṁvvatsarē*, 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 *Mahārājādhirāja*, 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 *dināras* as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a *sattra*, or charitable almshouse, apparently by a woman who was the wife of Mātridāsa, Chief of House-holders and an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra. The contribution was made over to a Brāhmaṇa whose name is lost but who bore the surname of Sadāsattra-sāmānya, 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 [saṁvvatsarē asyām]
- 3 divasa-pūrvvāyām
- 4 ka-Mātridāsa-pu[t]ra [puny-ā]-
- 5 pyāyan-ārtthaṁ rachi[ta] [sa]-
- 6 dāsat[t*]ra-sāmānya(nya)-brāhma[ṇa]
- 7 dinārair=ddaśabhiḥ 10 [11]
- 8 Yaś=ch=ainam dharmma-skanda(ndha)m [vyuchchhindyāt=sā pañcha-mahā
pātakaiḥ saṁ]-
- 9 yyukta[h*] syād=iti [11]

Second Part

- 10 Paramabhāgavata-mahā[rājādhirāja-śrī-**Chandragupta-rā**]-
- 11 jya-**saṁvvatsarē 80 8**
- 12 pūrvvāyām **Pāṭā(ṭa)liput[t]rē**
. [grī]-

- 13 hasthasya bhāryyā y
 14 =ātma-puṇy-ōpachay-[ārttham]
 15 sadā-sattra-sāmānya-b[rāhmaṇa]
 16 dīnārāḥ daśa 10 [॥] [Yaś=ch=ainam]
 17 dharmma-skanda(ndha)m vyuchchhindyā[t=sa] pañcha-mahāpātakaiḥ saṃyuktaḥ
 syād=iti [॥]

TRANSLATION

First Part

(Lines 1-3) In the year of the (dynastic) rule¹ of the prosperous **Chandragupta** the *Mahārājādhirāja*, an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), when this was the specification of the date,

(Lines 3-7) . . . Mātridāsa, the Chief (of the Householders)² .. for the purpose of

¹ Fleet proposes to correct *rājya-saṃvatsarē* into *rājyē saṃvatsarē*, because the original, if it is accepted as it stands, would have to be translated "in the year eighty-eight of the reign of Chandragupta." But the numerals, both here and elsewhere, says he, show that the expression cannot possibly refer to regnal years. "This method of expression," he adds, "was a very common one in early times; and is due, of course, to the fact that the early years of most eras were regnal years, and that, after the death of the founder of each era, the expression was continued mechanically in the case of his successors." But this emendation of reading is altogether unnecessary, and consequently the explanation in support of it, unconvincing. The word *rājya* in *rājya-saṃvatsarē* may be compared to that in *Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau* occurring in the grants of the kings belonging to the Nṛipatiparivṛājaka family, and the whole expression had better be translated by "in the year of the (dynastic) rule of Chandragupta, etc." This may be compared to *Gupt-ānvayānām nṛipa-sattamānām rājyē kulasy=ābhivardhamānē* occurring in verse 1 of Udayagiri Cave Inscription, the year 106 (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 61). What this means is that the year 88 is of the Gupta sovereignty and pertains to Chandragupta II inasmuch as it fell in his reign. The phrase *rājya-saṃvatsarē* does not occur for the first time in this inscription, or, for the matter of that, in any other Gupta record. It is met with also in the Kushāṇa period; e.g., in *Mahārājasya Kaṇishkasya rājya-saṃvatsarē navamē* (No. 22 of Lüders' List), in *shkasya rājya-saṃvatsarē* 20 8 (No. 33 of *ibid.*) and in *Mahārājasya dēvaputrasya Huviṣkasya rājya-saṃvatsarē* 50 (No. 51 of *ibid.*). A fuller form of the same expression is *abhivardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṃvatsarē* which occurs in line 6 of the Bilsad Pillar inscription of Kumāragupta, No. 16 below, line 3 of the Indor plate of Skandagupta, No. 30 below, and line 1 of the Gaḍhwā inscription of the year 148 (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 66). Sometimes the word *rājya* is dropped, and simply *saṃvatsarē* or its equivalent *varshē* is used, e.g., *rājñō Kshatrapasya svāmi-Rudrasihasya [va]rshē [tri]y-uttara-satē* 100 3 in lines 2-3 of the Guṇḍa inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 235) or *rājñō Mahākshatrapasya* *Rudradāmnō varshē dvisaptatitamē* 70 2 in line 4 of the celebrated Junāgaḍh rock inscription (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 42). This last record was edited by F. Kielhorn who has rendered it by "in the seventy-second—72nd—year of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman" but in the introductory part of his paper on the same remarks as follows: "the meaning clearly is that it took place during the reign of Rudradāman on the given day in the 72nd year of the era used by Rudradāman (and the Western Kshatrapas generally)" (*ibid.*, p. 41). It had better be translated by "in the seventy-second—72nd—year (of the dynastic rule) of the king, the Mahākshatrapa, Rudradāman."

² If *pra* following Mātridāsa in the first part of the Text is restored to *prathama*, [*gri*]hasthasya of the second part may be taken to be the second component of the name. The whole word may thus be restored to *prathama-grihastha*, which seems to be equivalent to *prathama-kulika* of the Dāmōdarpur plates edited below (Nos. 22, 24, 41 and 47). *Grihastha* appears to be identical with *Grihapati*, a term frequently met with in cave inscriptions. We thus hear of Gahapati-Negama (Lüder' List, Nos. 1001, 1127 and 1153), Gahapati-Sethi (*ibid.*, Nos. 1056, 1073 and 1075), and Gahapati-Sathavaha (*ibid.*, No. 1062). As one of these Grihapatis is a Naigama, one a Śrēshṭhin and one a Sārthavāha, this is apt to create the impression that Grihapatis represented the mercantile class only. But we have also an instance of a Gahapati (Grihapati) called Nanda (Nanda) who is mentioned as a son of Usabhaṇaka (Rishabha), who is, however, described not only as Kuḍubika (=Kuṭumbika=Grihapati) but also as Hālakiya (*ibid.*, No. 1121). As *Hālakiya* is the same as *Hālaka*, 'a ploughman, an agriculturist,' it is quite clear that Nanda, though a Grihapati, belonged to the cultivators' class. Besides, it is worthy of note that *Kuṭumbika* is identical with *Grihapati* as both the words signify 'a householder.' It thus seems that in ancient times the higher middle class was composed of agriculturists and mercantile people. In later times, the term *grihapati* was forgotten and *kuṭumbin* was alone in use. And the latter denoted exclusively the cultivating caste, and is, no doubt, traceable in the Marāṭhi word *Kuṃbī* or *Kuṃbī* and the Gujarati *Kaṃbī*.

augmenting (her own spiritual merit) ... organised ... a Brāhmaṇa of the township of Sadāsattra¹ ... by ten **dināras** (or in figures) 10.

(Lines 8-9) And whosoever (breaks up) this bit of charity² shall become infected (with the Five Great Sins).

Second Part

(Lines 10-12) In the **year 80 8**, 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) ... **Pāṭaliputra** ... the wife of (the chief of) the Householders ... (for the purpose) of augmenting (her) own spiritual merit ... a Brāhmaṇa of the township of Sadāsattra ... 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. 488 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-Valabhī-vinirggata-tach-Chāturvidya-sāmānya-Vātsyāyana-sagōtra*, in lines 44-45 of the Baroda plates of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa prince Karka Suvarṇavarsha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160), *Śrī-Varivai-vāstavya-tat-Traividya-sāmānya-Kuṇḍina-sagōtra*, in the Bagumrā plates of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa prince Kṛishṇarāja Akālavarsha (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 69), *Girinagara-vinirggata-Śraddhik-āgrahāra-vāstavya-tach-Chāturvidya-sāmānya-Shrāvāyana-sagōtra*, in line 19 of the Nausārī plates of the Gurjara Jayabhāṭa (III) (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 78), and so forth. *Traividya* and *Chāturvidya* of these records have been taken to stand for Trivēdī and Chaturvēdī 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.*, *Bhāradvāja-gōtra-sāmānya-charaṇa*, *Kāśyapa-gōtra-sāmānya-charaṇa*, etc., specified in lines 25-26 of some Brāhmaṇa grantees named in the Muḍiyanūr plates of the Bāṇa 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 *Kaliṅganagara-sāmānyāya Gārggīya-sagōtrāya*, occurring in line 10 of the Parlā-Kimeḍī plates of the Gaṅga Indravarman Rājasimha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 134). Here also it is quite possible to argue that Kaliṅganagara 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 *Umbarakhēḍa-kulanāmadhēyāyā* which occurs in the Haidarabad plates of Chalukya Pulakēśin II and to which we drew attention in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 72. Here Umbarakhēḍa is unquestionably the name of a village, which is taken as a family name of the grantee; in other words, *kulanāmadhēya* 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. Sadāsattra 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 *sattra*, 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 *Sadāsattra*. If any instances of such significant names are required, they are furnished by Pushkara so called because it contains (three) lakes (*pushkara*) as well as by Anūpa and Jāṅgala so named because they were originally or are even now watery or marshy (*anūpa*) and arid and unfertile (*jaṅgala*) countries.

² It is somewhat difficult to understand what *dharmā-skandha* signifies. *Skandha* 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-skandha* 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.

Sāñchī, or **Sāchī**, is a village about twelve miles to the north-east of Diwāngañj, the chief town of the Diwāngañj Tashil or Sub-Division of Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh. It is sometimes called Sāñchī-Kāñākhēḍā, 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- $\frac{1}{4}$ " 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 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong to the western variety of the Gupta alphabet and approximate most closely to, in the present volume, those of the Mandasōr 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 *upadhmaniya*, in conjunction with *p*, in *yaśas-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 **Amrakārdava** or **Āmrakārdava**, son of Undāna, of a village called **Īśvaravāsaka**, 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 *anujivin* 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 Īśvaravāsaka 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

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

yet been identified. What Kākanādabōṭa exactly means or denotes we do not know. Nevertheless a shrewd guess may be hazarded. It is worthy of note that Kākanāva and other Prākṛit forms of Kākanāda occur in five inscriptions connected with Sāñchī and Andhēr Stūpas. Two of these, associated with Sāñchī Stūpa No. I, utter an imprecation against any one who takes away or causes to be taken away an arch (*tōraṇa*), railing (*vēdikā*) or stonework (*selakama*) from 'this Kākanāva' and causes it to be transferred to another *āchāriya-kula* (Lüders' *List* Nos. 340 and 350). Bühler, on the suggestion of Jacobi, translates the term *āchāriya-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 Sāñchī 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 Sāñchī Stūpa No. I which, according to Bühler, runs: *Kā[kaṇā]yē bhagavatō pamāṇa-laṭhi* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 99, No. 21). 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 *Sapurisasa Gōtīputasa Kāknāda-Pabhāsanasa Kōḍiṇa-gōtasa* (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 31) and Lüders correctly renders it by "(Relics) of the saint (*sapurisa*) Gotiputa (*Gauṭīputra*) of the Koḍiṇa (*Kauṇḍīnya*) gōtra (*gota*) who illumined (? *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 Sāñchī Stūpa No. II. According to Cunningham it reads: *Kākanava-pābhāsasāhana dānam* (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 288, No. 2); and Lüders translates it by "Gift of The Pābhāsasāhas of Kākanava" (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 *pābhāsasāhana* is a mistake for *pabhāsanakāna* and further infer that Pabhāsana or Pabhāsanaka 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 Sāñchī Stūpa No. I.

What then does Kākanādabōṭa mean? It is worthy of note that the whole expression *Kākanādabōṭa-śrī-mahāvihārē* occurs in the Sāñchī stone inscription¹ of the year 131, which also is engraved on a railing of and is connected with Sāñchī Stūpa No. I. In this connection Fleet says: "It is not quite certain what meaning is to be allotted to *bōṭa* in this name; but it is probably another form of *pōṭa*, 'the foundation of a house.'" This does not help us at all in understanding the term Kākanādabōṭa. It is true that in a footnote Fleet remarks further that *bōṭa* occurs again as part of a proper name in Raṅkabōṭa, in line 8 of the Khoh Copper-plate inscription² of Mahārāja Jayanātha and *vōṭa* as territorial name, in line 6 of the Khoh Copper-plate inscription³ of Mahārāja Sarvanātha. We have also Bōṭaka, as a proper name, in a

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 62, p. 261.

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 *Kākanādabōṭa* denoted a particular place; in fact, it denoted the site of the *Āchārya-kula* to which pertained *Sāñchī Stūpa* No. I. *Kākanādabōṭa* must therefore have signified the *bōṭa* of this site, or of *Kākanāda* as it was then called. Now, the term *bōṭa* has been preserved, so far as we know, in *Marāṭhī* and *Hindī*, and means 'a finger; a finger's breadth.' If this sense is really intended here, *Kākanādabōṭa* seems to have been so called, because it looked like a finger of the *Kākanāda* locality.

TEXT

- 1 [Siddham]¹ **Kā[kanā]²dabōṭa**-śrī-mahāvihārē śīla-samādhi-prajñā-guṇa-bhāvit-
ēndri[y]āya parama-puṇya-
- 2 kshē³ . . tāya chatur-ddig-abhyāgatāya śramaṇa-puṅgav-āvasathāy = āryyasaṅghāya
mahārājādhi-
- 3 rā[ja-śrī]-**Chandragupta**-pāda-prasād-āpyāyita-jivita-sādhanāḥ anujīvi-satpuru-
sha-sadbhāva-
- 4 vṛi . .⁴ jagati prakhyāpayan anēka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya-yaśas-patākaḥ **Sukuli-**
dēśa-Na-
- 5 **shṭī** . . . vāstavyaḥ Undāna-putr-**Āmrakārddevō** Maja-Śarabhaṅg-Āmrarāta-
rājakula-mūlya-kri-
- 6 tam dē . . r.⁵ **Īśvaravāsakaṁ** pañcha-maṇḍalyā⁶ praṇipatyā dadāti pañcha-
viṁśatiś = cha⁷ dīnā-
- 7 rān ḥ⁸ [|| *] yad-arddhēna mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Chandraguptasya**
Dēvarāja iti pri-
- 8 ya-nā[ma] [y = ē]tasya⁹ sarvva-guṇa-saṁpattayē yāvach = chandr-ādityau
tāvat = pañcha bhikshavō bhūmja-
- 9 tām ra[tna*]-[gṛihē] cha dipakō jvalatu [| *] mama ch-āpar-ārdhāt = pañch =
aiva bhikshavō bhūmjatām ratna-gṛihē cha
- 10 dipaka i[ti] [| *] [Ta]d = ētat-pravṛittam ya uchchhindyāt = sa gō-brahma-hatyayā
saṁyuktō bhavēt = pañchabhiś = ch = āna-
- 11 ntaryyair = iti [| *] **Sam**¹⁰ **90 3 Bhādrapada-di**¹¹ **4**

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-7) Luck ! To the venerable (Buddhist) confraternity, in the prosperous Great Convent of **Kākanādabōṭa**, 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 *Sāñchī* 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 *kshē*; and the whole can be safely restored to *parama-puṇya-kshētra-matāya* which also makes good sense, as may be seen from the translation.

⁴ This may be restored to *vṛittakam*.

⁵ This may be restored to *dēyadharmam*.

⁶ Fleet corrects it into *pañcha-maṇḍalyā[m*]*, which is wrong.

⁷ Read *-viṁśatim cha*.

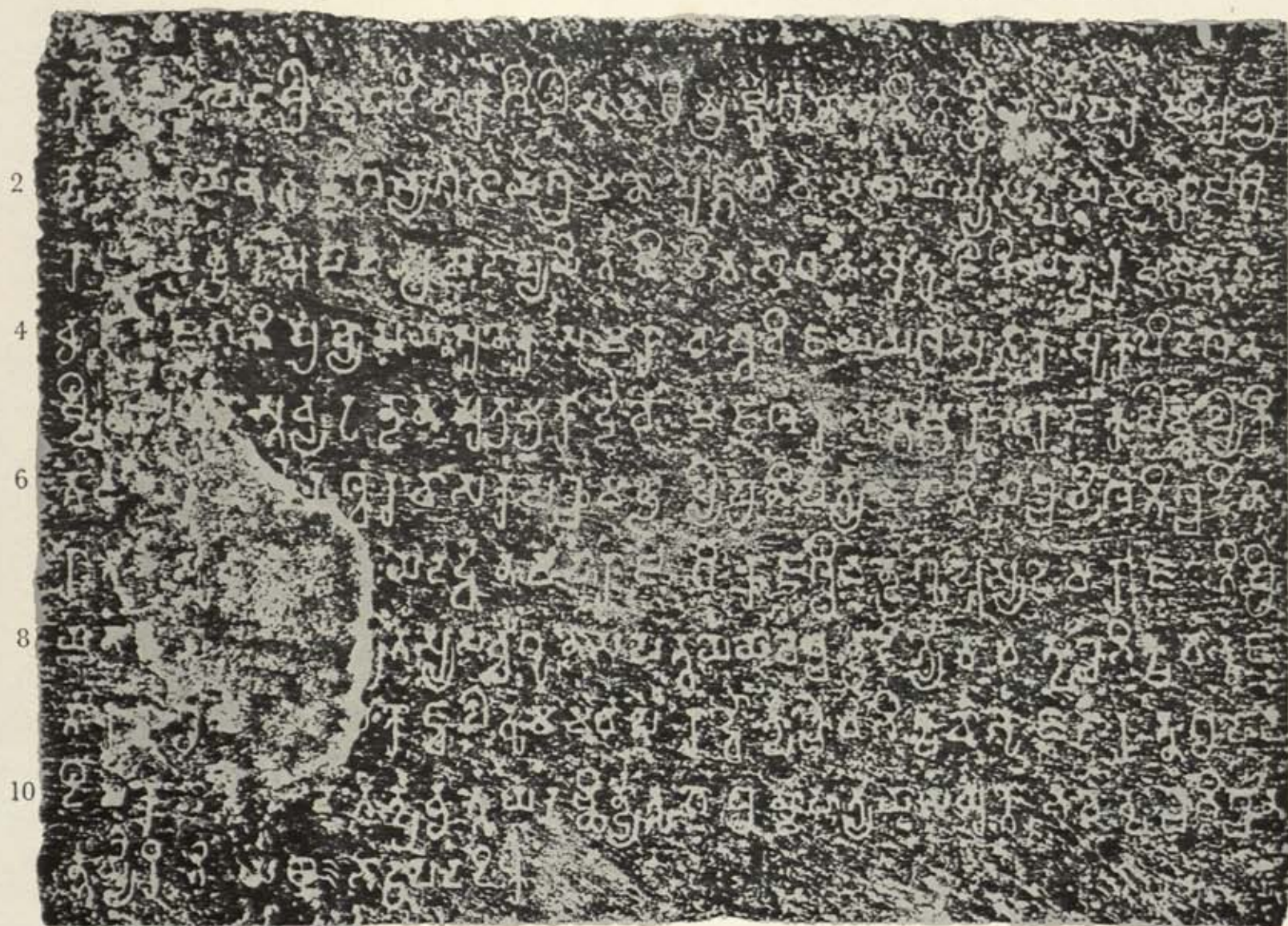
⁸ The lacuna may be filled up with *akshaya-nivitaḥ*.

⁹ We might supply the lacuna with *priya-nāmadhēyam bhavaty = ētasya*.

¹⁰ See p. 246 above, note 1.

¹¹ That is, *dīnē* or *divasē*. As *dī* 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 *tithi*, which may coincide with, more or less may differ from, the solar day and week day.

SĀNCHĪ 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;¹ 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),² Āmrakārdava, son of Undāna whose means of subsistence has been augmented through the favour of the feet of the Mahārājādhirāja, 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) Nashṭī . . . in the Sukuli country³—gives Īsvaravāsaka . . . purchased with the price of the palaces⁴ Maja, Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta; and twenty-five *dināras* (as a permanent endowment);⁵

(Lines 7-9) with the (first) half of which,⁶ let five (Buddhist) mendicants be fed, and let a lamp burn in the jewel house,⁷ as long as the moon and the sun (endure), for the attainment

¹ The Pāli form of *punya-kshētra* is *puñña-kkhettaṃ* which is thus explained by Childers in *A Dictionary of the Pāli 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, "*pañcha-maṇḍali* is evidently the same as the *Pañchāit*, *Pañchāyat*, or *Pañch*, 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) *pāñchālī* or *Pāñchālīka* in Nepal 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) *pañchakula* in Gujarat and Rajasthan inscriptions (D.R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 565, 587 and 631); from which is derived the word *pañchōli* prevalent still in Rajasthan and signifying 'a member of the Panch,' and of which the abbreviated form *pañcha*^o is found prefixed to the names of some people, though Kielhorn feels inclined to take it as "equivalent to *pañchakalpīn* (*pañchōli*) 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 *pañchamaṇḍalī* 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 *pañcha-maṇḍalyā* which Fleet wrongly corrects into *pañcha-maṇḍalyā[m*]*; secondly, idiom requires that we should have *pañcha-maṇḍalīm praṇīpatya* instead of *pañcha-maṇḍalyām praṇīpatya* as Fleet has it, if Āmrakārdava really prostrated himself before the Panch; and, thirdly, the verb *dadāti* in line 6 goes with *Āryasaṅghāya* 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 *pañcha-maṇḍalyā[m*]*, which, again, is not in the dative but locative. What then could be the meaning of *pañcha-maṇḍalyā* here? In this connection our attention was drawn many years ago by Rev. Mr. Siddhartha to the word *pañcha-patīṭhitam* which is explained in Childers' Dictionary as follows: "Setting down or fixing of five things. . . *Pañchapatīṭhitena vandati*, to salute with the five rests, *viz.*, to prostrate oneself before a superior so completely that the forehead, elbows, waist, knees, and feet rest on the ground. . ." *Pañcha-maṇḍalyā praṇīpatya* 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, *rāṣṭra* and *vishaya*. 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 *vāstavya* following it shows.

⁴ *Mūlya* means 'price, worth, a sum of money given as payment.' It cannot be equivalent to *akshaya-nivi*, as Fleet takes it; because *akshaya-nivi* means 'a permanent endowment,' if *mūlya* at all has that sense. Again, Fleet translates *Maja-Śarabhaṅg-Āmrarāta-rājakula* by "Maja, Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta of the royal household" which yields no good sense at all. *Rājakula* must here be taken in the sense of 'a palace.' Maja, Śarabhaṅga and Āmrarāta thus seem to be the names of the palaces which were occupied by Chandragupta II while he was encamped at Vidiśā during his expedition of conquest.

⁵ *Akshaya-nivitaḥ* may be supplied on the analogy of line 3 of the Sānchī inscription of the year 131 referred to on p. 249, note 1 above.

⁶ This must refer to the income realised from Īsvaravāsaka after paying off the state revenue. This income must be equal to the interest on twentyfive *dināras*, as the object served by both was exactly identical.

⁷ "This is the literal meaning of *ratna-griha*," says Fleet. "It seems to denote the *Stūpa* itself, as the abode of the three *ratnas* or 'jewels or precious things,' *viz.*, (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 *ratnas* and that consequently *ratna-griha* can reasonably denote the shrine of the Buddha. In fact, the term *ratna* was employed to denote not only the Buddha but also Bōdhisattvas. See, e.g., the passage where the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* explains
(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 *Brāhmaṇa*³ and with the five sins that cause immediate retribution.⁴

(Line 11) (In) the **year 90 3**, (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 *JBAS.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. iii to cxix, was in 1871 reprinted, with the addition of Plates, as *CASIR.*, 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 ⅜" to ¾". 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

the phrase *Mahā-ratna-pratimaṇḍita* (*SBE.*, Vol. XXI, p. 66). *Ratnagriha* is met with once again in a Mathurā Buddhist inscription, where we have *ratnagriha-sarva-budha-pujāya*, 'Jewel-house for the worship of all Buddhas' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 246., note; Lüders' *List*, No. 125), showing that here we had a shrine comprising images of all Buddhas. We have a similar expression in *ratnatraya-bhadra-dhāma* in a Kārkaḷa Jaina inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 131, line 7), meaning "the blessed abode of the three Jewels" who in this particular case are Ara, Malli and Muni-Suvrata mentioned in line 20 (*ibid.*, p. 132).

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 *Prabhāvati-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 *Samudragupta*. This was pointed out by us long ago in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 160-61.

² Obviously *Āmrakārdava* 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 *Pañcha ānantarya* is the same as the Pāli *Pañchānantariya-kammam* which is thus explained by Childers: "Five sins that bring with them immediate retribution. . . They are the six *Abhiṭhānas* minus the last or last but one." And *Abhiṭhāna* 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

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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 (*parigrihīta*), 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.

TEXT¹

- 1 . . . [Sarvva-rāj-ōchhēttuḥ prithiv]y[ām = apratiratha]-
- 2 [sya chatur-udadhi-sali]l-āsvādita-ya[śasō Dha]-
- 3 [nada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-sa]masya Kṛitānta-[paraśōḥ]
- 4 [nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō]-hiraṇya-kōṭi-prada[sya chir-ō]-
- 5 [tsann-āśvamēdh-āharttur = mma]hārāja-śrī-**Gupta**-prapau[t]r[asya]
- 6 [mahārāja-śrī-**Ghaṭōtka**]**cha**-pautrasya mahārājādhir[āja]-
- 7 [śrī-**Chandragupta**-pu]trasya Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya mahā[dē]-
- 8 [vyām **Kumāra**]d[ē]vyām = utpannasya mahārājādhirā-
- 9 [ja-śrī-**Sa**]**mudraguptasya** putrēṇa tat-parigri-
- 10 [hī]t[ē]na mahādēv[y]ām **Dat**[t]adēv[y]ām = ut[pan[n]ē-
- 11 [na² paramabhāgavatēna mahārājādhirāja-śrī]-
- 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),³

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 Bhitari 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 Śarībhū (Śiva) in line 5 of No. 11, below; to Svāmi-Mahāsēna (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 Dadhikarṇa, lord of serpents, in line 3 of No. 18, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 390; to the Buddha, in line 6 of Sāñchī Stone inscription (CII., Vol. III, 1888, No. 62) and to Jinēndra, in line 1 of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin 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 Khōh plates of the Mahārāja Jayanātha 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 Besnagar pillar inscription, the Greek ambassador (*Yōnadūta*), Hēliōdōra (Heliodoros), calls himself *Bhāgavata* in connection with the erection of the pillar by him as a *Garuḍa-dhvaja* 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 Khōh 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 *Mahābhāshya*, Verse 2.76, speaks of *Śiva-bhāgavatas* in the sense of 'devotees of Śiva, the bhagavat.' As regards *Parama-Bhāgavata*, it is a technical sectarian title, analogous to *Parama-Māhēśvara* (e.g., No. 38 of CII., Vol. III, 1888), *Parama-Brahmanya* (e.g., line 39 of the grant of

(Lines 9-10) who is the son of [the prosperous **Samudragupta**, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, accepted by him (as his successor)]¹ (and) born of *Mahādēvī Dattadēvī*;

(Lines 1-5) [Samudragupta], who was the exterminator of all kings;² 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);³ who was the giver of [many] crores of [lawfully acquired cows] and gold; [who was the performer of the *āsvamēdha* sacrifice, that had long decayed]:⁴

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 *Param-Āditya-bhakta* (e.g., in line 10 of No. 38 of *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888); and *Parama-Bhagavati-bhakta* (e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18, lines 3 and 5-6); also *Atyanta-Māhēśvara* and *Atyanta-Svāmi-Mahābhairava-bhakta*, e.g., Chammak Copper-plate inscription of Pravarasēna II, lines 9 and 4 (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 55); and *Atyanta-Bhagavadbhakta*, in No. 40 below, line 6, and Ēraṇ Stone inscription of Tōramāṇa, line 4 (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 36). In the mediaeval period the epithet *Parama-Vaiṣṇava* is also met with (e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17, line 1). Whether it is exactly identical with *Parama-Bhāgavata* is, however, not quite clear. The same is the case with *Parama-Pāśupata* which also occurs in epigraphic records (e.g., line 8 of the Verawal inscription of Arjunadēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 242), like *Parama-Māhēśvara*. These two epithets may, however, stand for two different sects of Śaivism. Similarly, in the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara of the Kara family, while this king is called *Parama-Saugata*, his own father Śivakara is styled *Parama-Tāthāgata* (*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 Piṭhāpuram inscription, Mallapadēva describes himself as both *Parama-Bhāgavata* and *Parama-Brahmanya* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 237, lines 82-83); similarly, Vaidyadēva of Prāgyyōtisha calls himself both *Parama-Māhēśvara* and *Parama-Vaiṣṇava* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 353, line 47).

¹ The word *parigrihita* 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 *yuvarāja* was prevalent. Thus, at Basārḥ, many seals have been recovered of the time of Chandragupta II, which relate to the offices connected with the administration of the *yuvarāja* (*ASI., 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 *yuvarāja* unless he was formally anointed. The *yuvarāja* had the status of a *Mahārāja* as in the case of Gōvindagupta, son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvasvāminī (*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, Kāchagupta (or Rāmagupta), stood for some time in the way of his ascending the Gupta throne after the demise of their father.

² The epithet, *sarva-rāj-ōchchētri*, occurs on the reverse of some gold coins, hitherto always classed in the Imperial Gupta series (Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, 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 Kācha, as Fleet rightly points out, "in the place where the king's name usually stands on coins," with the marginal legend *Kāchō gām=avajitya divaṁ karmabhir=uttamair=jayati*, "Kācha, 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 Kācha. We have also pointed out (Introduction, pp. 50-51) that Kācha must be the original and correct form of Rāma(-gupta), the elder brother of Chandragupta II, who usurped the Gupta throne but who was ultimately ousted by the latter. It is true that *kācha* ordinarily signifies 'glass, crystal; the string of the scale of a balance; alkaline salt, black salt; wax; etc.' as Fleet tells us, but he also says that Kācha was used as an individual name and has actually been mentioned as the name of two rulers, Kācha I and Kācha II, in one of the inscriptions in the Ajaṅṭā caves (*ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 129, lines 4 and 6; *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 27, note 4).

³ *Kṛitānta-paraśu* 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. lxxii, 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 *āsvamēdha*-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 (Intro., pp. 37-38). With it we have to compare the legend *Āsvamēdha-parākramaḥ* on some of the gold coins of Samudragupta. Its interpretation has also been discussed above (Intro., p. 37).

(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] **Ghaṭōtkacha**, [the *Mahārāja*]; (and) the son of [the prosperous **Chandragupta (I)**], the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the daughter's son of the Lichchhavi; (and) born of the *Mahādēvi* 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. Hultsch 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 Vidiśā 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 $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". 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 *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmāniya* in °*jñah* = *kaviḥ* = *Pāṭali*°, 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 **Vīrasēna**, surnamed **Śāba** and pertaining to the Kutsa *gōtra*, who was one of the ministers of Chandragupta II.

TEXT¹

[Metre: *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*) throughout]

1 Siddham² [11*] [Ya]d=a[m]tarjyōtir=arkk-ābham=u[r]vvy[ām]- — — — — —³[1*]
— — — — —⁴vyāpi Chandragu[pt-ākhyam]=adbhutam [11*] 1

¹ From inked estampages.

² In the original this word stands in the margin, opposite the commencement of line 3.

³ This has probably to be restored to [= *asulabham nṛishu**].

⁴ The gap may perhaps be filled up with [*tat=sudhī hṛidaya**].

- 2 Vikram-āvakra-ya-kṛitā dāsyā-nyagbhūta-[pā]rtthiv[ā] [1*] — — — m=anu¹saṁraktā dharmma — — — — —² [11*] 2
- 3 Tasya rājādhirāj-arshēr=achin[t*]yō — — — [rmma]ṇah³ [1*] anvaya-prāpta-sāchivyō vyā — — —⁴[n*]dh[i*]-v[i*]grah[ē] [11*] 3
- 4 Kautsaś=Śāba iti khyātō Virasēnah kul-ākhyayā [1*] śabd-ārttha-nyāya-lōkajñah[•] =kaviḥ=Pāṭaliputrakah [11*] 4
- 5 Kṛitsna-pṛithvī-jay-ārtthēna rājñ=aiv=ēha sah=āgataḥ [1*] bhaktyā bhagavataś =Śambhōr=gguhām=ētām=akāraya[t] [11*] [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 appellation 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), (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 kings⁷ of inconceivable (but magnanimous) action, and has been entrusted with the Office of Peace and War, is **Virasēna**, of the Kutsa *gōtra*,

¹ Fleet reads this as *māna*, but it seems more like *m=anu*^o. May be restored to [pṛithvī ya*]m=anusamraktā.

² May perhaps be filled up with [-sannaya-pālitā].

³ Bühler restores it to *ō(jjvala)-* or *ō(dhata)-(ka)rmmaṇah*. Better to restore it to *ō(dāra)-(ka)rmmaṇah*.

⁴ Fleet restores it to *vyāpṛita-sandhivigrahaḥ*, which makes no sense and which, as Bühler says, "introduces a metrical mistake." He, therefore, proposes Jacobi's restoration: *vyāpṛitaḥ sādihivigrahaḥ*. 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 *vyā* is completely gone, and what is preserved of the intermediate one is more like *ṣri* than like *pri*. Perhaps this line is to be restored to [vyāṣṛiṣṭas=sādihivigrahe].

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 *vikrama*, and the word *arka* has already been used in the preceding verse. They together make *Vikramārka* which is equivalent to *Vikramāditya*, 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 *ṛishi*. 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 *antarjyōtir* in the very first verse. As regards *rājādhirāja*, it was a title of paramount sovereignty, occurring, as was pointed out by Fleet, in its Prākṛit form i.e., *rajadhiraja*, 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, has been read as *Rajatiraja* by Whitehead in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, pp. 98 ff. and pp. 146 ff.). *Rajatiraja* is obviously identical with *Rājātirāja* occurring in the sense of paramount sovereign but coupled also with *Mahārāja* in some inscriptions of the earlier Great Kushāṇas (Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 56, 60, 62, 72, etc.). By the early Gupta period, these conjoint titles seem to have been supplanted by the single *Mahārājādhirāja*, except in No. 6 above, where, as pointed out before, the name of Chandragupta is coupled with the two titles: *Mahārāja* and *Rājādhirāja*, exactly like *Mahārāja Rājātirāja* of the Kushāṇa kings. But this is obviously due to the fact that the record was put up at Mathurā where the influence of the Kushāṇa chancellery still persisted. From the Gupta period onwards *Rājādhirāja* 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 Mandasōr inscription of Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 35) and in the derivative *rājādhirājya*, in line 24 of the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta, No. 28 below, in line 2 of which we also have, again for metrical reasons, another variety of the title, namely *Rājarājādhirāja*.

UDAYAGIRI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II



G. S. Gai

From photograph

known by the family-name of Śāba, conversant with Grammar, Polity, Logic and Popular Usage and Custom, a poet, an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra.¹

(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 Princep 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 Indrajī. 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 **Memharauli**—an evident corruption of **Mihirapurī**,—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 Pithōrā within the limits of this village.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2' 9-½" broad by 10-½" 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 *sy* of the opening word *yasyō*, and in the *r* of

¹ Fleet's translation of verse 4 is hopelessly bad. That given by Bühler is much better. *Sādhivigraha*, I take in the sense of *Sādhivigrah-ādihikarāṇa*° 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 *Vārtā*, which is explained by Kauṭalya thus:

Kṛishī-pāśupālyē vaṇijyā cha vārtā |
dhānya-pāśu-hiranya-kuṣya-vishṭi-pradānād=
aupakārikī (Arthasāstra, I. 4. 1-2),

“Agriculture, 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 *lōk-āchāra*, ‘Popular Usage and Custom’, in other words, ‘Law’, with which it was absolutely necessary for a minister to be conversant. As regards *śabd-ārtha*° it is best to split it up into *Śabda*, ‘Grammar,’ and *Artha*, ‘Polity’ as Bühler has done, though Kielhorn has taken it in the sense of “the science of words and their meanings, *i.e.*, grammar” in line 13 of the Junāgaḍh 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 *śabd-ārtha-nyāya-lōkajñāḥ* as denoting one particular science as it can bear that meaning. And here *Śabda* by itself can denote *Śabda-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 $\frac{5}{16}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 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 Bilsaḍ 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 *ś*, in *prāṅśu*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *śattru*, line 1; and (3) the very unusual omission of the second *t*, which is formative and not due to the preceding *r*, in *mūrtyā* for *mūrtyā*, and *kīrtyā* for *kīrtyā*, 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*¹ at **Vishṇupada**. It is not dated.² It is a Vaishṇava inscription; and the **object** of it is to record the erection of the pillar, which is called a *dhvaja*, or 'standard,'³ of the god Vishṇu, on a hill called—Vishṇupada. We are expressly told that this pillar was erected by Chandra whose mind was fixed upon Vishṇu 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 **Vishṇupada**, 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 Anaṅgapāla, the founder of the Tōmara dynasty,⁴ lays it quite open to argument whether this is the real original position of the column, or whether, like the Aśōka columns at Delhi, and possibly the Aśōka (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,"⁵ 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."⁶ But as a matter of fact such was precisely the case with the Delhi stone column of Aśōka which was removed from Topra (Ambala District, Panjab) along with the foundation stone.⁷ It is possible that this iron pillar also was removed from

¹ *Introd.*, pp. 57-61. For different views of the identification of Chandra, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 217 ff., Vol. XLVIII, pp. 98 and ff.; S. K. Aiyangar's *Studies in Gupta History* (Reprint from *Jour. Ind. His.*), pp. 14 and ff.; Raychaudhuri's *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.* (3rd ed.) pp. 328 ff. and p. 364, note; Basak's *Hist. North-Eastern Ind.*, pp. 13-14 and 16-18; D. C. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 284, note 4.

² Prinsep allotted this inscription to the third or fourth century A.D.; and Bhau Daji, to a period later than the time of the Guptas. 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 Ēraṅ column in line 9 of No. 39 below. There is another iron column, at Dhār, the ancient Dhārā, now the chief town of the Dhār District in Madhya Pradesh. But there is no ancient inscription on it (*A.R. ASI.*, 1902-03, pp. 205 and ff.).

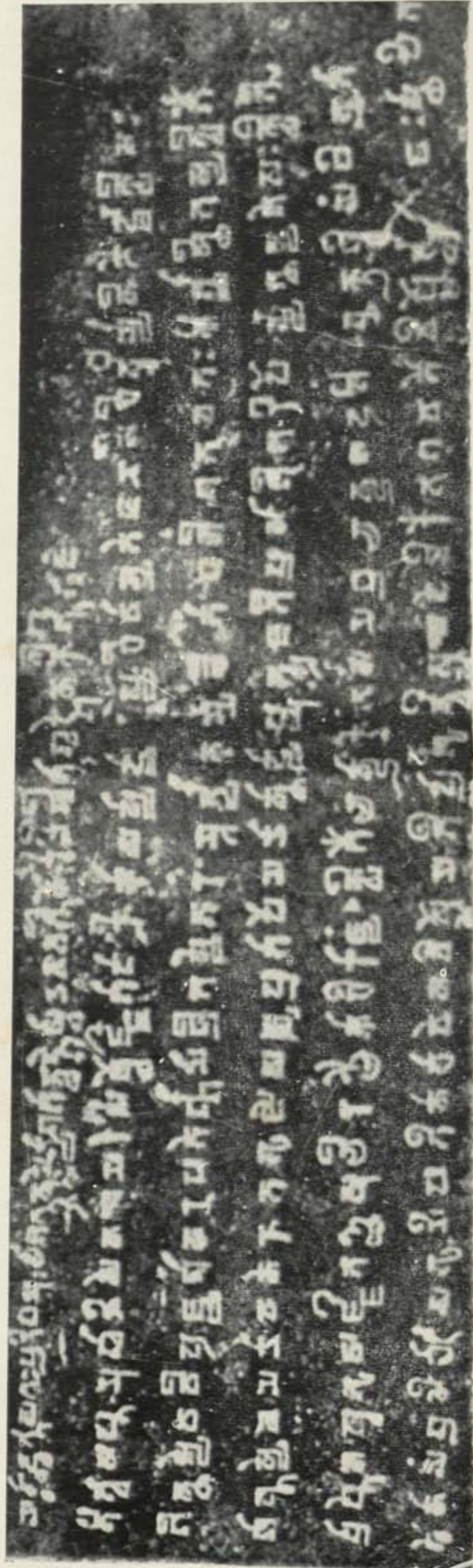
⁴ *CASIR.*, Vol. I, p. 171.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 28, and Plate v.

⁶ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 140-41.

⁷ D. R. Bhandarkar's *Aśōka* (2nd ed.), pp. 215-17.

MEHARALI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRA



2

4

6

Vishṇupada along with foundation materials by the same Sultan Firoz Shah, to beautify his capital town.

TEXT¹

[Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* throughout]

- 1 Yasy=ōdvarttayataḥ pratīpam=urasā śattrūn=samēty=āgatān=**Vaṅgēshv**=
āhava-varttinō=bhīlikhitā khaḍgēna kīrttir=bhujē [1*]
- 2 tīrtvā sapta mukhāni yēna samarē **Sindhōr**=jjitā **Vāhlikā**² yasy=ādy=āpy=adhi-
vāsyatē jalanidhir=vvīryy-ānilair=ddakshīṇaḥ [11 1*]
- 3 Khinnasy=ēva viśrijya gāṁ narapatēr=ggām=āsritasy=ētarām mūrt[t*]yā
karmma-jit-āvaniṁ gatavataḥ kīrt[t*]yā sthitasya kshītau [1*]
- 4 śāntasy=ēva mahāvanē hutabhujō yasya pratāpō mahān=n=ādy=āpy=utsrijati
praṇāśita-ripōr=yyatnasya śēshaḥ kshītim [11 2*]
- 5 Prāptēna sva-bhuj-ārjjitān=cha suchirañ=ch=aikādhīrājyaṁ kshītau **Chandr-**
āhvēna samagra-chandra-saḍrīśīm vaktra-śriyaṁ bibhratā [1*]
- 6 tēn=āyaṁ praṇidhāya bhūmipatinā dhāvēna³ Viṣṇō⁴ matīm prānsūr=**Viṣṇu-**
padē girau bhagavatō Viṣṇōr=dhvajaḥ sthāpitaḥ [11 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**⁵ 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);⁶ who, though he has, in body,⁷ gone to the land (*avani*) conquered for (religious) rites, has remained on earth (*kshīti*) 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 as 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 Vishṇu, this lofty flag-staff of the divine Vishṇu was set up on the hill, **Viṣṇupada**.⁸

¹ From inked estampages.

² Prinsep also read *vāhlikā*; but Bhau Daji, varying in the first syllable, read *bāhlikā*. In the first *akshara* the *v* is imperfect on the right side, through the closing up of the metal. In the second *akshara*, the *h* is turned in the opposite direction to that in which it is turned in *āhava*, line 1 and *mahāvanē* and *mahān*, line 4. But, that the *akshara* is *hli*, not *lhi* is certain; because *l* can only be formed to the left; whereas, at this period, *h* was formed sometimes to the left and sometimes to the right; and, in the present inscription, it is turned to the right, as here, again in *hutabhujō*, line 4, *āhvēna*, line 5.

³ This is obviously a mistake for *bhāvēna*.

⁴ Read *Viṣṇau*.

⁵ For the identification of these *Vāhlikas* with the *Kushāṇas*, see *Introd.*, p. 57 above; also (Miss) Padma Misra's article on *Vāhlika* and *Bāhlika* (*I.C.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 85 and ff.).

⁶ For the differentiation between *gō* (earth) and *gō* (mid-region), see *Introd.*, pp. 57-9 above. Quite in consonance with this, the *tīrthas* on earth (*pṛithivī*) have been distinguished from those in mid-region or firmament (*antariksha*) in the *MBh.*, *Vana-Parvan*, Chap. 83, vv. 93-94. And *Viṣṇupada*, being situated on a high eminence, must have been regarded as belonging to the second category.

⁷ The word *mūrttyā* clearly shows that *Chandra* was living in this world when the pillar was set up, that is, at *Viṣṇupada* and as *vānaprastha*.

⁸ For the identification of *Viṣṇupada*, see *Introd.*, pp. 59-61 above.

BASĀRĪH CLAY SEAL INSCRIPTION OF DHRUVASVĀMINĪ

This seal was discovered by the late T. Bloch, when, as Superintendent, Archeological Survey, Eastern Circle, he was excavating the ruins of **Basār** or **Basārġh** 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 $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{3}{4}$ ". 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 **Mahādēvī Dhruvasvāminī**, 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 Dhruvadēvī 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 Dhruvadēvī, the present seal gives her the name of Dhruvasvāminī. But the term *dēvī* here is synonymous with *svāminī*. And if any proof is required in support of it, it is furnished by the grants of the Uchchakalpa family, one of which¹ gives the name of Jayanātha's wife as Muruṇḍadēvī and two as Muruṇḍasvāminī.² For the same reason Dhruvadēvī must be taken as exactly identical with Dhruvasvāminī. Secondly, it is worthy of note that Dhruvasvāminī 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 Dhruvasvāminī was being used and that while the former was the sovereign, the latter was serving as the governor of a province under him. As Basārġh 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 Pāṭaliputra 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 Basārġh 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, Dhruvasvāminī

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 28.

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. 107-08, Nos. 4, 6, 11 and 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110, Nos. 20-22 and 25-27.

was living at Vaiśālī with her son, who was then Yuvarāja and the ruler of the Tira-bhukti.¹ Further, we have to note that Gōvindagupta was not the only son of Chandragupta (II) and Dhruvasvāminī. 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-śrī*]-[Chandra][gupta*]-
- 2 [pa*]tnī-mah[ā*]r[āja*]-śrī-G[ō*]v[i*]nda-[gupta*]-
- 3 mātā mahādēvi-śrī-[Dhru]-
- 4 vasvāminī [*]

TRANSLATION

The prosperous **Dhruvasvāminī**, the Great Queen (*Mahādēvi*), 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
KRITA 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 Ṭoḍī. It was immediately taken possession of and put for safe custody in the house of the Subah of Mandasōr. In October 1912 the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya 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. XLII, 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 ink-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. XLII, pp. 199-200.

Mandasōr or **Mandasaur**, 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 Śiprā, and on the Ajmer-Khandwa branch of the Western

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 3.

Railway. How Dasōr came to be called Mandasōr has been explained variously. Perhaps the best explanation is that given to me in 1897 when I first visited Mandasōr. Then a learned Brāhmaṇa told me that originally there was also another village close by called Man and that Mandasōr thus consisted of the two place names—Man and Dasōr. Many instances are known of such composite names; e.g., Sāñchī-Kānākhēḍā. The original stone fragments are now lying at the State Museum, Gwalior.

The larger fragment bears nine lines of writing, each containing one *anushtubh* 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- $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 7- $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The **characters** belong to the Mālwā variety of the Western class of Gupta alphabet. This is indicated by the test letters *m*, *s*, *sh* and *h*, and also by *l* 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 *ī* in *īḍrik-* in line 4, which may be compared with the short initial *i* found in the Allahābād and Kahāurṃ inscriptions (Nos. 1, above and 20 below) and the long *ī* in the Sāñchī inscription (No. 9, above); (2) the occurrence of the initial *ē* in *ēka-* in line 2; (3) the ringlet at the bottom of *th* instead of a crossbar in the middle, as in *-manōrathē*, line 4; (4) the bipartite *y* in *-ōpachay-* 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 *-paryyānka-*, line 1, *-phaladam*, line 7, and *purush*^o, line 1; (7) the medial *ā* placed lower down about the middle in the case of *ā* and *m*, as in *Āśvōja-* in line 3, and *sasya-mālinī* 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 *-śuklasya*, 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 *°kāruṇikaḥ*, line 9, but not in *purushāy=*, 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., *sva-kulasy=atha* instead of *sva-kulasy=ātha* in line 8; two due to the scribe's ignorance, e.g., *prāvṛik-kālē* instead of *prāvṛiṭ-kālē* in line 2 and *-viddud-dīpa-* instead of *-vidyud-dīpa-* in line 6; and one, a solecism, for which apparently the composer is responsible, viz., the use of *śrīr-*, twice instead of *śrī-* as the first part of a compound word, as in *śrīr-Mmālava-*, line 1 and *śrīr-mmahārāja-*, 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 *-paryyānka-*, line 1, *=saṃvarddhita-*, line 4, and so forth; (2) the doubling of *k* in conjunction with a following *r* in *Śakkrasya*, line 2 and *-vikkrāmē*, line 4, but not in *-vikrānta-*, line 5; (3) the use of *anusvāra* instead of *saṃdhi*, in *=alanīkṛitā* and *pañchamyām=* in line 3, and *-saṃbhāra-*, line 6, but not in *śaraṇaṅ=gataḥ*, line 7; and (4) the use of guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* before *h*, in *Sinhavarmmaṇas=* and *=Sinha-vikrānta*, line 5.

The **inscription** is of the time of a prince named **Naravarman**, who was a son of **Sinhavarman** and son's son 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 *śrīr* is justified according to the grammatical rule *a-nyantatvān=na su-lōpaḥ* (*Siddhānta Kaumudī* with *Bālamānōramā*, 1910 Edn., p. 201). Cf. also the expression *śrīr-mmahārāj-Āvariḥsasya* 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 *śrī mahārāj-*, 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 Varṇavṛiddhi through Jayamitrā. From the smaller fragment, however, it appears that there was a shrine of Kṛishṇa adjoining an orchard and that it was this orchard which was apparently given by Satya. It is thus a Vaishṇava record, a conclusion which agrees with verse 1 where obeisance is paid to Purusha and verse 11 which praises the god Vāsudēva. 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 Gārggāyaṇa *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, Simhavarman and Naravarman mentioned in this inscription belonged to a family of feudatory chieftains ruling over **Daśapura** and were succeeded by **Viśvavarman** and **Bandhuvarman** known from Gangdhār² and Mandasōr³ inscriptions respectively. Among the various epithets of Naravarman specified in this record occurs in line 5 the epithet *Siṅha-vikrānta-gāmin*, which shows that he was a feudatory of Chandragupta II. For, we know from Gupta coins that *Siṅha-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 Vikrama year 461, *i.e.*, 404 A.D. Naravarman was thus doubtless a contemporary of Chandragupta II. Nothing therefore precludes us from supposing that the expression *Siṅha-vikrānta-gāmin* indicates that Naravarman was a tributary prince of Chandragupta II. And this is in keeping with the fact that his successors, Viśvavarman 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 Kṛishṇa 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 Kṛishṇa was. The *Harivamśa* (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 Brīndāvana to offer worship to Indra on the 14th day of the dark half of Kārtika, but Kṛishṇa 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 Kṛishṇa which ended in the victory of the latter by Kṛishṇa pulling out Gōvardhana and holding it as an umbrella over the cowherds and the kine. Thereupon Indra came to terms with Kṛishṇa. According to these Indra agreed that although there were four months of the rainy season, the first two (*i.e.*, Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra) should be considered

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 161-62.

² *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 17.

³ No. 36 below.

⁴ *JRAS.*, 1889, pp. 87-90; pp. 111-12; Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 108; Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, pp. 38-43.

⁵ *A.R. ASI.*, 1905-06, pp. 136 ff. See also *Agniṣurāṇa*, XII, 20-22; *Bhāgavata*, Book III, chap. 2, verses 32-33, Book X, chap. 24-26 and 27, verses 22-28; *Padmapurāṇa*, Khaṇḍa VI, chap. 272, verses 182-188; *Vishṇupurāṇa*, Vol. 10-12, specially chap. 12.

as his, and the last two (*i.e.*, Āśvina and Kārtika) which constitute the Śarad season would thenceforth be assigned to Kṛishṇa. 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 Mahēndra and Upēndra and do worship in pursuance of the customary rites of the two gods.¹ 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 : *Anuṣṭubh* throughout]

First Fragment

- 1 [S*]iddham [i*] Sahasra-śirasē tasmai Purushāy=āmit-ātmanē [i*] chatus-samudra-paryyaṅka-tōya-nidrālavē namaḥ [|| 1*] Śrīr=**mMā(Mā)**²**lava-gaṇ-āmnātē** praśastē **Kṛita**-samjñitē [i*]
- 2 **ēka-shashṭy-adhikē prāptē samā-śata-chatusṭayē** [|| 2*] Prāvṛik-kālē³ śubhē prāptē manas-tuṣṭ[i]karē nṛiṇām [i*] maghē⁴ pravṛittē Śakkrasya Kṛishṇasy=ānumatē tadā [|| 3*]
- 3 Nishpanna-vrihi-yavasā kāśa-pushpair=alamkṛitā [|| 1*] bhābhir=abhyadhikarṇ bhāti mēdinī sasya-mālinī [|| 4*] Dinē Āśvōja-śuklasya pañchamyām=atha satkṛitē [i*]
- 4 idṛik-kāla-varē ramyē praśāsati vasundharām [|| 5*] Prāk-puṇy-ōpachay-ābhyāsāt=samvarddhita-manōrathē [i*] **Jayavarmma**-narēndrasya pautrē Dēvēndra-vikramē [|| 6*]
- 5 Kshit-īśē **Siṅhavarmmaṇas**=Siṅha-vikrānta-gāmini [i*] satpurē śrīr=**mma(ma)**-⁵hārāja-**Naravarmmaṇi** pārtthivē [|| 7*] Tat-pālana-guṇ-ōddēśād=dharma-prāpty-arttha vistaraḥ [i*]
- 6 pūrvva-janm-āntar-ābhyāsād=balād=ākshipta-mānasaḥ [|| 8*] Sva-yaśaḥ-puṇya-sambhāra-vivarddhita-kṛit-ōdyamaḥ [i*] mṛiga-trishṇā-jala-svapna-viddud⁶-dīpa-śikh-āchalam [|| 9*]
- 7 Jīva-lōkam=imaṇ jñātvā śaraṇyaṇ śaraṇaṇ=gataḥ [i*] tridaś-ōdāra-phaladaṇ svargga-strī-chāru-pallavam [|| 10*] Vimān-ānēka-viṭapam tōyad-āmbu-madhu-srāvam⁷ [i*]
- 8 Vāsudēvaṇ jagad-vāsam=apramēyam=ajam vibhum [|| 11*] Mitra-bhṛity-ārta-satkarttā sva-kulasy=atha⁸ chandramāḥ [i*] yasya vittam cha prāṇās=cha dēva-brāhmaṇa-sāgat[āḥ*]⁹ [|| 12*]
- 9 Mahā[kāru]ṇikaḥ Satyō dharmm-ārjjita-mahādhanah [i*] satputrō Varṇṇavṛiddhēs=tu satpautrō=tha Jayasya vai [|| 13*] Duhitur=Balaśūrāyā[h*] satputrō Jayamitrayā [i*]

¹ For another explanation, see Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsamhitā*, chap. 43.

² [See, p. 262, note 1 above.—Ed.].

³ Read *Prāvṛik-kālē*.

⁴ Read *mahē*. Sten Konow's reading *mēghē pravṛittē* is unwarranted by impressions and does not also suit the sense.

⁵ [See p. 262 note 1 above.—Ed.].

⁶ Read *-vidyud-*.

⁷ Read *-sravam*.

⁸ Read =*ātha*.

⁹ It is more natural to correct it into *-brāhmaṇasādgatāḥ* than *-brāhmaṇasātṛitāḥ* as Haraprasad Sastri has done.

MANDASÖR INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN: THE KRITA YEAR 461

2
 4
 6
 8

The inscription consists of eight lines of text, arranged in two columns. The left column is numbered 2, 4, 6, and 8. The text is written in an ancient script, likely Brahmi or Kharosthi, and is dark in color. The stone is rectangular and shows signs of age and wear.

G. S. Gai

From photograph

Second Fragment

- 1 Gārggāyaṇa-sagōtrō vai jñāti[taḥ*] . . . — [1*]
- 2 Purē mahati vikhyātē Pañcha-dvig[ūṇa-samjñākē*] [11*]
- 3 Nānā-vṛiksha-latā-gulma-sampra[yukta*] — — — [1*]
- 4 Dhanyō bhavatu maṅgalyaḥ pu[tra]-[pautra-samanvitaḥ*] [11*]
- 5 Krushṇēn¹=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 completed³ the auspicious **quaternion of hundred years increased by sixty-one**, known as **Kṛita** and traditionally handed down according to the reckoning of the **Mālavas**;

(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 Kṛishṇa;⁴ then

(Verse 4) The corn-wreathed earth, with replenished rice and fodder, is adorned with *kāśa* 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;

(Verses 6 and 7) 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 **Simhavarman**, (and) who is the follower of Simha-vikrānta, (and) is as valorous as Dēvēndra;

(Verses 8 to 11) As exemplification of the good qualities of his (Naravarman's) administration, (*Satya*) 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,

¹ Read *Kṛishṇēn* =

² This refers to *Purusha-sūkta* (*Rigvēda*, X, 90) where Purusha is described as *sahasra-śirsha*. Purusha again is identified with Nārāyaṇa who is thus described by Manu (I. 10): "The waters are called *nārāḥ*; 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 *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XIII, verse 6.

³ The word *prāpta* occurs twice in this record, once in this and once in the next verse; and Haraprasad Sāstri 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 Sāstri 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 Bhādrapada and not Āśvina. The term *prāpta* must therefore be taken in another sense. Now one of the senses of this word is 'completed, accomplished'. This suits here excellently, because *prāvṛiṭ-kālē prāptē* 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 Bhādra 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 grantor 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 Varṇavṛiddhi but indeed the virtuous son's son of Jaya, (and) the virtuous son through Jayamitrā, daughter of Balaśūrā. . . .

Second Fragment

(Line 1) Pertaining to the Gārggāyaṇa *gōtra*, and by caste. . . .

(Line 2) In the extensive and well-known town named (*Daśa* 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 (KṚITA) YEAR 474

This inscription was originally found at **Bihār Kōtrā** 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' $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 6- $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The **characters**, generally speaking, belong to the Mālwā 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 *ō* in *Ōlikarasya* in line 1 and (2) the end *m* in *-dvitīyāyām*, line 3. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. There is one solecism, namely, the use of *śrīr-*, 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 *-Naravarmmaṇaḥ*, line 1, and *sarvva-*, line 5; and (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r* in *-satputtrēṇa*, 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 *Ōlikara* which reminds us of *Aulikara* used with reference to Vishṇuvardhana in a Mandasōr inscription,³ dated Kṛita 589. It seems that *Ōlikara* or *Aulikara* was a surname of the feudatory family ruling over Western Mālwā 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

¹ This inscription has been published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 130 ff.

² [See p. 262, note 1 above.—Ed.]

³ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 35.

BIHĀR KŌTRĀ INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN: THE (KRITA) YEAR 474



G. S. Gai

From photograph

the twentieth year of Naravarman's reign.¹ 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 Virasēna, son of Bhaṭṭi *Mahattara*, for the Buddhist mendicants from the four quarters, on the second day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the (Kṛita) year 474.

TEXT²

- 1 [Si]ddhayē [i*]³ Śrīrmahārāja⁴-**Naravarmmaṇaḥ** Ōlikarasya [viṃ]-
 2 [śē]⁵ rājya-saṃvatsarē **chaturshu varsha-śatēshu chatu[h*]**-
 3 **[sa]ptatishu** Śrāvaṇa-śukla-dvitiyāyām Bhaṭṭi-maha[tta]-⁶
 4 ra-satputtrēṇa Virasēnēn=āyam=udapānaḥ khāni-
 5 taś=chāturddiśaṃ bhikshu-saṅgham=uddiśya sarvva-satvānaṃ⁷
 6 [tṛi]shṇā-kshayāy=āstu [i*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) For luck!⁸

(Lines 1-3) On the second of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, when **four centuries of years** (and) **seventyfour** (had elapsed),⁹ in the twentieth year of the reign of the illustrious **Naravarmman** the *Māhārāja* and Ōlikara,¹⁰

(Lines 3-5) This well was excavated by Virasēna, 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

¹ [See editorial remarks under note 5 below.—Ed.]

² From impressions supplied by R. G. Gyani, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

³ These letters seem to have been engraved later and slantingly between lines 1 and 2 about the beginning. [This statement does not appear to be correct. The reading is *Siddham*, where the final *m* is written in a diminutive form below the line.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *Śrī-Mahārāja*—[See p. 262, note 1 above.—Ed.]

⁵ This is a tentative restoration from the first letter *vi* which is fairly clear in one estampage [The more plausible reading is *vijaya*.—Ed.]

⁶ Here only four dots are visible, which seems to be the remnants of *tta*.

⁷ Read *-sattoānām*.

⁸ See p. 240, note 9 above.

⁹ The expression *chaturshu varsha-śatēshu chatuḥsaptatishu* clearly shows that some such word as *gatēshu* or *atitēshu* has to be understood after it.

¹⁰ Ōlikara here must evidently be the same as Aulikara occurring in *Aulikara-lāñchhana ātma-vaiśō* used with reference to Vishṇuvarhdhana in line 5 of the Mandasōr inscription of the Mālava 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. Ōlikara or Aulikara thus denoted the feudatory family of Daśapura to which princes from Jayavarman to Vishṇuvarhdhana belonged.

¹¹ The word *tṛishṇā* 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

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 **Bilsaṇḍ** is a village,—consisting of three parts, called respectively Bilsaḍ-Puvāyārī, or Eastern Bilsaḍ; Bilsaḍ-Pachhāyārī, or Western Bilsaḍ; and Bilsaḍ-Paṭṭī, or Bilsaḍ Suburb,²—about four miles towards the north-east of Aligañj,³ the chief town of the Aligañj Tahsil or Sub-division of the Eta⁴ District, Uttar Pradesh. At the south-west corner of Bilsaḍ-Puvāyārī, 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-impresion, 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 *svādita-yaśasō* of line 1 of the one now published;—line 3, with the *gat-ānēka* of line 2;—line 12, with about the *parshadā* of line 9;—line 13, with the *kaubērachchhanda* of line 10;—line 14, with the [*sat*]tra of line 11;—line 15, with the . . . *śubhā* of line 12; and line 16, with the *yēn=āpūrova* of line 13.

With this pair of duplicate inscriptions, we may compare the duplicate inscriptions⁵ of Yaśōdharman on the two columns at Mandasōr. 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, *viz.*, the temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsēna or Kārttikēya, referred to in the inscription.

The **writing** of the inscription now published covers a space of about 2'1- $\frac{3}{4}$ " 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 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". 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 charity of Virasēna in digging the well.

¹ The 'Beelsur 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 Aphaṇḍ, in the case of the inscription of Ādityasēna (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 42).

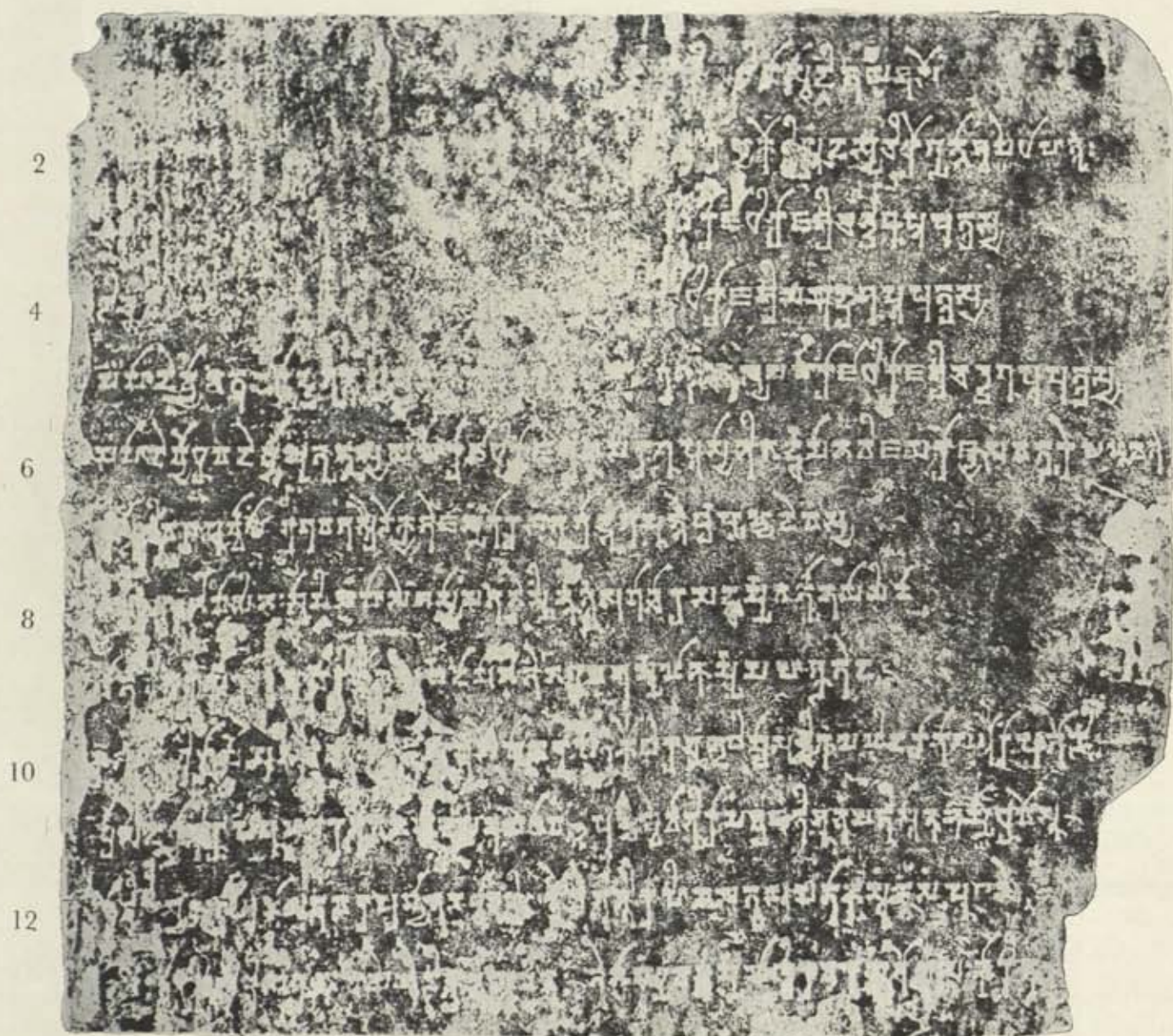
² The 'Beelsurpowā, Beelsurpuchā, and Beelsurputtee' of maps.

³ The 'Aliganj and Ulleegunje' of maps, etc.

⁴ The 'Ecta, Etah, and Eytuh' of maps, etc.

⁵ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, Nos. 33 and 34.

BILSAD 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 **Dhruvaśarman**, at a temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsēna, of certain works, *viz.*, (1) the construction of a *pratōli*,¹ or 'gateway'; (2) the establishment, apparently, of a *sattra* 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 Dhruvaśarman. But in line 11 Śarma is separated from Dhruva. It seems that Dhruva was his personal name and Śarma his family name. Śarma is still a family name in Bengal and was even a clan name as early as the *Mahābhārata* period.²

TEXT

[Metres: Verse 1 *Sragdharā*; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikriḍita*.]

- 1 [sarvva-rāj-ōchchhētṭuḥ pṛithivyām=apratirathasya chatur-udadh*]i-[sa*]-
[lil-āsvā*]dita-yaśasō
- 2 [Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-Āntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśōḥ nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hi*]
ra[ṇ*]ya-kōṭi-[pra]dasya chir-ōtsann-āśvamēdh-āharttuḥ
- 3 [mahārāja-śrī-**Gupta**-prapauttrasya mahārāja-śrī-**Ghaṭōtkacha-pauttrasya** ma*]-
h[ā]r[ā]jādhirāja-śrī-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya
- 4 Lichchhavi-dauhi[ttrasya mahādēvyām **Kumāradēvyām**=utpannasya mahārā*]-
[j]ādhirāja-śrī-**Samudragupta**-puttrasya
- 5 mahādēvyām **Dattad[ēv]y[ām**=utpannasya] [svayam=apratirathasya parama*]-
[bhāgavata]sya māhārājādhirāja-śrī-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya
- 6 mahā[dē]vyām **Dhruvadēvyām**=utpannasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Kumāra-**
guptasy=ābhivarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē **shaṇ-ṇavatē**
- 7 [A*][syān=d]jivasa-pūrvvāyām bhagavatas=trailōkya-tējas-sambhāra-sam[bhṛi]t-
ādbhuta-mūrttēr=Brahmaṇya-dēvasya
- 8 [ṇ]ivāsinaḥ Svāmi-Mahāsēnasy=āyatanē=smin=Kārttayug-āchāra-
saddharma-vartm-ānuyāyinā ।
- 9 . [āta] [pa*]rshadā mānitēna **Dhruvaśarmmaṇā** karmma
mahat=kṛit=ēdam³ ।[1*]
- 10 [Kṛitvā] -- [ā]bhirāmām muni[vasati] ~ - [svargga]-sōpāna-r[ū]pām [1*] kaubēra-
chchhanda-bimbām sphaṭika-maṇi-dal-ābhāsa-gaurām pratōlim ।
- 11 prāsād-ā[gr-ābhi]rūpaṁ gu[ṇa-va]ra-bhavanaṁ [dharmma]-[sa]ttraṁ [ya]thāvat [1*]
pu[ṇ]yēshv=ēv=ābhirāmām vrajati śubha-matis=tāta-Śarmma Dhruvō=
stu ।[1*]
- 12 - ā - ī - sya ~ - śubh-āmṛita-vara-prakhyāta-labdhā bhuvi [1*] - ā - ē bhaktir=
ahina-sat[t*]va-samatā kas=tam 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 *pōl* 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 Mahāsēna 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 Dhruvaśarman has been compared to a *svarga-sōpāna*, "a flight of steps (leading) to heaven."

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 65.

³ Read *kṛitam=idam*.

- 13 yēn=āpūrvva-vibhūti-sañchaya-chayaiḥ - ai - i - - - - ḥ [1] tēn=āyaṁ Dhruva
[śa]rmaṇā sthira-varas=[st]ambh-ōch[chhr]ayaḥ kāritaḥ [1 2*]

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 *Mahādēvī Dhruvadēvī*, 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 *Mahādēvī Dattadēvī*, 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 Kṛitānta (God of death); who was the giver of (many) crores of (lawfully acquired cows and) gold; who was the performer of the *āsvamēdha* sacrifice, that had long decayed, (and),

(Lines 3-4) (Who was the son of the son's son of the prosperous **Gupta**, the *Mahārāja*; the son's son of the prosperous **Ghaṭōtkacha**, and *Mahārāja*), (and) the son of the prosperous **Chandragupta I**, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the daughter's son of the Lichchhavi; (and) born of the *Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī*.

(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 Brahmaṇya; (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 *kaubērachchhanda* (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 **Gadhwa** 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-varaḥ* qualifies the *stambha* which is wrongly compounded with *uchchhraya* 'erection' or 'loftiness'.

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 *CASIR.*, Vol. X, p. 9, with a lithograph (*ibid.*, Plate V, No. 1). It was afterwards edited by J. F. Fleet in *CII.*, 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 $\frac{3}{4}$ " 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 Brāhmaṇa from Sadāsattra.

TEXT

- 1 [Jitaṁ bhagavatā ॥ Paramabhāga*][vata-mahā][rājādhi*]-
- 2 [rāja-śrī-Kumāragupta-rājya-saṁvatsa*]rē 90 8 . . .
- 3 [asyāṁ divasa*]-pūrvvāyaṁ padūa¹ . . .
- 4 nē(?)n=ātma-puṇy-ōpa[chay-ārttham*]
- 5 rē kāliyaṁ Sadāsa[t*][tra- . . .
- 6 kasya talakanivānlē(?) . . .
- 7 bhyāṁ dīnārāḥ dvādaśa . . .
- 8 sy=āṁkur-ōdbha(?)sta-chchha
- 9 [saṁ*]yukta[ḥ*]syād=iti i²

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) [Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vāsudēva)!]³ [In the year] 90 (and) 8 [of the (dynastic) rule⁴ of the prosperous **Kumāragupta**, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, 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)].

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 Tuśām inscription (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 67, p. 270) showing that *bhagavatā* stands for *Vishṇunā*.

⁴ See note 1 to Translation of No. 8 above, p. 246.

⁵ See note 3 to Translation of No. 10 above, p. 253.

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",¹ unearthed by Führer during his excavations from November 1890 to March 1891 in the Kaṅkāli Tīlā 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' 5-½" broad by 1-½" 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 *ō* of this inscription still preserve flat and angular bases, *m* alone developing a curve. The tops of *g* and *ś*, 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 Dialect² 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 *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g., in *Guhamitra*^o, line 2 and (2) that *y*, *v* and *th* are doubled with a preceding *r*, e.g., in *pū[rv]vā[yām]*, line 1 and *prārt[thā]rikasya*, line 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* 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 the image of a Jina by Śāmāḍhyā who was the daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava and wife of Guhamitra 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-śākhā of the Kōṭṭiya-gaṇa. Both the *Gaṇa* and the *Śākhā*, have been mentioned in the Sthavirāvali of the *Kalpasūtra*.³

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, note 25.

² It "represents the spoken language, if not the vernacular, of the *śiṣṭa* 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 *Asoka*, 2nd edition, p. 212, note 1).

³ *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. 292.

MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 107



G. S. Gai

From photograph

TEXT

- 1 Siddham [i*] Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Māhārājādhirāja¹- śrī-Kumāragupta[s]ya v[i*]-
ja[ya]-rājya(jyē) 100 7² [Adhi*]ka-[Śrāva*]ṇa-māsa-[di][va*][sa] 20 [i*] asyā[rñ]
pū[rv]vā[yām] K[ō]ṭṭiyā gaṇa(ṇā)-
- 2 d=Vidyādhari[t*]ō śākhātō Datil-āchā[r*]yya-prajñāpit[ā]yē Śāmāḍhyāyē
Bhaṭṭibhavya dhītu Guhamittra³-Pāli[ta]-prārt[thā]rikasya⁴ [kuṭumb*]jñiyē
pratimā pratishṭhāpi[tā] [i*]

TRANSLATION

Luck! (The year) 107; the intercalary month of Śrāvāṇa; 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 Śāmāḍhyā (=Śyāmāḍhyā), daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava (and) wife of the lapidary⁵ Guhamitra Pālita, who had been commanded by Datilāchāyya (=Dattilāchārya) of the Kōṭṭiya-gaṇa and the Vidyādhari-śākhā.

No. 19: PLATE XIX

DHANĀIDAHA 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 **Dhanāidaha** in the Nātoṛe Sub-division of the Rajshahi District in the Rajshahi Division of Bangladesh. Babu Akshaya Kumara 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 discovered 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 *Sāhitya* 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 *vijayarājya*-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 *māsa*. But this *mā* was preceded immediately by *ṇa* which, though it is somewhat injured, is as good as certain. Between *ka* and *ṇa* 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 *Kārttika-Hēmanṭa-māsasya divasē* is not only very wide off the mark but also yields no good sense.

³ This name is doubtless *Guhamittra*, and not *Grahamittra* as Bühler reads.
⁴ Bühler reads *prā[tā]rika* but admits in the foot-note that "possibly *prābhārikasya* is to be read". It looks more like *prārt[thā]rikasya*.
⁵ If *prārt[thā]rika* is the correct reading, it stands for the Sanskrit *prāstārika*, 'a dealer in *prastara*'. But *prastara* signifies both an ordinary and a precious stone. Perhaps the second sense is here intended. In that case, *prāstārika* 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 Dāmōdarpur 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 *Anushtubh* 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 Dāmōdarpur 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 *ṇ*, e.g., *khāsaka* line 5, *Khādā(ṭa?)pāra-* line 7; *grām-āshṭa-* line 6; and *guṇ-āguṇa-* line 13;
- (2) the sign of *avagraha* is not used, as in *viśayē=nuvṛitta-* line 7;
- (3) the letters *g*, *ṇ*, *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; *utkīrṇam* line 17; *kīrtti* line 4; *śarmma* line 3 and line 5, *dharmma* line 8; *-maryādā-* 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 *kkramēna(ṇa)* line 8.

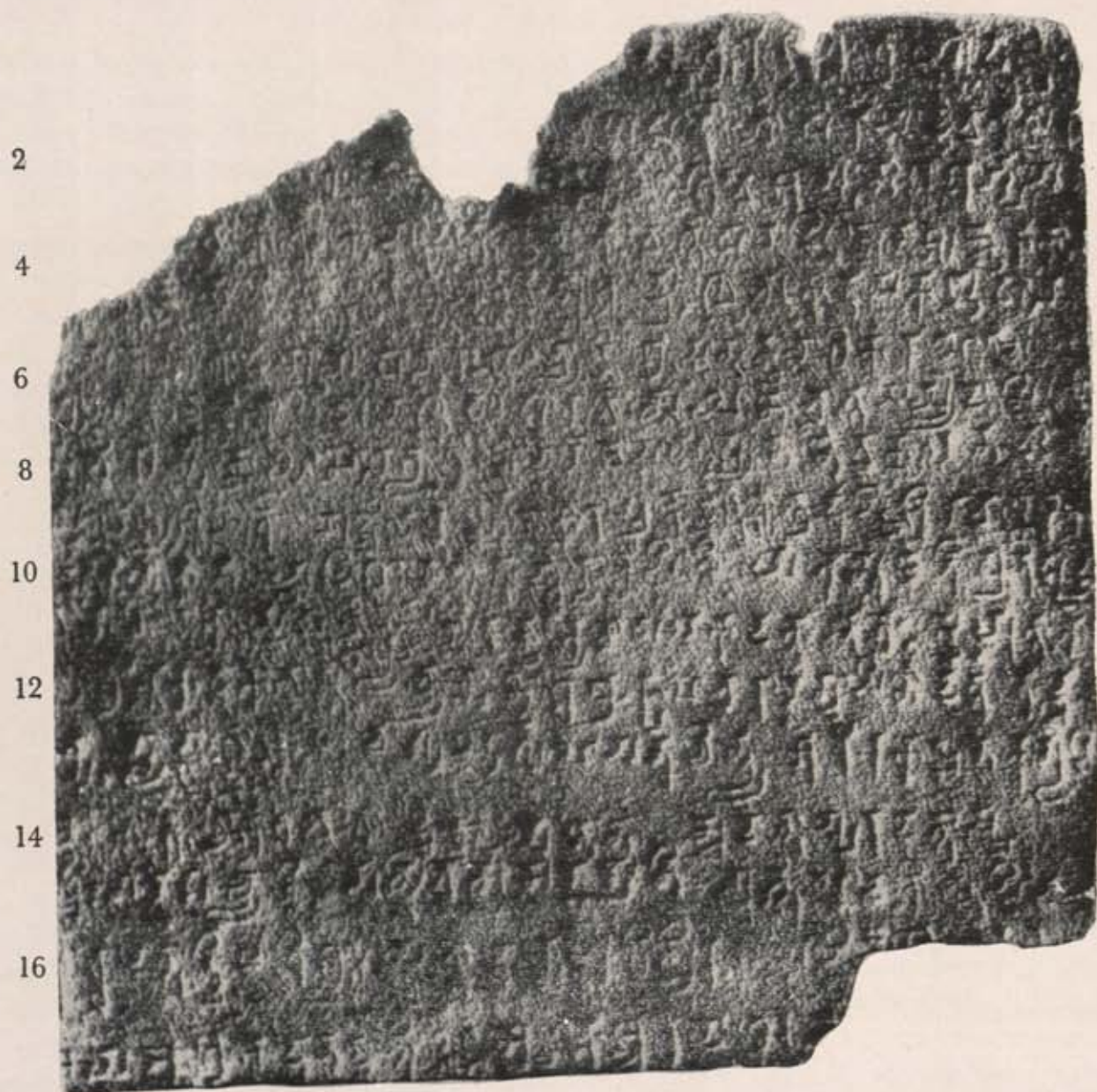
The forms of the initial vowels *ā*, *i* and *u* are seen in the following words respectively, *āyuktaka* line 11, *iha* line 7, and *utkīrṇam* line 17. The form of the letter *mē* in *kkramēna(ṇa)* line 8, *sarvvam=ēkam* line 11, is to be noticed. For a similar incision of *mē*, especially the *ē* mark in it, we may compare the words *kāvyaṃ=ēshām* line 31 of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, No. 1, above, and *guhām=ētām* line 5 (above, No. 11), and the word *dōsha-grāmō* line 1 (wrongly read as *dās-āgrēṇa* by Hara Prasad Sastri) of the Susuniā rock inscription.¹

In his paper "The Five Damodarpur 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 *viññāpitā-* line 7, the second with *dā[tum]* line 8, the third with *tad=avadhṛitam=iti yatas* line 10, the fourth with *ēkam dattam* line 11, the fifth with *-Varāha-svāminō dattam* line 12, and the sixth with the rest of the grant. We agree with him.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.

DHANĀIDAHA 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 (=432-33 A.D.), belonging evidently to the reign of Kumāragupta I, some one, (very likely a royal officer, an *āyuktaka*), whose name seems to have ended in *-vishṇu* (line 7), approached the village house-holders, the *mahattaras* and the *ashta-kul-ādihikaraṇas* 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 *nivī-dharma* (the non-transferability of it), *i.e.*, with the right of alienation. His prayer was granted and the purchased land was severed for him by proper measurement. He, in turn, seems to have made a donation of the same to a Sāmavēdin Brāhmaṇa (*Chhandōga*, 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 Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* being under a governor appointed by the Gupta ruler (compare the Dāmōdarpur 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 Kōṭivarsha, 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 Sthālikkaṭa (line 41), as being situated in the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana.

TEXT

- 1 **mvatsara²-śat[ē] trayōdaś-ōtta-**
- 2 [**rē***]³..... [asyā*]n=d[i]vasa-pūrvvāyām parama-daivata-para-
- 3 ā(?) kuṭu[m]bi]..... brāhmaṇa-Śivaśarmma-Nāgaśarmma-maha-
- 4 va-kirtti-Kshēmadatta-Gōshṭhaka-Varggapāla-Piṅgala-Śuṅkuka-Kāla-
- 5 pa(?) -vishṇu-[Dēva]śarmma-Vishṇubhadra-Khāsaka-Rāmaka-Gōpāla-
- 6 sa(?) su(?) Śribhadra-Sōmapāla-Rām-ādyāḥ(?) grām-āshṭa-kul-ādihikara-
nañ=cha
- 7 **vishṇunā**(?) vijñāpitā iha **Khādā(ṭa?)pāra-vishayē**=nuvṛitta-maryyādā
-sthi[ti]-
- 8 nivī-dharmma-kshayēṇa⁴ labhya[tē] [ta]d=arhatha mam=ādy=ānēn=aiva
kkramēna(ṇa) dā[tuṁ]
- 9 samēty=ā(?) bhihitai(ḥ?) sarvvam=ēva jñā(?) kara⁵-prativēśi(?) -kuṭumbibhir=
avasthāpya ka-
- 10 ri. kana . yad=itō... [ta]d=avadhṛitam=iti yatas=tath=ēti pratipādyā
- 11 vaka-nalā[bhyā]m⁶=apaviñchhya kshētra-kulyavāpam=ēkaṁ dattaṁ tataḥ
āyuktaka-
- 12 bhrā(?) ṭri-kaṭaka-vāstavya-Chhandōga-brāhmaṇa-Varāhasvāminō
dattaṁ tad=dha[va?]-
- 13 bhūmyā dā[n-ākshē]pē cha guṇ-āguṇam=anuchintya śarīra-ka(kā)ñchanakasya chi-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

² Read *saṁvatsara-*.

³ [D.C. Sircar restores the first few letters of this line as Sam 100+10+3. *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 288.—Ed.]

⁴ [D.C. Sircar reads *nivī-dharm-ākshayēṇa*. *Ibid.*—Ed.]

⁵ [D.C. Sircar restores as *kshētrakara*. *Ibid.*—Ed.]

⁶ Read *ashtaka-navaka-nalābhayām=*.

- 14ā [u]ktañ=cha bhagavatā Dvaipāyanēna Svadattām=paradattām=vā
 15[bhiḥ] saha pachyatē [I*] Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāni(ṇi) svarggē mōdati
 [bhū]midah [I*]
 16[Pū]rrva-dattām dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [I*] mahim
 [mahī][matāñ=chhrēshṭha*]
 17ya[m] su(?) **Srībhadrēna(ṇa)**¹ utkīrṇam **Stha(Sta)mbhēśvaradāsē-**
[na].....

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-7) When **one hundred years exceeded by thirteen** [had passed].... (and) when, in this detailed order of the date, *Paramadaivata*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, etc., **Kumārgupta** (is the lord of the earth), the husbandmen (consisting of).... the Brāhmaṇas Śivaśarman and Nāgaśarman and the village Board of the Asṭakula (consisting of the *Mahattaras Dē?*) vakīrtti, Kshēmadatta, Gōshṭhaka, Varggapāla, Piṅgala, Śuṅkuka, Kāla....,.... vishṇu, Dēvaśarman, Vishṇubhadra, Khāsaka, Rāmaka, Gōpāla,....su(?) Śrībhadrā, Sōmapāla, Rāma and others were informed by....vishṇu as follows:

(Lines 7-10) in the district of **Khādā(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 (Sāmavēdin) 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 **Śrībhadrā**. 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 preparation of the *List of Antiquities* by M.B. Garde, the then Superintendent, Archaeological Department 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 paṭṭik=ēyam amātya-Bhadrēna. Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 289, note 3.—Ed.].

Vol. XLIX, pp. 114-15 and subsequently edited it in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 115 ff., with a plate.

Tumain is a village in the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh, about forty miles to the west of Ēraṇ, the Airikiṇa of ancient India, in the Khurāi Tahsil 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 $\frac{5}{12}$ " to $1-\frac{5}{12}$ ". 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-āntē* 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 *jihvāmūliya* 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-saiṅhaiḥ*, line 1 and another time in *Saiṅhadēvaḥ*, line 5; and (4) that the *jihvāmūliya* 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 Mahēndra 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 Vaṭōdaka which was noted as a settlement of *sādhus* or merchants. From there, they seem to have migrated and settled in Tumbavana where they constructed a temple, apparently, of Pinākin 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta was not only a Gupta prince but most probably a son of Kumāragupta. And further, as Ghaṭōtkacha'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 Airikiṇa, 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.

TEXT¹

- 1 ... ²rir=yyasya lōka=tray-āntē [1]³ charaṇa-kamalam⁴ matyaṁ vandyētē⁵ siddha-
saṅghaiḥ⁶ (11) ⁷Rājā śrī-**Chandraguptas**=tad-anu jayati yō mēdinim sāgar-āntām
- 2 ... ⁸Śrī-**Chandraguptasya** Mahēndra-kalpaḥ **Kumāraguptas**=tanayas=sama-
[ggrā]m [1*] raraksha sādhvīm=iva dharmma-patnīm vīryy-āgra-hastair=
upaguhya bhūmim [11*]
- 3 ... ⁹[gā]gga-gauraḥ [1*] kshity-ambarē guṇa-samūha-[may]ūkha-jālō nāmn=ōditas=
sa tu **Ghaṭōtkachagupta**-chandraḥ[11*]¹⁰Sa pūrvvajānām sthira-satva¹¹-kīrttir=
bhuj-ārjjitām kīrttim=abhiprapadya 11
- 4 .. ¹²nām vasudhēsvarānām **samā-śatē shōḍaśa-varsha-yuktē** ¹³Kumāraguptē
nṛipatau pri(pri)thivyām virājā(ja)mānē śarad=iva sūryyē 11 ¹⁴Vaṭōdakē sādhu-
jan-ādihvā(s)ē
- 5 ... ¹⁵taś=Śrīdēva ity=ūrjjita-nāmadhēyaḥ [11*] ¹⁶tad-agrajō=bhūd=Dharidēva-
samjñas=tatō=nujō yas=tu sa Dhanyadēvaḥ [1*] tatō=varō yaś=cna sa
Bhadradēvas=tataḥ=kanīyān=api Saṅghadēva[h]¹⁷
- 6 ... ¹⁸nasakta-chittāḥ [1*] samāna-[vṛitt]-ākṛiti-bhē[da-bh*]j[nn*]āḥ k[shatr]-ālayās=
T[u*]mbavanē babhūvuḥ 11 ¹⁹akārayams=tē giri-śrī(śrī)ṅga-tuṅgam śaśi-
prabham dēva²⁰.....

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: *Mālinī*.

³ Expressed by a horizontal stroke.

⁴ The *anusvāra* over *la* is superfluous.

⁵ Read *vandyatē*.

⁶ Read *-saṅghaiḥ*.

⁷ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

¹¹ Read *-sattva-*.

¹² Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

¹³ Expressed by a horizontal stroke.

¹⁴ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

¹⁵ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

¹⁷ Read *Saṅghadēvaḥ*.

¹⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁹ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

²⁰ This may be restored to *dēva-Pinākinō 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 Indra² 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 **Ghaṭōtkachagupta** 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 (*sādhu*),⁴

(Line 5) of the dignified name of Śrīdēva; he had an elder brother called Haridēva; but his younger was Dhanyadēva; younger than he was Bhadrādēva; still younger than he was Saṅghadēva.

(Line 6). . . . (who) of unattached minds, of identical virtuous conduct (but) varying with difference of (human) figure, became the abodes of Kshatriya valour in Tumbavana; (and) who constructed (a shrine of) the god (Pinākin), as lofty as the peak of a hill and bearing the lustre of the moon.

¹ Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains *matya* as "the means of acquiring knowledge (= *jñānasya kāraṇam*), *Kāś.* on Pāṇ. IV, 4, 97".

² This may be compared with the epithets *Śrī-Mahēndrah*, *Śrī-Aśvamēdha-Mahēndrah*, *Ajita-Mahēndrah*, etc., which Kumāragupta bears on his coins (Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, pp. 61-81).

³ *Samā-śatē śhōḍaśa-varsha-yuktē* may be compared to *saṁvatsara-śatē ēkanavaty-uttarē* with which 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 *saṁvatsara-śatātamē*, instead of *saṁvatsara-śatē*. We have, therefore, to take some such word as *gatē* or *atitē*, elapsed, understood after *samā-śatē* of the one and *saṁvatsara-śatē* of the other. That this is the correct explanation may be seen from the fact that it agrees with Śaka 241 given by Albērūnī as equivalent to the initial year of the Gupta era. We, thus, have Gupta-saṁvat 192 (current) plus 241 = Śaka-saṁvat 433 (current) = 510-11 A.D. Fleet wrongly calculated it as "Gupta-Saṁvat 191 + 242 = Śaka-Saṁvat 433 current; in which year the given date corresponds to Monday, the 3rd January, A.D. 511" (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, *Introd.* p. 114).

⁴ It is not impossible to take *sādhu-jan-ādhivāsē* 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 Śrīdēva and his brothers embraced the Kshatra 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 *Vaijyantī* of Yādavaprakāśa which makes it synonymous with *vardhushi*, 'usurer' (ed. by Gustav Oppert, p. 238, line 192). The Sanskrit term *sādhu* is no doubt preserved in the vernacular *sāhukār* which is found not only in Hindī but also in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī and is "applied to a merchant or trader generally". It is also preserved in the Bengālī word *sāhā*, which is sometimes spelt *shaw*. The word *sādhu* is met with frequently also in inscriptions. Thus, one Khajurāhō inscription records the putting up of a Jaina image by one *Sādhu* Sālhē, son of Pāhilla, who was a son of *Śrēshṭhin* Dēdū, of the Grahapati family, (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 153). What is worthy of note here is that the term *sādhu* has been distinguished from *śrēshṭhin*. The word also occurs in South Indian inscriptions. From these, it is evident that in that part of India the *sādhus* 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. XIII, p. 255, No. 135 where a Brāhmaṇa named Tēlaṅgārya and belonging to Harita *gōtra* is mentioned as a *sādhu*).

KARAMDĀMDĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I : THE YEAR 117

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 *PRAS., 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 *līṅga* of greyish sand-stone which was excavated from a mound called *Bharādhi Dīh* near the village of **Karamdāmdā**,¹ about twelve miles from Faizabad on the road to Shahganj, in the District of Faizabad. The *līṅga* itself consists of an upper circular portion, 1' 1" high and 10- $\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter, rising from an octagonal base 1' 9" high. The inscription is incised on five faces of the octagonal base of the *līṅga*, which is now deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow.

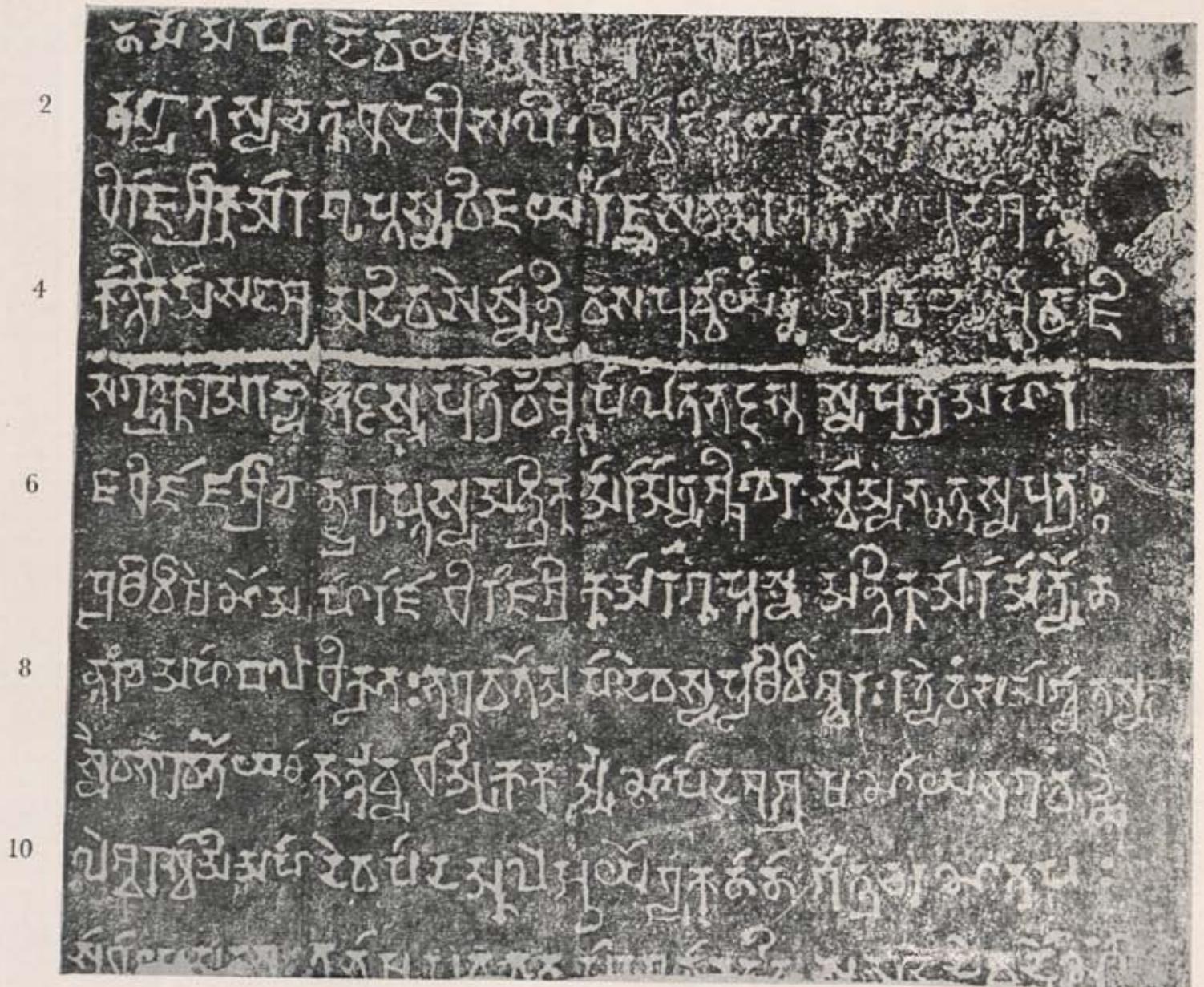
The writing covers a space 1' 5- $\frac{1}{4}$ " high and 1' 7- $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, and consists at present of eleven lines. Some letters of the first two lines in the top right hand corner have been effaced but they can be restored from other Gupta records. Across the base, at a distance of 11" from 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 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". 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 *Āyōdhyaka*- 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 *nu* in *-nudhyātasya*, line 2. The form of the initial *i* in *ity = ēvam*, line 8, and the initial *ā* in *Āyōdhyaka*-, line 10, are further worthy of note. The former agrees with that in the Kahāuṁ 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 *-nudhyātasya* in line 2 with that of *Kumārāmātya* 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 *-gōttra*, lines 5 and 10, but not in *putrō*, line 5, or *putraḥ*, line 6; (2) and after *r* in *-pūrvāyām* and *-āchāryya*-, line 4, in *yathā-kartavya-dhārmika-karmmaṇā*, line 9; (3) the change of *anusvāra* to *n* before *d* in *=syān=divasa=pūrvāyām*, line 4; (4) the use of *chchh* in the beginning of a word in *Chchhandōgy*-, line 4; and the change of *visarga* to *ś* in conjunction with a following *ś*, in *Kumārāmātyaś = Śikhara*-, line 6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Kumāragupta I** of the **Imperial Gupta 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 Prithivīshēṇa, son of **Chandragupta II's Mantri-Kumārāmātya Śikharasvāmin**, who was the son of Viṣṇupālitabhaṭṭa, who, in turn, was the son of Kuramāraṇyabhaṭṭa. This last is described as Preceptor and Chanter of the Sāmavēda and pertaining to the Aśvavājin *gōtra*. Aśvavājin is most probably identical with Vājivājin mentioned as a division of the Kaṇva *gōtra* in the *Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra*.²

¹ *PRAS. N. C.*, 1907-08, p. 39.

² *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, Vol. III, Fasc. I, (No. 1379), p. 435.

KARAMDĀMDĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 117



G. S. Gai

From photograph

It seems that Śikharasvāmin was *Mantri-Kumārāmātya* of Chandragupta II throughout his official career, and that his son, Pṛithivīshēṇa was so at first during the reign of Kumāragupta I but afterwards became *Mahābalādhikṛita*. The gift was made for the worship of Mahādēva known as Pṛithivīśvara, presumably the *liṅga* on which the inscription is engraved. As the name of the god is Pṛithivīśvara, and, of the donor, Pṛithivīshēṇa, 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.¹ 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 Pṛithivīshēṇa in favour of Pṛithivīśvara was laid at the feet of Mahādēva 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 Pṛithivīshēṇa was deposited there for being utilised on behalf of the god Pṛithivīśvara 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 Ayōdhyā, pertained to various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*, and were proficient in penances, sacred recitation, in the *mantras*, *sūtras*, *bhāshyas* and *pravachanas*. About seven letters were engraved thereafter, but these cannot be restored with any degree of plausibility. Only four letters, *dēva-d[r*]ōṇ[y*]ām*, 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 *Trikāṇḍa-śēsha* 2, 7, 8 and the *Hārāvalī* 129.² It seems that the Brāhmaṇas adverted to above were put in charge of this duty in connection with the god Pṛithivīśvara and that, consequently, Pṛithivīshēṇa made his grant for this purpose.

TEXT

- 1 Namō Mahādēvāya |³ Ma[hā]rājā[dhi]rāja-[śrī-**Cha**][**ndragupta**-pād-ā]-
- 2 nudhyātasya chatudhudadhi⁴-salil-āsvādita-ya[śasō Mahārājā*]-
- 3 dhirāja-śrī-**Kumāraguptasya** vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara⁵- śa[tē] saptadaś-[ōttarē]

¹ Thus Alla, son of Vāillabhaṭṭa, who was in charge of the Gōpādri (Gwalior) fort in the time of the Imperial Pratihāra king, Bhōjadēva I, built a temple of Vishṇu called Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 159, line 6) after his father. Nārāyaṇavarman, a feudatory chieftain of the Pāla monarch, Dharmapāla, founded a temple of Vishṇu under the name of Nanna-Nārāyaṇa (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 250, line 50; also p. 247), where the first component, Nanna, is obviously an abbreviation of the founder's name. Corresponding to Nanna-Nārāyaṇa is Kamala-Nārāyaṇa (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 569) under which name the Kadamba queen Kamalādēvī constructed a temple of Vishṇu at Dēgānive. Similarly, Mathanadēva, a feudatory prince of the Imperial Pratihāra king, Kshitipālādēva, founded a temple of Mahādēva called Lachchhukēśvara (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 266, lines 8-9) after his mother Lachchhukā. We read also of a monastery shrine of Śiva named Nōhalēśvara (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 262, line 32 and p. 270, note 46) after Nōhalā, wife of the Kalachuri ruler Kēyūrarvarsha. Similarly we hear of a shrine of Sūrya under the name of Indrādityadēva built by a Chāhamāna chief called Indrarāja (*ibid.*, Vol. XIV, 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 *dēvadrōṇī* here intended. The same word occurs in line 6 of a Talēśvara 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 Paśchimadrōṇī which is mentioned in line 24 and is evidently distinguished from Dēva-drōṇī. This may further be compared to *bṛihad-drōṇī* mentioned as the site of a shrine in a Rajputana inscription summarised in *PRAC. W.C.*, 1909-10, p. 57. Perhaps, this is not the sense of the word *drōṇī* used in this record, as the inscribed *liṅga* stone was found in the plains, and, not in the mountainous region of Uttar Pradesh.

³ Expressed by a curve.

⁴ Read *chatur-udadhi*.

⁵ The reading is clearly *saṁvatsara*- and not *saṁvatsar[ē]* as given by Konow.

- 4 **Kārttikamāsa-daśama-divasē**=syān=divasa-pūrvvāyām [Ch]chhand[ō]g[y]¹-
āchā[ryy-Āśva]-vāji-
5 sa-g[ō]ttra-Kuramaranya²bhaṭṭasya putrō Vishṇupālita-bhaṭṭas=tasya putr[ō]
Mah[ā]r[ā]-
6 jadhijājā³-śrī-**Chandraguptasya** mantri⁴-Kumārāmātyas=**Śikharasvāmy**=abhūt
=tasya putraḥ
7 Pṛithivishēṇō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumārāguptasya mantri⁴-Kumārāmātyō=na-
8 ntaram cha mahābalādhikṛitaḥ⁵ bhagavatō Mahādēvasya Pṛithivīśvara ity=ēvaṁ
samākhyātasya⁶
9 sy=aiva bhagavatō yathā-karttavya-dhārmika-karmmaṇā pāda-śuśrūṣaṇāya
bhagavach=Chhai-
10 lēśvarasvāmi-Mahādēva-pāda-mūlē Āyōdhyaka-nānā-gōttra-charaṇa-tapaḥ-
11 s[v*]ādh[y]ā[ya]-[mantra-sū]t[tra]-bhāsh[ya]-[p][ra] [vachana⁷-pāraga] [i*]
[ā][vartita-saṁsad]-[dēvad][r]ōṇ[y]ām

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) Obeisance to Mahādēva. In the victorious reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Kumārāgupta**, whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans (and) who meditated on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, 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, **Pṛithivishēṇa**, who was (at first) *Mantri-Kumārāmātya* (and) afterwards the *Mahābalādhikṛita* of the prosperous Kumārāgupta the *Mahārājādhirāja*, and who was son of Śikharasvāmin, *Mantri-Kumārāmātya* of the prosperous **Chandragupta (II)**, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, and son of Vishṇupālita-bhaṭṭa who, (in turn) was son of Kuramaranya-bhaṭṭa, a teacher of the Chhandōga and of the Āśvavājin *gōtra* (placed) at the feet of Śailēśvarasvāmin Mahādēva, for the worship of the feet of this same Lord Mahādēva, known as Pṛithivīśvara, with proper religious rites to (*Brāhmaṇas*) from Ayōdhyā, of different *gōtras* and *charaṇas* (and) conversant with penances, recitation of sacred texts, the *mantras*, the *sūtras*, the *bhāshyas* 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-dīn Mondal, were, during the construction of a road, clearing away a heap of earth between two tanks, locally called Haripukur and Khōlākuṭipukur. In course of

¹ Read *Chhāndōgy*.

² The last letter of this name is doubtful. Konow reads *Kuram[ā]ravya*.

³ Read *-jādhirāja*.

⁴ This word is *mantri*- and not *mantri* as read by Konow.

⁵ Read *°kṛitō*.

⁶ Read *samākhyātasy-ā*. There is, however, a horizontal stroke after *śya* and almost attached to it which is perhaps placed there wrongly instead of being placed vertically as a top *mātrā*.

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 *dēvadronyām* 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 $6\frac{3}{8}$ " by $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". 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 $11\frac{1}{8}$ *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 Allahābād 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-ā°*, line 7; (2) *u* in *uttara*, line 11; (3) *ē* in *ēvam*, line 9; (4) of the sign for *b* in three cases, namely, *Śāmbapāla*, line 6 and *brāhmaṇa*, line 6 correctly, but *para-dattām=bā*, line 12, incorrectly; (5) the peculiar form *ṭṭ* in *bhaṭṭāraka*, 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 *ṭh*, e.g., in *-dhishṭhāṇ-ādhi-*, line 4, *g*, e.g., in *-yōgāya*, line 7, *dh* in, e.g., *-dhāraṇa-*, lines 10-11; (7) the form for the conjunct *hma* in *brāhmaṇa-*, line 6, which has, however, to be distinguished from an almost similar sign for *hya* in *-samgrīhya*, line 10; and (8) the peculiar form of ending *m* in *kulyavāpam=ēkam* and *dattam*, 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 *-chandr-ārka*, line 8, *-sārthavāha*, line 5, *Puṇḍravarddhana-* line 2, *-Karppatikēna*, line 6, *-Vētravarmma*, line 4, and *-dharmmēna*, line 9, and (2) the use of *v* for *b* and *b* for *v*, as in *Vandhumitra*, line 5, and *para-dattām=bā*, line 12.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of *Paramadaivata 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 Phālguna (February-March). Under Kumāragupta was Chirātadatta as Head (*Uparika*) of the **Puṇḍravardhana** province (*bhukti*); and in the **Kōṭivarsha** district (*vishaya*), under the latter the court (*adhikaraṇa*) of the Town (*adhishṭhāna*) was being administered by *Kumārāmātya Vētravarman* appointed by Chirātadatta, along with the *Nagara-śrēshṭhin* Dhṛitipāla, the *Sārthavāha* Bandhumitra, the *Prathama-Kulika* Dhṛitimitra and the *Prathama-Kāyastha*¹ Śāmbapāla. And the **object** of the inscription is to record the purchase of one *kulyavāpa*² by a Brāhmaṇa, Karpatika by name,

¹ For the explanation of these four terms, see Introduction, pp. 101—03.

² *Kulyavāpa* consists of the two words *kulya* and *vāpa*. *Vāpa* was known as early as the time of Pāṇini who has referred to it in *tasya vāpaḥ* (V. 1.45) upon which Bhaṭṭōji Dikshita's gloss is as follows: *upyatē asminn=itī vāpaḥ kshētram | prasthasya vāpaḥ prāsthikam | drauṇikam | khārikam |* "Vāpa is that wherein is sown (a quantity of seed), that is, a field. *Prāsthika*, *drauṇika* or *khārika* is a field sown with (a quantity of grain measuring) a *prastha*, *drōṇa* or *khāri*" Similarly *kulyavāpa* must signify 'a field where is sown seed measuring one *kulya*,' *kulya* being equal to
(Contd. on p. 284)

for the purpose of his *agnihōtra* 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 Puṇḍravardhana was the name of a *bhukti* or province and that Kōṭivarsha was one *vishaya* or district comprised in it. Puṇḍravardhana has been known ever since the time of the Maurya rulers, as is clear from the Mahāsthān inscription.¹ Though there is no epigraphic evidence of an early epoch in favour of the antiquity of Kōṭivarsha, scriptural and Paurāṇic evidence is, by no means, wanting. Thus, the Jaina *Kalpasūtra*² mentions three *śākhās* of the Gōḍāsa-gaṇa or Division of Jaina monks, one named after Puṇḍravardhana, another after Kōṭivarsha and a third after Tāmralipti, 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 Bhāsu 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 Chwang 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 *Pun-na-fa-tan-na*³ which transcribes itself into Puṇḍravardhana but is obviously intended for Puṇḍravardhana. "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."⁴ The suggestion of Cunningham was, before long, confirmed by the *Karatōyāmāhātmya* which was first published about half a century ago.⁵ This work mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthān; and, further, though it calls itself *Karatōyāmāhātmya*, it purports to describe the sacred sites of Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravardhana-kshētra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthān is identical with the old Puṇḍravardhana. There are good reasons to suppose that the *Māhātmya* could not have been composed later than 1100 A.D. We may thus, take it that the identity of Mahāsthān with Puṇḍravardhana was known before the twelfth century A.D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by the Mahāsthān inscription. It is, no doubt, a fragment of an inscription, but speaks of a *Kōshthāgāra* or royal granary in existence at Puṇḍranagara. And as this fragmentary inscription was picked up from the ruins of Mahāsthān, it is obvious that they represent the vestiges of the old Puṇḍravardhana. Kōṭivarsha also was an equally ancient place. It has been mentioned above that one *śākhā* of the Jaina Gōḍāsa-gaṇa was

eight *drōṇas* 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 Talēśvar grant of Viṣṇu-varman, which speaks of Vajrashala-kshētra as *kulyavāpa*, Mālavaka-kshētra as *khārivāpa* and so forth (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 119, lines 13-14). Further, Nalinikanta Bhattasali seems to be right in saying "the term *Kudavā*, 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 *Kulavāya*, 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 *Arthasāstra*, II. 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 *drōṇas*.'

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 83 ff.

² *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 84-86.

³ Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 184-85.

⁴ *ASIR.*, Vol. XV, p. 110.

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 Sarvānanda (1159 A.D.) in his *Ṭikāsarvasva* on the *Amarakōsha* and two in the *Smṛitichandrikā* by Dēvanabhaṭṭa who is himself quoted by Hēmādri (12th century) (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 248-49). This shows that the *Karatōyāmāhātmya* is a composition which cannot be later than 1100 A.D.

DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I:

THE YEAR 124

i, a



i, b



named after Kōṭivarsha. Kōṭivarsha is also mentioned by the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*¹ as the place where the twenty-fifth incarnation of Śiva took place. The *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*² of Hēma-chandra and the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣha*³ of Purushōttamadēva give Dēvikōṭa, Ushāvana, Bāṇapura and Śōṇitapura as other names of Kōṭivarsha. There is a place in the West Dinajpur District of West Bengal called Bāṅgarh or Bāṅ-nagar⁴ which is full of ancient remains and which is said to be the capital of the celebrated Asura ruler, Bāṇa, father of Ushā. And, further, this Bāṅgarh is still locally known as Dēvikōṭa. This indicates that Kōṭivarsha, the headquarters of a district falling under Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*, is to be identified with this Bāṅgarh or Dēvikōṭa. Kōṭivarsha as a district (*vishaya*) persisted as late as the Pāla period, and, Puṇḍravardhana, as a *bhukti*, even later, that is, in the Sēna period.

TEXT

[Metre: Verse 1 *Anuṣṭubh.*]

First Side

- 1 **Samva 100 20 4 Phālguna**⁵ **di 7** Paramadaivata-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārāj[ā]-
- 2 dhirāja-śrī-**Kumāraguptē** pṛithivīpatau tat-pāda-parigṛihitē⁶ **Puṇḍravardha-**
- 3 **[na*]-**
- 3 bhuktād⁷=Uparika-Chirātadatēn⁸=ānuvalavānaka⁹ **Kōṭivarsha**-vishayē cha ta-
- 4 n-niyuktaka-Kumārāmātya-Vētravarmmany¹⁰=adhishṭhāṇ-ādhi¹¹karaṇāṅ=cha
- 5 Nagaraśrēshṭhi-
- 5 Dhṛitipāla-Sārtthavāha-Vandhu¹²mitra-Prathamakulika-Dhṛitimitra-Prathamakā-
- 6 [ya*]-
- 6 stha-Śāmbapāla-purōgē samvyavaharati yataḥ brāhmaṇa-Karppatikēṇa¹³
- 7 vijñāpita[m] araha(rhat)ha mam=āgnihōtr-ōpayōgāya aprad-āprahata-khi-
- 8 la-kshētra[r̄n] traidinārikya-kulyavāpēṇa¹⁴ śāśvatā[d=ā]-chandr-ārka-tāraka-
- 9 bhōjyē

Second Side

- 9 yā¹⁵ nīvi-dharmmēṇa dātum=iti ēvaṁ diyatām=ity=utpannē trinī¹⁶ dinā[rāṇy=
- 10 u*]-
- 10 paśiṅgrihya yataḥ Pustapāla-Riśidatta-Jayanandi-Vibhudattānām=avadhā-
- 11 raṇayā Ḍōṅgāyā uttarapaśchinaddēśē¹⁷ kulyavāpam=ēkam¹⁸ dattam¹⁸ [u*]

¹ Chap. XXIII, v. 209.

² Chap. IV, verse 977.

³ II. 197.

⁴ *CASIR.*, Vol. XV, p. 95.

⁵ Read *Phālguna*.

⁶ Read *-grihitēna*.

⁷ Read *-bhuktāv=Uparika-*.

⁸ Read *-Chirātadattēn=*.

⁹ Read *=ānuvohamānakē*.

¹⁰ Read *-Vētravarmmany=*.

¹¹ Read *=adhishṭhāṇ-ādhi-*

¹² Read *-Bandhu-*.

¹³ Read *-Karppatikēna*.

¹⁴ Read *-vāpēna*.

¹⁵ Read *-bhōgyatayā*.

¹⁶ Read *trinī*.

¹⁷ Read *-paśchim-ōddēśē*.

¹⁸ The ending *m* is here expressed by a symbol.

- 12 Sva-dattām para-dattām = bā¹ yō harēta vasum̄dharām² [i*] bhūmi³-[dāna]-sam̄va
(ba)ddhā[h*] ślōkā bhava[nti]
13 sa viśṭhāyām krimir⁴ = bhūtvā pitṛibhi⁵ saha pachyatē [|| 1*] [i*]ti [||*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) **The year is 100** (and) **20** (and) **4**, (the month) **Phālguna**, the day **7**, while *Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭārka Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Kumāragupta** is the lord of the earth; and while the **Kōṭivarsha** district is running on with (the rule of) Chirātadatta,⁶ 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-srēshṭhin* Dhṛitipāla, the *Sārthavāha* Bandhumitra, the *Prathama-Kulika* Dhṛitimitra (and) the *Prathama-Kāyastha*⁸ Śāmbapāla.

(Lines 6-9) Whereas the Brāhmaṇa Karpaṭika has applied: "Deign to make over a strip of wasteland,⁹ unploughed (and) not yielding (anything), for being used for my *Agnihōtra* rites, at the rate of three *dināras* a *kulyavāpa*, to be enjoyed (by me) for ever, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars (endure), in accordance with the *nivīdharma*;¹⁰

¹ Read -dattām vā.

² Read -dharām.

³ This should have preceded the imprecatory verse.

⁴ Read krimir =.

⁵ Read pitṛibhih.

⁶ The phrase in this record is -Chirātadattēn = ānuvahamānaka-Kōṭivarsha-vishayē. In No. 24, below, it is -Chirātadattasya bhōgēn = ānuvahamānaka-Kōṭivarsha-vishayē. In No. 41, below, it is -Jayadattasya bhōgēn = ānuvahamānakē Kōṭivarsha-vishayē; and in No. 47, below, -rājaputra-dēva-bhaṭṭārakasya hasty-aśva-jana-bhōgēn = ānuvahamānakē Kōṭivarsha-vishayē. In every one of the last three cases which are perfectly analogous with the first one, *ānuvahamānaka* is preceded by *bhōgēna*. The phrase in our record should, therefore, be corrected into *Chirātadatta-bhōgēn = ānuvahamānaka*. *Anuvahamānaka*, of course, means 'flowing on, running on.' *Bhōga* has several senses, one of which is 'rule, governance, authority,' a sense which is supported by the phraseology *hasty-aśva-jana-bhōgēna* occurring in No. 47, below. Perhaps, a better rendering of *bhōga* would be 'enjoyment (of power)'.

⁷ *Adhikaraṇam... sam̄vyavaharati* 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 *vyavahāra*, 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 Basādh, the ancient Vaiśālī, he lighted upon many seals of the early Gupta period, bearing such legends as: *Kumārāmātya-adhikaraṇasya*, *yuvārāja-bhaṭṭāraka-pādiya-bal-adhikaraṇasya*, *Śrī-rajabhāṇḍāgār-adhikaraṇasya*, *Dāṇḍapās-adhikaraṇasya*, and so forth (*A.R. ASI.*, 1903-04, pp. 107 ff). This shows that the term *adhikaraṇa* was used in the sense of 'Kachahri' 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 *Pañchakula* or Panchāyat for the town so frequently referred to in the mediaeval inscriptions of North India; compare e.g., *tan-niyukta-maham̄ Gajasiha-prabhṛiti-panchakula-pratipattau* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 57, lines 5-6). It is worthy of note that Vētravarman is here 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*, *Nagara-srēshṭhin* and so forth, see Introduction, pp. 101 ff.

⁹ Sanskrit lexicons make *khila* synonymous with *aprahata*. Here, however, a distinction is sought to be made. *Aprahata* is 'fallow land,' but *khila* apparently denotes 'land never tilled.'

¹⁰ In II.9.80, Amara makes *nivī*, *paripaṇa* and *mūladhana* as synonymous terms; and in III.3.212, he assigns to the word the two senses of *strī-kaṭi-vastra-bandha* and *paripaṇa*. A commentary called *Mukuṭa*, however, distinguishes between *paripaṇa* and *mūladhana*. The first is *rājaputr-ādēr = bandhakē*, 'giving of a prince etc., as a hostage;' and the second, *vanijām mūladhanē*, 'the capital or principal invested with traders.' *Haima* also gives these three different senses to that term by saying *nivī strī-kaṭi-vastra-bandhanē mūla-dravyē paripaṇē* (see in the *Nāmalingānuśāsana* published by the Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, the commentary on III.3.312). The word *nivī* occurs also in other records

(Lines 9-11) It being resolved that it might be granted, one *kulyavāpa* (of land) was given (him) on acceptance of three *dināras* in the region north-west of Ḍōṅgā according to the determination of the record-keepers, Rīśidatta, 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 KUMĀRAGUPTA 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 *sarvva*, 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 *māradāsa-bhaṭṭa*. So his name seems to have been Kumāradāsabhaṭṭa.¹ 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 *nivīdharmā-kshaya*, line 7 of No. 19 above and *akshaya-nivī*, 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. 15, 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) *nivī*, (2) *akshaya-nivī* and (3) *nivī-dharma*. *Nivī* 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 *akshaya-nivī* 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 (*dharma*) of money laid by (*nivī*) was that it fetched interest (*vyiddhi*) whether it was deposited temporarily or perpetually. And in the present instance if the phrase *nivī-dharma* 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.

¹ Cf. Jayabhaṭṭa occurring in another Mathurā stone image inscription of the Gupta year 230 (*CII*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 273).

TEXT ¹

- 1 śr[i]-**Kumāraguptasya** v[i]ja[ya]-r[ā]jya-sa[m]vva[t]² 100 20 5³ [Ā]śvayuja-
māsē di 9 ṛ asy[ām] divasa-pū[rv]v[ā]y[ām] Māthura[s]ya
 2 . mārādāsa⁴[bha]ṭṭa-vijñāyamānasya [i*] yad=a[tra] puṇyāṁ tad=bhavatu mātā-
 pitrōḥ sarvva-sa[t*]tvānām ch=ānuttara-
 3⁵ ॥

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]mārādāsabhaṭṭa, 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 KUMĀRAGUPTA 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. Dikshit 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" x 3- $\frac{5}{8}$ ". 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- $\frac{1}{8}$ *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 *adhishṭhāna*, line 4, *arhatha*, line 6, and *api*, line 11; (2) the initial *ē* as in *ētaḍ-*, line 7, and *ētaṣmād=*, 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 *dhāraṇayā*, 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.

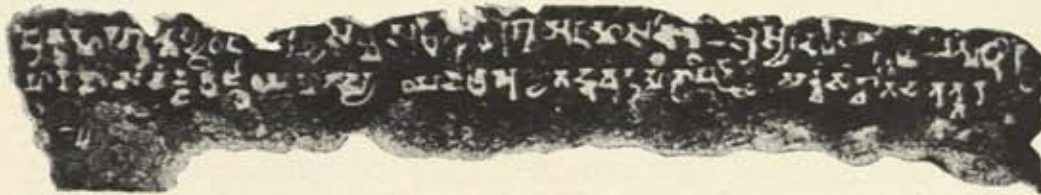
² Read *samvatsarē*.

³ This figure is slightly damaged.

⁴ The reading may be restored as Kumārādāsa.

⁵ All the letters in this line are lost.

MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I: YEAR 125



G. S. Gai

From photograph

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 the words *anuvahamānaka*, and *niyuktaka* 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, *Puṇḍravardhana-*, line 2, *-varmmani*, line 4, *dharmma-*, line 10, *maryyādayā*, line 7, *pūrva-*, line 11, and *vahubhir=vvasudhā*, line 12, but not of *th* as in *-Sārthavāha-*, line 4, (2) the use of *m* instead of *anusvāra* in conjunction with a following *v* as in *samvyavaharati*, line 5, *samvyavahāribhiḥ* 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 *Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka 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 Vaiśākha** (April-May). The Officers in charge of the **Puṇḍravardhana bhukti** and of the *Kacheri* of the town (*adhishṭhāna*) of **Kōṭivarsha** 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 *drōṇas* made by a Brāhmaṇa whose name is undecipherable owing to the badly corroded condition of the plate, for the purpose of conducting the five daily sacrifices (*pañcha-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 (*airāvata*) devoid of cattle (*agu*) but had comprised water-drawing wheels (*araghaṭṭas*) and drinking-places (*pānakas*).

As for the five *drōṇas* of land two *dināras* were paid and as the rate for one *kulyavāpa* was three *dināras*, it is obvious that the *kulya* in this part of the province was equivalent to $7\frac{1}{2}$ *drōṇas* and not 8 as appears from other records.

TEXT

[Metre : Verses 1-2 *Anuṣṭubh*]

First Side

- 1 Sa[m*] 100 20 8 Vaiśākha-di 10 3 Para[madaiva]ta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-
Mahārājādhirāja-[Śrī]-[Kumāraguptē]
- 2 Pṛithivīpatau [tat-pāda]-parigṛihītasya Pu[ṇḍra]vardhana-bhuktāv=Upa[rika-
Chi]rātadatta[sya]
- 3 bhōgēn=ā[nuva]ha[mānaka]¹ Kōṭiva[rsha]-vishayē tan-niyuktaka-Ku[mā]
rāmātya-Vē[tra]-
- 4 varmmani adhishṭhān-ā[dhika]ra[ṇāṅ=cha] Nagara-[śrē]shṭhi-Dhṛitipāla-Sārtha-
vā[ha-Vandhumi]tra² Pra[tha]
- 5 makulika-Dhṛitimitra-Prathamakāyastha-[Śarṇva]pāla³-purō[gē] samvyava[hara]ti
.. sa....
- 6 vijñāpitaṁ a[rha]tha mama pa[ncha]-mahāyajña-pravarttanāy=ānuvṛitt-āprad-
ākshaya-nī...⁴
- 7 maryyādayā dātum=iti [i*] ētad=vijñāpyam=upalabhya pustapā[la]-Riśidatta-
Jayana[ndi-Vi].....⁵

¹ Read *-mānakē*.

² Read *-Bandhumitra-*.

³ Read *-Śāmbapāla-*.

⁴ This may perhaps be restored to *-nīvi-dharmā-*.

⁵ This may be restored to *Vibhudattānām=ava-*.

- 8 dhāraṇayā dīyatām=ity=u[tpa]nnē ētasmād=ya[th-ā]nuvṛitta-traidīnāri[kya-ku]lyavāpē[na]

Second Side

- 9 [dva]yam=upa[samgrī]hya [Airā]vat-ā[gu]¹-rājyē paśchiṇa²-diśi pañcha-drō[nā]
 10 aragha[ṭṭa]-pānakaiś=cha³ sahit=ēti⁴ dattāḥ [i*] tad=uttara-kālam samvyava-
 hāribhiḥ [dharmmam=avēkshy=ā]nu[ma]-
 11 ntavyāḥ [i*] api cha bhūmi-dāna-samvaddhām=imau⁵ ślōkau bhavataḥ [i*] Pūrvva-
 dattām dvijāti[bhyō]
 12 yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [i*] mahīm mahīvatām⁶ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=
 nupālanam [i*] Vahubhir⁷=vvasudhā dattā di[ya]tē cha
 13 punaḥ punaḥ [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam=i(lam [i 2*]
 i)ti [i*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-5) The **year** (is) **100** (and) **20** (and) **8**, (the month) **Vaiśākha**, the day **7**, while *Paramudaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* the prosperous **Kumārgupta** is the lord of the earth; (and) while the **Kōṭivarsha** District is running on with the rule of Chirātadatta, *Uparika* in the **Puṇḍravardhana** province, selected by His (Majesty's) feet; and while *Kumārāmātya Vētravarman*, appointed by him (Chirātadatta), is administering the Board of the Town, presiding over the *Nagara-śrēshṭhin* Dhṛitipāla, the *Sārthavāha* Bandhumitra, the *Prathama-kulika* Dhṛitimitra, (and) the *Prathama Kāyastha* Śāmbapāla.

(Lines 5-7) Whereas . . . has applied: "Deign to give (a plot of land) according to the customary (*anuvṛitta*) rules (*maryādā*) of perpetual (*nivī* Law) in respect of (land) not yielding anything (*apradā*)⁸ for instituting my five great sacrifices⁹ (*pañcha-mahāyājña*),"

(Lines 7-11) "After receiving this application, is being resolved that it might be granted

¹ Perhaps the letter preceding *-rājyē* is *gu*, and not *gō* 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 *pañcha-drō[nāma]kāḥ ha[ṭṭa]-pānakaiś=cha* which words make no sense.

⁴ Read *-sahitā iti*.

⁵ Read *-sambaddhāv=imau*.

⁶ Read *mahīmatām*.

⁷ Read *Bahubhir=*,

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 *apradākshya* (*nivī*) (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-dharmēya* in plate No. 5 (No. 47 below, in the place of *nivī dharmēya*) the phrase *apradākshaya* may here be explained as in the case of '*nivī dharmā-kshaya*', 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 *apradākshaya*."

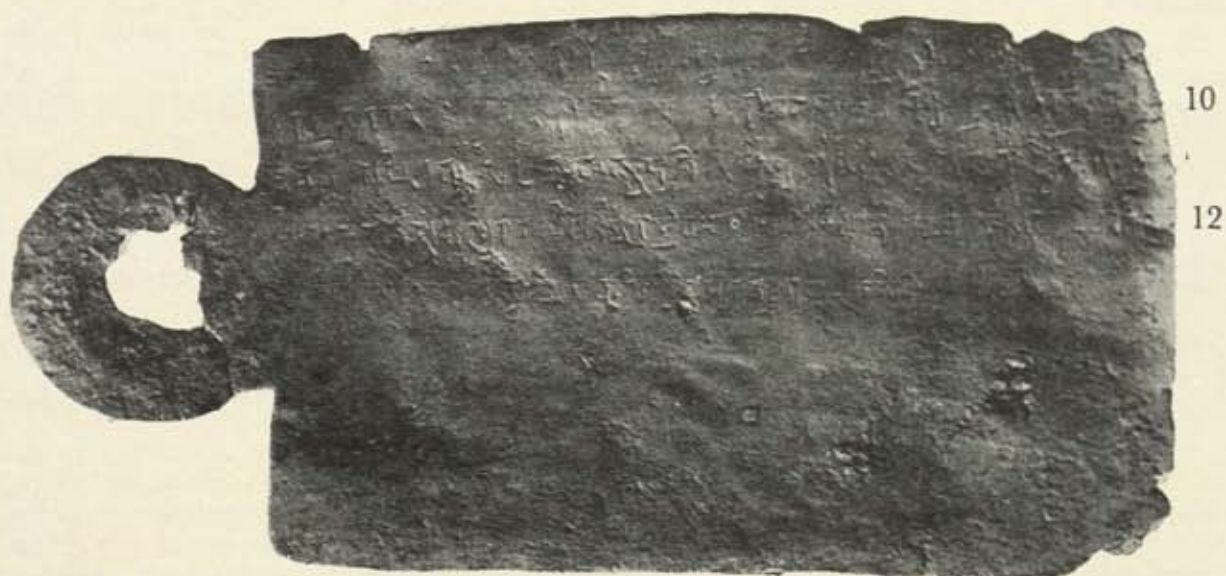
⁹ These have been explained in *Manu*, III, 68-71, "A householder has five slaughter-houses (at it were, *viz.*) the hearth (*chullī*), the grinding-stone (*pēshaṇī*), the broom (*upaskara*), the pestle and mortar (*kaṇḍanī*), the water-vessel (*uda-kumbha*), by using which he is bound (with the fetters 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 (*tarpaṇa*) is sacrifice to the Manes (*pitri-yajña*); burnt oblation (*hōma*) is (Sacrifice) to Gods (*Daiva*); Bali offering is (Sacrifice) to *Bhūtas*; (and) hospitable reception of guests (*atithi-pūjana*) is Sacrifice to men (*nri-yajña*)."

DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I:
THE YEAR 128

i, a



i, b



according to the determination of the record-keepers Riśidatta, Jayanandin and Vibhudatta, five *drōṇas* of land were given together with drinking-places and water-drawing wheels, on acceptance of two *dināras*, at the established rate of three *dināras* of each *kulyavāpa*, in the western quarter, in the waterless region destitute of cows.¹ These *drōṇas* (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 (Brāhmaṇas) Yudhishṭhira, 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 KUMARAGUPTA 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 *CASIR.*, 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 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XVI, p. 354. It was afterwards edited by J. F. Fleet in *CHI.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 45 ff. and Plate VI A.

Mankuwār² is a small village near the right bank of the Jamunā, about nine miles in a south-westerly direction from Arail or Arayal, the chief town of the Arail Pargaṇā in the Karchhanā 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 Mankuwār, belonging to the Gōsāi of Dēōriyā³ or Dēwariyā. But it is said to have been originally discovered in a brick mound between the five rocky hillocks called Pañch-Pahāḍ, a short distance to the north-east of Mankuwār. 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 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high in the first line, and 1" in the second, is in a state of excellent preservation. The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{7}{16}$ ". 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 *Airāvāt-āgu-rājyē paśchima-dīśi* has been translated by Basak as "in the west of Airāvata(?)" But one of the meanings given by Apte's *Dictionary* to *Airāvata* is 'a vast and waterless region.' This suits here excellently. In that case we have to read *Airāvāt-āgu-rājyē*, where *āgu* can be easily taken to signify 'destitute of cows, poor.' Such a tract of land must have been interspersed with "drinking-places and water-drawing wheels."

² The 'Mankūār and Manhowar' 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 Mankuwār, Bhagwanlal Indraji writes the name 'Devaliā.'

Plate I. The peculiar form of ending *m* in *prahāṇ-ārttham*, 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 *Mahārājādhirāja*. 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 Hūṇas, whose attacks on the Gupta power are so pointedly alluded to in the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta" (No. 31 below).¹ 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**² (448-49 A.D.), and **the eighteenth day**, without any specification of the fortnight, of the month **Jyēshṭha** (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 Buddhmitra; and as the Buddha is here described as *sva-mat-āviruddha*, 'uncontroverted in respect of his own tenets,' it shows, says K. B. Pathak, "that this Bhikshu Buddhmitra of the Mankuwār inscription was identical with the Buddhmitra who was the teacher of Vasubandhu," whose "patrons mentioned by Paramārtha were Skandagupta-Vikramāditya and Narasimhagupta-Bālāditya."³ But in this connection we have to take note also of the attributives used with reference to the Buddha in the Mathurā pedestal inscription,⁴ namely, *bhagavatō pitāmahasya Sammya[k*]-sambuddhasya svamatasya dēvasya*. Every one of the words occurring in this phraseology is an attributive of Samyaksambuddha. It will not, therefore, be a correct procedure to take *svamatasya* 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, *sva-mata* of the above phraseology seems identical with *sva-mata* of the expression *sva-mat-āviruddhasya* found in our record. What can *sva-mata* mean? It seems that from this phrase has somehow originated the name, Sāmmitiya, of a well-known sect and school of Buddhism. Nobody has yet been able to give any satisfactory derivation of Sāmmitiya. It is met with for the first time in a Sarnath epigraph. It is transcribed as *Sa[mmi]tiyānām* by Vogel. The impression, however, shows that the first two letters are *sa-vmyā*. It seems *vā* has been wrongly tacked on to *my(a)*. This is indicated by a thin indentation joining *vā* to the preceding *sa*. So we perhaps have to read here *svāmyatiyānām*, which appears to be intended for *svāmatiyānām*. And *Svāmatiya* can easily run into *Sāmmitiya*. The question that now arises is: What did the original *Svāmatiya* 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.

¹ We may compare the legend on the copper coins of Chandragupta II, *Mahārāja-Chandraguptah* (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.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97.

MANKUWAR STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF KUMARAGUPTA I: THE YEAR 129



2

G. S. Gai

From photograph

TEXT¹

- 1 Ōm² Namō Budhāna³ [!*] Bhagavatō samyak-sambuddhasya sva-mat-āviruddhasya
iyam pratimā pratishṭhāpitā bhikshu-Buddhamitrēṇa
2 Samvat 100 20 9 mahārāja-śri-Kumāraguptasya rājyē Jyēshṭha-māsa di 10 8
sarvva-duḥkha⁴-prahān-ārttham⁵ [!]*

TRANSLATION

Ōm !⁶ Obeisance to the Buddhas !⁷ This image of the Divine One, who completely attained to perfect enlightenment, (and) who was uncontroverted in respect of his tenets, has been installed by the Bhikshu **Buddhamitra**, (in) **the year 100** (and) **20** (and) **9**; in the reign of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious **Kumāragupta**; (in) **the month Jyēshṭha**; (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 **Gadhwā**, 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. Fleet 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 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of practically the same type as those of No. 8 above.

¹ From the ink-impression.

² As was 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 1 of the Shergaḍh (Kōṭāh) inscription of the Sāmanta Dēvadatta dated Vikrama 847 (D. R. Bhandarkar's *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 21).

³ The form *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 Kushāna period. The use again of genitive after *namō* is common enough in Monumental Prakrit; e.g., in the Hāthigumpha cave inscription of Khāravēla, which commences with *Namō Arihaṅtānaṁ namō sava-siddhānaṁ* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 79), in the Mathurā record beginning with *Namō Arhatō Mahāvīrasa* (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 8), in the Amarāvati stūpa inscription, opening with *Sidham Namō bhagavatō sava-satutanasa Budhasa* (*ASSI.*, Vol. III; *Notes on the Amarāvati Stūpa*, p. 12, No. 12 B) and others too numerous to mention.

⁴ Read *duḥkha*.

⁵ Read *prahāṅ-ārttham*.

⁶ Ōm 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, Viṣṇu (*a*), Śiva (*u*), and Brahman (*m*). The efficacy of the exclamation is detailed in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, ii, verses 74-85 (Bühler's Translation, *SBE.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 43-44).

⁷ With this plural, compare the mention of four Buddhas in the Sāñchī inscription of the year 131 (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 62, Plate XXXVIII b) and also *Bhagavatām samyak-sambuddhānām Buddhānām*, "of the divine Buddhas, who attained to complete enlightenment" in line 22 of the Wāla grant of Dhruvasēna 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. *S* 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 Brāhmaṇas from Sadāsattra.

TEXT

- 1 Jitam bhagavatā ¹ Pa[ra][mabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja*]-
- 2 śrī-Kumā[ragu]pta[ssya² rā][jyasamvatsarē*].....
- 3 **divasē 10** [as][yām divasa-pūrvvāyām*].....
- 4 rā Pā[ṭalipu]tra³.....
- 5Sadāsat[t*]ra-sā[mā][nya*].....
- 6 [da*][ttā] di[nā]rāḥ 10 ta(?).....
- 7 ti sattrē cha dīnārās-tray . [.||*][Yās=ch=ainam dharmma-skandham vyuchchhi*]-
- 8 ndyāt=sā pañcha-mahāpā[takaiḥ saṃyuktaḥ syād=iti ||*]
- 9 Gōyindā-lakshmā⁴.....

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vāsudēva).⁵ [In the year] of the (Gupta) Rule⁶..... pertaining to the prosperous **Kumāragupta**, [the *Mahārājādhirāja*], an ardent [devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva)]⁷ on the day 10; when this (was the specification of the date):⁸

(Lines 3-7)Pāṭaliputra.....the township of Sadāsattra⁹.....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

BASĀRĪH CLAY SEAL INSCRIPTION OF GHAṬŌTKACHAGUPTA

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-

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 **Basārīh** 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 $1\frac{1}{8}$ " by $\frac{3}{4}$ ". It is difficult to say to what variety of the Gupta alphabet the **characters** belong, because though *s* here, 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 **Ghaṭōtkachagupta**. According to Bloch, he is "perhaps identical with the Mahārāja Ghaṭōtkacha, 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 Ghaṭōtkaca were known as Ghaṭōtkacagupta, he should not be given this name in any known inscription."¹ 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 Ghaṭōtkacagupta. The most important of these, and the one which gives the key to the date of the whole collection, is a seal of the 'Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, queen of the Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta [II], and mother of the Mahārāja Govindagupta'. Dhruvasvāminī is clearly the Dhruvadēvī of the inscriptions, and the date of the seal may be placed towards the end of the reign of Candragupta II, the latter being still alive, and Govindagupta governor of Vaiśālī for his father. Many of the seals are clearly those of contemporary 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 Ghaṭōtkaca with Ghaṭōtkacagupta of the seal." This line of reasoning is worthy of acceptance except in one minor respect, because Allan contends that the seal of Ghaṭōtkachagupta 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta who apparently was his son and governor of Airikiṇa. 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta of our seal is identical with the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the Tumain inscription. It is, however, somewhat doubtful whether he is the same as the Ghaṭōtkachagupta 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 Ghaṭōtkacagupta"² of the seal. The above statements Allan has made in his book in that part of the Introduction which deals with

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, etc.*, pp. xvi and xvii.

² *Ibid.*, p. liv.

'History and Chronology,' but in the actual 'Catalogue of Coins'¹ 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 Ghaṭōtkachagupta of the seal and the inscription is identical with the Ghaṭōtkachagupta of this coin. In other words, the inscription, the seal and the coin refer to a Ghaṭōtkachagupta who was situated chronologically between Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. It further seems that when the inscription was engraved and the seal was issued, Ghaṭōtkachagupta was a mere governor, but that he was a king when the coin was struck.

TEXT

Ś[r]i-Ghaṭat[ka]²chaguptasya [l*]

TRANSLATION

(The seal) of the prosperous **Ghaṭōtkachagupta**.

No. 28 : PLATE XXVIII

JUNĀGAḌH 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 Indrajī. And in 1876, Bhau Daji's text and translation, the latter revised by Professor Eggeling, were reprinted in the *ASWI.*, Vol. II, pp. 134 ff., accompanied by a slightly reduced reproduction of the original lithograph from Bhagwanlal Indrajī'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.

Junāgaḍh³ is the chief town of the Junāgaḍh District in the Kāṭhiāwāḍ⁴ 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, Girnār, which in the inscriptions is called *Ūrjayat*; 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 Aśōka edicts and a long inscription of the *Mahākshatrpa* Rudradāman, now under a shed specially built to

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, etc., p. 149.

² Correct it into -*Ghaṭōtkacha*-.

³ The 'Joonaghur, Junagad, 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.

BASĀRĪH CLAY SEAL INSCRIPTION OF GHAṬŌTKACHAGUPTA



G. S. Gai

From photograph

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 $\frac{9}{10}$ " to $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". 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 *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman on the same rock; it may be called the Saurāshtra or Kāthiāwāḍ alphabet of the fifth century A.D. One of its most marked characteristics is the way in which the subscript *y* 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; *vyasanī*, line 6; *nyāy-*, 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 *ś*, in *-vaśsa-*, line 24; (2) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y*, in *buddhyā*, line 5; and (3) the indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r*; e.g. the consonant is doubled in *-ārttham*, line 1, *-ārttir=*, line 2, and *-darpp-*, line 3; but not in *-viryō*, line 2, *-paryanta-*, line 3, *sarvān=*, line 5, *-ārjav-*, line 7, and *-ārjanē=rthasya*, line 8.

The inscription divides itself into two parts: the first is concerned with the renovation of the embankment of the Sudarśana 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 Vishṇu, 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 fame of this Gupta sovereign was proclaimed by his enemies who were forced by him to return to the Mlēchchha country. Obviously these enemies must have been Mlēchchhas themselves who invaded the Gupta territory but were repulsed and compelled to return to the Mlēchchha country from which they had come. In all likelihood these Mlēchchha enemies were the Hūṇas whose terrific onset against Skandagupta has been so vividly described in the Bhitārī pillar inscription (No. 31 below). Verses 11-13 narrate how Skandagupta appointed a certain Parṇadatta to govern the Surāshtra country, that is, Kāthiāwāḍ, which was included in his kingdom. Parṇadatta'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 Sudarśana (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 Raivatāka and also the

river Palāśinī, being free from all barrier and overflowing their banks, met the sea; and it appeared as if Mount Ūrjayat stretched out its hand in the shape of this river (*i.e.* the Palāśinī), touching its friend, the sea. The breach made was 100 cubits in depth, sixty-eight in length and 7 *purushas* 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-taṭāka-saṁskāra-graṁtha-rachanā samāptā*.

The second part, lines 24 to the end, seems to have mentioned Skandagupta and Parṇadatta 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 Vaishṇava 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 Viṣṇu under the name of Chakrabhṛit, 'the bearer of discus,' on Mount Ūrjayat, 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, **Surāshṭra** is modern Kāṭhiāwāḍ, the southern part of which is still known as Sōraṭh. It is an old name, being first mentioned by Kauṭalya who speaks of the Surāshṭras along with the Kambōjas and Kshatriyas as a tribal corporation (*saṁgha*) subsisting upon both agriculture and arms. It thus seems that Kāṭhiāwāḍ was known as Surāshṭra in the ancient period because the Surāshṭra tribe had been settled in that province. Surāshṭra has also been referred to in the *Śikshā* associated with the name of Pāṇini. It is the Surashtrenē of the *Periplus of the Erythraen 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 Bhagwanlal Indraji identified with Junāgaḍh which was once called Maṇipura. 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 **Ūrjayat**, the river **Palāśinī** 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 Ūrjayat. Mērutuṅga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, while describing the animosity between the Digambara and Śvētāmbara sects of Jainism at Raivataka, speaks of Ujjayanta (=Ūrjayat) as another name of it and of Girinagara as being settled upon it. But according to the Kāṭhiāwāḍ volume of the *B.G.*, "The ancient name of the Girnār hill is Ujjayanta or Girnār, 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 Ūrjayat and places the town (Girinagara) at the foot of Ūrjayat. 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 Nausārī charter¹ issued by the Gūrjara king Jayabhāṭa III in the Kalachuri saṁvat 456. As regards the river Palāśinī, it is worthy of note that it is mentioned along with the Suvarṇasikatā in Rudradāman's inscription as both rising from Mount Ūrjayat. The late F. Kielhorn who

¹ *CII.*, Vol. IV, pp. 82 ff.

edited the record last identifies the Suvarṇarēkhā with the Sōnrēkhā on the authority of Bhagwanlal Indrajī, but in regard to the Palāśinī makes the remark that its name does not survive. But the Kāṭhiāwāḍ volume of the *B.G.* tells us that "a little further on," that is, between the boulder bearing inscriptions and the Girnār hill, "is the Palāśinī bridge built by Sundarjī Shavjī, the first native agent to the British Government in the Political Department in Kāṭhiāwāḍ." This shows that the river Palāśinī is still in existence. Rudradāman's inscription mentions another river, namely, the Suvarṇasikatā, side by side with the Palāśinī. It has been rightly identified with the Sōnrēkhā. As regards the embankment referred to in the record, attention may be drawn to the fact that remains of it were discovered in 1890 by Khan Bahadur Ardeeser Jamshetjee, Special Divan of Junāgaḍh.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1-3, 38 and 39 *Mālinī*; verses 4 and 45 *Āryā*; verses 5, 13-15, 17-20 and 32-37 *Upajāti*; verses 6-12, 21-25, 27, 41 and 42 *Indravajrā*; verse 16 *Pushpītāgrā* (*Aupachchandasikā*); verses 26, 28-31 and 40 *Vamśastha*; verses 43, 44, 46 and 47 *Vasantatilakā*.]

First Part

- 1 Ōm¹ [s]iddham² [11*] Śriyam = abhimata-bhōgyām naika-kāl-āpanītām tridaśa[pa]ti-sukh-ārttham yō [Ba]lēr = ājahāra | kamala-nila[ya]nā[yā]ḥ śāśvataṁ dhāma Lakshmyāḥ
- 2 sa jayati vijit-ārttir = Vvishṇur = atyanta-jishṇuḥ [11 1*] Tad = anu jayati śāśvat³ śrī-[pari]kshipta-vakshāḥ sva-bhuja-janita-viryō rājarājā[dhirā]jaḥ [1*] [na]rapati-
- 3 [bh]ujagānām māna-darpp-ōtphaṇānām pratikṛiti-[Ga]ruḍ-ājñā[m] nirvviṣhī[m] ch = āvakarttā [11]⁴ [2*] Nṛipati-guṇa-nikētaḥ **Skandguptaḥ** pṛithu-śriḥ chatur-udadhi-ja(?)l(?)-āntām sphīta-paryanta-dēśām [1*]
- 4 a[va]nim = avanat = ārir = yaḥ cha(ś = cha)kār = ātma-saṁsthām pitari sura-sakhitvaṁ [prāpta]vaty = ātma-śaktyā [11 3*] Apī cha jitam = [ē*]va tēna pra-thayaṁti yaśāmsi yasya ripavō = pi [1*] ā-mūla-bhagna-darpā niva[rtitā*] **Mlēchchha**-dēśēshu [11 4*]
- 5 Kramēṇa buddhy[ā] nipuṇam pradh[ārya] dhyātvā cha kṛitsnān = guṇa-[dōsha-hētūn] [1*] vyap[ē]tya sarvān = manujēndra-putrāml = Lakshmiḥ [svayam] yaṁ varayām chakāra [11 5*] [Tā]smin = nṛipē [śā]sati n = aiva kaśchid = dha[rmā]d = apētō manujaḥ prajāsu |
- 6 [ārttō] daridrō vyasanī kadary[ō] daṇḍēna vā yō bhriśa⁵-piḍitaḥ [s]yā[t] [11 6*] [Ē]vaṁ sa jivā pṛithivīm samagrām bhag[n-ā]gra-da[rpān*] dvishataś = cha [kṛi]tv[ā] | sarvvēshu dēśēshu vidhāya gōptṛin⁶ saṁchintayā[m]āsa bahu-prakāram [11 7*] Syāt = kō = nurūpō
- 7 matimān = vinitō⁷ mēdhā-smṛitibhy[ā]m = anapē[ta-bhā]vaḥ [1*] saty-ārjav-[au*]-dārya-nay-ōpapa[nnō] [mādhurya]-dākshīnya-[ya]śō-nvitaś = cha [11 8*] Bhaktō = nurak[tō] nṛi-v[i]ś[ē]sha-yuktaḥ sarvv-ōpadhābhiś = cha viśuddha-buddhiḥ | ānṛiṇya-bhāv-ōpagat-āntarātmāḥ⁸ sarvvasya lōkasya hitē pravṛittaḥ [11 9*]

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 *gōptṛin*.

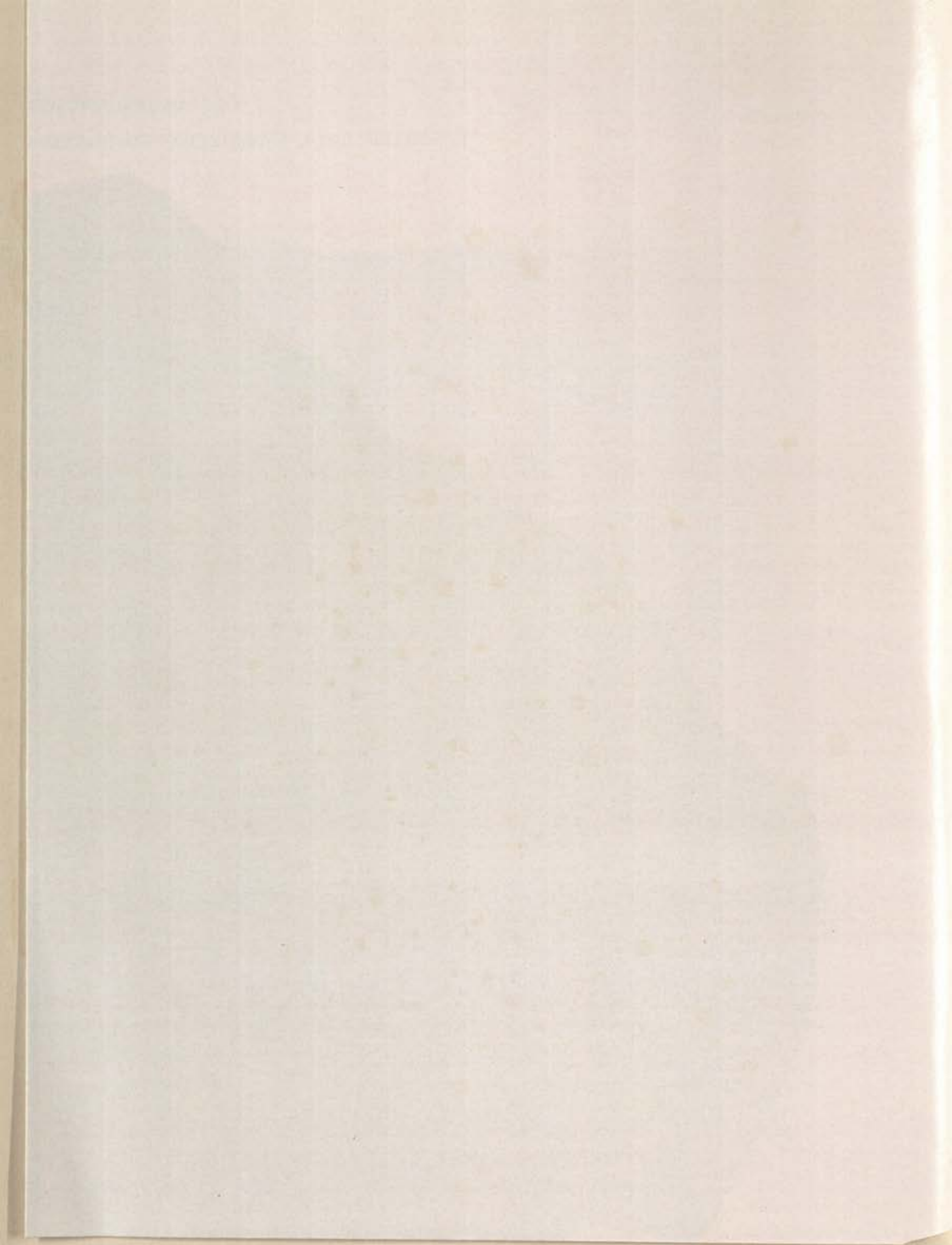
⁷ Read = *vinitō*.

⁸ Read = *ātmā*.

- 8 Nyāy-ārjanē=rthasya cha kaḥ samarthaḥ syād=arjitasya=āpy=atha rakshaṇē cha |
gōpāyitasya=āpi [cha] vṛiddhi-hētau vṛiddhasya pātra-pratipādanāya [|| 10*]
Sarvvēshu bhṛityēshv=api samhatēshu yō mē praśishyān=nikhilān=Surāshṭrān |
ām jñātam=ēkaḥ khalu Parṇadattō bhārasya tasy=ōdvahanē samarthaḥ [|| 11*]
- 9 Ēvaṁ viniśchitya nṛip-ādhipēna naikān=ahō-rātra-gaṇān=sva-matyā | yaḥ sam-
niyuktō=rthanayā kathamchit samyak-**Surāshṭr**-āvani-pālanāya [|| 12*] Niyujya
dēvā Varuṇam pratichyām svasthā yathā n=ōnmanasō babhūvu[h] [i] pūrv-
ētarasyām diśi Parṇadattam niyujya rājā dhṛitimāms=tath=ābhūt [i* 13]
- 10 Tasy=ātmajō hy=ātmaja-bhāva-yuktō dvidh=ēva ch=ātm=ātma-vaśēna nītaḥ |
sarvvātman=ātm=ēva cha rakshaṇīyō nity-ātmavān=ātmaja-kānta-rūpaḥ |
[i 14*] Rūp-ānurūpair=lalitair=vichitraiḥ nitya-pramōd-ānvita-sarva-bhāvaḥ |
prabuddha-padmakāra-padma-avaktrō nṛiṇām śaraṇyaḥ śaraṇ-āgatānām [i 15*]
- 11 Abhavad=bhuvī **Chakrapālītō**=sāv=iti nāmnā prathitaḥ priyō janasya | sva-
guṇair=anupaskṛitair=udātt[ai]ḥ pitarām yaś=cha viśēshayāmchakāra [i 16*]
Kshamā prabhutvaṁ vinayō nayaś=cha śauryam vinā śaurya-mah[ā?]rchchanam
cha | vā(?)kya(?)m damō dānam=adinatā cha dākshinyam=ānṛiṇyam=as[ū]
nyatā cha [i 17*] Saumdaryam=āryētara-nigrahaś=cha a-vismayō dhairyam=
udirnatā cha |
- 12 ity=ēvam=ētē=tiśayēna yasminn=a-vipra-vāsēna guṇā vasanti [i 18*] Na
vidyatē=sau sakalē=pi lōkē yatr=ōpamā tasya guṇaiḥ kriyēta | sa ēva kārtsnyēna
guṇ-ānvitānām babhūva nṛi(nṛi)ṇām=upamānabhūtaḥ [i 19*] Ity=ēvam=
ētān=adhikān=atō=nyān=guṇān=par[i]kshya svayam=ēva pitrā | yaḥ sam-
niyuktō nagarasya rakshām viśishya pūrvān=prachakāra samyak [i 20*]
- 13 Āśritya vi(vi)ryam su(?) -bhu(?) -ja(?) -dvayasya svasy=aiva n=ānyasya narasya
darpaṁ | n=ōdvējayāmāsa cha kamchid=ēvam=asmin=purē ch=aiva śaśāsa
dushṭāḥ¹ [i 21*] Viśrabdham=alpēna śaśāsa yō=smin kālēna lōkēshu sa-nāga-
rēshu | yō lālayāmāsa cha paura-vargān — — —² putrān=suparīkshya dōshān |
[i 22*] Samramjyām cha prakṛitir=babhūva pūrva-smit-ābhāshaṇa-māna-
dānaiḥ |
- 14 niryantṛaṇ-ānyōnya-gṛiha-pravēśai[h*] samvarddhita-prīti-gṛih-ōpachāraiḥ [i 23*]
Brahmaṇya bhāvēna parēṇa yuktaḥ śaktaḥ śuchir=dāna-parō yathāvat |
prāpyān=sa kālē vishayān=sishēvē dharm-ārthayōś=ch=ā[py=a*]-virōdha-
nēna [i 24*] Yō — — — — — Parṇadattāt=sa nyāyavān=atra
kim=asti chitraṁ | muktā-kalāp-āmbuja-padma-śītāch=chandrāt=kim=ushṇam
bhavitā kadāchit | [i 25*]
- 15 Athā kramēṇ=āmbuda-kāla āgat[ē] n[i]dāgha-kālam pravidārya tōyadaiḥ |
vavarsha tōyam bahu samtatarṁ chiram **Sudarśanam** yēna bibhēda
ch=ātvarāt[i 26*] **Samvatsarāṇām=adhikē śatē tu trimśadbhir=an-**
yair=api shaḍbhir=ēva | rātrau **dinē Praushṭhapadasya shashṭhē Gupta-**
prakālē gaṇanām vidhāya | [i 27*]
- 16 Imāś=cha yā **Raivatakād**=vinirgatā[h*] **Palāśin**=īyam sikatā-vilāsinī | samudra-
kāntāḥ chira-bandhan-ōshitāḥ punaḥ patim śāstra-yath-ōchitam yayuḥ [i 28*]
Avēkshya varsh-āgama-jam mah-ōdbhramam mah-ōdadhēr=**Ūrjayatā** priy-
ēpsunā | anēka-tir-ānta-ja-pushpa-śōbhitō

¹ Read *dushṭān*.² Restore to *svān=ēva*. [Or *pit=ēva*. —Ed.]





- 17 nadīmayō hasta iva prasāritaḥ | [| 29*] Vishādyā[mānāḥ khalu sarvatō ja]nāḥ
katham katham kāryam=iti pravādinaḥ | mithō hi pūrv-āpara-rātram=utthitā
vichintayām ch=āpi babhūvur=utsukāḥ | [| 30*] Ap=iha lōkē sakalē Sudarśanaḥ
pumām(n) hi durdarśanatām gataḥ kshaṇāt |
- 18 bhavēn=nu s-āmbhōnidhi-tulya-darśanaḥ Su-darśanaḥ - - - - - [| 31*]
- - - - - vaṇē sa bhūtvā pituḥ parām bhaktim=api pradarśya dharmam purō-
dhāya śubh-ānubandham rājñō hit-ārtham nagarasya ch=aiva | [| 32*] **Samvat-
sarāṇām=adhikē śatē tu**
- 19 **trīṃśadbhir=anyair=api saptabhiś=cha** | pra - - - - - śāstra-vēttā
vi(?)śvō(?)=py=anujñāta-mahāprabhāvaḥ | [| 33*] Ājya-praṇāmaiḥ vibudhān=
ath=ēshṭvā dhanair=dvijātīn=api tarpayitvā | paurāms=tath=ābhyarchya
yath-ārha-mānaiḥ bhṛityāmś=cha pūjyān=suhṛidaś=cha dānaiḥ | [| 34*]
- 20 **Graishmasya māsasya tu pūrva-pa[kshē]** - - - - - **[pra]thamē=hni** samyak |
māsa-dvayēn=ādaravān=sa bhūtvā dhanasya kṛtvā vyayam=a-pramēyam |
[| 35*] Āyāmatō hasta-śataḥ samagram vistārataḥ shashṭir=ath=āpi ch=āshṭau |
- 21 utsēdhatō=nyat purushāṇi sa(?)pta(?) - - - - - [ha]sta-śata-dvayasya | [| 36*]
Babandha yatnān=mahatā nṛidēvān=[abhyarchya(?)] samyag-ghaṭit-ōpalēna |
a-jāti-dusṭam=prathitam taṭākam Sudarśanaḥ śāśvata-kalpa-kālam | [| 37*]
- 22 Api cha sudṛiḍha-sētu-prānta(?) -vinyasta-śōbha-rathacharaṇa-samāhva-kraumcha-
hams-āsa-dhūtam | vimala-salila [- - - - -] bhuvi ta[- - - - -]
da[- ā]rkaḥ śaśi cha | [| 38*]
- 23 Nagaram=api cha bhūyād=vṛiddhimat=paura-jusṭam dvija-bahu-śata-gīta-
brahma-nirṇashṭa-pāpam | śatam=api cha samānām=īti-durbhiksha[- - - - -]
- - - - - [| 39*] [Iti Suda]rśanataṭāka-saṃskāra-graṃtha-
rachanā [sa]māptā ||

Second Part

- 24 Dṛipt¹-āri-darpa-praṇudaḥ pṛithu-śriyaḥ sva-vaṅśa-kētōḥ sakal-āvani-patēḥ |
rājādhirājy-ādbhuta-puṇya-[karmaṇaḥ] [- - - - -] [| 40*]
[- - - - -] [|] dvipasya gōptā mahatām
cha nētā daṇḍa-dvi(?)[-]nām
- 25 dvishatām damāya | [| 41*] Tasy=ātmajēn=ātma-guṇ-ānvitēna Gōvinda-pād-
ārpita-jīvitēna | [- - - - -] [| 42*]
[- - - - -]gdham Vishṇōś=cha pāda-kamalē samavāpya
tatra | artha-vyayēna
- 26 mahatā mahatā cha kālēn=ātma-prabhāva-nata-paurajanēna tēna | [| 43*]
Chakraḥ bibharti ripu [- - - - -] [|]
[- - - - -] tasya sva-tamtra-vidhi-kāraṇa-mānushasya |
[| 44*]
- 27 Kāritam=a-vakra-matinā Chakrabhṛitaḥ Chakrapālītēna gṛiham | **varsha-śatē-
shṭatrimśē Guptānām kāla** [| 45*] [- - - - -]
- - - - - [a]rtham=utthitam=iv=Ōrjayatō=chalya
- 28 kurvāt=prabhutvam=iva bhāti purasya mūrdhni [| 46*] Anyach=cha mūrdhni
su [- - - - -]
- 29 ruddha-viharaṅga-mārgam vibhrajatē [- - - - -] [| 47*]

¹ The metre is faulty in the first akshara of the first and third pādas which should be short, not long.

TRANSLATION

Luck!

(Verse 1) 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,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) Lakshmī, 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, Garuḍa,³ which rendered, devoid of poison, the Serpent (bhujaga) 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 **Ml̥chchha** 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;⁵ and possessed of (good) intentions, tested by all allurements;⁶ possessed of an inner soul which has attained to the state of being free from

¹ The legend, as Fleet rightly points out, is that the demon Bali, or Mahābali, by his austerities acquired the dominion over the three worlds and oppressed the gods very much. Vishṇu 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 Pātāla 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 Hiranyakaśipu and other demons. It had therefore better be rendered by “which had more than once been wrested (from them, *i.e.*, the gods).”

³ As Garuḍa was an insignia of the Gupta sovereigns and as Nāgas were a ruling family, it seems that there is in this verse an allusion to Skandagupta having somewhere overthrown the Nāga power.

⁴ *I.e.*, “had died.”

⁵ *Nṛi-viśēsha-yuktaḥ* may also be taken to mean “possessed of choice men.”

⁶ *Upadhā* is a term technical to the Hindu Science of Polity. Thus, Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* (I. 6.1) has *mantri-purōhita-sakhaḥ sāmānyēshu adhikarānēshu sthāpayitu=āmātyān=upadhābhiḥ śōdhayēt*, “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, Kāmandaka says: *Upadhā-śōdhitaḥ samyag=ihamānāḥ phal-ōdayam | tē=sya sarvaṁ parikshēran s-ānurāgāḥ kṛit-ākṛitam || Upētya dhiyatē yasmād=upadh=ēti tataḥ smṛitā | upāya upadhā jñēyā tay=āmātyān parikshayēt ||* (*Nitisāra*, Canto IV, verses 25-26). Kauṭilya specifies four kinds of *upadhā* or allurement, namely, *dharm-ōpadhā* ‘religious allurement,’ *arth-ōpadhā* ‘lucre allurement,’ *kām-ōpadhā* ‘love allurement’ and *bhay-ōpadhā* ‘allurement under danger.’ Kauṭilya also informs us to what *upadhā* or *upadhās* officers of one class or another may be subjected.

(all) debt (to his master);¹ 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;² whom among all my servants put together, shall govern the whole of the **Surāshṭra** country? Ah! I know it; (there is) just one man, **Parṇadatta**, 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 (Parṇadatta) was appointed somehow with pressing, to protect in a proper manner the land of the **Surāshṭras**.

(Verse 13) Just as the gods, having deputed Varuṇa to the west became contented and unperplexed, so the king, having deputed Parṇadatta 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;³ 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-blown lotuses; the protector of men who 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-eminently and inseparably, namely, forbearance, masterfulness, modesty, prudent behaviour, great respect for (all) heroism, except heroism represented on the stage,⁴ 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 conceit of another man, he has harassed no one in this city, and punished the wicked only.

¹ This sentiment of a servant towards his master may be traced even in an edict of Aśoka. Thus, while expostulating with his Mahāmātras in charge of Kāliṅga, the Mauryan monarch says e.g. in Second Separate Rock Edict at Dhāuli: *hevaṃ cha kalamātam tuṣṭhe svagam ālādhayisatha mama cha ānaniyam ehaṭha*, ‘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 *praśasti* is here also obviously indebted to Kauṭilya who, in his *Arthaśāstra* (I.4. 5-6) says: *tasya (daṇḍasya) nitir=Daṇḍanītiḥ; alabdha-lābh-ārtā, labdha-parivakṣaṇī, rakṣita-vivardhanī, vṛiddhasya tīrthēshu pratipādani cha*, ‘The wielding of it (i.e., of Daṇḍa) is Daṇḍanīti 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 *Ātmaja-kānta-rūpaḥ* Fleet translates by ‘endowed with a naturally beautiful form.’ But *ātmaja* has also the sense of ‘cupid’ which suits here better.

⁴ What we have in the text is *śauryam vinā śaurya-mahārchanam* 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. *ārabhaṭī*’; ‘the heroic branch of dramatic art (= *ārabhaṭī*).’ This suits here excellently as it draws a sharp contrast between the two *śauryas* 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 Paṇḍadatta, 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) **Praushthapada**,—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) *viśva*;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

¹ Here there 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-ōdadhēr=Ūrjayatā priy-ēpsunā* is thus translated by Fleet: “desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean” which is ridiculous. *Priyēpsu* here stands, not for *priyā ipsu*, but for *priya ipsu* and is to be taken in the sense of “wishing or desirous 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 overflowed and being one sheet of water from Ūrjayat 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 *pumām(n) hi*, the word *hi* seems to have been used in the sense of *iva*. Or, it may be, as seems more probable, that *pumām* is a mistake for *pumsām*.

⁴ *Ambhōnidhi* itself means an ocean, *s-āmbhōnidhi* 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 *viśva*; 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;

(Verses 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-geese,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 Viṣṇu . . . has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhṛit, 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 **Ūrjayat**, 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 *durdarśana* 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 Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, where, in line 8, we have *durdarśa(nam=āsita)*, and in line 16 (*su*)*darśanatarāṇi kārītāni* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 43-44).

² *Rathacharaṇa-samāhva* . . . *āsa-dhūta* is taken by Fleet to mean "agitated by the defiances of the ruddy-geese." Obviously, he understands 'defiances' by the term *samāhva*. But this is a mistake. Because *rathāṅga* is synonymous with *rathacharaṇa*; and if *rathāṅgāhvaya* also means 'the ruddy goose,' there is no reason why *rathacharaṇa-samāhva* should not also bear the same sense. Similarly, *āsa* is taken by Fleet in the sense of *āsita*, 'settling down.' But *āsa* means 'the lower part of the body behind, posteriors,' Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. This suits here excellently.

Martin compiled, and in 1838 published, the book entitled *Eastern India*, in which, for the first time, the inscription is noticed in Vol. II, pp. 366 ff., with a reduced lithograph (*ibid.*, Plate V, No. 2). In the same year, in the *JBAS.*, Vol. VII, pp. 37 ff., James Prinsep published his reading of the text, and a translation of it,¹ accompanied by a lithograph (*ibid.*, Plate i) reduced from a copy made by D. Liston. In 1860, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, p. 350, Fitz Edward Hall published his reading of the first verse of the inscription, and a translation, which was subsequently revised and reprinted in the *JBAS.*, Vol. XXX, p. 3, note. In 1871, in the *CASIR.*, Vol. I, p. 93 f., and Plate xxx, General Cunningham published another lithograph, reduced from his own ink impression. In 1881, in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 125 ff., Bhagawanlal Indraji published his revised reading of the text, and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph reduced from an impression made by him when he visited Kahāurī in 1873. And finally, the whole of the inscription was carefully edited by J.F. Fleet in *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 65 ff., and Plate IX A.

Kahāurī or **Kahāwam**,² the ancient **Kakubha** or **Kakubhagrāma** of this inscription, is a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhaurī,³ the chief town of the Salampur-Majhaurī Parganā in the Dēōriyā or Dēwariyā⁴ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Gorakhpur District in Uttar Pradesh. The grey-sandstone column on which the inscription is engraved stands 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 Indraji,⁶ these are distinctly Jain images. He suggested that they represent the five favourite *Tīrthamkaras*, Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Nēminātha, Pārśva, and Mahāvīra. And they are, in all probability, the five images of *Ādikartīs*, or Jain *Tīrthamkaras*, referred to in the inscription itself.

The **writing**, which covers a space of about 2' 2-½" 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 ⅝" to ⅞". The **characters** belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, and are of the same type with those of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta (No. 1 above). The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for the opening word *siddham* 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 *ś*, in *vanśa*, line 2, and *ttrinśat*, line 4; and (2) the usual doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, e.g., in *chakkrē*, line 9 (but not in *Śakrō*, line 3), and *puttrō*, 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 **Jyēshṭha** (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

¹ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 250.

² The 'Kahaon, Kahong, Kanghe, and Kuhaon' of maps, etc. Indian Atlas, sheet No. 103, Lat. 26° 16' N.; Long. 83° 55' E.

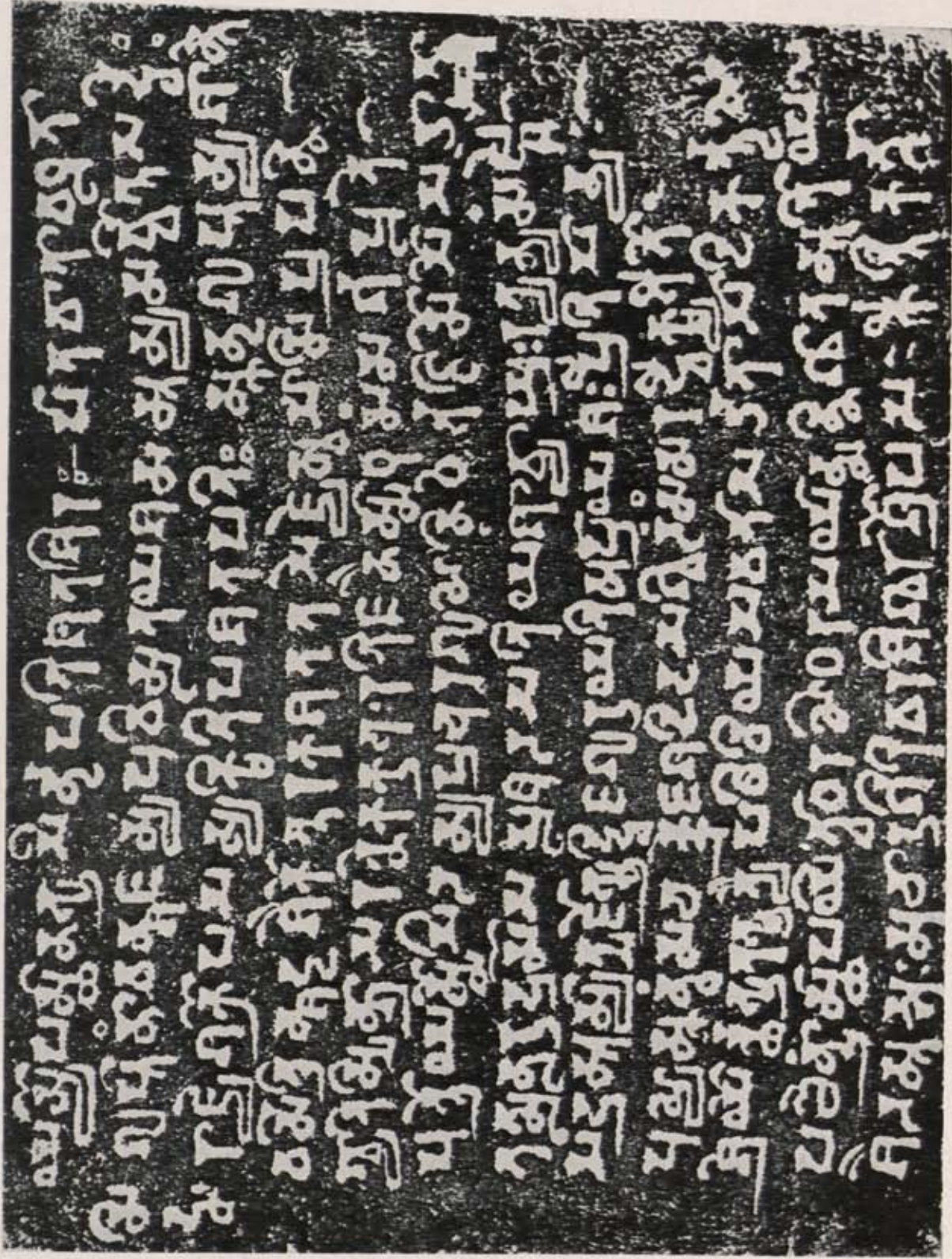
³ The 'Sullempoor-Mujhowlee' of maps. Bhagwanlal Indraji spells it 'Selampur Majomli' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 125).

⁴ The 'Deorya' of maps.

⁵ For a full description, with drawings, of all the columns and other remains at Kahāurī, see *CASIR.*, Vol. I, pp. 91 ff. and Plate xxix, and *ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 129 ff. and Plate xxix.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 126.

KAHĀUM STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA: THE YEAR 141



2

4

6

8

10

12

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 *Ādikartṛis* or *Tīrthanīkaras*, *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.

TEXT¹

[Metre : *Sragdharā* throughout]

- 1 Siddham² [||*] Yasy=ōpsthāna-bhūmir=ṇṛipati-śata-śiraḥ³-pāta-vāt-āvadhūtā
- 2 **Guptānām** vanśajasya pravīṣṭa-yaśasas=tasya sarvv-ōttam-arddhēḥ [||*]
- 3 rājyē Śakr-ōpamasya kshitipa-śata-patēḥ **Skandaguptasya** śāntē
- 4 **varshē ttrinśad-daś-aik-ōttaraka-śatatamē Jyēshṭha-māsi** prapannē [||[1*]]
- 5 Khyātē=smin=grāma-ratnē **Kakubha** iti janais=sādhu-saṁsarga-pūtē [||]
- 6 puttrō yas=Sōmilasya prachura-guṇa-nidhēr=Bhaṭṭisōmō mahāt[m]ā [||*]
- 7 tat-sūnū Rudrasōma[ḥ*] pṛithula-mati-yaśā Vyāghra ity=anya-saṁjñō [||]
- 8 **Madras**=tasy=ātmajō=bhūd=dvija-guru-yatishu prāyaśaḥ pṛitimān=yah [|| 2*]
- 9 Puṇya-skandham sa chakkrē jagad=idam=akhilam saṁsarad=vikshya bhītō
- 10 śrēyō-rttham bhūta-bhūtyai pathi niyamavatām=Arhatām=Ādikartṛin [|| *]
- 11 pañch=ēndrām⁴ sthāpayitvā dharanīdharamayān=sannikhātas=tatō=yam
- 12 śaila-stambhaḥ su-chārur=giri-vara-śikhar-āgr-ōpamaḥ kirtti-karttā [|| 3*]

TRANSLATION

Luck !

(Verse 1) In the peaceful⁵ 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, Jyēshṭha** 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.

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 *ddham* 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 *pañch-ēndrām*.

⁵ *Śāntē*: 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 *śāntēḥ*, and to be interpreted by "of the repose, *i.e.*, death," *i.e.* "after the decease (of Skandagupta):" or, being read *śāntē* 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 Bhau Daji; "in the year one hundred and forty-one, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta" (*JBBRAS.*, 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 lords¹ who were originators (*ādikartṛis*)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

INDŌR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA : THE YEAR 146

This inscription was discovered in 1874 by A.C.L. Carlleyle, 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 Rajendralala 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 **Indōr**, 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 Pargaṇā in the Anupshahar⁴ Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bulandshahar District in Uttar Pradesh. Until recent years, Indōr was a small inhabited village; but it is now only a *khēḍā*, 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

¹ *Indrān*. 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 *Ādikartṛin*: lit. 'originators.' Bhagwanlal Indraji first pointed out the correct meaning of this word, as referring here to five of the *Tirthanikaras* or sanctified teachers of the Jains (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 126 and note 16). See also *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 224-25.

³ The 'Dabhai, Dubhai, Dibai, and Dubhae,' of maps, etc. Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 67, Lat. 28° 12' N.; Long. 78° 18' E. The position of Indor, with reference to Dibhāi, is shown in the sketch map given in *CASIR.*, Vol. XII, Plate i.

⁴ The 'Anoopshahur and Anupshahr' 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 Chalukya 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 Aśirgaḍh seal of Śarvavarman, *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 Dighwā-Dubauli plate of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapāla¹ and the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of the Mahārāja Vināyakapāla,²—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 $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{3}{16}$ ". 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 *itō*, line 8, with *iva* in Plate I, page 215 above, line 30, and *iti* 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 *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, 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*,³ line 6, and especially *pratiśṭhāpitaka*-, line 7. Other instances of it are given by No. 26, *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, Plate XVI line 10, *utpādyamānaka*; No. 27, *ibid.*, Plate XVII, line 9, *Pratiśṭhāpitaka*, and line 12, *utpādyamānaka*; No. 28, *ibid.*, Plate XVIII, lines 13 and 14, *anumōditaka*, line 14, *uparilikhitaka*, and lines 14 and 15 *pratiśṭhāpitaka*, and lines 18 and 19 *utpādyamānaka*; No. 29, *ibid.*, Plate XIX A, line 11, *uparilikhitaka*, and line 15, *utpādyamānaka*; No. 31, *ibid.*, Plate XX, line 9, *utpannaka*, lines 9 and 16, *utpādyamānaka*, and line 11, *kāritaka*; No. 41, *ibid.*, Plate XXVII, lines 11 and 12, *atisriṣṭaka*. In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvāra*, before *ś* and *h*, in *chatvāriṅśad*, lines 3-4., and *sinha*, line 6; (2) the doubling of *k*, and usually of *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.*, in *apakkramaṇa*, 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 *saṁvatsara*, line 3.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Imperial Gupta** king **Skandagupta**, whose officer, the *Vishaya-pati*⁴ **Śarvanāga**, was administering **Antarvēdi**, which, according to Fleet, denotes the country lying between the Gaṅgā 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 Gaṅgā which was not far removed from Indrapura and of which it could be the headquarters.⁵ 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

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 105 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 138 ff.

³ As regards these two words, Monier-Williams, in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, gives *puraka* as another form of *para*, 'a city'; but refers only to 'Arghāṣṭapuraka' as an authority for the word. This city, however, as Fleet points out, only owes its existence to one of the early misreadings of *Maṅṭarāja-Paiśṭapuraka* 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 *Abhidhānāchintāmaṇi*: *Gaṅgā-Yamunayōr = madhyam = Antarvēdiḥ Samasthalī*—(*Bhūmikāṇḍa*, 27). This shows that the tract of the land intervening between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā was called *Antarvēdi* or *Antarvēdi* and also known as *Samasthalī*. See also the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, 2.1.7. The inhabitants of this land were for that reason called *Antarvēdis* (*Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 41. 14). *Antarvēdi* as the name of this country has been referred to also in the *Anargharāghava* (*Kāvya-mālā* ed.), p. 311. It will thus be seen that *Antarvēdi* here denotes a country or *dēśa* 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 Kanauj lying between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, commonly called the *Doāb* (*Bate's Dictionary of the Hindi Language*, *sub voce*). This probably represents the *Antarvēdi 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 Brāhmaṇa named Dēvaviṣṇu, for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a temple of the Sun at **Indrapura** or **Indrāpūra** *i.e.*, the modern Indōr. 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 Bhṛikuṅṭhasirṇha, Kshatriya or Khatri¹ by caste and the amount of the endowment was invested at Indrapura in a guild of oil-men of which Jīvanta was the head (*pravara*). The guild was to make a uniform and perpetual supply of oil for lamp, wherever it was stationed, whether at Indrapura or at some other town whither it might emigrate.

TEXT²

[Metres: verse 1 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and verse 2 *Indravajrā*]

- 1 Siddham [|| *] Yaṁ viprā vidhivat=prabuddha-manasō dhyān-aika-tānā³-stuvah⁴
yasy=āntam tridaś-āsura na vividur=nn=ōrdhvaṁ na tīrya-
- 2 g-gatiḥ⁵ [I*] yaṁ lōkō bahu-rōga-vēga-vivaśaḥ saṁsṛitya chētō-labhaḥ pāyād=vaḥ
sa jagat-pithāna⁶-puṭabhid-raśmy-ā-
- 3 karō bhāsakaraḥ || [I*] Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-**śrī-Skandaguptasy**=
ābhivarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyasamvatsara-**śatē**⁷ **shach**⁸-**chatvā-**
- 4 [**ri***]nśad-uttaratamē **Phālguna-māsē** tat-p[ā*]daparigrihītasya vishayapati-
Śarvvanāgasy=**Āntarvvēdyām** bhōg-ābhivṛiddhayē vartta-
- 5 mānē ch=**Ēndrāpuraka**⁹-Padmā-chāturvidya-sāmānya-brāhmaṇa-Dēvaviṣṇu-
nur=Ddēva-putrō Haritrāta-pauttraḥ Ḍuḍika-prapauttraḥ satat-āgnihō-

¹ It is worthy of note that there was a tribe called Kshatriya or Kshattri 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 deputies and presents from Xathroi (Khathroi), 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 Kauṭilya (XI. line 4) along with the Kāmbōjas and Surāshṭras as the Saṁghas subsisting both upon agriculture and arms. They have apparently been referred to as Kshatriyas by Ptolemy (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 360). Similarly, they seem to have been referred to in the phrase *Khatiya-dāpamāna-madanasa* occurring in the Nasik cave *praśasti* of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60, line 5). Again, they appear to be the Kshattri described in the *Manusmṛiti* (X, 12-13, 16, 19, 26 and 49) and the Kshatriyas of later inscriptions, such, *e.g.*, as the Lāḍṇū inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 23 ff.) of Sādharmaṇa who and his ancestors are spoken of as Kshatriyas of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* or the six grants of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachchandrādēva of Kanauj (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 136-42) which speak of one and the same grantee, *viz.*, Rājyavardhana, a Kshatriya and of the Vatsa *gōtra*. They doubtless represent the modern Khatri caste which pursues businesses and is spread over the Panjab, U.P., Rājaputānā, Central India, Gujarāt and even some parts of Mahārāshṭra (R. E. Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, pp. 205 and ff.).

² From the original plate.

³ Read *-tāna-*.

⁴ "The form *stu*", says Fleet, "is rather unusual; the customary form being *stut*. But Bühler has given me the analogous instance of *āyata-stu*, which is mentioned by Kātyāyana in his comments on Pāṇini, iii. 2, 76. The meaning of *āyastu* is not given in the *Mahābhāshya*; but Monier Williams explains it by 'panegyrist.'" The note is all right except the reference to Pāṇini which should be iii. 2, 178.

⁵ Read *-gatiḥ*.

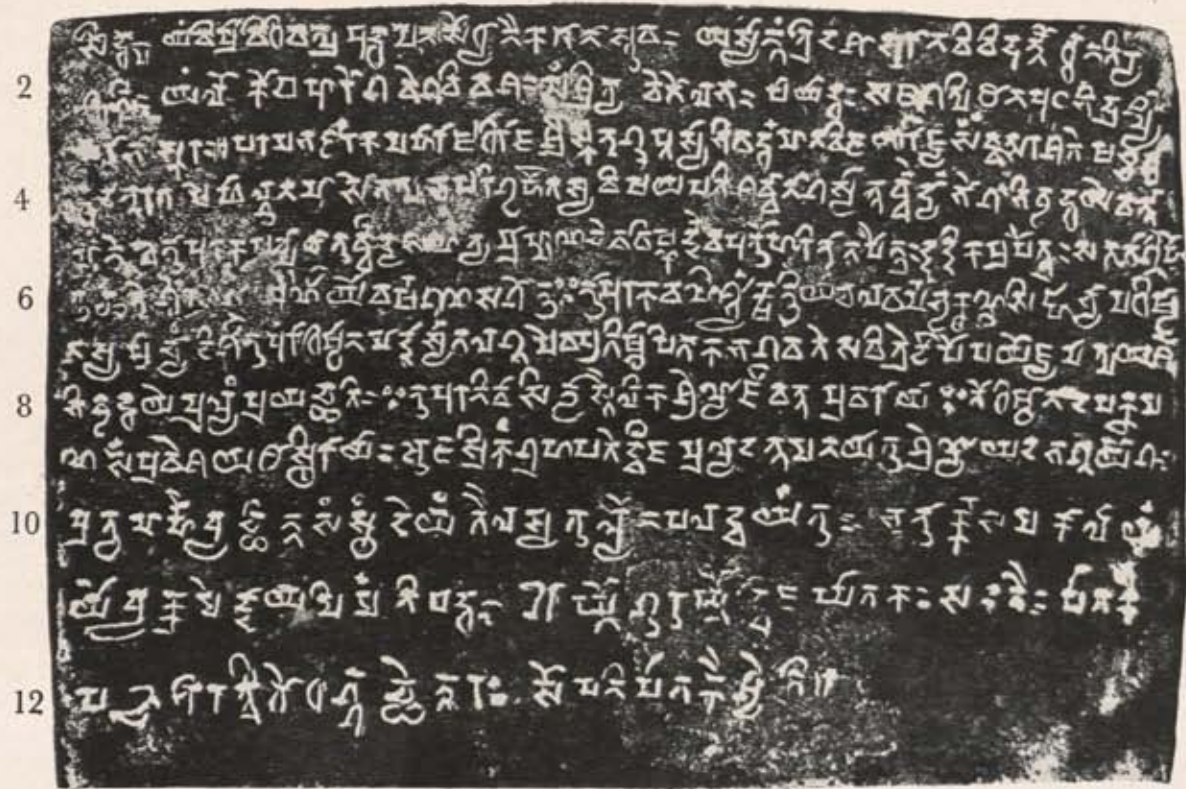
⁶ Read *-pidhāna-*.

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 *ē* of *rājyē*. According to him, it should thus read *rājyē samvatsara-śatē*.

⁸ Read *shat-*.

⁹ As corrected by Jagan Nath (*JUPHS.*, Vol. XIII, p. 99; and *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1940, p. 59). Fleet reads *Chandrāpuraka*.

INDOR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA: THE YEAR 146



- 6 tra-[ch*]chhandōgō Rāṇāyaṇīyō¹ Varshagaṇa-sagōttra Indrāpuraka-vaṇigbhyām
kshattriy-Āchalavarma-Bhṛikuṇṭha²siṅhābhyām = adhiṣṭhā³-
7 nasya prāchyām diś = **Indrapur**-ādhiṣṭhāna-māḍāsyāta-lagnam = ēva pratishṭhāpi-
taka-bhagavatē Savitrē dip-ōpayōjyam = ātma-yaśō-
8 bhivṛiddhayē mūlyam prayachchhati⁴ [||*] Indrapura-nivāsinyās = tailika-śrēṇyā
Jivanta-pravarāyā itō = dhishṭhānād = apakkrama-
9 ṇa-saṁpravēśa-yathāsthirāyāḥ⁵ ājasrikam grahapatēr = dvija-mūlya-dattam = anayā⁶
tu śrēṇyā yad = abhagna-yōgam
10 prattham⁷-ārḥ-āvya[va*]chchhinna-saṁstham dēyam tailasya tulyēna⁸ pala-
dvayam tu⁹ 2 chandr-ārḥka-samakāliyam [||*]
11 Yō vyakkramēd¹⁰ = dāyam = imam nibaddham gō-ghnō guru-ghnō dvija-ghātakah
saḥ [||*] taiḥ pātakai[ḥ*]
12 pañchabhir = 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 reign¹³ of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Skandagupta**, and when the month of *Phālguna* is current, for the augmentation of the enjoyment (of power), in **Antarvēdi**, of the *Vishayapati Śarvanāga*, who has been favoured by that venerable (king),¹⁴

(Lines 5-8). The Brāhmaṇa Dēvavishṇu, who belongs to community¹⁵ of *Chaturvēdins* of *Padmā* relating to Indrāpura, who is the son of Dēva, (and) the son's son of Haritrāta, (and) the son of the son's son of Ḍuḍika; who always maintains the sacred fire and is a student of the *Sāmavēda*,¹⁶ who belongs to the Rāṇāyana school;¹⁷ and who is of the Varshagaṇa-

¹ Read *Rāṇāyaṇīyō*.

² Fleet corrects it into *-Bhrukuṇṭha*, but *Bhṛikuṇṭha* and *Bhrukuṇṭha* are interchangeable.

³ Read *-adhiṣṭhā*.

⁴ Read *prayachhati*. 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 *bhāskarah*, line 3, and at the end of the inscription.

⁵ The *visarga* is unnecessary in *sandhi*.

⁶ Read *-dattam* [||*] *Anayā*.

⁷ Read *pratham*.

⁸ Fleet correctly says that *tulyēna* seems to be a mistake for *taulyēna*.

⁹ *I.e.*, *tulyēna* (= *taulyēna*).

¹⁰ Read *yō = tikkrāmēd =*.

¹¹ Read *dhō gachchhēn =*.

¹² Read *cha* [|| 2*] *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 Fleet translates it by "who always recites the hymns of the *Agnihōtra*—sacrifice". See the next note.

¹⁷ According to Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *Rāṇāyaṇīya-sūtra* is equivalent to *Gōbhīla-grihya-sūtra*. It is well-known that the latter is a *Grihya-sūtra* of the *Sāmavēda*; and this agrees with the fact that Dēvavishṇu, the donor, is called a *Chhandōga*, 'a student of the *Sāmavēda*.' The preceptor, Gōbhīla, is credited with the composition of also a *Śrauta-sūtra* and a *Naiḡeya-sūtra*, both pertaining to the same *Vēda*.

gōtra,¹ for the increase of his own fame, gives an endowment, (of which the interest is) to be applied to (the maintainance of) a lamp for (the temple of) the divine Sun, established by Achalavarman and Bhrukuṅṭhasiṅha, Kshatriya merchants of the town of Indrāpura,² just touching *māḍāsyaṭa*³ 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).⁴ There should then be given by this guild, for the same time as the moon and the sun (endure), two *palas*⁵ 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,⁶ together with the minor sins.

NO. 31 : PLATE XXXI

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 translation⁷ 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 Indrajī.⁸ In 1885, in the *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 349

¹ *Varshagaṇa* is perhaps identical with *Varshapushpa* (v. 1. *pushya* or *pushṭa*) included by the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* in the Yāska division of the *Bṛiḡu-gōtra*.

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 *māḍāsyaṭa* 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 Mandasōr inscription of Kumāragupta I and Budhavarman (No. 35 below).

⁵ Pala, a particular weight, = 4 *suvarṇas* or 64 *māshas* (beans). See also D. R. Bhandarkar's *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 86.

⁶ The *pañcha mahāpātakāni*, or 'five great sins.' The men who are guilty of these sins are described in the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, 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 (*mahā-pātaka*)," *SBE.*, Vol. XXV, p. 383. See also *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, XI, 55-59 and Bühler's Translation, *ibid.*, pp. 441-42. *Upanipātaka* seems to be the same as *Upapātaka*, 'the longer form being used in this verse for the sake of the metre' as Fleet rightly remarks. As regards *upapātakas* or minor offences, such as 'slaying king, sacrificing for those who are unworthy to sacrifice' etc., etc., see the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, XI, 60-67 and Bühler's Translation, *ibid.*, pp. 442-44.

⁷ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 242 ff.

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 *ś* 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*^o (line 3) and *svayam* (line 4). Medial *i* 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 *pituh* (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.*, *-dauhitra-* (line 3). Sometimes this curve is very much suppressed and looks like the *ē* as in *sthāpitō* (line 11). Medial *ā* is indicated by a horizontal stroke to the right, but in exceptional cases by an up-ward slanting stroke attached to the top of the letter as in *sthāpitō* (line 11). In the case of *y*, the *ā* is attached to the middle limb, excepting in *nyāy-ā* (line 2) where it is attached to the right limb. *Au* is generally indicated by three strokes as in *-dauhitra*^o (line 3), but the *au* in *praputra*^o (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. *Ś*, however, has a hook to denote *śu* as in *śubhram* (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 *ś* in *vaṅśa*, lines 7, 13 and 14; (2) the doubling of *k*, in conjunction with a following *r*, in *=vikkramēṇa* 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 *-ānuddhyātō*, line 5.

¹ The 'Bhitari, Bhitree, Bhitri, and Bihtari' 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 Sydpoor' 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 Vaishṇava form of religion; and the object of it is to record the installation of an image of the god Viṣṇu 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 I.

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 *Mahābhāshya*. 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 Jaina inscription from Mathura mentioned the Pushyamitras as a *kula* of the Vāraṇa *Gaṇa*.⁴ Later, F.E. Pargiter drew our attention to the Pushyamitra family mentioned in the *Purāna* as having ruled in the third century A.D.⁵ But it is rather curious that such a clan as the Pushyamitras, 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=Pushyamitrāmś=cha jivā*, but rather *samudita-bala-kōśān=yudhy=amitrāmś=cha jivā*. 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 Dēvakī when he had slain his enemy. If the comparison of Skandagupta and his mother to Kṛishṇa and Dēvakī 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 Hūṇas. 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 Hūṇas, especially the place where it took place.

TEXT⁶

[Metres : Verse 1 *Pushpitāgrā*; verses 2-6 *Mālinī*; verses 7-8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; and verses 9-12 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 [Siddham] [॥*] [Sar]vva⁷-rāj[ō]chchh[ē]ttuḥ pṛithivyām=apratirathasya chatur-
udadhī-sa[1]i[1-ās]vādita-yaśasō [Dha]nada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-[Ā]ntaka-sa[masya]
- 2 Kṛitānta-paraśōḥ nyāy-āgat-[ā]nēka-gō-hiraṇya-k[ō]ṭi-pradasya chir-ō[t]sann-
āśvamēdh-āhart[t]ur=mmahārāja-śrī-**Gu[p]ta**-prapautra[sya]

¹ See p. 317 note 3 below.

² *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XVI, p. 189.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 199 and ff.

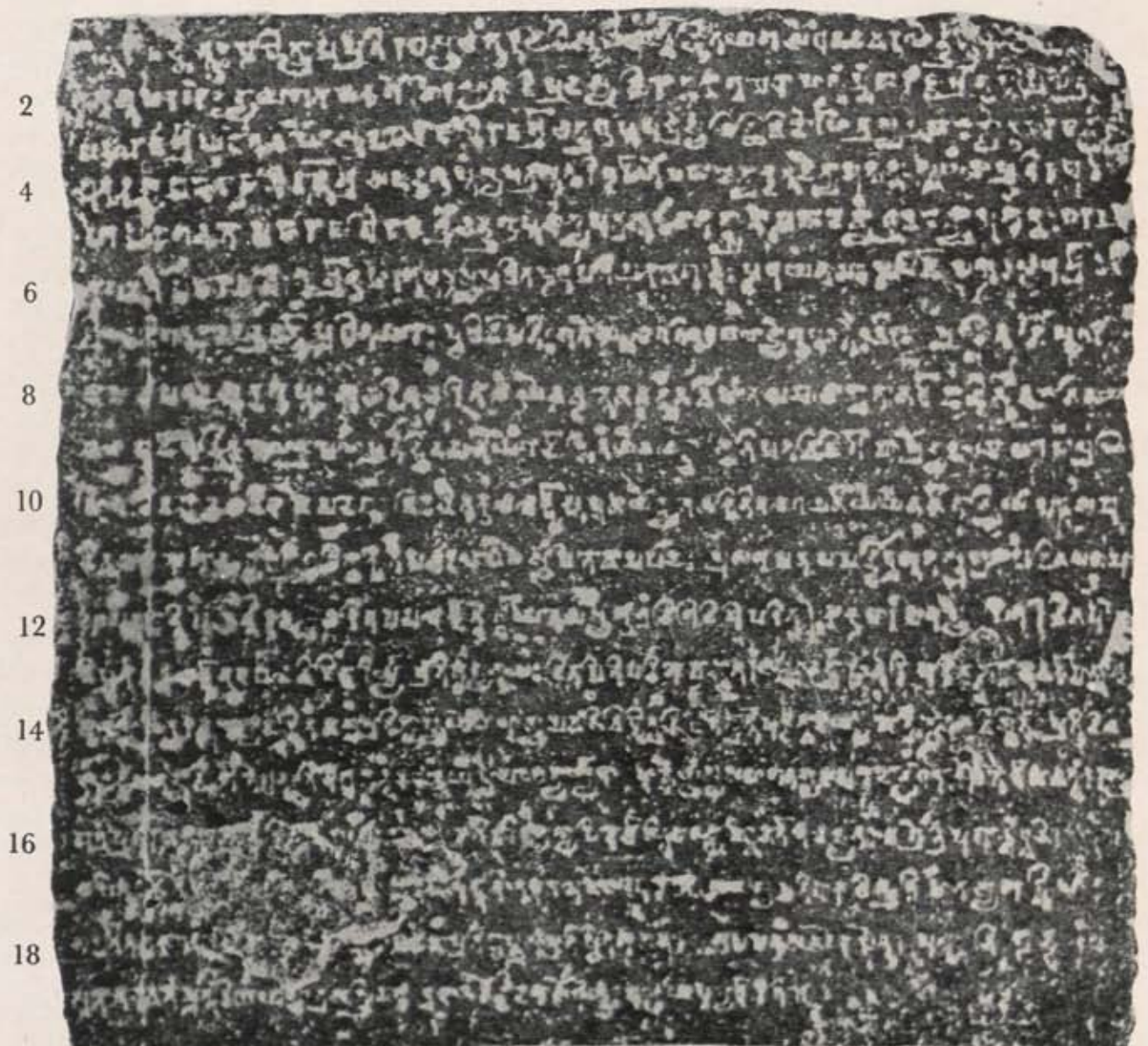
⁴ *B.G.*, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 69, note 4.

⁵ *The Purāna 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 *sarvva*, 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

19 Atō bhagavatō mūrttir=iyam yaś=ch=ātra [saṁskṛitaḥ¹] [I*] ubhayaṁ nirddidēs
=āsau pituḥ puṇyāya puṇya-dhīr= iti²

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 *Mahādēvī Dattadēvī* 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 *āsvamēdha*-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 **Ghaṭōtkacha**, the *Mahārāja*, (and) the son of the prosperous **Chandragupta I**, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the daughter's son of the **Lichchhivi**;⁵ (and) of the *Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī*;

(Lines 5-6). His (Chandragupta II's) son, who meditates on his feet, is born of the *Mahādēvī Dhruvadēvī* (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 *saṁskṛitaḥ*.

² Read *puṇya-dhīr* [I 12*] *iti*.

³ That is, by Samudragupta; see page 254 above, note 1.

⁴ See *Introduction*, pp. 37-38.

⁵ Another form of this name is Lichchhavi, 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 *yudhy=amitrāṁś=cha*, and not *Pushyamitrāṁś=cha* as taken by Fleet. And even though his reading is supposed to be the correct one, the phrase *kshītipa-charaṇa-pīthē* is rendered devoid of all meaning. He, no doubt, translates the line by "he placed his left foot

(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 Dēvakī¹ when he had slain (his) foe.

(Verse 7) Who, with his own forces, has established (again) (his) lineage that had tottered, who, 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 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 make him do, he would have written the last line as *tad-adhipa-pada-piṅhē sthāpitō vāma-pādah*” (*ABORI.*, Vol. I, p. 103). But if we accept the other reading, namely, *yudhy = amitrāns = cha, kshitīpa-charaṇa-piṅhē* 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 Dēvakī 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 Junāgaḍh 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 Vāillabhaṭṭasvāmin, an image of Vishṇu founded by Alla in honour of his father Vāillabhaṭṭa (*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 Parivrājaka and Uchchakalpa dynasties.¹ 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. *vikkramēna*, line 5 and *-gōttra-* line 14. *Vanśa* is written for *vaṁśa*, line 1 and *chatvārīnśa* for *chatvārīṁśa*, line 9.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Skandagupta** of the **Imperial Gupta dynasty**. He is called here as *Mahārāja*, 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 *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha. 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-yashṭi*, which was a *gōtra-śailikā*, by Varga-grāmika. This Varga is stated to be the brother of Śrīdatta and Chhandaka, son of Hari-śrēshṭhin and grandson of Kaivartti-śrēshṭhin. Śrīdatta is described as *kuṭumbika* i.e. husbandman residing at **Avāḍara** while Varga is described as *grāmika* i.e. village headman, apparently of Avāḍara. Thus his family members were *śrēshṭhin* (banker), *kuṭumbika* and *grāmika*.

The stone pillar bearing the inscription and erected by Varga is called *bala-yashṭi* in the epigraph. *Yashṭi* here means a memorial pillar which is also called *gōtra-śailikā* 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. **Avāḍara** which cannot be identified. It may be a locality in the neighbourhood of Supiā.

TEXT²

- 1 [Śrī]-Ghaṭ[ō]tkacha[ḥ | *] tad-vanśē³ prava . .⁴
- 2 [nē]⁵ mahāra(rā)ja-śrī-Samu[dragu]pta[ḥ | *] ta[t-pu]-
- 3 [tra][ḥ*] śrī-Vikramā[ditya]ḥ | *] ta[t-putra][ḥ*] mahārā[ja]-
- 4 [śrī]-Mahē[ndrāditya][ḥ | *] tasya [pu]tra[ḥ*] Chakkra[va]-
- 5 [rtti]-tu[lyō] [mahā]-bala-vikkra[mē]ṇa Rā[ma]-
- 6 [tu]lyō dha[rmma]-pa[ra]tayā Yudhishṭhira⁶ sa[tyē]-
- 7 nācharavi]naya⁷ mahārāja-śrī-Ska[nda]-
- 8 **guptasya**⁸ rājya-[samva]tsara⁹-śatē ēka-
- 9 **chatvāri[nśōtta]rakē**¹⁰ [| *] [asyām] divasa-pū-
- 10 rvvāyām(yām) **Avāḍara**-vāstavya-kuṭumbi[kaḥ*]
- 11 Kaivartti-śrēshṭhi-*naptri*(ptā) Hari-śrēshṭhi-pu[tra][ḥ*] Śrīda-

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, Nos. 21-31.

² From an impression.

³ Read *tad-vanśē*.

⁴ The two lost *aksharas* may be restored as *rttamā* or *rāddhamā*.

⁵ The damaged letter looks more like *nām*.

⁶ Read *Yudhishṭhira-tulyaḥ*.

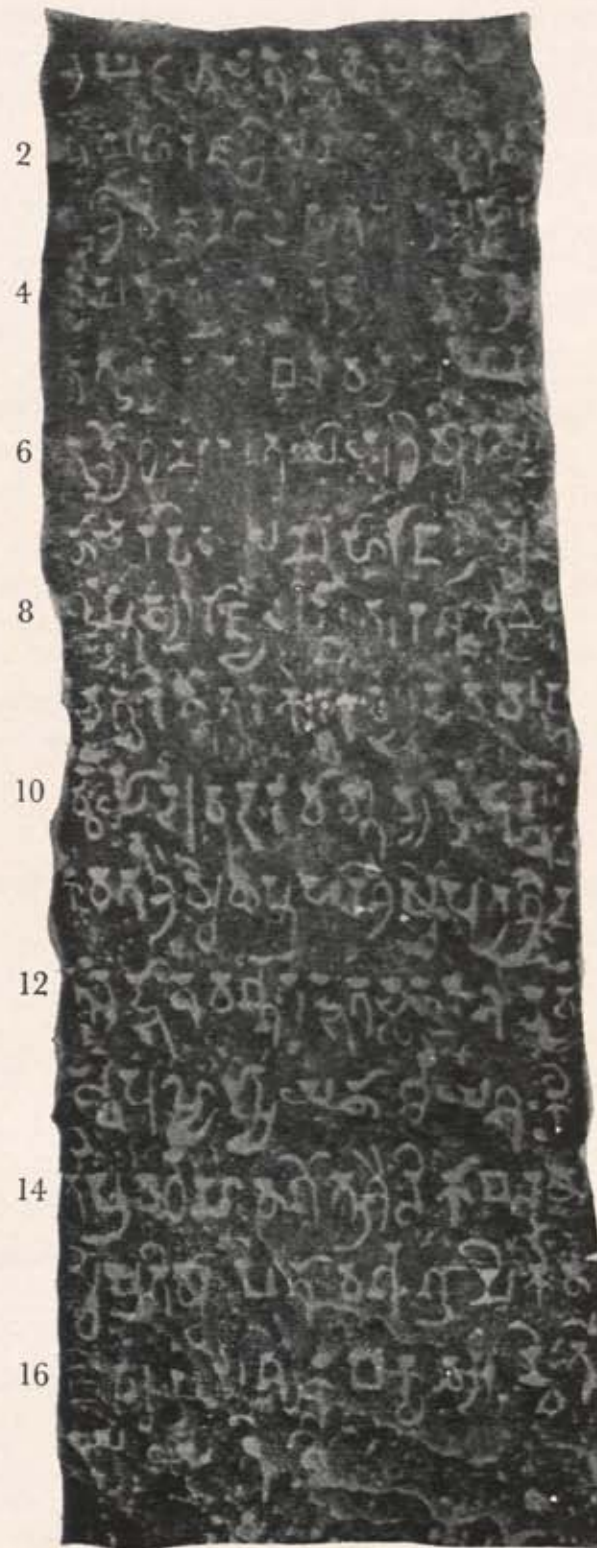
⁷ Read ⁰n = *āchāra-vinayaiḥ* or better *saty-āchāra-vinayaiḥ*.

⁸ Read ⁰guptaḥ | *tasya*.

⁹ Read *satvatsara*.

¹⁰ Read ⁰rimśad-uttarakē.

SUPIĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SKANDAGUPTA: THE YEAR 141



- 12 [tta][h |*] tad-bhrāṭṛi(tā) Vargga[h |*] ta[d-bhrā]ta(tā)
 Chchha(Chha)ndaka ...¹ [i |*]
 13 sva-puṇy-āpyāyan-ārtham yaśaḥ-kī-
 14 [rtti]-pravardha[ya*]māna-gōttra-śailikā bala-ya-
 15 shṭhi(shṭih) pratishṭhāpitā Vargga-grāmikēṇa
 16 **Jē(Jyē)shṭha-māsē śukla-pakshaya dviti-**
 17 **[yāyām] ti[thau] [i |*]**

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) The illustrious **Ghaṭōtkacha**. In his family ...

(Lines 2-4) Prosperous **Samudragupta** the *mahārāja*; his son, the prosperous **Vikramāditya** (i.e. Chandragupta II), the *mahārāja*; his son, the prosperous **Mahēndrāditya** (i.e. Kumāragupta I), the *mahārāja*; his son,

(Lines 4-9) The prosperous **Skandagupta**, the *mahārāja* (who) resembled a Chakravartin in strength and valour, Rāma in righteous conduct and Yudhisṭhira in truthfulness, conduct and humility. In his regnal year **one hundred exceeded by fortyone**, when in this detailed order of the date,

(Lines 9-12) Śrīdatta, son of Hari-śrēshṭhin and grandson of Kaivartti-śrēshṭhin, (was) the husbandman residing at **Avaḍara**, his brother (was) Vargga, his brother (was) Chhandaka;

(Lines 13-15) (This) *bala-yashṭi* (i.e. memorial pillar) (called) *gōtra-śailikā* (i.e. family-stone) was erected by Varga-grāmika for the increase of his own merit, glory and fame,

(Lines 16-17) **On the second day of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha.**

NO. 33 : PLATE XXXIII

NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEAL OF VAINYAGUPTA

This seal bearing an inscription of Vainyagupta was picked up like those of Buddhagupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta III (Nos. 42, 44 and 45 below) in the course of the excavation to Monastery site No. 1 at **Nālandā**, in the Patna District, Bihar, in 1927-28. It remained unnoticed except for a brief reference to its discovery by Hirananda Sastri in the *Ep. 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- $\frac{1}{8}$ " at the base and is 2- $\frac{1}{4}$ " 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 Nālandā 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

¹ [D. C. Sircar thinks that two letters are lost after Chhandaka and restores them as *ōf=ch=ēti*. But actually there are three letters which appear to read as *Śalavyām*, probably referring to a place-name.—Ed.]

² *MASI*, 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(h)* 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 *Paramabhāgavata Mahārājādhirāja* (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 Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta III. The other name in the same line, namely, that of the mother is well-nigh obliterated. Thus, after *śr[i]* 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][**dēvī***] who is evidently represented here as the queen of Purugupta and the mother of Vainyagupta. These restorations receive confirmation from the seals of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta III which also mention Chandradēvī as the queen of Purugupta. Thus, Vainyagupta shares this parentage certainly with Narasimhagupta 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* 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 *Mahārājādhirāja* but also *Paramabhāgavata*. 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 *Mahārājādhirāja*. 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 Chandra-(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

¹ *IHQ.*, Vol. IX, pp.784 ff.

NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEAL OF VAINYAGUPTA



G. S. Gai

From photograph

on the left which also clearly shows that he was a devotee of Vishṇu—a fact which accords with the epithet *Paramabhāgavata* which is coupled with his name on the seal.

TEXT

- 1 [sya]
- 2 [Chand*][ra]guptas = tasya putra[s] = ta
- 3 s = tasya putras = tat-pādānudhyātaḥ śrī-[Ma]
- 4 [Pur*]uguptas = tasya putras = tat-pādānuddhyātō Mahādēvy[ā]m
śr[ī-Chand]ra
- 5 paramabhāgavatō 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. ASI.*, 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 2¾" 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 1½". 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 Karamḍāṁḍā 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 Gupta** king **Kumārgupta 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 Jyēshṭha**. 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 Guptānām sa-chatuḥ-paṁchāśad-uttarē** bhūmim | rakshati
Kumāraguptē māsē Jyēshṭhē [dv]i[t]i[y]ā*]yām || [1*]
- 2 Bhakty = [ā*]varjjita-manasā yatinā pūjārtham = **Abhayamitrēṇa** |
prati[m] = āpratimasya guṇai[r=a]pa[r=ē]yam [kā]ritā Śāstuḥ || [2*]
- 3 **Mātā-pitṛi-guru-pūrttiḥ**¹ puṇyēn = ānēna satvakāyāyōm |
labhatām = abhimatam = upāśama-mahāvaha . . prayām || [3*]

¹ [Daya Ram Sahni suggests *pūrvvaiḥ* in the *A.R. ASI.*, 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 Gupta (had passed away), on the second day of the month of Jyēshṭha, when Kumāragupta 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 wordly existence)

NO. 35 : PLATE XXXV

**MANDASŌR INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA (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 *JBBRAS.*, 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 Mandasōr for taking impressions of the fragmentary pillar inscription¹ of Yaśōdharman, 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 amplified 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 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XVII, Pt. II, pp. 94 ff. and some by Durgaprasad in Nos. 51-52 of the *Prāchīna-lēkha-mālā* published in the *Kāvya-mālā* Series. The whole text and most of the translation were afterwards revised by G. Bühler in *Die indischen Inscripten und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie*, pp. 91-96 and pp. 8 ff.

Mandasōr or more properly **Daśōr**, is, as already stated, the chief town of the Mandasōr 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 Mahādēva on the river and consequently to the Mahādēva *ghāṭ* called after that god. About the end of April 1905 I visited Mandasōr 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 **Lāṭa** or Gujarāt to **Daśapura** or Mandasōr. 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

¹ *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 149 ff. and plate.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 142 ff. and plate.

³ *PRAS. W. C.*, for 1904-05, p. 63, para 84.

SĀRNĀTH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA II: THE GUPTA YEAR 154



G. S. Gai

From photograph

the world. Verse 23 mentions **Kumāragupta** (I) as the suzerain, and, verses 24-29, **Bandhuvarman**, son of **Viśvavarman**, 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 comprised 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 **Vatsabhaṭṭi** not only composed the *pūrvvā* 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, Kṛita 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 Bandhuvarman 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, Ghaṭōtkachagupta, 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. Vatsabhaṭṭi is thus fully justified in saying that, from Vikrama year 493 to 529, kings other than Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman 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 Bühler¹ and Bhagwanlal Indraji,² it corresponds to the country between the Mahī and the Koṅkaṇ or the Tāptī. But Hultzsch³ maintained that it was that portion of Gujarāt which intervened between the Tāptī and the Shēri. The latter view is supported by the Cambay Plates of Gōvinda 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-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.

² *B. G.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 7.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 198.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 36.

sisting of Man and Dasōr which were originally lying side by side and of which Man has been completely wiped out of existence. The second of these, namely, Dasōr, 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 Mandasōr as the name of the place, the vernacular version preserves the old name Dasōr, as J.F. Fleet has assured us. Again, *Daśapura* has been mentioned not only by Varāhamihira in the *Bṛihatsamhitā* (chapter XIV, verse 11-16), but also by Kālidāsa in the *Mēghadūta* (I. 47). As to inscriptions, it is found as early as in those of the Nāsik caves. It is mentioned in one of the records of Ushavadāta (=Rishabhadatta), son-in-law of the Mahākshatrpa Nahapāna, along with the three big cities, Śōrpārāga, Gōvardhana and Bharukachchha, where he executed works of public utility. Possibly it was the capital of Nahapāna also and was known as Minnagar.¹ Quite in keeping with this is the fact that there is a Brāhmaṇa caste called Dasōrā 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 Mandasōr, 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 *pura* or Ward of the town. The word here used is *pura*, which gives rise to the inference that *Daśapura* was so called because it consisted of *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 Kilchīpur, Jan-kūpurā and so forth, so in ancient times, at any rate, when it was originally constituted, *Daśapura* included exactly ten (*daśa*) such hamlets (*pura*).²

TEXT

[Metres : verses 1 and 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 3, 5, 6, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27, 30-32 and 40 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 4, 13, 21, 33, 38, 39, 41 and 42 *Āryā*; verses 7-9 and 24 *Upēndravajrā*; verses 10 and 12 *Upajāti* of *Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*; verse 15 *Drutavilambita*; verse 16 *Hariṇī*; verses 17 and 26 *Indravajrā*; verses 19 and 43 *Mālinī*; verse 23 *Vamśastha*; verse 28 *Upajāti*; verse 29 *Mandākrāntā*; verses 34-37 and 44 *Anuṣṭubh*]

- 1 [Sid*]dham [u*] [Y]ō dh[ṛity-a[r*]ttham=upāsyatē sura-gaṇais=siddhais=[cha] siddhy-artthibhir=ddhyān-aik-āgra-parair=vvidhēya-vishayair=mmōksh-ārtthibhir=yyōgibhiḥ | bhaktyā tīvra-tapōdhanais=cha munibhiś=śāpa-prasāda-kshamair=hētur=yyō jagatah=kshay-ābhyudayayōḥ=pāyāt=sa vō bhāskaraha | [1*] Tatva³-jñāna-vido=pi yasya na vidur=brahmarsha-
- 2 yō=bhyudyatāh=kṛitsnam yaś=cha gabhastibhiḥ pravi-ṣṛitaiḥ=push[ṇ]āti lōka-trayam [1*] ganddharvv-āmara-siddha-kinnara-narais=samstūyatē=bhyutthitō bhaktēbhyaś=cha dadāti yō=bhilashitam tas[m]jai savitrē namaḥ | [2*] Yaḥ=pratyaham prativbhāty=udayāchalēndra-vistirṇṇa-tuṅga-śikhara-skhalit-āmsu-jālaḥ [1*] kshib-āṅgan[ā*]-
- 3 jana-kapōla-tal-ābhitāmraḥ=pāyāt=sa vas=su-k[i*]raṇ-ābharaṇō vivasvān [13*] Kusuma-bhar-ā*]nata-taruvara-dēvakula-sabhā-vihāra-ramaṇiyāt Lāṭa-vishayān=nag-[ā]vṛita-śailāj=jagati prathita-śilpāḥ | [4*] Tē dēsa-pārtthiva-guṇ-āpahṛitāḥ prakāśam=addhv-ādi-jāny=a-viralāny=a-sukhā-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 78. [*Daśapura* is mentioned, along with *Madhyamā*, in a sixth century A.D. inscription at Chitorgarh. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XXXIV, pp. 53 ff.—Ed.]

² *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, p. 79, Note 2.

³ Read *Tattva*-

MANDASÖR INSCRIPTION OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I AND BANDHUVARMAN: THE (KRĪTA) YEARS 493 AND 529

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The image shows a fragment of an ancient inscription with 24 lines of text. The text is written in an ancient Indian script, likely Gupta script, and is heavily eroded and difficult to read. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular edges. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main body of text. The fragment is mounted on a light-colored background.

G. S. Gai

From photograph

- 4 ny=apāsyā | jāt-ādarā **Daśapuram** prathamam manōbhir=anvāgatās=sā-suta-bandhu-janās=samētya || [5*] Mattēbha-gaṇḍa-taṭa-vichyuta-dāna-bindu-sikt-ōpal-āchala-sahasra-vibhūshaṇyāḥ [1*] pushp-āvanamra-taru-shaṇḍa¹-vatamsakāyā bhū-mēḥ=puran²=tilaka-bhūtam=idam kramēṇa || [6*] Taṭ-ōttha-vṛiksha-chyuta-
- 5 naika-pushpa-vichitra-tūr-ānta-jalāni bhānti | praphulla-padm-ābharaṇāni yatra sarāmsi kāraṇḍava-samkulāni || [7*] Vilōla-vichī-chalitāravinda-patad-rajah-pinjaritais=chahamsaiḥ | sva-kēsar-ōdāra-bhar-āvabhugnaiḥ kvachit=sarāmsy=amburuhais=chabhānti || [8*] Sva-pushpa-bhār-āvanatair=nnagēndrair=mada-
- 6 pragalbh-āli-kula-svanais=cha | ajasra-gābhis=cha pur-ānganābhir=vvanāni yasmin=samalamkṛitāni || [9*] Chalapatākāny=abalā-sanāthāny=atyarttha-śuklāny=adhik-ōnnatāni | taḍil-latā-chitra-sit-ābbhra-kūṭa-tuly-ōpamānāni gṛihāni yatra || [10*] Kaulāsa³-tuṅga-śikhara-pratimāni ch=ānyāny=ābhānti dirggha-valabhī-
- 7 ni sa-vēdikāni | gāndharvva-śabda-mukharāni⁴ nivishṭa-chitra-karmmāni lōla-kadalīvana-śōbhitāni || [11*] Prāshāda⁵-mālābhir=alamkṛitāni dharām vidāryy=[ē]vasamutthitāni | vimāna-mālā-sadṛiṣāni yatra gṛihāni pūrṇ-ēndu-kar-āmalāni || [12*] Yad=bhāty=abhiramya-sarid[d*]vayēna chapal-ōrmmiṇā samupagūḍham (ḍham)[1*]
- 8 rahasi kucha-śālinibhyām Prīti-Ratibhyām Smar-āngam=iva || [13*] Satya-kshamā-damaśama-vrata-śauchadhāi[r]yā-svāddhyāya-vṛitta-[vi]naya-sṭhiti-buddhy-upētaiḥ | vidyā-tapō-nidhibhir=asmayitais=chaviprair=yya[d]=bhrājatē graha-gaṇaiḥ=kham=iva pradiptaiḥ || [14*] Atha sam[ēt]yanirantara-saṅgatair=aharahaḥ pravijri-mbhita-
- 9 sauhṛidāḥ [1*] nṛipatibhis=suta-vat=pratim[ā*]nitāḥ pramuditā nyavasanta sukham purē || [15*] Śravaṇa-[su]bhagē gāndharvvē=nyē⁶ dṛiḍham parinishṭhitāḥ sucharitaśat-āsaṅgāḥ=kēchid=vichitra-kathāvidaḥ [1*] vinaya-nibhṛitās=samyag-dharmmaprasaṅga-parāyaṇāḥ=priyam=aparusham patthyam ch=ānyē kshamā bahu bhāshitum(tum) || [16*]
- 10 Kēchit=sva-karmmaṇy=adhikās=tath-ānyair=vvijñāyatē jyōtisham=ātmavadbhiḥ [1*] adyāpi ch=ānyē samara-pragalbhāḥ=kurvvanty=ariṇām=ahitam prasahya || [17*] Prājñā manōjña-vadhushaḥ⁷ prathit-ōru-vaṁśā vaṁś-ānurūpa-charit-ābharaṇās=tath=ānyē | satya-vratāḥ praṇayinām=upakāra-dakshā visrambha-
- 11 [pūrva*]m=aparē dṛiḍha-sauhṛidās=cha || [18*] Vijita-vishaya-saṅgair=ddharmmaśilais=tath=ānyair=m[ri*]dubhir=adhika-sat[t*]vair=llōkayātr-āparais⁸=cha [1*] sva-kula-tilaka-bhūtair=mukta-rāgair=udārair=adhikam=abhivibhāti śrēṇir=ēvam prakāraiḥ || [19*] Tāruṇya-kānty-upachitō=pi suvarṇahāra-tāmbūla-pushpa-vidhinā sama-

¹ Fleet reads *-taru-maṇḍa-*. R. G. Bhandarkar 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 *paran=*. But it is clearly *puran=*.

³ Read *Kailāsa-*.

⁴ Read *-mukharāni-*.

⁵ Read *Prāśāda-*.

⁶ Fleet reads *Śravaṇa-subhagam dhānurvaidyam* but the original has *Śravaṇa-subhagē gāndharvvē=nyē*, as is clear from the impressions and as was first pointed out by R. G. Bhandarkar.

⁷ Read *-vapushaḥ-*. Fleet reads *-vadhavaḥ-* which is not warranted by the impressions, and is, besides, ungrammatical, as was first pointed out by R. G. Bhandarkar. The latter proposes *-vapushaḥ-* or *vibhavāḥ-*. Pandit Durgaprasad reads *-vapushaḥ-*. The impressions however have *-vadhushaḥ-* which is obviously a mistake for *-vapushaḥ-*.

⁸ Fleet reads *lōka-yātr-āparais=cha*. Bühler adopts this reading but Pandit Durgaprasad corrects it into *lōkayātrā-parais=cha*. The impressions, however, give this reading.

- 12 [lamkṛi*]tō=pi | nāri-janaḥ śriyam¹ =upaiti na tāvad=agryām yāvan=na paṭṭa-maya-vastra-y[u]gāni dhattē || [20*] Sparśa[va]tā [varṇṇ-ā]ntara-vibhāga-chittreṇa nētra-su[bha]gēna [i*] yais=sakalam=idam kshitalam=alamkṛitam paṭṭa-vastrēṇa || [21*] Vidyādhari-ruchira-pallava-karṇapūra-vāt-ērit-āsthirataram pravichintya
- 13 [lō]kam(kam) [i*] mānushyam=arttha-nichayāms=cha tathā viśālān=tēshām² śubhē³ matir=abhūd=achalā tatas=taiḥ || [22*] Chatus-samudr-āmb[u]⁴-vilōla-mē[khalām] Sumēru-Kailāsa-bṛihat-payōdharām [i] van-ānta-vānta-sphuṭa-pushpa-hāsinīm **Ku-māraguptē** pṛithivīm praśāsati || [23*] Samāna-dhīs=Śukra-Bṛihaspatibhyām lālāma-bhūtō bhuvī
- 14 pārtthivānām(nām) [i*] raṇēshu yaḥ Pārthta-samāna-karmmā babhūva gōptā nṛipa-**Viśvavarmmā** || [24*] Dīn-ānukampana-paraḥ kṛipaṇ-ārtta-vargga-sāntva⁵ pradō =dhika-dayālur=anātha-nāthaḥ [i*] kalpa-drumaḥ praṇayinām=abhayaṁ pradaś=cha bhītasya yō janapadasya cha bandhur=āsīt || [25*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ sthairyya-nay-ōpapannō bandhu-priyō
- 15 bandhur=iva prajānām(nām) [i*] bamdhv-artti-harttā nṛipa-**Bandhuvarmmā** dvid-dṛipta-paksha-kshapaṇ-aika-dakshaḥ [i*] [26*] Kāntō yuvā raṇa-paṭur=vvinayā-nvitaś=cha rāj=āpi sann=upasṛitō na madaiḥ smayādyaiḥ [i] śṛingāra-mūrttir=abhi-bhāty=analamkṛitō=pi rūpēṇa yaḥ=kusumachāpa iva dviṭyaḥ || [27*] Vaidhavya-tivra-vyasana-kshatānām
- 16 smritvā⁶ yam=adyāpy=ari-sundarīnām(nām) | bhayād=bhavaty=āyatalōchanānām ghana-stan-āyāsa-karaḥ prakampaḥ || [28*] Tasminn=ēva kshitipativriḥ⁷ Bamdhuvarmmaṇy=udārē samyak-sphitam **Daśapuram**=idam pālayaty=unnat-āmsē | śilp-āvāptair=ddhana-samudayaiḥ paṭṭavāyair=udāram śrēṇībhūtair=bhavanam=atulam kārītam
- 17 dīpta-raśmēḥ || [29*] Vistīrṇa-tuṅga-śikharam śikhari-prakāśam=abhyudgat-ēndv-amala-raśmi-kalāpa-gauram(ram) [i*] yad=bhāti paśchima-purasya nivishṭa-kānta-chūdāmaṇi-pratisaman=nayan-ābhīrāmam(mam) || [30*] Rāmā-sanātha-bhavan-ōdara⁸-bhāskar-āmsū-vahni-pratāpa-subhagē jala-līna-minē chandr-āmsū-harmyatala-
- 18 chandana-tālavṛinta-hār-ōpabhōba⁹-rahitē hima-dagdha-padmē || [31*] Rōddhri-priyaṅgu-taru-kundalatā-vikōśa-pushp-āsava-pramud[i*]t-āli-kal¹⁰-ābhīrāmē [i] kālē tushāra-kaṇa-karkkaśa-śīta-vāta-vēga-pranṛitta-lavalī-nagan¹¹-aikaśākhē || [32*] Smara-vaśaga-taruṇajana-vallabh-āṅganā-vipula-kānta-pīn-ōru- [i*]

¹ Fleet reads *priyam*= and corrects the following =*agryām* into =*āryām*. But as was first pointed out by Bühler the correct reading is *śriyam*= with which =*agryām* accords excellently.

² This is the reading actually warranted by the impressions. Of course, this has to be corrected into *viśālāms*=*tēshām*. It is strange how this emendation is taken to be the actual reading of the text not only by Fleet but also by Bühler.

³ Fleet reads *śubhā*, but Bühler correctly reads *śubhē*.

⁴ Both Fleet and Bühler read *-samudr-ān[t]a-* but the impressions are in favour of *-samudr-āmbu*.

⁵ Fleet read *-sandhā-*, but R. G. Bhandarkar first pointed out that the correct reading was *-sāntva-*.

⁶ Read *smritvā*.

⁷ Read *-vriḥē*.

⁸ Fleet reads *-rachanē dara-* which is emended into *-bhavanē dara-* by R. G. Bhandarkar. Kielhorn reads *-bhavan-ōdara-* which is accepted by Bühler. Though this reading is highly probable, it is possible to read *-gaman-ōdara-* also.

⁹ Read *-ōpabhōga-*

¹⁰ Fleet reads *-kal-ābhīrāmē*. Pandit Durgaprasad however reads *-kul-ābhīrāmē*, and Bühler 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-ābhīrāmē*. 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 *-nagaṇ-*. Fleet and Bühler both read *-nagan-* but the impressions clearly have *-nagan-*.

- 19 stana-jaghana-ghan-ālingana-nirbhartsita-tuhina-hima-pātē || [33*] **Mālavānām** gaṇa-
shityā yāt[ē*] **śata-chatusṭayē** | **tri-navaty-adhikē** = **bdānām** = **ritau**¹ **sēvyā-**
ghana-stanē² || [34*] **Sahasya-māsa-śuklasya** praśastē = hni **trayōdaśē** maṅgal-
āchāra-vidhinā prāsādō = yaṁ nivēśitaḥ || [35*] Bahunā samatītēna
- 20 kālēna = ānyaiś = cha pārtthivaiḥ vyaśīryyat = aika-dēśo = sya bhavanasya tatō =
dhunā || [36*] Sva-yaśōv[r]iddhayē³ sarvvam = aty = udāram = udārayā | saṁskāritam
= idam bhūyaḥ srēṇyā bhānumatō grīham(ham) || [37*] Atyunnatam = avadātam
nabha⁴ sprīśann = iva manōharaiḥ śikharaiḥ [1*] śaśi-bhānvōr = abhyudayēshv =
amala-mayūkh-āyatana-
- 21 bhūtam(tam) || [38*] **Vatsara-śatēshu pañchasu viśamty-⁵adhikēshu navasu**
ch-ābdēshu | yātēshv = abhiramya-**Tapasya-māsa-śukla-dvitiyāyām** || [39*] Spash-
ṭair = aśōkataru-kētaka-simduvāra-lōl-ātimuktakalatā-madayantikānām(nām) | pushp-
ōḍgamair = abhinavair = adhigamya nūnam = aikyam vijrīmbhita-śarē Hara-pūta⁶-
dēhē || [40*]
- 22 Madhu-pāna-mudita-madhukara-kul-ōpagīta-nagan⁷-aika-pṛithu-śākhē [1*] kālē nava-
kusum-ōḍgama-damtura-kāmṭa-prachura-rōddhrē || [41*] Śaśin = ēva nabhō vimalam
kaus[t*]ubha-maṇin = ēva Śārṅgiṇō vakshaḥ bhavana-varēṇa tath-ēdam puram =
akhilam = alamkṛitam = udāram(ram) || [42*] Amalina-śaśi-
- 23 lēkhā-damturam piṅgalānām parivahati samūham yāvad = Iśo jaṭānām(nām) | vikaṭa-
kamala-mālām = aṁsa-saktām cha Śārṅgī bhavanam = idam = udāram śāsvatan =
tāvad = astu || [43*] Srēṇy-ādēśēna bhaktyā cha kāritam bhavanam ravēḥ purvā
ch = ēyam prayatnēna rachitā **Vatsabhaṭṭinā** || [44*]
- 24 Svasti karṭri-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōṭṭribhyaḥ || 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 (*savitri*), 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 *stanē*. But the impressions have clearly *-stanē*, as was pointed out by Bühler.

³ Read *-vridhayē*.

⁴ Read *nabhah*.

⁵ Read *vimśaty-*

⁶ Fleet corrects it into *dhūta-*, which is altogether unnecessary.

⁷ Read *-nagan-*.

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 Kinnaras."

(Verse 3) May that (Sun) Illuminator (*Vivasvān*), whose ornament is exquisite beams, protect you, who, with (his) mass of rays dropping down from the wide and lofty summit of the Rising Mountain, every day looks intensely red like the cheeks of intoxicated women !

(Verses 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 wellknown 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 rut 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,¹ 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,² 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) *Prīti* and *Rati*, possessed of (prominent) breasts;

(Verse 14) Which, with the *Brāhmaṇas* 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;

¹ Fleet renders *vēdikā* apparently by 'arbours' and Bühler by 'stone-seats' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 142). But *vēdikā*, being here associated with *valabhi*, should denote some member of a building. In this connection attention may be drawn to the occurrence of the word in Kārlē 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 *vēdikā* once denoted some kind of moulding forming part and feature of an edifice.

² It would have been better if *prāsāda* and *griha* of this verse had interchanged places. As it is, *prāsāda* 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-śrautasūtra*, XVI. 18.13 and *Manusmṛiti*, 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,¹ 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) astromomy 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 on 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 Vidyādhara women, set in motion by the breezes;

(Verse 23) While **Kumāragupta** was ruling over the Earth,² whose waist-girdle is pendulous with the waters of the four oceans, whose plump breasts are Sumēru and Kailāsa (and) whose smiles are the beautiful and full-blown flowers on the outskirts of the woods;

¹ Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives the following as one of senses of *āsaṅga*, viz., "Pride about the authorship of a thing (*karṭṛit-ābhimāna*)."¹ 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: *Kumāraguptē prithivīm prasāsati* (verse 23) *Bandhuvarmaṇi* *Daśapuram= idam pālayati*, *paṭṭavāyāiḥ* *śrēṇibhūtair= bhavanām* *kāritam dipta-rosmēḥ* (verse 29) | *Mālavānām gaṇasthityā yātē śata-chatuṣṭayē tri-navaty-adhikē= bdānām* (verse 34); *Sahasya-māsa-śuklasya .ahni trayōdaśē maṅgal-āchāra-vidhinā prāsādō= yaṁ nivēśitaḥ* (verse 35) | *Bahunā samatitēna kālēn= ānyaiś= cha pārthivaiḥ vyaśīryat= aika-dēśō= sya bhavanasya* (verse 36) | *Sarvaṁ . . . samskāritam= idam bhūyaḥ śrēṇyā bhānumatō griham* (verse 37); *vatsara-śatēshu pañchāsu viṁśaty-adhikēshu navasu ch= ābdēshu yātēshu* *Tapasya-māsa-śukla-dvitiyāyām* (verse 39) | "While Kumāragupta was ruling over the Earth, (verse 23),, while Bandhuvarman was protecting this (town of) Daśapura 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 Mālavas (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 *prasasti* 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 Kumāragupta, the overlord, and, of Bandhuvarman, his chieftain, who ruled thirty-six years before. But there is nothing strange about

(Verse 24) There was king **Viśvavarman**, the protector (of men), who was equal to Śukra and Bṛihaspati 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 supplicants; 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-blown flowers of the *rōdhra* (and) the *priyangu* trees and the jasmine creeper, when the solitary branches of myriads² of the *lavalī* creepers dance with the winds violently cold with particles of frost;

it, because Vatsabhaṭṭi 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 *anyaiś=cha pārthivaiḥ* has been employed by Vatsabhaṭṭi. 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 ff.; D. B. Diskalkar's article in *JBBRAS.*, 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 late R. D. Banerji (*ABORI.*, Vol. I, p. 79) and Dasharatha Sharma (*IC.*, 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.

² K. M. Shembavanekar, *JIH.*, Vol. X, p. 146; Jagannath, *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 118-19.

(Verse 33) When the falling of frost and snow is derided by the fast clasping 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;

(Verses 36-37) When considerable time had passed away and, one part of this (temple) was shattered;¹ hence now, for the augmentation of their own fame was again renovated most munificently by the magnanimous 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,² on the second lunar day of the bright fortnight of the charming month of Tapasya;**

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 *anyaiś=cha pārthivaiḥ* of the verse has been translated as "under other kings." This, however, is inadmissible. The word *cha* and the instrumental case in *anyaiḥ pārthivaiḥ* show that the word *samatitēna* from the first quarter of the verse has to be understood after the latter also. But this has been considered defective by Dasharatha Sharma, as "it connects *samatitēna*, 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" (*IC.*, 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 Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita* has *Yēshān kulēshu savitā cha gurur=vayam cha*. If Sharma's rule had been obligatory, we should have had *guravō vayam cha*. Similarly, in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, XVII. 71 we have *na ch=ābhūt=tāv=iva kshayī*. Here also *kshayī*, an adjective in the singular number, goes not only with *saḥ* but also with *tau* which is in the dual. Nothing therefore precludes us from taking *samatitēna* with *pārthivaiḥ*, although the first is in the singular and the second in the plural. It is better, however, to take *anyaiś=cha pārthivaiḥ* as instrumental absolute and translate it by "and with other kings", or "when (others were) other rulers". Sharma further remarks: "But the significance of the instrumental case in *pārthivaiḥ*, and the passive voice in *vyaśīryata*, a form formed from the *Parasmaipadī* root *śīri* 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 *anyaiś=* becomes meaningless. Besides, it is natural to connect *samatitēna* with *pārthivaiḥ*, as just pointed out. In this way alone *cha* attains its full significance. "Nor can it be argued" proceeds Sharma further "that *vyaśīryata* is the *bhāva-vāchya* form of the root *vi-śīri*, for in that case the expression should have been *ekadēśēna vyaśīryata* instead of *ekadēśō=sya vyaśīryata* 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 śīri* (pass.) the primary sense of "to be split in pieces, be shattered", and illustrates it with a quotation from Bhartṛihari's *Śataka*, namely, *viśīryēta vanē=tha vā*. 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 Samudragupta's *praśasti* 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 Daśapura also suffered this fate. The surmise that Hūṇa vandalism was responsible for it (*IC.*, 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 Hūṇas penetrated into the interior of India after Budhagupta whose last date is Gupta year 175=493 A.D., whereas the date of the Mandasōr inscription is Vikrama Year 529=472 A.D.

² A novel interpretation has been proposed for this line by K. Rama Pisharoti. He translates it by 'after five
(Contd. on p. 332)

(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 Aśōka tree, the Kētaka, the Simdivāra, 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 exuberant Rōdhra (trees) are overstrewn with flowers newly bursting forth;

(Verse 42) As (is) the pure sky with the moon, the breast of Śārṅgin, 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 Śārṅgin (Vishṇu) a garland of full-bloom lotus flowers clinging to (his) shoulders, so long may this stupendous structure remain eternal.

(Verse 44) By **Vatsabhaṭṭi**¹ 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.' (J.C., 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 *śrēṇī* that constructed it. This is clear from verses 29, 37, 44. And it is incredible that any *śrēṇī* 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 *vyāśṛyāta* 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 *pūrvā* 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 *sthapati* 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 Vikrama year 682 and found in Vasantaḡaḡh in the Sirōhi District, Rājasthān, speaks of the erection of a fane of Kshēmāryā by the *Gōshṭhi* of Vāṭākarasthāna who selected one Satyadēva as the *Kārāpaka* for seeing the work through (Ep. 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 Kielhorn (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 *pūrvvā*, 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 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". 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 *Anuṣṭubh*]

- 1 **Guptā[nā]m** samatikkrāntē **sapta-paṁchāśad-uttarē** [1 *] **śatē samānām**
pṛithiv[īm*] **Budhaguptē** praśāsati [|| 1*] [**Vaiśākha-māsa-saptamyām** Mūlē=
śma-pragatē*]
- 2 mayā [1 *] kārīt=**Ābhayamitrēṇa** (1) pratimā [Śāk]yabhikṣuṇā || [2*] Imām
=u[ddhasta-sachchha]tra-pad[mā]sa[na]-[vibhūshitām*] [1 *] [dēvaputravatō
divyām]
- 3 chitra-vinyāsa-chitritām(tām) || [3*] Yad=asti puṇ[ya]m p[ra]timām kārayitvā
mam=āstu¹ tat [1 *] [mātāpitrōr=gurūṇām cha lōkasya cha śam-āptayē*] [|| 4*]

(B)

- 1 [**Guptānām samati**][krāntē*] [**sapta-paṁchāśa**]**d-uttarē** [1*] **śatē samānām**
pṛithivīm **Budhagu[ptē*]** praśāsati [|| 1*] **Vaiśākha-māsa-saptamyām**
Mūlē=śma-
- 2 [pragatē*] [mayā] [1*] [kārīt=**Ābhayamitrēṇa**] pratimā Śā[kya]bhikṣuṇā || [2*]
Imām[=uddhasta-sachchha*]ttra-padmāsana-vibhū[shitām] [1 *] D[ēvapu]-
ttravatō [di][vyām]
- 3 [chitra-vinyāsa-chitritām(tām)*] [|| 3*] [Yad=asti puṇyam pratimām kārayitvā
mam=āstu tat*] [1*] mātā-pitrōr=g[u]r[ū]ṇām cha lōka[s]ya cha [śa]m-āpta-
[yē] [|| 4*]

¹ As corrected by Prof. Jagan Nath (*JUPHS.*, Vol. XIII, p. 100; *PIHC.*, 1940, p. 60, No. 7.) He, however, omits *tat* after *mam=āstu*.

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 Vaiśākha, 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 Dēvaputras, 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

VĀRĀṄASI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA; THE YEAR 159

The pillar containing the inscription was discovered sometime in 1940-41 at Rājghāṭ in Vārāṅasi, Uttar Pradesh and is now preserved in the Bhārat Kalā-bhavan at Vārāṅasi. It was first noticed by Adris Banerji in *JGJRI.*, 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 Vishṇu. The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet except in the case of the letter *h* 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 Mahārājādhirāja 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 Dāmasvāminī, daughter of Māravisha (?), a resident of Pārvarika, while her mother's name seems to be Sābhāṭi. 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]³ 100 50 9 Mārgga di⁴ [20] 8 Mahārājādhirāja-
- 2 Budha[gu]tpa⁵-rājyē Pārvarika-vāstavya-Māra
- 3 [visha ?]-duhitā(trā) Sābhāṭi (?)-duhi[trā*] cha Dāmasvā-
- 4 mi[nyā] śilā-stambha sthā[p]itaḥ [|| *]

¹ *JRASB.*, (Letters), Vol. XV, p. 6.

² From impressions.

³ Read *sarivatsarē*.

⁴ I.e. *Mārgaśīrsha-dīvasē*.

⁵ Read *Budhagupta*.

VĀRĀṄASI STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA: THE YEAR 159



G. S. Gai

From photograph

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) On the **twenty-eighth day of Mārgaśīrsha in the year 159**, during the reign of *Māhārājādhirāja 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 Sābhāṭi (?).

No. 38 : PLATE XXXVIII

DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA: THE YEAR 163

This inscription also was discovered in the village of **Dāmōdarpur**, 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 Varēndra 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 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". 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 *ā* in *ākshēptā*, 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, =*bāhy-āprada*-, 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, *vṛindakāt=sa*-, line 2 and =*āryyān=prativāsaitum*, 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 *svarggē*, line 13, *karttum*=, line 6, *saṁvyavahāribhir=ddharmmam*=, line 11, =*brāhmaṇ-āryyān*=, line 4, =*pūrvvēṇa*, line 9, *maharshshibhiḥ*, 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 *Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja 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 Brahmadata* as Head (*Uparika*) of the **Puṇḍravardhana** province (*bhukti*). The plate then refers to the Ashtakula Board of **Palāśavṛindaka**, headed by the *Mahattara* Officer and associated with the *Viśvāsa* (Accountant) Officer and husbandmen (*Kuṭumbins*) and speaks of a communication issued by them to the husbandmen of the **Chaṇḍa** 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 Patradāsa,

he was given one *kulyavāpa* of waste land on the receipt of two *dināras*, 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 *Mahattara* after duly measuring it in accordance with the customary *Nalas*.

Of the localities specified in the record **Vāyi-grāma** is doubtless the same as Vāyi-grāma or Baigram where a plate¹ of the Gupta period was found. Baigrām is of course situated in the Bogra District, now in Bangladesh. The other locality, **Satya**, is untraceable.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1 to 3 *Anuṣṭubh*]

First Side

- 1 [Sam 100*] [60] 3 **Ashāḍha di 10 3** Paramadaivata-Paramabhaṭṭā[ra]ka-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Budhaguptē** [prīthi]vipatau tat-pāda[-pari]gṛihitē [Puṇḍra[va]-
- 2 [rddhana]-bhuktāv=Uparika-Mahārāja-**Brahmadattē** samvyaavaharati[|*] svast[i] **Palāsavṛindakāt**=sa-Viśvāsān Mahattar-ādy-ashṭakul-ādhi[ka]-
- 3 [ra]ṇa[r̄n]² grāmika-kuṭumvinaś³=cha **Chaṇḍagrāmaka**⁴-brāhmaṇ-ādhyaksha⁵-kshudra-prakṛiti-kuṭumvinaś⁶ kuśalam=uktv=ānudarśayanti [yathā*]
- 4 [vi]jñāpayati⁷ nō grāmika-Nābhakō=ham=ichchhē⁸ mātā-pitrōs=sva-puṇy-āpyāyanāya kadichid⁹=brāhmaṇ-āryyān=prativāsaitum
- 5 tad=arhatha grām-ānukrama-vikraya-maryyādāyā mattō hiraṇyam=upasaṇḍ gṛihya samudaya-bāhy-āprada-khila-[kshētrasya]¹⁰
- 6 [pra*]sādam karttum=[i*]ti [|*] yataḥ pustapāla-Patradāsēn=āvadhāritam yuktam=anēna vijñāpitam=asty=ayam vikraya-
- 7 maryyādā-prasaṅgas=tad=diyatām=asya Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārāja-pā[dā-nām]¹¹ puṇy-ōpachayāy=ēti [|*] punar=ays=aiva
- 8 [Patradā]sasy=āvadhāraṇay=āvadhṛitya Nābhaka-hastād=dināra-dvayam¹²=upasaṅgṛihya Sthāṇavila¹³-Kapilāśrībhadrābhyām=āy[i*]kṛitya cha samudaya-

Second Side

- 9 [bāhya-āprada-khi*]la-kshētrasya kulyavāpam=ēkam=asya **Vāyi-grāmaka**-ōttara-pārśvasy=aiva cha Satya-maryyādāyā dakṣiṇa-paśchima-pūrvvēṇa
- 10 Maha[tta]r-ādy-adhikaraṇa-kuṭumvibhih¹⁴ pratyavēkshy=āshṭaka-navaka(-navaka)-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 78 ff.

² Basak reads *Mahattar-ādy-ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇa-grāmika-kuṭumvinaś=cha* which makes hardly any sense. Besides, it makes *cha* superfluous. We had therefore better read *Mahattar-ādy-ashṭakul-ādihikaraṇam grāmika-kuṭumvinaś=cha*.

³ Read *-kuṭumbinaś=*.

⁴ Basak reads *-grāmakē*.

⁵ Basak reads *-brāhmaṇādy-ānna-*.

⁶ Read *-kuṭumbinaś*.

⁷ Read *vijñāpayati*.

⁸ Read *=ichchhēyam*.

⁹ Read *katichid=*.

¹⁰ Basak reads *-kshētrānām*.

¹¹ Basak reads *-pādēna*.

¹² The word *-dvayam=* was at first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved immediately below *-dināra-*.

¹³ Basak reads *Sthāṇapāla-*.

¹⁴ Read *-kuṭumbibhiḥ*.

DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA:
THE YEAR 163

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G. S. Gai

From photograph

- nalābhyām=apaviñchchya cha [kṛishim¹ n=ōchchhindhya²] cha Nābha[kāya*]
 11 [dēyam ētad-u*]ttara-kālaṁ samvyavahāribhir=ddharmmam=avēkshya prati-
 pālaniyam=uktañ³=cha maharshhi(rshi)bhīḥ (|*) Sva-dattām=para-dattām
 vā yō harēta vasundharām(rām) [|*]
 12 [sa vishṭhā*]yām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē [|| 1*] Bahubhir=
 vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagarādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
 tasya
 13 [tadā*] phalaṁ(lam)[|| 2*] Shashṭim varshsha(rsha)-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati
 bhūmidah [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti⁴

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-2) [The year is 100] (and) 60 (and) 3, (the month of) Āshāḍha, the day 10 (and) 3, while *Paramadaivata Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Budhagupta**, is the lord of the earth; (and) while the *Mahārāja Brahmadata*, the *Uparika* of the **Puṇḍravardhana** Province, selected by His (Majesty's) feet, is carrying on the administration;

(Lines 2-3) Hail! From **Palāśavṛindaka**, the *Ashṭakula* Board⁵ headed by the *Mahattara*,⁶ in conjunction with *Viśvāsa*,⁷ and, the husbandmen⁸ who are village headmen,⁹ after enquiring

¹ Basak reads *tushṭimō[llī]ṅgya* which makes no sense. Our reading is in accord with *-karshaṇ-āvīrōdhi-sthānē* in line 18 of the Baigram copper-plate Inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 82).

² Read =ōchchhindya.

³ Read *pratipālaniyam || uktañ=*

⁴ Read *vasēt [|| 3*] Iti.*

⁵ *Ashṭakula*, 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 *Ashṭakula* was a pretty ancient institution may be seen from the fact that the *Aṭṭhakathā* or Commentary of Buddhaghōsha on the *Mahāparimibbānasuttanta* speaks of *Aṭṭhakulakā* while giving an account of the judicial procedure prevalent in the Vajjian kingdom (D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures* 1918, p. 155; B. C. Law, *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 103). For the exact sense of *adhikaraṇa* affixed to *Ashṭakula* in this expression, see note 7, p. 286 above.

⁶ This word occurs in the Faridpur grants also, where Pargiter 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 *Mātabbar* or *Mātabar*, which he derives from the Arabic *mu'tabar*, "trustworthy, reputable." A. S. Altekar says that *Mahattara* by itself signifies 'village elders', and consequently the expression *Mahattar-ādhi-kārika*, 'Officers appointed from among the village elders' (*A History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 21). According to Bhagwanlal Indraji "*Mhātārā* the Marāṭhi 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, recognised as headman both by the people of the village and by the Government" (*BG.*, 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 *Viśvāsa* 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 *Viśvāsa-rāya* and *Viśvāsa-khāna* meaning 'Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer' were known to Mediaeval Bengal (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 128).

⁸ In Ancient India it seems that the middle classes were divided principally into *kuṭumbins* or cultivators and *grihapatis* 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 1153), Gahapati-Sēṭhi (*ibid.*, Nos. 1056, 1073 and 1075) and Gahapati-Sathavāha (*ibid.*, No. 1062). It will thus be seen that Grihapatis were divided into Śrēshṭhins, Sārthavāhas and Naigamas. As regards Kuṭumbin, in one inscription a Hālakiya or ploughman is spoken of as Kuṭubika (Kuṭumbika) whereas his son was a Gahapati (Grihapati) (*ibid.*, No. 1121). What the other groups of the Kuṭumbin were we do not know. In modern times the term Grihapati has been entirely forgotten, but Kuṭumbin is still traceable in the Mārāṭhi *Kuṭmbī* and the Gujarāṭi *Kaṇbī*, both denoting the cultivating classes.

⁹ *Grāmika-kuṭumbinaḥ* 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

about (their) health, inform the husbandmen of the village **Chaṇḍaka** 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 *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja*, in the receipt of two *dināras* from the hands of Nābhaka and on (the same) being credited (to the treasury) by Sthānavila and Kapila-Śrībhadrā, one *kulyavāpa* 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 north side of the **Vāyi** village. And this should be allotted to Nābhaka after being inspected by the husbandmen under the (*Ashṭakula*) Board headed by Mahattara, after severing it with eight (-cubit) by nine (-cubit) *nalas*¹ 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 villagers" (*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 *ashṭaka-navaka-nalābhyām* occurs also in line 18 of Baigram Copper-Plate Inscription (*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 *kāṇi*, though it is now being superseded by the standard Government *bighā*. It is not a square, but an oblong. Its dimensions vary in different localities, its measurements being 24×20 reeds or 24×16, or 12×10. (*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 *hasta*. Thus the Tarpaṇadīghi plate of Lakshmaṇasēna has *tatratya-dēśa-vyavahāra-nalēna* (*Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III p. 102, line 36) and the Gōvindapur plate of the same king has *tad-dēśiya-sarṇvyavahāra-shaṭpañchāśat-hasta-parimita-nalēna* (*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 56 *hastas* or cubits. There was also an attempt in the Sēna period to have a standard *Nala*. Thus, we find the expression *Vṛishabhaśāṅkara-nala* in the Sēna records (*ibid.*, p. 74, line 45; p. 87, lines 36-37), where *Vṛishabhaśāṅkara* is doubtless the *biruda* of Vijayasēna. 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 *ashṭaka* and *navaka* the expression *ashṭaka-navaka-nalābhyām*, *hasta* is understood, may be seen from the fact that it is immediately preceded by *Darvīkarma-hastēna* in the Baigram plate mentioned above, which obviously means 'in accordance with the hand of Darvīkarma.' A similar expression occurs in two of the Faridpur grants referred to above, namely, *Śivachandra-hast-āshṭaka-navaka-nalēna*, 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 *Vṛishabhaśāṅkara-nala* has already been referred to. We may also draw attention to *Chandradāsa-karaṇasya nala-pramāṇēna* and *Śrīkaraṇa-Śivadāsa-nāmaka-nala-pramāṇēna* (*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 *Vṛishabhaśāṅkara-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 *dharmasīla*, 'righteous.' Whether it similarly denoted the *hasta* of the officer *Karaṇa* 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.”

(Line 11) And it has been said by the great sages:

(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

ĒRAṆ 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 *JBAS.*, 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 *aksharas* in line 3,—in which Prinsep had found a reference to the Surāshṭras; and which Hall read as *saṁsurabhū*, 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 *JBAS.*, Vol. XXX, p. 127, note. It was for the first time critically edited by J.F. Fleet in the *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 88 and ff., and Plate XII A.

This is another inscription from Ēraṇ² 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 “Lakshmi Temple,”³ separated by the intervening “Vishṇu Temple” from the “Varāha Temple” or temple of the Boar, at which there is the well-known inscription of Tōramāṇa.⁴

The writing, which covers a space of about 2' 6-½" 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 ¾". 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 *Nala* was not prevalent in all the parts of Bengal. Thus the Pahārpur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 59 ff.) speaks of only *shaṭka-naḍaiḥ* in line 19. *Shaṭka-naḍa* was thus a reed six cubits in length and denoted a linear measure.

Another word connected with the measurement of land is *apaviñchhya*, which occurs also in the Pahārpur and the Faridpur grants. In the last records, however, the form *apaviñchhya* is found, Pargiter has rendered it by ‘having severed.’ This seems to be correct, because in the *Dēśināmamālā*, *vichchhiyāri* and *viñchhiyam* (VII, 91 and 93) both mean *pāṭitam*.

¹ The translation is reprinted in Thomas' edition of Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 249.

² See page 221 above.

³ *CASIR.*, Vol. X, p. 87, and Plates xxv and xxvi.

⁴ *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 36, pp. 158 ff.

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 *ārṇṇava-*, line 8 and sometimes above it, *e.g.*, in *-paryyaṅkaḥ*, 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 *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.*, in *Maitrāyaṇīya-*, line 5; *pautrēṇa*, line 6; and *-pittrōḥ*, line 8.

The inscription opens with a verse in praise of Viṣṇu 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 Āshāḍha** (verse 2), and when **Suraśmichandra** was a protector of the people (*lōkapāla*),¹ protecting the province intervening between the Kāḷindī (Yamunā) and the Narmadā (Verse 3), the column on which this inscription is engraved and which is called a *dhvaja-stmbha*² or 'flag-staff' of Bhagavān Janārddana (Viṣṇu) was caused to be erected by the *Mahārāja Mātṛivishṇu* 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 Maitrāyaṇīya school of the Yajurveda and performed sacrifices (*kratus*).

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1 to 3 *Āryyā*.]

- 1 Jayati vibhuś = chatur-bhujaś = chatur-arṇṇava-vipula-salila-paryyaṅkaḥ [i*]
jagataḥ sthity=utpattinya[y-aika*]-
- 2 hētur=Ggaruḍa-kētuḥ [|| 1*] Śatē pañcha-shashṭyadhikē varshāṇām
bhūpatau cha Budhaguptē Āshāḍha-māsa-ś[ukla]-
- 3 dvādaśyām⁵ Suragurōr=ddivasē [i*2] Sam 100 60 5 [|| *] Kāḷindī-
Narmmadayōr=mmadhyam pālayati lōkapāla-guṇair[i*]=jjagati⁶ mahār[[āja]-
- 4 śriyam=anubhavati Suraśmichandrē cha [|| 3*] Asyām samvatsara-māsa-
divasa-pūrvvāyām sva-karm-ābhiratasya kratu-yāji[naḥ]
- 5 adhīta-svādhyāyasya vipr-arshēr=Mmaitrāyaṇīya-vṛishabhasy=Ēndravishṇōḥ pra-
pautrēṇa pitur=guṇ-ānukāriṇō Varuṇav[i]sh[ṇōḥ]
- 6 pautrēṇa pitaram=anu-jātasya sva-vaiśa-vṛiddhi-hētōr=**Harivishṇōḥ** puttrēṇ=
ātyanta-bhagavad-bhaktēna Vidhātur=ichchhayā svayamvaray=ēva r[ā]ja-
- 7 lakshmy=ādhiगतēna chatuḥ-samudra-paryyanta-prathita-yaśasā akshīṇa-māna-
dhanēn=ānēka-śattru-samarajishṇunā mahārāja **Mātṛivishṇun[ā]**

¹ The word *lōkapāla* does not in this inscription denote 'the regent of a quarter' but rather 'a ruler or protector of the people;' compare the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, 344.

² Compare *dhvaja*, 'standard,' as applied to the Meharauli column, in line 6 of No. 12 above.

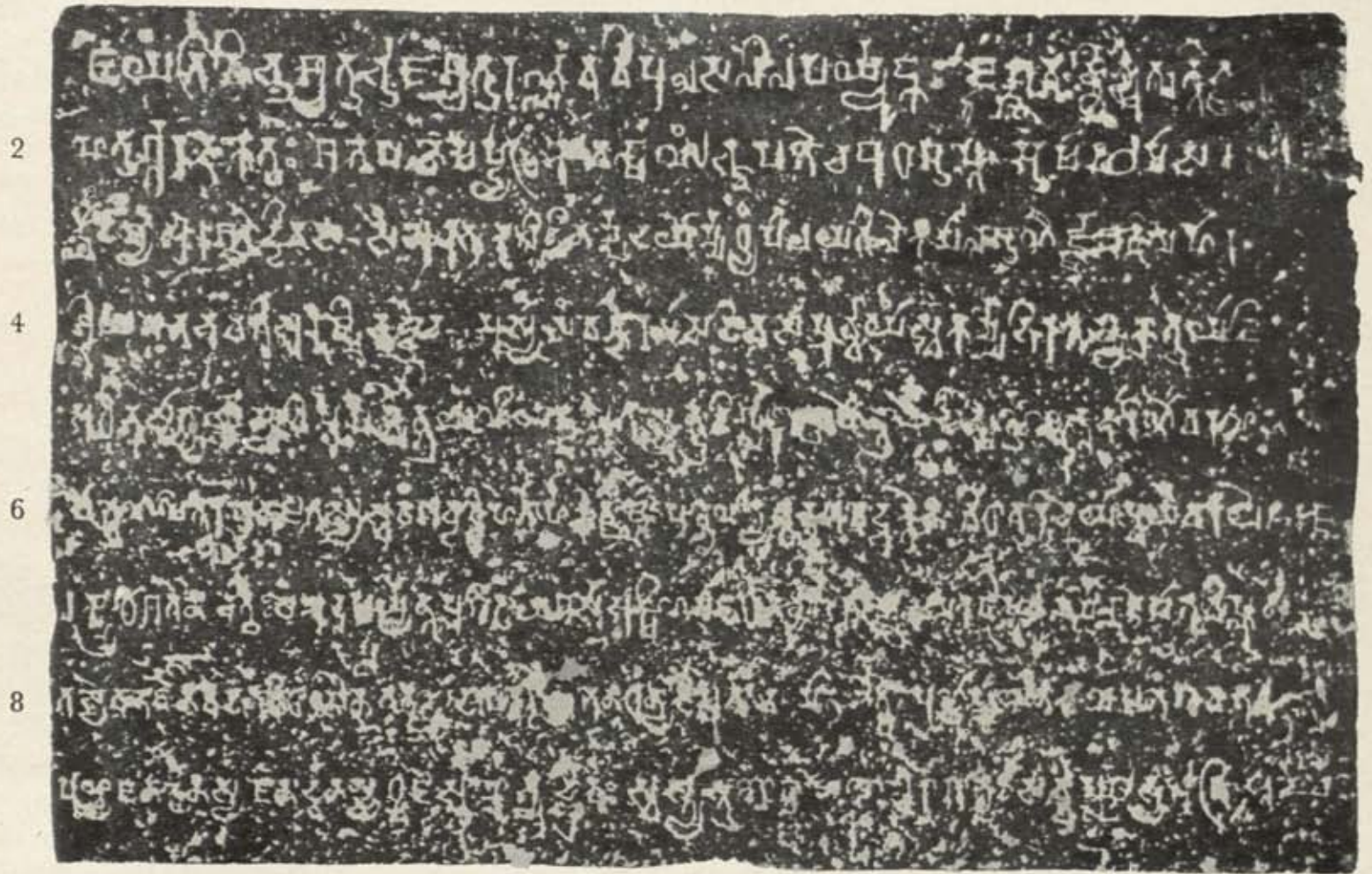
³ From inked impressions.

⁴ In the last legible syllable, part of the subscript *y* 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 *yādi* for the effaced syllables. Hall, therefore, suggests *nya[y-ādi*]*, which Fleet adopts. But *nya[y-aika*]* seems better. [The consonant above the subscript *y* appears to be *v* rather than *n*. Compare the angular shape of *v* throughout this inscription, and, for contrast, the syllable *nya* in *Dhanyavishṇu* in line 8. The intended reading, therefore, seems to be *vyāpāya* rather than *nyay-ādi* or *nyay-aika*.—Ed.]

⁵ This *akshara* is somewhat damaged; but it is very distinctly *dvā*. Prinsep's reading of *trayōdaśyām* is proved to be wrong by the metre, if by nothing else.

⁶ Read *jagati*.

ERAN STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA: THE YEAR 165



G. S. Gai

From photograph

- 8 tasy=aiv=ānujēna tad-anuvidhāyin[ā] tat-prasāda-parigṛi[hī]tēna **Dhanyavish-**
nunā cha | mātri(tā)-pitrōḥ puṇy-āpyāyan-ārtham=ēsha bhagavataḥ (i)
 9 puṇyajana-ārddanasya Janārddanasya dhvaja-stambhō = bhyuchchhritaḥ [||*]
 Svasty=astu gō-brāhmaṇa-p[u]rōgābhyaḥ sarvva-prajābhya iti |(ii)

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Victorious is the lord, the four-armed (Vishṇu)—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 fortnight of the month Āshāḍha**; on the day of **Suraguru**;¹

(Line 3) (Or in figures) the year **100** (and) **60** (and) **5**.

(Verse 3) And while **Suraśmichandra** 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 Mātṛivishṇu* who is excessively devoted to Bhagavān (Vishṇu), 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 religious rites; who performed sacrifices; who studied his Vēda; who was a Brāhmaṇa sage; (and) who was the head of the Maitrāyaṇīya school of Yajurveda;—who is the son's son of **Varuṇavishṇu**, who imitated the virtuous qualities of (his) father;—(and) who is the son of **Harivishṇu**, who took after⁴ (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 Bṛihaspati, from which latter name the day takes its customary appellation of Bṛihaspativāra.

² See note 1 on p. 299 above.

³ See note 1 on p. 241 above.

⁴ *Pitaram=anu-jātasya*. Hall explained this expression in the *JBAS.*, Vol. III, p. 139, note, by a passage quoted in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* from the *Panchatantra*: viz.,

Jātaḥ putrō=nujātas=cha atijātas=tath=aiva cha |
apajātas=cha lōkē=smīn=mantavyāḥ śāstra-vēdībhiḥ ||
Mātyi-tulya-guṇō jātas=tv=anujātaḥ pituḥ samaḥ |
atijātō=dhikas=tasmād=apajātō=dham-ādhamāḥ ||

"By those who know the scriptures, (sons) 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 *Puṇyajana. 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 $7\frac{1}{8}$ " X $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". 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 $1\frac{3}{4}$ " X $1\frac{5}{8}$ ". 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 $27\frac{1}{8}$ 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 *adhishṭhān-*, line 3, *anēna*, line 5, and so on; (2) the initial *ē* in *ēkādaśa*, line 11; (3) the peculiar form of the medial *ā*, after *th* and *dh* as in *yathākraya-*, line 9 and =*avadhāraṇay*=*ā°*, line 10, and in *grā* as in *Ḍōṅgā-grāmē*, line 6, as remarked above in connection with No. 38; (4) the method of forming *r* in conjunction with a following *y*, e.g., in =*maryyāda°* 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-phal-*, line 6, =*ahan=tat-kshētra*, 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 imprecatory 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 =*ānuvahamānakē*, lines 2-3; =*niyuktaka* and =*Āyuktaka-*, line 3, =*atisṛishṭakās*=, 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 =*Sārthavāha-*, line 4, and =*tad-artthañ*=, line 11 [*sam*]vyavahāribhir=*ddēva-*, line 15, =*Puṇḍravardhana-*, line 2, =*pūrvam-*, line 6 and [*kō*]ṭi[*varshsha*]-, line 3; (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, such e.g., as in =*kshētra-*, lines 7, 11 and 12, =*Vasumittra-*, line 4; (3) the use of the dental nasal instead of *anusvāra* in combination with a following *s*, as e.g., in =*phal-āsansinā*, 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[*mvyā*]vaharati, line 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja 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 *Mahārāja Jayadatta* as Head (*Uparika*) of the **Puṇḍravardhana** province (*bhukti*); and in the **Kōṭivarsha** district (*vishaya*), under him, the Court (*adhikaraṇa*) of the Town (*adhishṭhāna*) was being carried on by the *Āyuktaka* Bhaṇḍaka,

appointed by Jayadatta, along with the *Nagaraśrēṣṭhīn* Ribhupāla, the *Sārthavāha* Vasumitra, the *Prathama-Kulika* Varadatta, and the *Prathama-Kāyastha* Viprapāla. We are further informed that of these latter, Ribhupāla, who is now called not *Nagaraśrēṣṭhīn*, but simply *śrēṣṭhīn*, applied to the Court of the Town for permission to purchase six *kulyavāpas* of building site (*vāstu*) on payment of the price at the usual rate of three *dināras* a *kulyavāpa*. The **object** of this purchase of land was to erect on it two shrines and two store-rooms of the primeval gods Kōkāmukha-svāmin and Śvētavarāha-svāmin to whom four and seven *kulyavāpas* 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-Nandin, and Sthāṇu-Nandin, after corroborating the statement of the owner's former gift of eleven *kulyavāpas* mentioned in the application.

Kōkāmukha-svāmin and Śvētavarāha-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 Kōkāmukha-tīrtha mentioned in the *Harivaṃśa*, *Mahābhārata*² and *Vārāha-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 Kośi, Kaṅkai 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 Daṁśhṭrāṅkura just where the Kōkā emerges. This seems to be the location of Kōkāmukha-svāmin. In fact, the actual name Kōkāmukha 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 Śvētavarāha-svāmin. This perhaps explains why the Earth has been described in this inscription as *līṅga-kshōṇī*, 'the Subtile Earth.' From the names of the rivers Kauśikī, Kōkā and Trisrōtas, that is, the Sun Kōśī, Kaṅkai 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 Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* extended as far northward as the Darjeeling and Sikkim region. Now, in Sikkim, there is what is called Dongkya Pass and Mount.⁵ And it seems tempting to suppose that the Dōngā of this record has survived in Dongkya. 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 Śvētavarāha-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 *līṅga-kshōṇī* in line 8.

TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1 to 3 *Anuṣṭubh*]

First Side

1 **Phālguna di 10** [5] Paramadaivata-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-
[Vudha][gu*]pt[ē*]⁶ [pṛithivī*]-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 140, note 3.

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 *Budhaguptā*.

- 2 [patau tat-pā*]da-parigṛihītasya **Puṇḍravarddhana**-bhuktāv = Uparika-Mahārāja-
Jayadattasya bhōgēn = anu[vahamā]-
 3 nakē [Kō]ṭi[**varshsha**(**rsha**)-vishayē cha tan-niyuktaka Āyuktaka-Bhaṇḍakē¹ [a]-
 dhishṭhān-ādihikaraṇa[m*] Nagaraśrēshṭhi-Ribhu-
 4 pāla-Sārtthavāha-Vasumittra-Prathamakulika-Varadatta-Prathamakāyastha-Vipra-
 pāla-purōgē cha sa[mvya]vaharati [i*]
 5 Anēna śrēshṭhi-Ribhupālēna vijñāpitam [i*] Himavach-chhikharē Kōkāmukha-
 svāminah chatvārah kulyavāpāḥ [Svē]tava-
 6 rāha-svāminō = pi sapta kulyavāpāḥ asmat-phal-āsansinā puny-ā(ṇy-ā)bhivṛiddhayē
Dōngā-grāmē pūrvvām mayā
 7 apradā atisṛishṭakās = tad = ahan = tat-kshētra-sāmīpya-bhūmau tayōr = ādya-Kō-
 kāmukha-svāmi-Svētavarāha-
 8 svāminōr = nā[ma]l-liṅga-[kshōṇi] dēvakula-dvayam = ētat = kōshṭhikā-dvayañ = cha
 kārayitum = ichchhāmy = arhatha vāstunō
 9 shaṭ-[kulya]vāpān = yathākraya-maryyādayā dātum = iti [i*] yathaḥ Pustapāla-
 Vishṇudatta-Vijaya[nandi]-Sthān(ṇ)u-
 10 nandinām = avadhāraṇay = āvadhṛitam = asty = anēna Himavach-chhikharē tayōḥ
 Kōkāmukha-svāmi-Svētavarā[ha]-svāmi[nōḥ]
 11 apra[dāḥ] kshētra-kulyavāpā ēkādaśa dattakās = tad-artthañ = ch = ēha dēvakula-
 kōshṭhikā-karaṇē yukta[m = ē]ta[d = vijñā]-
 12 [pitam] [kra]mēṇa tat-kshē[ttra]-sāmīpya-bhūmau vāstu dātum = ity = anuvṛitta-
 tri-dīnārikyā-ku[lyavā]pa-vikraya-[maryyā]da-

Second Side

- 13 [yā*] rā kulana rā ga ra(?)
 14 pu[shkari]ṇi-pū[rvvēṇa] Ribhu[pā]la-pū[rvva-dattaka-kshētra*] [dakshi-
 ṇēna] [pañcha*]
 15 [kulyavāpā*] dattāḥ [i] [ta]d = uttara-kālam [sam]vyavahāribhir = ddēva-bha[kty-
 ā]numantavyā[h*] [Uktaṁ] Vyāsēna [i*] Sva-dattām para-dattā-
 16 [m = vā yō harēta] vasundharām [i*] sa vishṭhā[yām] krimir = [bbhūtvā] [pi]ṭṛi-
 [bhis = sa]ha pachyatē [|| 1*] Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō
 17 [yatnād = raksha Yu]dhishṭhira [i*] mahīm [mahīmatām] śrēshṭha dā[nāch =
 chhrēyō = nu]pālanam [|| 2*] [Bahu]bhir = vvasu[dhā da]ttā
 18 [rājabhiś = cha punaḥ punaḥ] [i*] [ya]sya [ya]sya yadā bhūmi[s = tasya tasya]
 ta[dā] pha[la]m = iti²

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) [The year . . .], (the month of) **Phālguna**, (and) **the day 10** (and) (5?), while *Paramadaivata Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Budhagupta** is the lord of the earth; while the **Koṭivarsha** district was running on with the enjoyment (of the rule) of *Mahārāja Jayadatta*, (who is) *Uparika* over the **Puṇḍravardhana** province, being selected by His (Majesty's) feet; and while *Āyuktaka*³ Bhaṇḍaka, appointed by him (Jayadatta), was administering the Court of the District Town as the chief of the *Nagara-Śrēshṭhi* Ribhupāla, the *Sārtthavāha* Vasumittra, the *Prathama-Kulika* Varadatta and the *Prathama-Kāyastha* Viprapāla;

¹ Basak reads *tan-niyuktakē hāyuktaka-Śa(Ga?)ṇḍakē*.

² Read *phalam* [|| 3*] *iti* [||*]

³ Compare *Āyukta-purusha* in line 26 of Inscription No. 1 above. See also D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka* (2nd ed.), pp. 57-58.

DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BUDHAGUPTA

i, a



i, b



(Lines 5-9) Whereas this *Śrēshṭhin* Ribhupāla has applied, "In the village of Ḍōṅgā 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 Sthāṅu-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 BUDHAGUPTA

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.

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 *kshōṇī*, compare the phrase *kṛit-āñjali-putā*, applied to *dharāṇi* in the *Varāha-Purāna*, chapter 39, verse 26.

² Vyāsa, whose name, as well as his epithet of "arranger of the Vēdas," is usually inserted in this passage, e.g., in line 13 of the Majhgawām grant of the *Mahārāja* Hastin of the year 191 (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 23, p. 108 and Plate). In the grants of Jayanātha (*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 Khōh grant of the *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha of the year 214 (*Ibid.*, No. 31, p. 137 and Plate) it is also added that they are in the *Śatasāhasri-Sarṅhitā* of the *Mahābhārata*. These verses are nearly always attributed, in the inscriptions, to Vyāsa. But, in lines 27-28 of the Karnūl grant of the third year of Vikramāditya I (*JBBRAS.*, Vol. XVI, p. 237), the verse commencing *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, 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*.

269 ff., and 277 ff., Rajendralal Mitra published his reading of the text, with a lithograph, from a baked clay impression made by Major C. Hollings, and sent to the Society in 1861. And in 1871, in the *CASIR.*, Vol. I, pp. 37 ff. and plate xvii, General Cunningham published his own lithograph of the inscription. It was afterwards edited by J.F. Fleet in the *CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, pp. 47 ff. and plate VI B, and annotated by R. C. Majumdar in the *IC.*, Vol. X, pp. 17 ff.

Bihar¹ 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 inaccessible, by a wooden structure placed on the top, *i.e.*, the proper bottom of the pillar, in order to connect it with the roof.

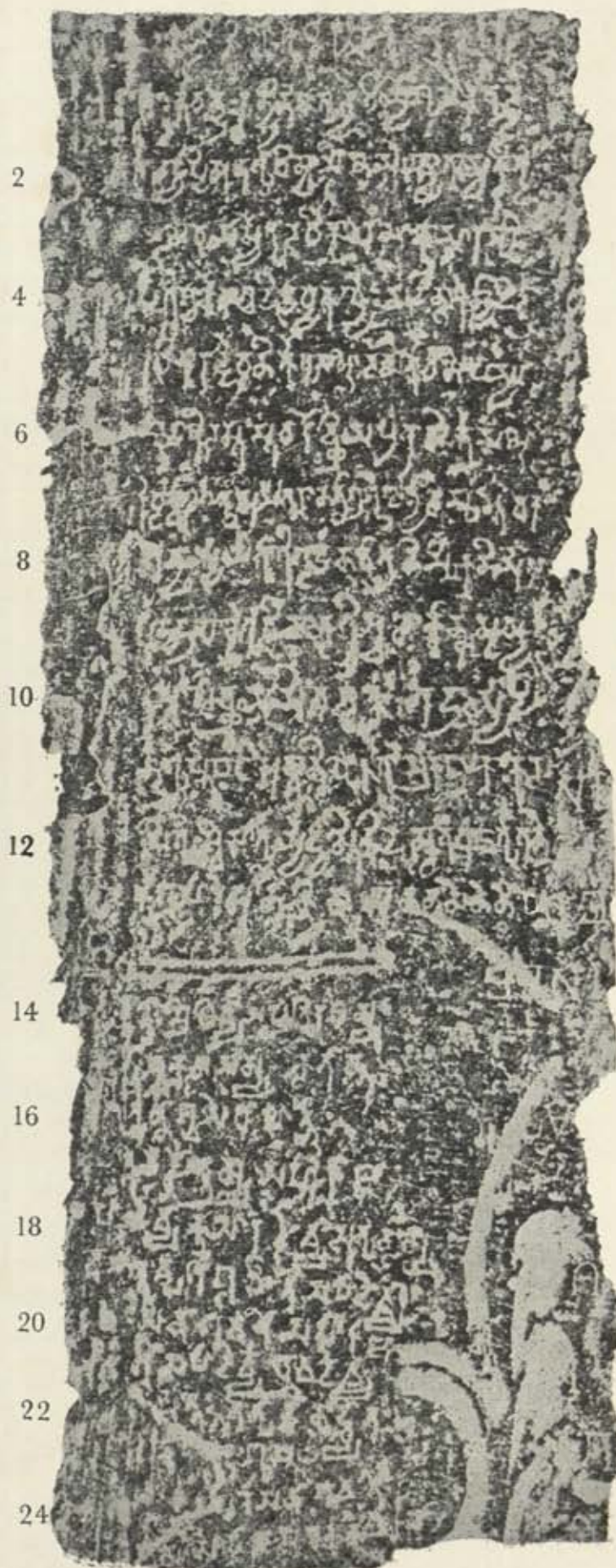
The writing originally extended, in the *First Part*, lines 1 to 13, over four of the faces of the column, as is shewn by the metres of the extant portion; and in the *Second Part*, lines 14 ff., over three faces, as is shewn by the number of letters lost in each line. The extant portion, now lithographed, 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 $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, and approximate closely to those of the Allahābād 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 *pauṭrasya*, line 17; and (3) the doubling of *dh*, in conjunction with a following *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 22.

The first part of the inscription mentions the **Imperial Gupta** 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 **Skandaguptabaṭa**, 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 *yūpa* or a 'sacrificial post,' apparently by some minister whose sister had become Kumāragupta's wife. This minister seems to be Anantasēna mentioned in line 13. His sister and consequently the mother of Skandagupta seems to have been Anantadēvī mentioned in Nos. 44-46 below as mother of Puru (=Skanda)gupta. And the inscription further recorded certain shares in the village of Skandaguptabaṭa(?), and in another *agrahāra*, the name of which is lost. From the mention of Skanda and the divine Mothers, in

¹ The 'Bihar and Behar' of maps, *etc.*, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 103 Lat. 25° 11' N.; Long. 85° 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 *viḥāra*, '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 'Pesserawa' inscription, now stored in the collection at Bihar, where the place is called "Vihāra, the city of the glorious Yaśōvarman" (*JBAS.*, Vol. XVII, p. 492 ff.).

² *CASIR.*, Vol. XI, pp. 192 ff.

BIHĀR 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-⁴chandra Indrānuja-tulya-vīryyō guṇair=atulyaḥ [- - - -] [II]
- 2 [- -] [ta]⁵sy=āpi sūnur⁶=bhuvi svāmi-nēyaḥ khyātaḥ sva-kīrttyā [- - - -] [I]
- 3 [- -] [sva]⁷s=aiva yasy=ātula-vikramēṇa **Kumāragupt[t]ē[na]** [- - - -] [II]
- 4 [- -] p[i]tṛi(trī)ṛś=cha dēvāṛś=cha hi havya-kavyaiḥ sadā nṛīśaṛśy-ādi [- - - -] [II]
- 5 [- - -] [a]chīkarad⁸=dēvanikēta-maṇḍalaṁ kshitāv=anaupamya- [- - - -]
- 6ba(?)ṭē(?)⁹ kila stambha-var-ōchchhri(chchhra)ya-prabhāsē tu maṇḍa.....
.....[II]
- 7bhir=vṛikshāṇāṁ kusuma-bhar-ānat-āgra-śum(?)ga(?)vyālamba-stavak....
- 8 [- -] Bhadrāryayā¹⁰ bhāti gṛihaṁ nav-ābhra-nirmmōka nirmu[kta - - - -] [II]
- 9 [- -] Skanda-pradhānair=bhuvi māṭṛi bhiś=cha lōkān=sa su(?)shya(?) [- - - -] [II]
- 10 [- - -]yūp-ōchchhrayam=ēva chakkrē [II*] Bhadrāryy-ādi-.....
- 11[Ska(?)]ndaguptabaṭē anśāni 30 5 tā(?)mrakaṭāku(?)ḥ kala.....
- 12pituḥ sva-mātur=yyady=asti hi dushkrītaṁ bhajatu tanē.....
- 13k-āgrahārē anśāni 3 **Anantasēnēn**=ōpa.....

¹ Compare the undoubted instance of this, in the same period, in the Gaṅgdhār inscription of Viśvavarman (*CII.*, Vol. III, 1888, No. 17, pp. 72 ff.). The *mātaraḥ* or *māṭṛigaṇa*, '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, Vaiṣṇavī, Māhēśvarī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Aindrī or Indrāṇī or Māhēndrī, and Chāmuṇḍā, 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 Māhēśvarī, the wife and female energy of Śiva; especially under the name of Jagadambā, 'the mother of the universe.' Not long after this period, Svāmi-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-impression; partly from Gen. Cunningham's lithograph, and partly from the lithograph published with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra's reading."—J. F. Fleet.

³ The first two entire *pādas*, and parts of the third *pādas* of most of the verses, have peeled off and are lost all the way down.

⁴ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

⁵ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁶ The metre is faulty here; since the *vi* of *bhuvī*, which should remain short, is lengthened by the following *sv*.

⁷ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*; and in the next verse.

⁸ Metre: *Varṇśasṭha*.

⁹ Metre: apparently *Giti*; and in the next verse.

¹⁰ Metre: *Indravajrā*; and in the following two verses.

Second Part

- 14 [Sarvva-rāj-ōchchhē]ttuḥ¹ pri(pri)thivyām = apratirathasya
 15 [chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśasō Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ē]ndr-Āntaka-samasya Kṛitān-
 ta-
 16 [paraśōḥ nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-kōṭi-pradasya chir-ō]tsann-āśvamēdh-āharttuḥ
 17 [mahārāja-śrī-**Gupta**-prapauttrasya mahārāja-śrī-**Ghaṭō**]tkacha-pauttrasya mahā-
 rājā-
 18 [dhirāja-śrī-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya ma]hādēvyām **Ku-
 mārādēvyām** = utpannasya
 19 [mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Samudraguptasya** puttra]s = tat-parigrihītō mahādēvyām
 20 **Dattadēvyām** = utpannaḥ svayam = a-pratirathaḥ para]mabhāgavatō mahārājā-
 21 [dhirāja-śrī-**Chandraguptas** = tasya puttras = tat-pād-ānuddhyā]tō mahādēvyām
Dhruvadēvyām =
 22 [utapannaḥ paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Kumārāguptas** = tasya] put-
 tras = tat-pād-ānuddhyā taḥ
 23 [mahādēvyām = **Anantadēvyām** = utpannaḥ paramabhāgavatō mahārājādhirāja-
 śrī-**Ska**]ndaguptaḥ [||*]
 24 [tasya puttras = tat-pād-ānuddhyāto mahādēvyām **Chandradēvyām** = utpannaḥ]
 paramabhāgavatō
 25 [mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Budhaguptaḥ**(?)] [vai]shayik-**Ājapuraka**-sa(?)mai(?)-
 26 gra ka . . . [ak]shaya-nīvi grāma-kshētraṁ
 27 kri . . . uparika-kumārāmātya-
 28 ṅgikula(?)ḥ(?) vaṇi[ja*]ka-pādit-ārika-
 29 [ā]grahārika-śaulkika-gaulmik-āsanyām śra(?)-
 30 vās[i]k-ādīn = asmat-prāsād-ōpajīvināḥ
 31 [samājñāpayāmi] Varmmaṇā vijñāpitō = smi mama pitāmahēna
 32 namē bhaṭṭa-Guhilasvāminā Bhadrā[r]yyakā
 33 m.g.p[r]ati . . . ā.āgrōkaya . . . nākaya-
- (The rest of the inscription had been broken away and lost, before the time when it was discovered.)

TRANSLATION

First Part

(Line 1) the very moon among men; equal in prowess to (the god Vishṇu) the younger brother of Indra; unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities;

(Line 2) moreover, his son guided by Svāmin (Kārttikēya) on the earth; renowned; by his own fame.

(Line 3) whose sister, indeed, [as espoused] by **Kumārāgupta**, 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 Bhitari 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 *havya* (the oblation to the gods) and *kavya* (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 [**Skandaguptabaṭa**] which is beautiful with the erection of (this) best of columns.

(Line 7)of the treesthe 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

(Lines 10-11)[he] made, indeed, the erection of (this) sacrificial post (for) Bhadrāryā and others in [the village(?) called] **Skandaguptabaṭa** 30 (?), (and) 5 shares

(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 *Mahārājādhirāja*, 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 Kṛitānta (god of Death); [who was the giver of many crores of lawfully acquired cows and gold]; who was the performer of the *asvamedha* 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] **Ghaṭōtkacha** (and) who was [the son] of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, [the prosperous **Chandragupta (I)**, (and) the daughter's son of the Lichchhavi], begotten on the Mahādēvi **Kumāradēvi**.

(Lines 19-21) (was) an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), the *Mahārājādhirāja*, [the prosperous **Chandragupta (II)**], who was selected (as successor) by him;¹ [who was born of] the Mahādēvi [**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 Mahādēvi **Dhruvadēvi**], (was) [the ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva)], [the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious **Kumāragupta**].

(Lines 22-23) [His] son, who meditated on his feet, (and) [who was born of the Mahādēvi **Anantadēvi** (is) an ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous] **Skandagupta**.

(Lines 24-31) [His son, who meditated on his feet (and) who was born of the Mahādēvi **Chandradēvi** (is) the] ardent devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva) [the *Mahārājādhirāja*, 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 *Kumārāmātya* 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.

seat (of office) (?) of the *Agrahārika*,¹ the *Śaulkika*,² and the *Gaulmika*³ and others who subsist on our favour.

(Lines 31-33) "I have been requested byvarman, by my father's father, by the *Bhaṭṭa* Guhilasvāmin, 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, 4- $\frac{1}{8}$ " high by 1- $\frac{3}{4}$ " 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 *dauhitrasya*, line 2 and *-grihitō*, line 3, looks like a precursor to the later acute-angled type seen in such records as the Bōdhgayā inscription of Mahānāman and the Lākhāmaṇḍal *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 *Nalanda 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 *puttras* =, 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 **Ghaṭōtkacha**, **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-dēvyām* = and has therefore to be restored to *Cha[ndra*]-dēvyām* =. 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-ś]rī-Ghaṭō¹ . . .
- 2v[i*]-d[au*]h[i*]trasya² Mahādēvyām Kum[ā]ra[dēvyam=utpa*]-
- 3grih[ītō] Mah[ā]d[ē]vyā[m] Datta[ē]vyā[m=utpannas=svayam]
- 4[śrī]-Chandraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pādānu]-
- 5[śrī Kumāraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pādānu]-
- 6[hārājādhirāja-śrī-Pur[u*]gutpas³=ta]-
- 7[Cha][ndra*][dēvyā][m=utpannaḥ*]
- 8[śrī]-Budhagup[taḥ]

¹ There is space after *Ghaṭō* for two letters but all that can be seen on the photograph is a horizontal wavy line.

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.

³ Read *Puruguptas* =.

ĒRAṆ 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 **Ēraṇ**,¹ in the Khurāi Sub-Division of the Sagar District in the Madhya Pradesh. It is on a small pillar, afterwards converted into a *liṅga* or phallic emblem of Śiva, which stands under some tall trees near the left bank of the Bīnā, about half a mile to the south-east of Ēraṇ, and halfway between it and the neighbouring village of Pēhēlējpur.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 Gōparāja 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 Gōparāja 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 *liṅga*, by fitting an ablution-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.

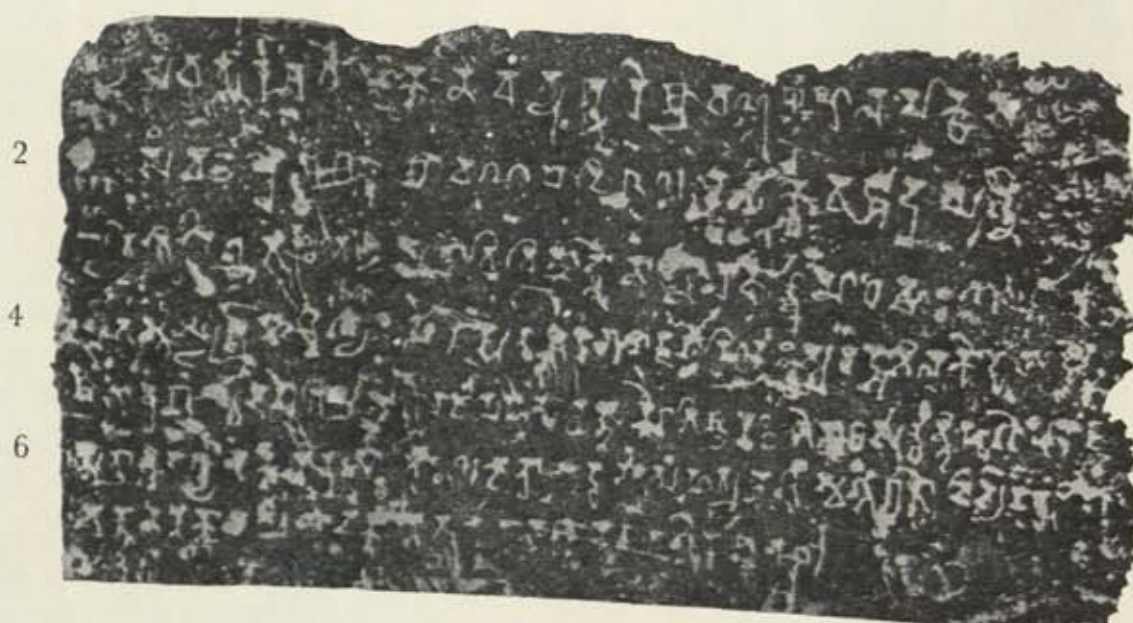
The **writing** which covers a space of about 1' 9" broad by 11" high, has suffered a good deal from the weather, and from the sharpening of tools on the edges of the stone; but, on the original pillar, it is fairly legible almost throughout; and the only historical items that have been lost are, in line 2, the name of Gōparāja's grandfather, and of the family to which he belonged. The **size** of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{5}{8}$ ". 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 Ēraṇ 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 *bhāryā*, 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 *ś*, in *vaśa*, lines 2 and 4; and (2) the doubling of *k* and *t*, in conjunction with a following *r*; e.g., in *-vikkrāntō* and *puttrō* =, 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 Śrāvaṇa** (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

¹ See pp. 221 above.

² The 'Pahlechpur' of Gen. Cunningham's map (*CASIR.*, Vol. X, Pl. xxiii).

ĒRAᅇ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF BHĀNUGUPTA: THE YEAR 191



G. S. Gai

From photograph

or noble named Gōparāja came to Ēraṇ and fought a battle with the Maitras;¹ that Gōparāja 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 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 3 and 4 *Indravajrā*]

- 1 Ōm **Samvatsara-śatē ēka-navaty-uttarē Śrāvaṇa-bahula-paksha-sap[t]a-my[ām]**
- 2 **samvat 100 90 1 Śrāvaṇa ba di 7** Śulakkha-vaṅśad=utpannō [— →]
- 3 rāj-ēti-viśrutaḥ [| *] tasya puttṛō=ti-vikkrāntō nāmnā rāj=ātha Mādhavaḥ || [1*]
Gōparāja[h]
- 4 sutas=tasya śrīmān=vikhyāta-pauruṣaḥ [| *] Śarabharāja-dauhittṛaḥ sva-vaṅśa-tilakō=[bhavad(?)] [|| 2*[
- 6 Śrī-**Bhānuguptō** jagati pravirō rājā mahān=Pārtha-samō=ti-śūraḥ [*] tēn=ātha sārddhan=tv=iha Gōpar[ā]j[ō]
- 6 M[ai]ttrān=udaśy=āchakit-ānuyātaḥ || [3*] Kṛitvā [cha*] y[u]ddham sumahat prak[ā]śam svarggam gatō divya-var-Ē(?)[ndra-kalpaḥ | *]
- 7 bhakt=ānuraktā cha⁴ priyā cha kāntā bh[ā]r[y]=ā[va]lag[n]=ānugat=āg[n]i-r[ā]śim || [4 *]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-2) Ōm! 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 fortnight⁵**; the (lunar) **day 7**;-
(Verse 1) (there was) a ruler, renowned as...rāja sprung from the **Śulakkha⁶** lineage; and his son (was) valorous by the name (of) **Mādhava**.

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 Maitrakas, see *JPASB.*, 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 Sakuntala 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 *praharē vā i.e.* a short vowel preceding *pra* or *hra* can remain short if required in a metre as in *Dāridryād=dhriyan=ēti hrī-parigataḥ prabhvaśyatē tējasah*, etc. Here *i* of *ēti* remains short, as required by the metre, even though it is followed by *hrī-*,—Ed.]

⁵ *Ba* of the text in line 2 obviously is an abbreviation of *bahulapaksha* of line 1 just as *samvat* of line 2 is of *samvatsara* 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 *śu* which represents *śukla* or *śuddha*. When in an inscription *dī* occurs without *śu* 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 15; 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 Śulakkha seems to be the name of the line to which Gōparāja 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.

(Verses 3-4) (There is) the glorious **Bhānugupta**, 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 Maittras 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 beautiful wife, clinging (to him), entered into the mass of fire (funeral pyre).

No. 44 : PLATE XLIV

NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEALS OF NARASĪMHAGUPTA

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 $3\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $2\frac{3}{4}$ " broad in the case of A and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " long by 2" broad in the case of B. That there is a strong family likeness between these and the other Gupta seals from Nālandā is shown by their oval shape; the decoration of the border line : the figure of the Garuḍa 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 *prithivyām* in line 1 of the seals of Kumāragupta III. The **language** is Sanskrit. In respect of **orthography** we have to notice the doubling of *t* in conjunction with the following *r* as in *prapauttra-*, line 1, *-dauhittra-*, line 2, and *-puttra-*, lines 2 and 5; the change of ending *anusvāra* to *ṅ* and *n* in conjunction respectively with a following *k* and *d* as in *Mahādēvyāṅ=Kumāradēvyām=*, line 2 and *Mahādēvyān=Dattadēvyām=*, line 3; the use of the *upadhmaniya* in [*h*]=*Paramabhāgavatō*, line 4; and the grammatically incorrect change of *anusvāra* into *ṅ* with a *h* following as in *Narasimhaguptah*, 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 Mahājayarāja and three by Mahāsudēvarāja (D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 1878-1881).

² [They were subsequently published by Hirananda Sastri in his *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, MASI., No. 66, page 65 and plate VIII, b, c.—Ed.]

NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEALS OF NARASIMHAGUPTA

A



B



TEXT

Seal A

- 1 [vyā[m=a[pra]t[i]rathasya Mah[ā]r[ā]ja-śr[ī*]-**Gupta**-p[r]ap[au*]ttras[ya]
Mah[ā]r[ā]ja-śr[ī*]-**Ghaṭ[ō*]tkacha**-pau-
- 2 ja-śrī-**Chan[dra]gupta**-puttrasya [Li]chchhavi-dauhittras[ya Mahādē]vyāñ
=**Kum[ā*]radēvyām**=utpanna-
- 3 ja-śrī-**Sam[u]d[ra*]g[u]p[ta]sya** p[u]ttras=[ta]t-par[i]g[ri]h[i]t[ō] Mah[ā]-
d[ē]vyāñ=**Dattad[ē*]vyām**=utpanna-
- 4 [h]=Paramabhāgavat[ō] Mahārāj[ā]dhirāja-śrī-**Chan[d]raguptas**=tasya
puttras=tat-p[ā*]d[ā*]nu-
- 5 **Dhr[uva]dēv[y]ām**=[u]t[pa]nnō Mahār[ā]j[ā]dh[i]rāja-śr[ī]-**Kumāra**-
guptas=tasya puttras=tat-pā-
- 6 [dē]vyām=**Anantad[ē]vy[ā]m**= [u]t[pa]nnō Mah[ā]r[ā]j[ā]dh[i]rāja-śrī-
Puruguptas=tasya pu-
- 7 Mah[ā*]dēv[y]ām śrī-**Chan[dra]d[ē]v[y]ām**=utpanna[h*]=Paramabhāga-
- 8 [rā]ja-śr[ī*]-**Narasiñhagupta[h*]**

Seal B

- 1 [ja]-śr[ī]-**Gupta**-prap[au]ttra[sya Ma]h[ā]rāja-śrī-**Ghaṭōtkacha**-pau-
- 2 vi-d[au]h[ittrasya Ma]hādēvyāñ=[**Ku**]māradēvyām=utpanna-
- 3 [s=tat-pa]rigrihit[ō] Mahādēvyāñ=**Dattadēvyām**=utpannō-
- 4 [dhi]r[ā]ja-śr[ī]-**Chandraguptas**=tasya puttras=tat-pādānu-
- 5 [rā]jādhirāja-śrī-**Kumāragup[ta]s**= [ta]sya puttras=tat-pā-
- 6 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Pur[u]guptas**=tasya pu-
- 7 śrī-**Chandradēvyā[m]**=utpannaḥ=Parambhāga]-
- 8 śrī-**Narasiñhagupta[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 (*A.R.ASI.*, 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, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " high in the case of A, and $3\frac{7}{8}$ " broad by $4\frac{3}{8}$ " 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 Vaishṇava 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 *ī* is of two varieties, represented in *śrī*, 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 *ttu*, *ku*, *dhru*, *gu* and *ru* it is expressed by a hook at the bottom turning to the left. Medial *ṛi* is formed by a hook at the lower end, turning towards the right. *Ya* is tripartite without a loop. The **language** is Sanskrit.

In respect of **orthography** we have to note (1) the doubling of *v* in conjunction with a preceding *r*, as in *sarvva-*, line 1; (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, as in *puttra*, lines 2 and 7; *pauttra*, line 1; *prapauttra*, line 1; *dauhitra*, line 2; and *Mittra*, line 7; (3) the use of the upadhmāniya in *=ōchchhēttuḥ=prithivyām=*, line 1; *=apratirathaḥ=parama*, line 3, and *=utpannaḥ=parama*, line 8; (5) the doubling of *d(h)* in conjunction with a following *y* as in *-pādānuddhyātō*, lines 4-7; (5) the change of *visarga* into *s* in conjunction with the same letter following it, as in *=utpannas=svayam*, line 3; and (6) the change of an ending *anusvāra* to *n* with a following *da* as in *Mahādēvyān=Dattadēvyām=* in line 3.

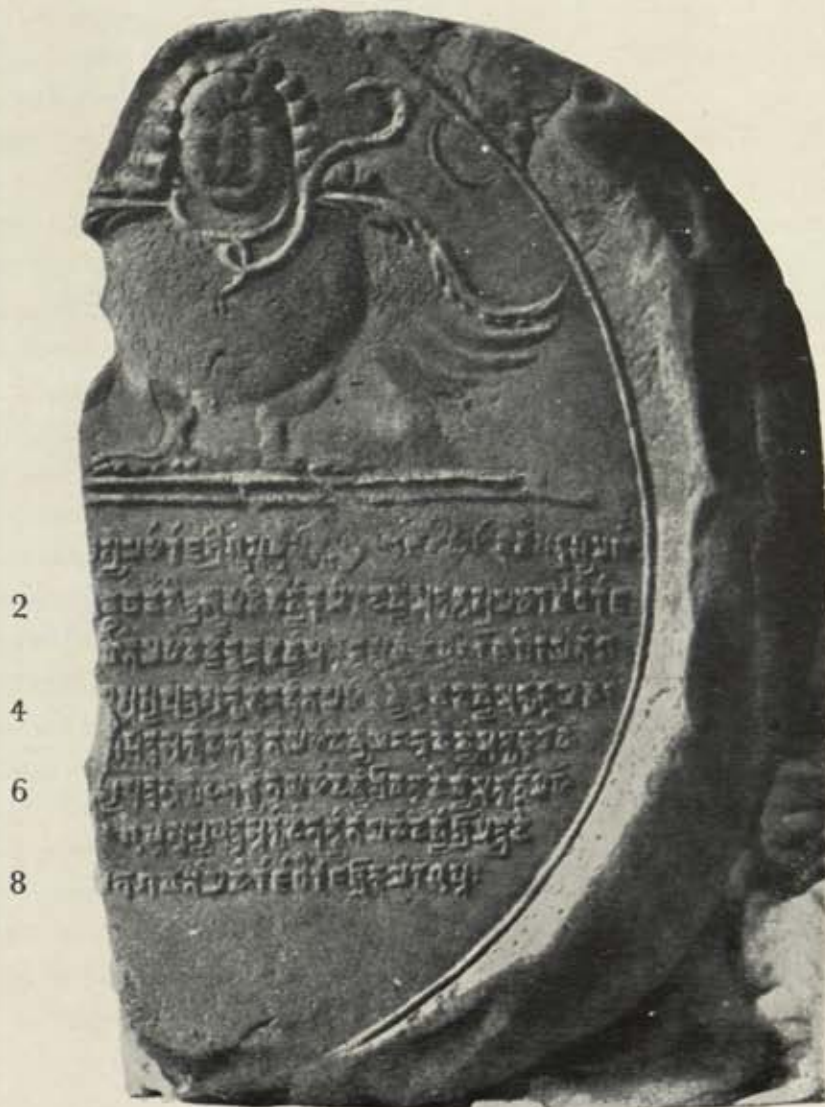
These seals refer themselves to the reign of **Kumāragupta III** and resemble the copper-silver Bhitari seal of the same ruler, noticed in No. 46 below, in the representation of the Garuḍa as well as in the legend. The inscription on the seals is purely genealogical, as are those on the Aśirgaḍh and Nālandā seals of Śarvavarman, the Sōnpat and Nālandā seals of Harshavardhana 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 **Purugupta** mentioned as his son and successor who was followed by **Narasimhagupta** 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 **Anantadēvī**, as has been unanimously read by scholars.

A



B



Hitherto the name of the son of Kumāragupta I begotten on Anantadēvī was read as Purugupta. 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 *u* 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 *u* 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 Vatsadēvī, 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 Vainyadēvī. N. P. Chakravarti, however, was the first to read the name correctly, namely, **Chandradēvī** (*AR.ASI.*, 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 Chandraguptas' 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 Śrīmatīdēvī while Fleet maintained that it must be taken as Mahālakshmidēvī, failing which, it might be a lternately Mahādēvī or Mahādēvidēvī. These, however, have now to be consigned to the limbo of oblivion in view of the reading **Mittradēvī** (line 7) furnished by the present seals, as has already been pointed out by Hirananda Sastri and N. P. Chakravarti.

TEXT

Seal A

- 1 Sa[r]vva-r[ā]j=ōchchh[ē]ttuḥ=prithivyām=apratirathasya Mahārāja-śrī-**Gupta**-prapauttrasya Ma[h]ār[ā]ja-śrī-**Gha[ṭ]ōtka[cha-p]au**[ttrasya Mahā]-
- 2 rājādhirāja-ś[r]ī-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya Lichchhavi-dauhittrasya Mahādēvyām **Kumāradēvyām**=utpannasya Mahārājādhirāja-
- 3 [śrī-**Sa**]mudraguptsya puttras=tat-parigrihitō Mahādēvyān=**Dattadēvyām**=utpannas=s[va]yām ch=āpratirathaḥ=Parama[bh]āga-
- 4 [vatō Ma]hārājādhir[ā]ja-śrī-**Chandrag[uptas]**=tasya puttras=[ta]t-p[ā]d[ā]nudh[y]ātō Mahādēvyām **Dhruvadēvyām**=utpanno Mah[ā]rā-
- 5 jādhirāja-śrī-**Kumāraguptas**=ta[s]ya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Mahādēvyām=**Anantadēvyām**=utpannō Mahā-
- 6 r[ā]jādhirāja-śrī-**Puruguptas**=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyāt[ō] Mahādēvyām śrī-**Chandradēvyām**=utpann[ō] Mahā-
- 7 rājādhirāja-śrī-**Narasimhagup[ta]s**=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Mahādēvyām śrī-**[M]ittradē-**
- 8 **[vyā]m=u**[tpanna]ḥ=Paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Kumāraguptaḥ**

Seal B

- 1 Sarvva-rāj=ōchchhēttuḥ=prithivyām=apratirathasya Mahārāja-śrī-**Gupta**-prapau-
[ttrasya Mahā]rāja-śrī-**Ghaṭōtkacha**-pauttrasya Māha-
- 2 rājādhirāja-śrī-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya [Li]chchhavi-dauhittrasya Mahādēvyām **Kumāradēvyām**=utpannasya Mah[ā*]r[ā*]jādhirāja-

¹ Hoernle says that Cunningham also read this name as Puru from a coin (*JASB.*, Vol. LXIII, Pt. I, p. 212).

- 3 śrī-**Samudraguptasya** puttras=ta[t-pa]ri[grī]hītō Mahādēvyān=**Dattadēvyām**
=u[tpanna]s=svayam ch=āpratirathaḥ=Paramabhāga-
4 vatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Chandra[gupta]s**=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō
Mahād[ē]vy[ām] **Dhruvadēvyām**=utpannō Mahāra-
5 jādhirāja-śrī-**Kum[ā*]ragupta[s=ta]sya** puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Mahā-
dēvyām=**Anantadēvyām**=utpannō Mahā-
6 rāj[ā*]dhirāja-śrī-**Purug[uptas=ta]sya** puttras=tat-p[ā]dānuddhyāt[ō*] Mahā-
dēvyām śrī-**Chandradēvyām**=utpannō Mahā-
7 rājādhirāja-[śrī-**Narasimhaguptas**=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Mahā-
dēvyām śrī-**Mittradē-**
8 **vyā[m=utpannaḥ=Parama]bhāgavatō** Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**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 **Ghaṭōtkacha**, (and) who was the son of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Chandragupta (I)**, (and) the daughter's son of the Lichchhavis, begotten on the *Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī*.

(Line 3) The son (was) the *Paramabhāgavata*, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Chandragupta (II)**, who was accepted by him (Samudragupta); who was begotten on the *Mahādēvī 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 *Mahādēvī Dhruvadēvī*, (was) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Kumāragupta (I)**.

(Line 5) His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the *Mahādēvī Anantadēvī*, (was) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Purugupta**.

(Line 6) His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the *Mahādēvī*, the prosperous **Chandradēvī** (was) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Narasimhagupta**.

(Line 7) His son, who meditated on his feet, (and) who was begotten on the *Mahādēvī*, the prosperous **Mittradēvī** (is) the *Paramabhāgavata*, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the prosperous **Kumāragupta (III)**.

No. 46 : PLATE XLVI

BHITARĪ 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-collotype. 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, $4\frac{1}{8}$ " broad by $5\frac{3}{4}$ " high. The face of the seal is protected by a raised rim, of which the average breadth is about $\frac{3}{4}$ " and the average height a little less

BHITARĪ COPPER-SILVER SEAL OF KUMĀRAGUPTA III



G. S. Gai

From photograph

than $\frac{3}{8}$ ". On the back of it there are two projecting knobs, each about $\frac{3}{8}$ " 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 59 $\frac{5}{8}$ " tolas. The upper section of the face of the seal, slightly less than half, is occupied by an effigy of Garuḍa, 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 Vaishṇava *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 Garuḍa 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 *mahā* as on the Nālandā seals, and not with *mahārā* as was supposed by Hoernle and Fleet, there being no trace of *rā* 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 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". 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 **Kumāragupta 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

- 1 [Sar]v[v]a-rāj=ōchchhēttuḥ=prithivyām=apratirathasya Mahārāja-śrī-**G[u]pta**-prapaut[tr]asya Mahārāja-śrī-**Ghaṭōtkacha**-pauttrasya Ma[hā]-
- 2 [rājā]dhir[ā]ja-śrī-**Chandragupta**-puttrasya Lichchhav[i-dauhitr]asya Ma[hādē]-vyā[m] **Kumārad[ē]vyām**=utpannasya Mahārājādhirāja-
- 3 ś[rī]-**Samudraguptasya** puttras=tat-parig[rī]h[i]tō Ma[hādē]vyā[n=**Da**]t[t]-**ad[ē]vy[ā]m**=utpannas=svayām ch=[ā]pratirathah=Paramabhāga-
- 4 [vatō Mahā]r[ā]j[ā]dhirāja-śrī-**Chandrag[u]p[t]a[s=ta]sya** p[u]t[tr]as=tat-pād[ā]nud[dh]y[ā]tō Mahādēvy[ā]m **Dhr[u]vadēvyām**=utpannō Mah[ā]r[ā]-
- 5 [jādhi]rāja-śrī-**Kumārag[u]ptas**=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Mahādevyām=**Anantadēvy[ā]m**=utpannō Mahā-

- 6 [rājā]dh[i]r[ā]ja-śrī-**Pur[u]g[u]p[t]as**=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhy[ā]t[ō]
Mahādēv[y]ā[īn] śrī-**Chan[dr]adēvyām**=utpan[nō] Ma[hā]-
7 r[ā]j[ā]dh[i]r[ā]ja-śrī-**Naras[i]m̄haguptas**=tasya p[u]ttras=tat-[p]ād-ā[nu]d-
[dh]y[ā]t[ō] Mah[ā]d[ē]v[yām] śrī-**M[i]t[tr]a[dē]-**
8 v[yā[m]=ut[p]annah=Paramabh[ā]gavatō Mah[ā]r[ā]j[ā]dh[i]r[ā]ja-śrī-**Kum-
[ā]rag[uptah]**

No. 47 : PLATE XLVII

**DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VISHṆUGUPTA:
THE YEAR 224**

This plate also was found in the village of Dāmōdarpur, in the same circumstances as Nos. 22, 24, 38 and 40 and is deposited along with them in the Museum of the Varēndra 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 correctly read by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193.

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 $6\frac{3}{8}$ " by $\frac{7}{8}$ ". 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 $1\frac{5}{8}$ " 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 "*Kōṭivarsh-ādhishtān-ādhi[karaṇa]sya.*" The weight of the plate together with the seal is $22\frac{9}{16}$ 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 paleographical points that deserve notice are: (1) the occurrence of initial *a* in *adhishthān*=, line 4, *Amṛitadēv*°, line 6, *apradā*-, lines 10 and 18, and so on; (2) the initial *ā* in *āryya*-, line 4, *Āyō[dhya]ka*-, line 6, *ākshēptā*, line 22; (3) the initial *i* in *it*°, lines 14 and 17; (4) the initial *ē* in *ētasmād*= and *ētan*-, line 14, and *ēkah* in line 16 and (twice) in line 17; (5) the peculiar form of the medial *ā* after *ṇ* and *dh* indicated by a hook attached to the bottom on the proper left of these letters as in *-kshētrāṇām*, 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 immediately following consonants, *e.g.*, *tat-pāda*-, line 2, =*Amṛitadēvāt*=*pañchadaśa*-, line 14, *śāśvat-kāla*-, line 18 and *-stōkān*=*dātum*-, line 10; and (8) the peculiar conjunct *hya* in *-vā(bā)hy-a*°, line 6 and =*ūpasamgrihya*, 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[na]kē*, line 3, *-niyuktakē*, line 4, and *-kulaputtraka*-, line 6. In respect of **orthography**, we have to note (1) the doubling of *k*, *g*, *t*, *t(h)*, *d(h)*, *b(h)*, *m* and *v* in conjunction with a preceding *r* as in *-madhuparkka*-, line 9, *svarggē*, line 21, *-pravarttana*-, line 9, *sārtthavāha*-, line 5, *Puṇḍravarddhana*-, line 2, *kṛimir*=*bbhūtvā*, line 20, *-dharmmēṇa*, lines 10 and 18, *dha[rmm-ādhi]kāra*-, line 11, *dharmma*-, line 12, *pūrvvēṇa* (twice), line 17, *vahubhir*=*vvasudhā*, line 20; also wrongly in the case of *sh* in *Kō[tiva]rshsha*-, line 3 and *varshsha*-, line 21; (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, *e.g.*, °*puttra*-, line 3, *-kulaputtraka*-, line 6, *-[kshē]ttra*°, line 6, (but not in the same word in line 10 or in *atr*=*āranyē*, line 8 or in *-satra*- line

9); (3) the change of *visarga* to *s* in conjunction with that letter following it, as, e.g., *vāstubhis=saha*, line 15; (4) the omission of the sign of *avagraha* as, e.g., in *-vikrayō=nuvṛittah*, line 7; (5) the omission of *sandhi*, e.g., in *saṁvyavahāribhiḥ dēva°*, line 19; and (6) the joining of ending *m* with the following *va*, e.g., in *para-dattām=vā*, line 20.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a *Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājā-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-nu*.¹ On the other hand, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri thought that the reading was probably *Ku-mā-ra*.² 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)-Chandrāditya**, 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 (*bhukti*). His name also has not been preserved. But the titles *Dēva*, *Bhaṭṭāraka* and, above all, *Rājaputra*, 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 (*adhishṭhāna*) was being carried on by the *Vishayapati* Svayambhūdēva, appointed by the *Uparika*, along with the *Nagara-śrēṣṭhīn* Ribhupāla, the *Sārthavāha* Sthāṇudatta, the *Prathamakulika* Matidatta and the *Prathamakāyastha* Skandapāla. We are then told that Amṛitadēva, a *kulaputra* from Ayōdhyā, applied to the Town Court of the Kōṭivarsha District for the purchase of some *khīla* or waste land, on condition of *apradā-dharma*, 'Law of Irrevocable (Endowment)'—practically, the same as *Akshayanivī-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 *Ayōdhyakulaputraka*. That means that he was a *kulīn* originally come from Ayōdhyā. 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 Ayōdhyā 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 Ayōdhyā and settled in connection with the temple of Śailēśvara.

TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1 to 3 *Anuṣṭubh*]

Seal—Kōṭivarsh-ādhisṭhān-ādhi[karaṇasya*]

First Side

1 Sa[mva] 200 20 4 Bhādra di 5 Paramadaivata-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Ma[hā]-
rājādhirāja-śrī [. . .³]-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 142, note 1.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 193, 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 pṛithivīpatau tat-pāda-parigṛihītē **Puṇḍravarddhana**-bhuktāv=Upari[ka-
Mahārāja]sya
- 3 rājaputtra-Dēva-bhaṭṭāarakasya hasty-aśva-jana-bhōgēn=ānuvahamā[na]kē **Kō-**
[ṭiva]rshsha¹-visha[yē] cha ta-
- 4 n-niyuktakē [i*]ha-vishayapati-Svayambhūdēvē adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa[m*] āryya-
[na]gara[śrēshṭhi-Ribhu]pāla-
- 5 Sārthavāha-Sthānūdatṭa-prathamakulika-Matidatta-prathamakāyastha-Skandapāla-
purōgē [sam]vya[vaha]rati
- 6 Ayō[dhya]ka-kulaputtraka-Amṛitadēvēna vijñāpitam=iha-vishayē samudaya-bāhy-
āprahata-khila-[kshē]ttrā-
- 7 ṇām tri-dīnārika-kulyavāpa-vikrayō=nuvṛittaḥ [i*] tad=arhatha mattō dīnārān=
upasaṁgṛihya man-mātuḥ [pu]ṇy-ā-
- 8 bhivṛiddhayē atr=āraṇyē Bhagavataḥ Svētavarāha-svāminō dēvakulē khaṇḍa-
phuṭṭa²-prati[sam]skā[ra-ka]-
- 9 raṇāya bali-charu-satra³-pravarttana-gavya-dhūpa-pushpa-prāpaṇa-madhuparkka-
dīp-ādy-upa[yō]gā[ya] cha
- 10 apradā-dharmmēṇa tāmrapaṭṭikṛitya kshētra-stōkan=dātum=iti [i*] yataḥ pra-
thama-pustapāla-Nara[na]ndi-
- 11 Gōpadatta-Bhaṭṭanandinām=avadhāraṇayā yuktatayā dha[rmm-ādhi]kāra-[bu]-
ddhyā vijñāpita[m*] [nō] kāry[ō]
- 12 vishayapatinā kaśchid=virōdhaḥ kēva[laṁ] śrī-Paramabhaṭṭārika-pādānā[m*]
dharmma-[pha][la-sha*]-
- 13 ḍ-bhā[g-ā*]vāp[t]i[h*]

Second Side

- 14 ity=anēn=āvadhāraṇa-kramēṇa ētasmād=Amṛitadēvāt=pañchadaśa-dīnārān=
upasaṁgṛihya ētan-mātu[h*]
- 15 anugrahēṇa Svachchhandapāṭakē=[rddha]ṭi-prāvēśya-Lavaṅgasikāyāñ=cha vās-
tubhis=saha kulyavāpa-dvayaṁ
- 16 Sāṭuvanāśramakē=pi vāstunā saha kulyavāpa ēkaḥ Paraspatikāyām Pañchakulya-
vāpakasy=ōtta[rē]ṇa
- 17 Jamvū⁴na[dyā]ḥ pūrvvēṇa kulyavāpa ēkaḥ Pūraṇavṛindikaharau Pāṭaka-pūrvvēṇa
kulyavāpa ēkaḥ ity=ēvaṁ khila-kshētra-
- 18 sya vāstunā saha pañcha kulyavāpāḥ apradā-dharmmēṇa Bhaga[va*]tē Svētavarā-
ha-svāminē śāśvat-kāla-bhōgyā dattāḥ [i*]
- 19 tad=uttara-kālaṁ saṁvyavahāribhiḥ dēvabhakty=ānumantavyāḥ [i*] api cha
bhūmi-[dā]na-saṁvadhāḥ⁵ ślōkā bhavanti [i*]
- 20 Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām(rām) [i*] sa vishṭhāyām
krimir⁶=bbhūtvā pitribhis=saha pachyatē [i 1*] vahubhir⁷=vvasudhā dattā

¹ Read *Kōṣivarsha-*

² Read *-sphuṭa-*.

³ Read *-sattra-*.

⁴ Read *Jambū-*.

⁵ Read *sambaddhāḥ*.

⁶ Read *krimir* =.

⁷ Read *bahubhir* =.

DĀMŌDARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VISHṆUGUPTA:
THE YEAR 224

i, a



i, b



- 21 rājabhis=Sagar=ādibhiḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ
[11 2*] Shashṭhiṁ¹ varshsha(rsha)-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmida[h*] [1]
22 ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēditi²

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 *Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Māhārājādhirāja*, the prosperous [**Vishṇu?**]**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 **Puṇḍravardhana** province, being selected by His (Majesty's) feet; and while the *vishayapati* Svayambhūdēva, appointed by him, is administering the Court of the Town as the chief of the *Nagara-śrēṣṭhin* Ārya Ribhupāla, the *Sārthavāha* Sthāṇudatta, the *Prathamakulika* Matidatta and the *Prathamakāyastha* Skandapāla;

(Lines 6 to 10) Whereas the *Kulaputraka*³ Amṛitadēva, an inhabitant of Ayōdhyā, 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),⁴ for the execution of repairs to cracks and fissures, for the establishment of *bali*, *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 Bhaṭanandin 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 Vishayapati (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 Amṛitadēva, (and) out of kindness to his mother, five *kulyavāpas* of land including high land⁵ 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 Arddhaṭī, one *kulyavāpa* including high land in Sāṭuvanāśramaka, one *kulyavāpa* including high land in Paraspatikā to the north of Pañchakulyāvāpaka⁶ and the east of the Jambūnadi, and one *kulyavāpa* to the east of Pāṭaka in Pūrṇavṛindikahari.

¹ Read *shashṭhiṁ*.

² Read *vasṭi* [11 3*] *iti* [11 *]

³ The word *kulaputra* occurs not only in Sanskrit, but also in Pali literature; e.g., *iha sarvasva-phalīnaḥ kulaputra-mahādrumāḥ* in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, Act IV, verse 10 and *Yassa kassachi Mahānāma kulaputtassa pañcha dhammā samvijjanti* in the *Anguttara-Nikāya*, Part III, p. 76. It is generally rendered by "a son of a noble family, respectable youth." But it corresponds to the Bengali *kulīn* in such phrases as *kulīn-Brāhmaṇa* and *kulīn-Kāyastha* and had better be translated by 'scion of a good stock or recognised clan.'

⁴ *Apradā-dharmēna tāmrapaṭṭikṛitya* of this record may be compared to *akshaya-nivṛyās=tāmrapaṭṭēna dātum* in line 17 of Baigram copper-plate inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff.) and line 7 of Nandapur copper-plate inscription (*Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, pp. 52 ff.).

⁵ The word *vāstu* is used in practically the same sense as in lines 9 and 16 of Baigram 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 *kulyavāpas*.

(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 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. 48 : PLATE XLVIII

NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEAL OF VIṢṆUGUPTA

The seal bearing an inscription of Viṣṇugupta was also exhumed like those of Vainyagupta and others in 1927-28 from Monastery Site No. 1 at **Nālandā**, Patna District, Bihar. It has remained unnoticed 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.

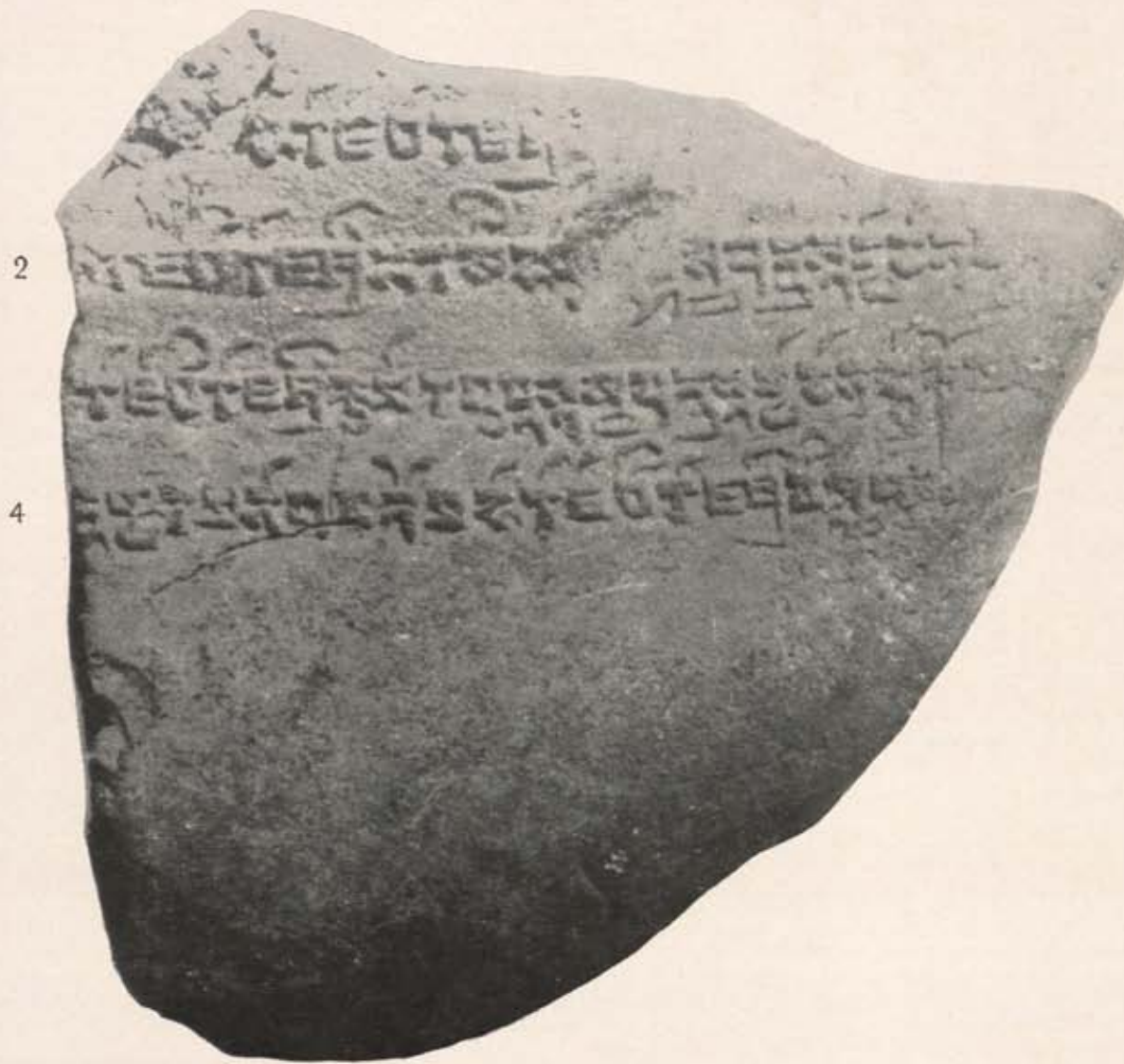
The **seal** is fragmentary, its upper right half being broken off. The extreme measurements of the extant fragment are, as nearly as possible, 3" by 2½" by 2⅓", comprising the last four lines of writing. There is no doubt that like the other Gupta seals from Nālandā this seal also was oval in shape, 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 Garuḍa, 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 $\frac{1}{16}$ " to $\frac{3}{12}$ ". The **language** is Sanskrit. In respect of **orthography** we have to notice (1) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* 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 *upadhmānīya* sign as in *..nnaḥ=Parama°* (line 4).

The inscription on the seal is genealogical in character, and refers itself to the reign of **Viṣṇugupta**. 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 *Mahārāja 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 *Viṣṇugupta's* mother has been lost in the broken portion of the last line.

TEXT

- 1 hārājādh[i]r[ā]ja-śr[ī*]-[P*]u
- 2 h[ā*]r[ā*]j[ā*]dhirāja-śrī-Narasimha[guptas]=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō
- 3 rājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptas=tasya puttras=tat-pādānuddhyātō Ma[hā]-
- 4 nnaḥ=Paramabhāgavatō Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Viṣṇug[u][ptaḥ ॥*]

NĀLANDĀ CLAY SEAL OF VISHṆUGUPTA



G. S. Gai

From photograph

INDEX

By S. Subramonia Iyer, M.A., Ph.D.

[The figures refer to pages, and *n* after a figure to foot-notes. The following other abbreviations also have been used; *au.*=author; *Br.*=Brāhmaṇa; *ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *de.*=deity; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=family; *fe.*=female; *feu.*=feudatory; *gen.*=general; *gr.*=grant, grants; *hist.*=historical; *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *l.m.*=linear measure, land measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office, officer; *peo.*=people; *pl.*=plate, plates; *pr.*=prince, princess; *reg.*=region; *rel.*=religion, religions; *ri.*=river; *S.*=southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *t.d.*=territorial division; *tīt.*=title; *tk.*=taluk; *tn.*=town; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western; *wk.*=work; *wt.*=weight]

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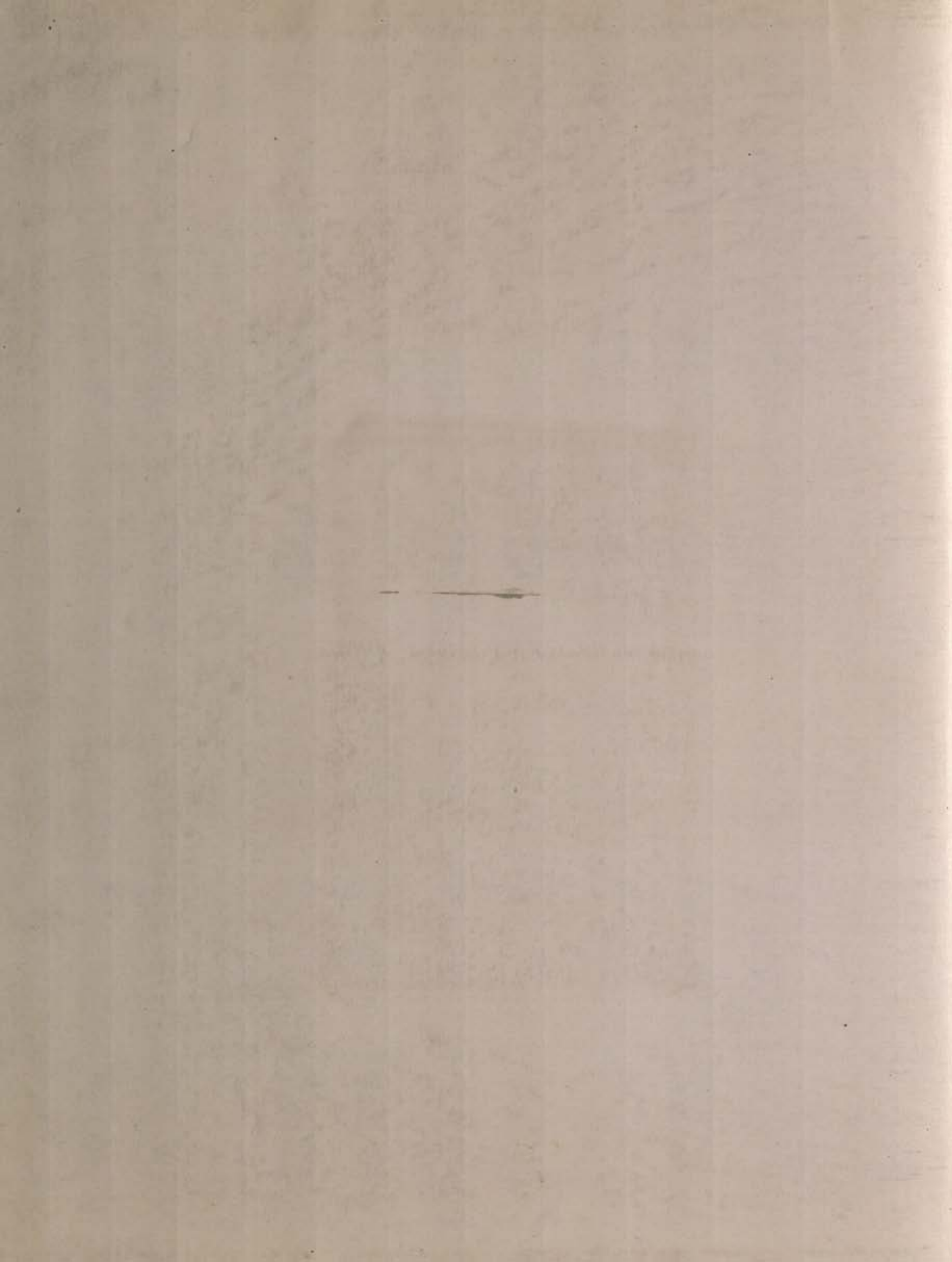
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