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to
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Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences

INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE SERIES

No. 1

ANCIENT HISTORY OF SAURASHTRA
Ancient History of Saurashtra

(being a study of the Maitrakas of Valabhi
V to VIII Centuries A.D.)

by

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With a Foreword by

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A MAITRAKA SEAL
FOREWORD

In this book Dr. Miss Krishnakumari J. Virji presents her researches in the history and culture of Saurashtra from the earliest times to the end of the eighth century A.D. Hitherto, historians had been concerned mainly in giving a picture of the country as a whole and its civilization, which while it no doubt served a useful purpose in promoting the cultural unity of our people, left unassessed the contribution which each region has made to our national heritage. The present work, dealing as it does with regional history and of a period which has as yet received scant notice, focusses the attention on this neglected aspect of our history.

It is a curious circumstance that the inscriptions recording the repairs to the Sudarśana lake near Junagad effected under Aśoka, Rudradaman and Skandagupta, should also be the means of revealing the three well-marked epochs in the early history of Saurashtra prior to the emergence of the Maitrakas as an independent power. The lake was constructed in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. It was improved under Aśoka, his grandson, who had his edicts carved on a rock in its vicinity. Four hundred years later, in A.D. 150, when fresh repairs were found necessary, Rudradāman availed himself of the opportunity to give a brief history of the lake and recount his achievements on this rock in a praśasti. In A.D. 457 the lake dam burst again. It was repaired by the local governor of Skandagupta, who also used the same rock to record the event.

Bhaṭārka, the progenitor of the Maitraka line and political successor of the Guptas in this western extremity of their dominions, probably began his career as their governor, and taking advantage of the weakness of the Gupta Empire, founded a new dynasty, though still styling himself a senāpati. His successors grew sufficiently powerful to shed all semblance of vassalage, and in time came to be recognized as Emperors. At the height of their power they held Malwa and Gujarat under their sway in addition to their home province of Saurashtra. The author has done justice to their memory in characterizing their rule as humane, beneficent and civilized. The capital, Valabhi, boasted of a far-famed university, the state was well ahead of the times in matters of administration, and the country prospered owing to a brisk trade flowing through its ports. Nor was the Maitraka state lagging behind in the art of warfare, and though it ultimately perished fighting, it ever stands to its glory that it withstood for sixty years the continued attacks of Arabs, who, after
making themselves masters of Sind, were seeking to extend their dominion. The strong opposition they met with in this long period checked their ardour and saved the hinterland from servitude, a fact of great significance to-day when Saurashtra has once more come into its own as a State in the Indian Union, while a new Dominion has emerged on its northern frontiers as in the year 712.

Much devoted labour has gone into the making of this book, which is based on a thorough and critical study not only of the Maitraka sources, but also of the records of every other dynasty with which they came in contact. The method applied has been to rely solely on the material in hand and make constructive use of imagination, which, while eschewing hasty conclusions, makes the dry bones of archaeology live. How far this method has been successful it is for the scholar to judge. Nevertheless, I must say that an attempt has been made to provide solutions to a number of problems in the contemporary history of Ancient India, which could not be solved satisfactorily until the political achievements of the Maitrakas were properly assessed.

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INTRODUCTION

In my quest of a subject for this thesis I have been guided mainly by a desire to do justice to a dynasty of rulers whose achievements have all but been forgotten in the kaleidoscopic pattern of Ancient Indian History. The work is not a text-book for the student nor a hand-book for the general reader. It is intended to be a research-worker's introduction to that period of the great Indian past which immediately preceded the troublous times when the Arab invaders poured into Sindh disturbing in their march the political system of western India.

The origin of the Maitrakas who in their time were one of the most influential ruling families of Aryavarta can be traced back into the fifth century A.D. when they began their career as Senāpatis of the Guptas. They remained in that feudatory position till two generations later. Droṇasiṃha, the third ruler of the line, availed himself of the difficulties of his overlords to declare himself a mahārāja. Gradually thereafter they waxed stronger and in the reign of Dhrusasena I we find the Gārulakas acknowledging their supremacy. The next stage was reached under king Guhasena. The Maukhari king Iśvaravarman had attempted to advance as far as the Raivataka mountains and clashed with their rising power with great disaster to his arms. The clash of rivalries, however, continued till the first quarter of the seventh century, when the Maitraka domains were extended to include even Mālavā.

About this time, however, Harṣavardhana, who had long been forced to confine himself to his own kingdom, began extending his dominions west and south and attacked the Maitrakas. Some time before, the Chālukyas too under Pulikēśi II had pushed northwards and compelled them to acknowledge their suzerainty. The contest was now between the rival overlords, and in the period of confusion that followed, both in the north and in the south, the Maitraka king Dharasena IV saw his chance to assume the title of Chakravarti. But his growing power would seem to have received a fresh check from the military activities of Pulikēśi's son Vikramāditya I, since the grandiloquent titles of Dharasena are not retained by his successor. In the reign of Śilāditya II the Maitrakas again made themselves independent and thereafter waxed sufficiently powerful to harass the Gurjaras, when in the ensuing conflict with their overlord the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya II they were worsted and only managed to survive at the expense of a large part of their dominions.

The Maitrakas had thus ruled over Surāṣṭra and great portions of Gujarāt for about three hundred years. Starting towards the end of the fifth century A.D., they had waxed strong and advanced from mere nothing to heights of glory and lasted amid varying fortunes well-nigh till the close of the eighth century. Their main contribution appears to have been in the field of adminis-
tration in which adopting the machinery of their predecessors, the Mauryas, the Kṣatrapas and the Guptas, they moulded it to fit a system which is very near like that of our own times. At their capital, again, flourished that great Buddhist centre of learning, the University of Valabhi, the memory of which has escaped the oblivion to which its patrons and their deeds of bravery are sunk. In other spheres of life too they made their contribution, albeit modest, aiding religion and furthering the social life of their people by their generosity and encouragement.

In reconstructing the history of the times during which the Maitrakas lived, fought and perished, I have had to seek the aid of coins and contemporary records, both their own and those of the other powers of the period whose rulers came into constant contact with them. I have also sought recourse to the pages of the great foreign travellers Fa-Hien, Hiuen Tsiang, I-Tsung and Alberuni who sojourned and passed through India, leaving behind accounts of what they saw and heard. Classical Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina literature has been a third source of information and material.

The thesis is the result of research carried on under the guidance of Prof. George M. Moraes. During this period I have also received encouragement from Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J. I should also not fail to mention here the names of Dr. M. G. Dikshit, Dr. L. B. Keny, Dr. Durgashankar Shastri, and Mr. B. S. Purohit who have laid me deeply under obligation by their helpful criticism and suggestions. While Mr. R. G. Gyani, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, and Mr. B. Anderson, Assistant Librarian, University of Bombay, have greatly eased my task by placing at my disposal the collections of books, coins and copper-plate grants under their respective charges.

K. J. VIRJI
INTRODUCTORY

The early history of Surāṣṭra is enveloped in a mist of legend. According to one Purānic account the holy king Anaratta who was a son of Śaryāti and grandson of Manu, is reputed to have had his capital at Kuśasthālī or Dwārikā in Surāṣṭra. The legend further reveals that Anaratta which corresponds to Northern Gujarāt was also included in his dominions. Anaratta’s son Revata succeeded him. Revata’s grand-daughter Revaṭi was married to a Yādava king Baladeva of Dwārikā. This Baladeva, it is said, defeated Revata’s son Raivata, i.e., his own father-in-law, and ascended the throne, while the latter on losing his kingdom fled by sea.¹

Another Purānic legend describes the Yādava family as descended from Yadu. The thirty-seventh descendant of this ruler was Śatavāhana, in whose family was born Vasudeva, the father of the great Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva. It was after the death of Vasudeva that the Yādavas left their old capital Mathurā and settled at Dwārikā. This change of capital was occasioned by the repeated attacks of Kṛṣṇa’s maternal uncle Kaṇśa, Kālayavana, a Deccan chief, and Jarānsandha, the powerful ruler of Magadha or Behar.² It is said that Kālayavana followed the fugitive Kṛṣṇa and his companions as far as Surāṣṭra but he was reduced to ashes by the fire from the eyes of the sleeping sage Muchakunda, whom he had disturbed, mistaking him for his enemy Kṛṣṇa.³ After this event the Yādavas conquered Surāṣṭra from the demons, who had held it before them.⁴

Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa were in close alliance with their paternal aunt’s sons the Pāṇḍavas⁵ who ruled at Hastināpura or Delhi.⁶ On a certain occasion when Kṛṣṇa was absent at Hastināpura to attend the Rājasuya sacrifice performed by the Pāṇḍava king Yudhīśthira, the Śálva king of Mṛttikāvalī in Saubha led an army against Dwārikā, plundered the city and withdrew unmolested. But on his return to Dwārikā Kṛṣṇa proceeded against the Śálva chief and defeated and killed him. The Yādavas, however, did not live to enjoy the fruits of their victory.⁷ Family feuds which soon broke out brought their sway over Surāṣṭra to a speedy end—36 years after the Mahābhārata war.⁸ The deserted Dwārikā is thereupon said to have been “swallowed” up by the sea.⁹

² Ibid.
³ Mahābhārata, II, 13, 5, 9; Harivaṁśa, XXXV, CXII.
⁵ Mahābhārata, Adi-pārva, 218, 21; one of these Pāṇḍava brothers named Arjuna married Kṛṣṇa’s sister Subhadrā.
⁷ Mahābhārata, Vana-pārva, XIV, XXII.
⁹ Ibid., p. 13.
We are then faced with a long blank in the historical tradition of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. In fact, it is only with the advent of the Mauryas in this country that the real political history of Gujarāt begins. In the year 319 B.C. Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan rule, having consolidated his position in Magadha, was busy spreading his empire to the east and the west. He defeated Seleukos Nikator, the Syrian king, in about 304 B.C., and after that turned north-west and annexed Kāthiāwād. It is known from the Pāli sources that during the Mauryan regime there was a local dynasty in Kāthiāwād which was feudatory to them. Piṅgala, "the tawny-eyed prince" of this dynasty, we are told, actually ascended the throne in the sixteenth regnal year of Chandragupta's son Bindusāra. It is not improbable that this family was in possession of Kāthiāwād when Chandragupta arrived there in the course of his victorious expedition, and was allowed to continue its rule on agreeing to accept a feudatory status. Chandragupta, of course, appointed his own viceroy to look after the imperial interests in the west, and we have it in the Junāgadhī Rock inscription of Rudradaman (A.D. 150), that one of these viceroy (rāṣṭriya) was a Vaiśya called Puṣyagupta who has immortalized his name by building the famous lake Sudanāsana. In his Arthasastra Kautilya refers to certain sections of the population of Surāśṭra as belonging to a self-governing corporation of warriors (Kṣatriya śrenis). This would show that under the Mauryas Surāśṭra probably enjoyed a large measure of autonomy.

After Chandragupta's death in about 299 B.C. his son Bindusāra succeeded to the Mauryan empire. Of his rule, indeed, which extended over a period of a quarter of a century, we know very little. He, however, seems to have kept his father's empire intact, and even added to his dominions so that when Aśoka ascended the throne in the year c. 269 B.C. the Mauryan empire had already assumed large proportions. Doubtless, Surāśṭra continued to form a part of the empire, and we have it on record that Yavanarāja Tuṣāspah, possibly a Greek by birth, who further beautified the Sudanāsana lake,

1 Mookerji, Aśoka, p. 72.
5 Kiellhorn, op. et loc. cit.
6 Arthasastra, p. 378.
7 Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 28. The Purāṇas attribute 25 years' reign to him while the Pāli sources give him 27-28 years.
8 Cambridge History of India, I, p. 472.
9 Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, pp. 236-37.
was the Mauryan viceroy under Aśoka. The latter continued the warlike traditions of his house and brought Kaliṅga, the part which was still outside Maurya dominions, under his rule. But he was not satisfied with political unity alone. He wanted that his empire should be one in religion as well, so that he could bind the hearts of his subjects to himself by more substantial ties. Aśoka’s Kaliṅga edict reveals that he was stricken with remorse at so much blood that had been shed during his Kaliṅga campaign. Besides, with no more territories of importance left to be subjugated, he could now well afford to be a pacifist. The religion of the Buddha suited his present mood. He accepted it, and wished that his subjects should share its blessings with him. With this end, he created a class of officers, the Dharma-Mahāmātras. For he says: “Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Rājūka, and the Prādeśika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.” The Lajūkas also who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men,—these too were ordered by me: ‘In such and such a manner exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality.’ “For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent nurse, (thinking): ‘the intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well,’ so the Lajūkas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.” Thus religion was to be one more link in the chain of allegiance to the throne.

Edicts announcing the precepts of the new creed were set up in all important places. Fourteen of them were carved at Junāgadhā, the capital of the Mauryan viceroy in Kāthiawād. It was at this time when Aśoka was making frantic efforts to propagate Buddhism, that Piṅgala, his feudatory in the west, undertook a journey to Pātaliputra, to wean the emperor, it would seem, from what he considered his mistaken zeal for the new faith. Piṅgala had for sometime himself been a convert to Natthika-dīthi, a sort of atheism, which he had learnt from his general Nandaka. Probably he wished to demonstrate to the emperor the mischief that would ensue in following the policy of promoting one creed at the expense of another, and that the wiser course for the state was to be laic. But the emperor could not be deterred from his course. On the contrary, Piṅgala himself was so overwhelmed by the infectious zeal of Aśoka that he was won over to Buddhism.

These pacific tendencies of Aśoka and his adoption of the Buddhist faith, it is believed, resulted in the rapid collapse and disintegration of the Mauryan

1 Kielhorn, op. et loc. cit., line 8.
3 Ibid., p. 29 (R. E., 3 c.).
4 Ibid., R. E., 7 (p. 134).
5 Ibid., R. E., 4, I (p. 124).
6 Pettavathu, pp. 57-61.
empire immediately on his death, in or about 233-232 B.C. The centre was ruled over by his successors Daśaratha and Samprati, and according to the Purānic account, king Brihadhratha was the last ruler in the line. The latter ruled over a much diminished empire and was finally assassinated by his commander-in-chief, the Śunga chief Pusyamitra, who seized the throne of Pātaliputra. Thus the centre of the vast empire of Aśoka passed to the Śungas. In the south and the south-east the Andhras and the Kalingas carved out independent kingdoms. While the north-west of which Kāthiāvād was probably an appanage declared its independence under one of the descendants of Aśoka himself. These western territories comprised the kingdom of Gāndhāra, and according to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, they were under Aśoka's son Virasena. Saubhāgasena, who was ruling over this kingdom in 206 B.C. when Antiochus, the Greek king of Bactria invaded the country, may have been a son of this Virasena. Antiochus probably wished to emulate the example of Alexander the Great. But in Saubhāgasena, whom the Greeks call 'Sophagasenus,' he met a powerful rival; or else he would not have given up the original intention with which he had started, and retraced his steps contenting himself with the gift of elephants from the Indian potentate. Says Polybius, "He (Antiochus the Great) crossed the Caucasus (Hindukush) and descended into India; renewed his friendship with 'Sophagasenus,' the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him." Shortly, after this invasion one Euthydemos of the Magnesias made a successful bid for the crown of

1 Banerji, Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India, p. 92: "Aśoka's adoption of the Buddhist faith and his intolerance of the orthodox Indo-Aryan religious practices must have produced great disaffection throughout the entire empire, just as the bigotry of Aurangzeb caused the Rajput war and subsequently paralysed the Mughals."

2 Allan, C. S. H. I., p. 53; Cambridge History of India, I, p. 422; Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 293.

3 Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 30; this account of the Purāṇas is also supported by Bāṇas Harsacharita, a work written in the seventh century A.D.

4 Cambridge History of India, I, p. 422.

5 As stated by Mr. Raychaudhuri (cf. op. cit., p. 399): "The disintegration (of the Mauryan empire) which set in 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by the Yavanas referred to in the Garga Saṃhitā and the Mahābhāṣya of Pāṇaṭijali." Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 30.

6 Allan, op. cit., p. 63.

7 The Śūṅga kings were ruling only at Magadha and had nothing to do with Surāṣṭra, a country which was probably included in Saubhāgasena's territories; Raychaudhari, op. cit., p. 301.

8 Prof. F. W. Thomas has suggested that Saubhāgasena may have been a grandson of Aśoka, vide Allan, op. cit., p. 63.

9 Polybius, XI, 34; Ch. XVII, p. 442.

10 Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 74.
Bactria. He had been casting wistful glances on "the land of the Five Rivers" and sent his son Demetrius to conquer the north-west part of India in c. 185 B.C. Demetrius was accompanied by his son Demetrius II, his able general Menander, and Apollodotus who was probably a brother of Demetrius. He was, indeed, very fortunate in commanding the services of these able lieutenants. The resistance of Saubhāgasena or his successor proved futile, and Demetrius himself subjugated the Indus Valley, while Apollodotus and Menander reduced Rajputāna and Sagala (Sialkot between Chenab and Rāvi). Following up their victory the Greeks under Apollodotus advanced as far as Kāthiawād and Gujarat. Apollodotus made Ujjain his headquarters from which he administered his province, which seems to have included Kāthiawād and Gujarat. In the meanwhile, Menander had penetrated into the Magadha country and was appointed viceroy at Pātaliputra of the eastern part of the Greek Empire. But shortly after these successes in India Demetrius was killed and Bactria was seized by Eucretides. The Greek viceroy was independent in their respective provinces. Their independent status may be gathered from their coins found in various parts of their dominions. After the death of Apollodotus Menander took possession of the western provinces and on his death in 148 B.C. the kingdom passed to his son Soter I. Under Soter Kāthiawād seems to have been administered by his satrap Apollodotus II, and it is his coins which were later imitated by the Śaka rulers of Surāṣṭra and Mālavā, Castāna and Nahāpāna. A few coins of Eucretides of Bactria are also found in this region. But in the absence of any evidence of his sway over the country, it may be said that they were possibly left here by the Greek merchants, who must have brought them for the purpose of trade. The power of the Greeks in India, however, had by now already begun to decline, and towards the close of the first century B.C. they were replaced by the Pārtho-Scythians who entered India from eastern Iran, while the Greeks were confined only to the mountain-valleys of Afghanistan.

In the part of Iran where they finally settled, the Scythians or the Sakas had freely intermarried with the Pārthians and had been under the aegis of the

1 Strabo II Lib. IX, Cambridge History of India, I, p. 440.
3 Tarn, op. cit., pp. 140-41.
4 Cambridge History of India, I, p. 422.
5 Ibid., p. 443.
6 Tarn, op. cit., pp. 140-41.
7 Ibid., p. 150; Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 317.
9 Tarn, op. cit., p. 152.
10 Ibid., p. 167.
12 Ibid.
13 Allan, op. cit., p. 65.
14 Ibid., p. 66.
Pārthian rule welded into a united people. This Pārtho-Scythian state was at first tributary to the Pārthian emperor Mithradates II, but later shook off the Pārthian yoke; and then started their series of inroads into India.¹ For it is found that while in Pārthia itself the title of "king of kings" was claimed by no ruler from the death of Mithradates II in 88 B.C. to the accession of Mithradates III in 57 B.C. during the same period this very title was held simultaneously by two members of the Pārtho-Scythian royal house, which held sway over Draṅgiana, Arachosia and the Indian conquers. The first "king of kings" was in eastern Irān with a prince of the royal family associated with him in his government. The coinage bore the names of both, the former's in Greek on the obverse, and the latter's in Kharōṣṭhi on the reverse, and while the king ruled in Draṅgiana, the prince governed Arachosia, in which doubtless Indo-Scythia, that is to say Sind, was included. The second "king of kings" was in India who ruled with the aid of the Satraps and who before obtaining the sovereign dignity, generally exercised the functions of prince-consort in Irān.²

The earliest of these Indian "king of kings" was Maues of the coins who is identified with king Mogha of the Taxilā plate dated 78 of an unspecified era with a Pārthian month, which must have commenced towards 150 B.C. and which probably marks the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistan after its incorporation into the Pārthian empire by Mithradates I in 150 B.C. Accordingly the inscription would be dated in c. 72 B.C., a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Maues. Undoubtedly, Maues-Mogha invaded India after the close of the reign of Mithradates II. His coins are close imitations of those of the Greek³ dynasty which he had supplanted. He occupied Gandhāra and drove a wedge between the Greeks of Kābul and those of eastern Panjāb. Under Azes I and Azilises the eastern Panjāb was brought under Scythian rule. They continued the coinage of Maues, but added the type of the Athenian Promachos, characteristic of the house of Apollodotus and Menander. Azilises was associated in his government by Azes I, who succeeded him in c. 58 B.C. The latter ruled alone for some time and then had another Azes, Azes II, associated with him whom Gondopharnes succeeded in A.D. 19.⁴

Like Alexander, the Mauryas, and the Indo-Greeks before them, the Scythian-Pārthian emperors followed the Achaemenid system of government by Sutraps. We are not here concerned with the Sutraps of the North, who made themselves independent in course of time, eventually to disappear with the coming of the Kuśānas. We are only concerned here with the Sutraps who

¹ Cambridge History of India, I, p. 569; De La Vallee Poussin, L’Inde Aux Temps Des Mauryas, p. 266.
² Ibid.
³ Cambridge History of India, I, p. 570; De La Vallee Poussin, op. cit., p. 267.
⁴ Ibid., p. 267; Sten Konow, "Takhti-i-Bahi record of the year 103," C. I. I., II, i, xlv.
built up an empire further south-west at Ujjain, an empire which endured till the end of the fourth century, and included besides Mālavā, the whole of the coastal region of Kāthiawād and Gujarāt. These Satraps are known in the history of India as Western Kṣatrapas in contradistinction to those of the North. They could well have entered Surāśṭra by way of the Indus. But the conquest of Surāśṭra does not seem to have been effected in this manner. There is a close resemblance1 between the coins of Bhumaka and Nahāpāna and those of the Northern Kṣatrapas especially of Mathurā (Muttrā). This similarity while it points to the fact that they drew their inspiration from Mathurā, would also show that the extension of the Scythian dominions towards the south-west was effected from that centre.2

The Kṣaharatatas are the family that actually carried the Scythian standards into Mālavā and Surāśṭra. The names of only two of its members have come down to us: Bhumaka and Nahāpāna. There is no documentary evidence to show what power was in actual possession of Surāśṭra at the time. But we do know that Mālavā was then in the possession of the Śatavāhanas and the wide provenance of coins of Nahāpāna in this province as well as in Kāthiawād and Gujarāt would suggest that it was from them that the Kṣaharatatas wrested these countries.3 It is possible that with the decline of their power in India Gujarāt and Kāthiawād slipped from the grasp of the Greeks, only to fall into the hands of the Śatavāhanas when the latter acquired possession of Mālavā some time before 125 B.C.4 Of Bhumaka, the first-named member of the Kṣaharata line, we have only the name. Very little beyond that has come down to us. But Nahāpāna appears to have been a ruler of conspicuous ability. The steady growth of his power is borne out by the titles which he assumed. While in the forty-second year he called himself simply “King Kṣtrapā Śatrap”5, in the forty-sixth year he could assume the style of “King grand Satrap master” rāja Mahā Kṣtrapā Śwāmi.6 This would show that he ruled with independent rather than with dependent authority, a circumstance which was made possible by the declining power of his own Pārtha-Scythian overlords who before long, perhaps in his own lifetime, were supplanted as an imperial power by the Kuśānas. Nahāpāna’s inscriptions, again, testify to the steady extension of his dominions. There are eight of them at Nāsik,

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1 Disc, bow and arrow to be found in the medallion of Sparilizes and Azes, the Pārtha-Scythian king of kings correspond to the arrow, disc and thunderbolt in the coins of the Kṣaharatatas. Then as for the language, it is seen that in the legend on the coins of Bhumaka the same importance is given to Kharoṣṭhi as to Brahmi. But already in the legends on the coins of Nahāpāna Kharoṣṭhi comes to be assigned a secondary place; while it disappears altogether after Chastana. There is thus little doubt that the coinage of the Kṣtrapas is of northern origin. Rapson, J. R. A. S., 1904, p. 371; cf. De La Vallee Poussin, op. cit., p. 284.

2 De La Vallee Poussin, op. cit., p. 284.


4 Ibid., pp. 39 and 47.

5 Rapson, Coins of the Andhara Dynasty, p. CVIII; Rapson, J. R. A. S., 1904, pp. 371-374.

6 Ibid.
Junār and Kārli\(^1\) which prove that his kingdom extended from Poona in the heart of the Śatavāhana empire, and Surpāraka in the Konkan coast to Mandasor in Mālavā, and even further north as far as Ajmer.\(^2\) The glory of Nahāpāna’s reign may also be estimated by the splendour of the monuments which were erected during his reign and which rank among the best in India. One of these is the Buddhist temple cut in the rock at Kārli (in the Poona district), the immense nāve of which, according to Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil,\(^3\) equals in grandeur that of the Gothic churches. It is also noteworthy that the monuments containing the inscriptions of Nahāpāna at Junār, Kārli and Nāsik are all in the same style.\(^4\)

Nahāpāna would also appear to have inaugurated an era of his own, the Śaka era, which as Mons. A. M. Boyer has demonstrated dated from the commencement of his reign.\(^5\)

Nahāpāna’s reign, however, ended in failure. He sustained a disastrous defeat towards the end at the hands of his contemporary Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakarana\(^6\) who boasts in his Nāsik praśasti that he “destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, Palhavas. . . . . (and) rooted out the Kṣaharata race and restored the glory of the Śatavāhana family.”\(^7\) The defeat of KṣaharatAs must have taken place some time after A.D. 124,\(^8\) which was the forty-sixth year of Nahāpāna, in the eighteenth regnal year of the Sātakarṇi monarch. The inscription further relates that the latter was the king of ‘Asika, Asaka, Mulaka,

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2 De La Vallee Poussin, op. cit., p. 288.
3 Jouveau Dubreuil, op. cit., p. 20.
4 Ibid.
5 R. D. Banerjee, Nilakanta Sastri and Jouveau Dubreuil are, however, inclined to hold that it is more convenient to connect the dates given in Nahāpāna’s records with his regnal years; in any case, whether it is the Vikrama era (58 B.C.), or a Scythian era, there is bound to be a gap between Nahāpāna and Chastana, and the former has to be placed in the beginning of the Christian Era between 25 and 50. The arguments advanced are as follows: if you place Nahāpāna in Śaka 46 (= A.D. 122) the events which are crowded between Nahāpāna and the Gîrñār inscription of Rudradaman dated Śaka 72 (= A.D. 150) will be too many. But Mons. Boyer has shown with a thorough-going analysis that they can be made to fit into without inconvenience between the two limits. The Khakharata or the Saharata whom the Satakarnī king boasts of having destroyed is Nahāpāna, and what is more when it is realised that the Khetra or field of Uṣavadatta, the son-in-law of Nahāpāna mentioned in Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 5, 7, 9, 10 and of Kārli No. 6, is the same field of Usabadatta which was donated by the Satakarnī monarch as related in the Nāsik inscription No. 13, the probability becomes a certainty. Add to this identification of Nahāpāna with the Mambanous of Periplus (A.D. 60 or 80). De La Vallee Poussin, op. cit., pp. 285-286.
6 Jouveau-Dubreuil, op. cit., p. 20.
8 Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 415.
Suraṭha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa, Vidarbha, Akaravanti. It leaves no room for doubt that the entire Kṣaharata kingdom was overrun by the Satavāhanas.

But the Satavāhana hold on the northern provinces of the Kṣaharata kingdom like Surāṣṭra, Mālavā and Gujarāt could not have been as firm as that on the Deccan. For the coins of Nahāpāna that were restruck by Gautamiputra have come so far only from the Nāsik district, a circumstance which would seem to suggest that the Satavāhanas were not long in possession of their northern conquests. In fact, we learn from the Andhau inscriptions that as early as s.s. 52 or A.D. 130 i.e., only six years after its conquest by Gautamiputra, Mālavā had been lost to the Satavāhanas, and was ruled jointly by king Chaśtiṇa and his grandson Rudradāman, who are both styled Kṣtrapas. This foreign title, it has been pointed out, and the use of the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet on his coins are sufficient to show that Chaśtiṇa was a viceroyc of some Northern power, and could have had nothing to do with the Satavāhanas. Actually, however, there is an indication that he may have been of the same lineage as Nahāpāna. For his father’s name Yaśamōṭika is the Scythian equivalent of Bhumaka. We know that Mālavā was included in Nahāpāna’s kingdom. Was Chaśtiṇa perchance its vicerey stationed at Ujjaimi? Be that as it may, within twenty-five years of the resounding victories of Gautamiputra Śatakarni, Rudradāman had not only fully retrieved the losses sustained by his house but extended his rule over a vast empire which stretched to the lower Indus valley in the north-west, and central India in the east, and comprised the entire coastal region of Kāṭhiawād, Gujarāt and the Konkan.

1 According to Dr. Raychaudhuri (op. cit., p. 411) these places were: Asīka (Arārika of Pāṇḍari, IV., 22), Asaka (Asmaka on the river Godāvari, i.e., Mahārāṣṭra), Mulaka (the district round Paḷiṇāṇa, Surāṣṭra (Kāṭhiawād), Kukura (in western or central India probably near the Pārāyaṇa or the western Vindhyas), Aparānta (North Konkan), Anupa (district around Māhiśmati on the Narmadā), Vidarbha (Berār), and Akara-Avantī (East and West Mālavā), while Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil (op. cit., p. 23) calls them: Suratha=Surāṣṭra= Kāṭhiawād; Akaravanti=Mālavā and Aparānta=the region along the coast, north of Bombay.

2 Actually from a place called Jogalthemi.


6 From the symbol “Chaitya with three arches” on the coins of Chaśtiṇa, a symbol which is also seen on the Satavāhana coins, Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil (op. cit., p. 28) concludes that Chaśtiṇa was a Satrap of Gautamiputra. The inference, however, is unwarranted, because Chaśtiṇa, being undoubtedly a Kṣatrapa, belonged to the political system of the North.

7 De La Vallee Poussin, op. cit., pp. 284 and 286; Dr. Raychaudhuri in disagreeing with this view observes “identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of person,” (cf. op. cit., p. 423, note 1).
probably as far south as Gōkarna in Kanara. Of the place names occurring in his inscriptions Saurāṣṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa and Ākarāvanti, had actually formed part of Gautamiputra’s dominions, and must have, therefore, been conquered either from that king or his immediate successor.

Rudradāman raised the Kstrapa state to a height of power and glory never before attained. The Junāgadh rock inscription of s.s. 72 attests this power, when it says that he “was resorted to by all castes (who) chose (him) as their lord to protect them”2 and that he “himself has acquired the name of Mahākṣaṭrapa.”3 The inscription further adds that the Śatakarni, the lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, i.e., Deccan, was twice defeated by him but spared because of their near relationship.4 This vanquished Śatakarni was presumably Gautamiputra’s son Vasiṣṭhiputra Śatakarni, who was also Rudradāman’s son-in-law.5

Rudradāman apparently held court at Ujjain and governed the provinces through his viceroys. Saurāṣṭra and Ānarta (district round Vaḍnagar) were under his Pahlava amāya Suviśākha (the son of Kulaipa). The latter had constructed a new dam on the ancient Sudarśana lake. An idea of his benevolent administration may be obtained from the fact that this Sudarśana embankment was constructed with money that came from the royal exchequer and that the people of the town and the province were not called upon to bear the burden of the expenses by taxation, forced labour (viṣṭi), benevolences (pranaya) and the like.6

After a splendid reign of over a quarter of a century, Rudradāman was succeeded by his eldest son Dāmaghasda I.7 According to Rapson, our chief authority on this period, the reign of Dāmaghasda was “followed by a war of succession between his son Jivadāman and his grand-uncle Rudrasiṃha.”8 The struggle ended in favour of the latter,9 but it had already undermined the royal prestige and as has often happened, power passed to the military chiefs. It is during Rudrasiṃha’s reign that we notice the rise of the Abhira

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1 Kane, “The Ancient History and Geography of Konkan,” Pro. Tran. of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, Vol. II, (1919) pp. 391-92. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane is inclined to identify Kukura mentioned as having formed part of Rudradāman’s empire in his Junagadh inscription with Konkan, the meaning of Kukura being “that portion of Aparānta called Kukura.”


3 Ibid., line 15.

4 Ibid., line 12.

5 Smith, op. cit., p. 222; Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 425; Allan, op. cit., p. 66.


9 Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, p. cxxvii.
chiefs in the guise no doubt only of Senapatis or generals. But it was not difficult for them to turn the weakness of the royal house to their own advantage. There is an inscription of king Isvarasena, an Abhira, in cave X at Nasik, which has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to s.s. 100 or A.D. 178. The inscription while designating Isvarasena as king does not give the same title to his father Sivadatta, a circumstance from which it has been concluded that Isvarasena was the first member of the family to enjoy a regal status. No doubt his kingdom had been carved out round about Nasik mostly from the territories of the Satavahanas, who were also declining during this period. However, it was not long before the Abhiras attempted to impose their sovereignty over the dominions of their erstwhile masters. And from the provenance of the coinage of Isvaradatta, who, it is agreed on all hands, was an Abhira king ruling between A.D. 236 and 239, in Malava, Kathiawad and Gujarat, it has been supposed that he actually brought or sought to bring all these regions under his sway.

Rapson has observed that from A.D. 295 to c. 340 there were no Mahakshrapas. The elder branch of the family came to an end after A.D. 305 and passed by an obscure transition to a new line of Satraps and Great Satraps. The title of Mahakshatrapa, which had fallen out of use all this while, was revived some time in A.D. 348 by Rudrasena III, who styled himself Raja Mahah-Kshatrapa.

Rudrasinha III was the last Kshatrapa king. He seems to have been a man of some ability. He probably wished to make himself independent of the Guptas who under their great king Samudragupta had compelled his predecessor Rudrasena to acknowledge the Gupta supremacy. An opportunity offered itself when Samudragupta’s powerful personality was removed by death and the Gupta throne was filled by his weak and incompetent son Ramagupta. Encouraged by the success which attended his bold assertion of independence, the Saka king next invaded the Gupta dominions. The

1 Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, p. cxxiii.
2 D. R. Bhandarkar, Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1913-14, pp. 230-231
3 Mr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit (J. R. A. S., 1890, p. 657) and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (A. S. Report) identify him with Isvarasena of the Nasik inscription. Rapson, while agreeing that he was an Abhira and even of the same dynasty as that of Nasik, is of the opinion that he was not identical with Isvarasena, and places him (Isvaradatta) between A.D. 236 and 239.
4 Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, etc., pp. cxxxv-vi.
5 Banerjee, Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 20; Dandekar, A History of the Guptas, p. 25; Saletore, Life in the Gupta Age, p. 11.
Šaka armies seem to have carried all before them and compelled the Gupta monarch to agree to a humiliating treaty. By the terms of this treaty Rāmagupta consented to give away his queen Dhruvadevi to his victor. But Chandragupta, the younger brother of Rāmagupta, was touched to the quick and incensed at this insult to his family, and according to a tradition recorded in various literary sources, going up to the eleventh century A.D., he killed his brother, married his widow and vanquished the Šaka king.

This event is placed in the year A.D. 378. Chandragupta II followed up his victory and before long dislodged the Šakas from Mālavā. For in an inscription at Udayagiri in Mālavā dated A.D. 401 we find his feudalatory Sanakānīkār Mahārāja acknowledging his overlordship. From Mālavā, the Guptas carried their onslaughts into Surāśṭra and by A.D. 407 they were in undisputed possession of Surāśṭra. According to the bardic account the conquest of Surāśṭra was affected by Chandragupta's son prince Kumāragupta. He was appointed viceroy of the province, and the house of the western Kṣatrapas which had ruled with power and glory for a period of well-nigh four centuries was brought to a close.

Of the history of Surāśṭra during Kumāragupta's reign we know very little. But it is on record that in the succeeding reign of his son Skandagupta Surāśṭra was ruled over by Parnādatta who was one of his viceroys. Surāśṭra formed an important province of the Gupta empire, thanks, no doubt, to its position as an emporium of foreign trade. What the inscription says, therefore, is not surprising that "Skandagupta had to deliberate for nights and days" before he could make a choice of the incumbent for this office. Parnādatta signalised his administration of Surāśṭra by the repairs he carried out to the

1. Altekar, _op. et loc. cit._, Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra, _op. et loc. cit._; Sarasvati, _op. et loc. cit._
2. It is more likely that the name of this king was Rāmagupta rather than Kācagupta, as it is clearly given as Rāma and not Kāca in the Devichandragupta. Secondly, the Muslim chronicles also mention this name as Rawwal, which appears to be a corruption of the name Rāma and not Kāca (cf. Elliot, _History of India_, I, pp. 110-112). These two authorities, viz., Viṣākhadatta and the Muslim chronicles are the earliest and the latest sources of information, and they specify the precise name of this Gupta ruler as Rāmagupta.
4. Elliot, _op. et loc. cit._
Sudarśana lake and by erecting a temple to the god Viṣṇu. He was probably followed by Bhaṭārka, as viceroy. For though we have no certain date for the latter, the earliest known date for Mahārāja Dronasimha, his son, who was the third ruler in succession, is available, viz., V.S. 183, i.e., c. A.D. 502. If we allow a period of thirty years for the first two rulers (viz., Bhaṭārka and Dharasena I) we arrive at A.D. 472 as the starting point of the career of Bhaṭārka. Now the abovementioned Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Parṇadatta is dated G.S. 138, i.e., A.D. 457. This surely makes him a predecessor of Bhaṭārka.

1 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*; Acharya, *op. cit.*
3 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*; Acharya, *op. et loc. cit.*
PART 1
HISTORY
CHAPTER I

ORIGIN OF THE MAITRAKAS

The family to which Bhatārka belonged is given in the copper-plate grants of his successors as Maitraka. The inscriptions begin with the expression "Prasabha-pranata-amitranaṁ Maitrakānāmatula-bala-saptana-śaṅkula-abhoga-samsakt-samprahara-sata-labdha-pretapah-śri-senapati-Bhatārka." But it was not till comparatively recently that this expression was interpreted correctly. At first 'prasabha-pranata-amitranaṁ-Maitrakānām' was construed with the word 'maṇḍala' and the word 'saptana' was misread as—'saṃpanna.' The word 'Maitraka' was taken as a common noun derived from 'Mitra', with the result that the passage was wrongly translated as "(Bhatārka) had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the wide extent of territories of Maitrakas who were endowed with incomparable courage."1 According to this earlier reading the Maitrakas were believed to be a powerful tribe who were defeated by Bhatārka. This reading seems to have been responsible for the view held by Drs. Fleet,2 Bhagavanlal Indraji and others3 who believed that while the family of Bhatārka himself was indigenous, the Maitraka tribe was of foreign origin. The reading was corrected by later scholars,4 and it is now definitely accepted that Bhatārka belonged to the Maitraka family: "(In the race) of the Maitrakas, who prostrated (their) enemies by force, (was born) the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the glorious (senāpati) Bhatārka, who obtained splendour in hundreds of battles, fought with a vast crowd of enemies of unequalled strength."5 But none of the early scholars had regarded the family of Bhatārka as of foreign origin. Their statement referred only to the people conquered by that monarch. Hence it is natural that their views about the Maitrakas should have been influenced to a considerable extent by this circumstance. Now that we know that Bhatārka himself belonged to the Maitraka family, their views can no longer be cited to support the foreign origin of the Maitrakas.

The main consideration that led the earlier scholars into regarding the Maitrakas as foreigners was their supposed connection with the Mihiras and their predilection for Sun-worship. While, of course, both Mitra and Mihira


3 Bombay Gazetteer, IX, p. 479; I, p. 81.

4 It was Mr. Mandalik (cf. J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 346) who first suggested that the word 'Maitraka' should be taken as a proper noun and it was accepted by other scholars. For a similar construction is seen in the copperplates of other dynasties such as that of the Vakūtaka, the Traikutaka and others, thus showing the popular usage of the genetive plural to denote the name of the dynasty of the donor.

are synonyms for the ‘Sun’, the derivative Maitraka is never used in Sanskrit literature in the sense of Sun-worshipper.\(^1\) Even however admitting for the sake of argument that the term has this meaning, that thesis falls to the ground, for we find that the royal religion of the Maitrakas was Śaivism and that neither Bhaṭārka himself nor any of his immediate successors was a devotee of the Sun. Out of the nineteen Valabhi kings only one, king Dharapāṭṭa, fifth in order of succession, is styled a worshipper of the Sun.\(^2\) But as the latter was neither the founder of the dynasty nor a ruler of great importance, it is sufficiently clear that the designation of the Maitrakas is not to be connected in any way with the worship of the Sun.\(^3\)

Mr. Jagan Nath tries to equate the designation with the word ‘Maitreyaka’,\(^4\) meaning a particular caste whose business it was to praise great men, and concludes that the Maitrakas may have been the bards of the Guptas. However, in the light of the information supplied by the Manu Smṛti\(^5\) and the Vaijayanti,\(^6\) it is clear that the Maitraka tribe was different from the Maitreyakas in origin as well as in the profession of its members. According to the Manu Smṛti a Maitreyaka “ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn, continually praises (great) men”\(^7\); and a Maitra\(^8\) was born of one of the five Vratyas of the Vaiśya caste.\(^9\) The Vaijayanti explains the Maitras as those born of a remarried Vaiśya (Vaiśyapūravikā, i.e., a mother who had formerly married a Vaiśya) to a Vaiśya-Vratya.\(^10\) On the point of the respective professions the former work is silent; but the latter represents the Maitrakas as people serving as

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3 Bhau Daji believed that the Maitrakas succeeded the Shahas. This conclusion is drawn from a Valabhi plate which is not translated properly. According to it the Shahas were triumphed over by the Sun-worshiping people. But now that we know that the Maitrakas were not a Sun-worshipping tribe the theory falls to the ground. Cf. “A brief survey of Indian Chronology from the 1st of the Christian Era to the 12th,” *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, p. 244.
5 *Manu Smṛti*, X, 33.
6 *Vaijayanti*, manuṣyādhvāya, 103b, 105, (64-121), 53-9, (Compiled by Yādavaparakāśa).
7 *Manu Smṛti*, X, 33, (p. 410).
8 The words ‘Maitra’ and ‘Maitraka’ are identical according to the lexicon Vaijayanti (cf. 103b, 105, 64-121 of the Manusyaadhvāya). The suffix (taddhita) ‘ka’ is often added (to a substantive) in the Sanskrit literature without changing the original meaning of a word.
9 *Manu*, X, 23, (p. 407). Dr. Kane explains the Vratyas as a group of people who spoke the same language as orthodox Aryans but did not follow their discipline about habit.
10 In the *Manusmrītī* (II, 42; X, 20; XI, 63) and the Vaijayanti, the Vratyas are described as those who have not undergone *Upanayana* ceremony in due time and hence were not privileged to receive the sacred Savitri verse called the Gāyatri.

That they were known as Vrata Vaiyas suggests their outlandish character. However, their customs and manners were not quite consistent with and similar to the Vaiyams, hence the Smrītkārs classed them as Vrata Varṇas. Although they were Vaiyas they followed the profession of Kṣatriyas and hence called Kṣatriyas by Hiun Ts'ang.

worshippers in Buddhist temples.¹ Let the matter, however, not rest on this
testimony. Even grammatically the two words have different derivations.
Maitraka comes from ‘Mitra’, while Maitreyaka is derived from ‘Mitrā’.
Hence this suggestion also cannot be accepted.

The copper-plate grants of the Maitrakas do not assist us in tracing the
origin of the dynasty as such, but simply tell us that they were a warlike tribe,
distinguished for great power, whose centre of activity was Valabhi in Surāṣṭra
and that their family religion was Śaivism. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang
describes them also as Kṣatriyas.² In the later Mahāyānic work, the Mañjuśri-Mūla-Kalpa,³
the chronicler while dealing with the provincial history of
western India represents them as the Varavatya Yādavas.⁴ This Buddhist
tradition is corroborated by a Jaina tradition recorded in the Śatruṇjaya-
Mahātmya⁵ which describes one king Śilāditya of Valabhi as the ornament
of the Yādava family of the Lunar race.⁶

Thus, without going into details about the meaning of the words we may
conclude that the Maitrakas were a Kṣatriya clan of the Yādava race, and
that their origin may probably be traced to the Mitra dynasty that ruled over
the region round about Mathurā. This conclusion is supported by scholars
who have based themselves on the evidence of some coins issued by kings
whose names ended in ‘Mitra’.⁷

¹ Vaijyantī, Manusyādhyāya, 103.
The Gurjara records refer to the Valabhi kings simply as the lords of Valabhi and do
not call them Maitrakas. The Vāyu Purāṇa does not mention the name of the Maitrakas
among the numerous royal dynasties it enumerates.
² Watters, op. cit., II, p. 269; Beal, op. cit., II, p. 246.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Dhanēśvarasuri, Śatruṇjaya Mahātmya, V, 14, Sarga 1. (Tr. by Pōpatlal Prabhudas,
⁶ A bardic tradition as recorded by Major Watson (I. A., II, p. 312 ff.) and Tod
(Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, I, pp. 100 and 255) connects the Valabhi kings
with the solar race of Ayodhyā by representing them as the ancestors of the Guhilot. How-
ever, this tradition is shown to be false in chapters on political history, as is also proved by Oza
(Rajputanākā Itihāsa, I, pp. 369-70). Its origin was probably due to the confusion made
between the last king Śilāditya of Valabhi (c. A.D. 766) with the king Śilāditya, the fifth ruler
of the Guhilot dynasty of Mēwād who flourished round about A.D. 646.
⁷ In his Bengali work the Prāchīna Mudrā, the late Mr. Benerjee drew attention to the
fact that several rulers in ancient India whose coins are discovered in abundance in the
Pānchāl country had their names ending in ‘Mitra’ (pp. 106-8). From this Mr. Mānshankar
Mehta inferred the rule of a Mitra dynasty over that region during the fourth century A.D.
(Cf. Mēvādarā Guhilō, p. 97). Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar agreed with this theory and further
suggested that this Mitra dynasty of Pānchālā, Kōkala and Mathurā were prototypes of the
Maitrakas who ruled over Gujarāt and Katiāwād (I. A., LXI, 70). Mr. D. Shāstri who has
supported this view (Traimāṣikā, I, 173-78) states that the Valabhi kings were the Kṣhatriyas
of the Maitraka dynasty whose origin may obviously be traced to the Mitra dynasty that
flourished round about Mathurā. (Ibid.)
## Genealogical Table of the Maitrakas of Valabhi

1. Bhāṭārka

2. Dharasena I
3. Droṇāśiśa
4. Dhruvasena I
5. Dharapatāta
6. Gūhāsena
7. Dharasena II

8. Śilāditya I, Dharmāditya
9. Kharagraha I

10. Dharasena III
11. Dhruvasena II, Balāditya

Derabhāṭa

Śilāditya
14. Kharagraha II, Dharmāditya
13. Dhruvasena III

15. Śilāditya—II
16. Śilāditya—III
17. Śilāditya—IV
18. Śilāditya—V
19. Śilāditya—VI, Dhrubhaṭa.
CHAPTER II

SRI BHATARKA

The founder of the Maitrakas of Valabhi was thus Śri Bhāṭarka. In all the Maitraka copper-plate grants, he is mentioned with great respect and is accorded the pride of place. Even his remote descendants never failed to express their admiration for him and do honour to his memory. All the Valabhi coins that have been found till now have on them the legend of Bhāṭarka. This does not mean that these coins stamped with the name of Bhāṭarka were all issued by him only. Such coins must have also been issued by his descendants. Consequently, if they allowed his name to remain and refrained from substituting their own in its place, the conclusion would be that they wished to respect the memory of their progenitor. The fact that the legend on the seals of all the Valabhi copper-plate grants is “Śri-Bhāṭarka” also points to the same conclusion.

Apart from the circumstantial evidence noted in the last chapter it may be inferred from the inscriptions that Bhāṭarka was not an upstart. The following description occurs at the beginning of almost every inscription of the Valabhi kings with reference to the founder of the family—the great king Bhāṭarka:

“Maula-bhṛta-mitra-śreṇi
—bal—āvāpta—rājaśāriḥ.”

This passage has been translated by Dr. Fleet as “(He) who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends,” and this rendering is followed by Kielhorn, Hultsch, and Sten Konow. As pointed out by N. G. Mazmudar, however, this passage has to be interpreted in the light of the Mahābhārata and the Arthaśāstra. The words Maula, Bhṛta, Mitra and Śreṇi are technical terms in Hindu polity. Bala means ‘army’ which consisted of four arms, viz., Maula (hereditary), Bhṛta (hired), Mitra (allied), and Śreṇi (guild).

It is interesting to observe the part played in those days by guilds in military affairs. The Harivamśa speaks of guilds as participating in warlike

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1 For other spellings of Bhāṭarka’s name see foot-note No. 2 on p. 25 of this chapter.
7 The word ‘Maula’ occurs also in a Mau Chandella-stone Inscription of Madanavarmā, (cf. E. I., I, p. 201, 1, 23). In this inscription Maula Pṛthivirman, who is appointed the king’s minister, is described to have been an expert in mounting elephants, horses, and chariots and skilled in archery.
activities, when it describes the fatal wrestling match between Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa. We are told that: “The pavilions of the different companies and corporations, vast as mountains, were decorated with banners, bearing upon them the implements and emblems of the several crafts.” This is exactly what we find in the Mahābhārata where Dhrītarāṣṭra describing the ideal type of an army also indicates the important part played by the guilds in the political affairs of the country. Similarly, Kauṭūliya while dealing with equipment of the forces enumerates their constituents, when he says “Sa maulabhṛta-śreni, mitra-amitra-aṭāvī-balānām saraphalguṭāni vidyāt.” These ancient Indian guilds may thus be compared to the Italian guilds of the middle ages and like the latter they presumably also maintained huge armies.

From the mention of hereditary troops it would appear that Bhaṭarīka was born in a family of military leaders. In course of time he must have been obliged by circumstances to enforce absolute control over the province under him when the Gupta empire was thrown into confusion as a result of external aggression and internal difficulties. When Skandagupta was busy fighting hordes after hordes of foreign invaders, Narendrasena Vākātaka and his son Prthvisena II took advantage of the situation and established their sovereignty in Kōsala, Mekhala, and Malaya. This would explain why these countries were not recorded in the Gupta inscriptions for a long time. The subordinate allies of the Guptas like the Traikutakas also profited by their difficulties to assert their independence. The Traikutaka Dahaśēna accumulated power during these disorders as is seen from the fact that he performed the Asvamedha sacrifice and struck his own coins and called himself ‘master of Aparānta’ literally meaning ‘the lord of western end.’ As the Bhitāri inscription shows, the Puṣyamitrās were also becoming powerful, a clear sign of the decline of the Gupta power, during this period. Besides, it is known that Skandagupta succumbed to the repeated attacks of the Hunas in about

1 Harivamsa, Viṣṇu-Parva, 29, 5 (p. 224) “Sva-karman-dravya-yaktabhibh-patakabhīr-mantararaṇ-śreninām-cha-gaṇāṇāṃ manchabhanṭy-achal-opamāḥ.” Further, we see in Kalidas, Raghuvamsa, IV, p. 26, that in the Hindu political treatises the army is described as consisting of the six elements:  ‘Ṣadavīdhīni Balamā-daya Pratyasthe Digajāṣya Maulām Bhṛtyah Suhachhani Dviḍāṭvikaṇa Balaṇa.’

2 Dutt, A Prose English Translation of Harivamsa, LXXXIV, p. 360.
3 ‘ādādita balaṇa-रaja maula-mitra-balaṇa tathā-aṭāvi-balaṇa bhṛtaṇi-ch-aiva-tatha śreni-balaṇa prabho” Āsram-vāśikā Parva, Ch. 8, sloka 7.

4 The passage from Arthaśāstra (140) quoted by Mazmudar while discussing the Valabhi inscriptions, cf. I. A., XLVIII, p. 208. “He shall know the exact strength or weakness of hereditary troops (maula), hired troops (bhṛta), the corporate body of troops (śreni), as well as that of the army of friendly or unfriendly kings and of wild-tribe,” Arthaśāstra, (140) p. 170.

5 Bhaṭarīka was probably residing at Wāmanasthali as a military head, and as bards narrate he placed a governor at the place when he went to Valabhi and established the kingdom.

6 Dandeekar, op. cit., p. 117.
A.D. 470. When the Hūnas advanced into the interior and attacked the heart of his empire, he was unable to continue the resistance. It would also appear that though he had come out victorious in the war of succession with his brother Puragupta, the civil war must have gone a long way in weakening the Gupta power. The unity of the empire was sapped and disintegration followed in its wake.

These difficulties were also availed of by the class of the hereditary governors and the feudatory chiefs who had grown up in the empire in its latter days and who carved for themselves independent kingdoms in their respective provinces. They are now found assuming regal titles such as Mahārāja, etc. Feudatories like the Maukharies of Madhyadeśa, 2 kings of Navyāvākaśika, Vardhamana and Karnasuvrana 3 in Bengal also seized this opportunity. Predecessors of Govinda Gupta, who was presumably the viceroy of Mālavā, also refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors of Magadha at this time, 4 while Yāsōdharmāna, the ruler of Mandasor, 5 must have followed in their footsteps in asserting his independence and acquiring sovereign power.

It is to be supposed that when the control from the centre was relaxed Bhaṭārka also followed the usual course, making himself independent in his own province. This was indeed a turning point in the history of the Maitrakas, an achievement for which he may have been called Bhaṭārka by his descendants which literally means a hero. 6

The fact that Bhaṭārka founded Valabhi shows that he almost assumed independent powers. But still he retained the title of Senāpati 7 and did not

1 Smith, The Early History of India, p. 328.
2 That the Maukhari power was strengthened during this period can be seen from their stone inscriptions. Half a century later they are recorded in the inscription of Iśānavarma to have control over the Bāra-Bāṅki, Jaumpur and Gayā districts of U.P. and Bihar. All these parts formed integral parts of the Gupta Empire in the fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries of the Christian era.
3 Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, p. 534.
4 Dandekar, op. cit., p. 120.
5 “Mandasor, the ancient Dasapura, was one of the most important viceregal seats of the early Gupta Empire. It was the capital of a long line of Margraves who governed part of Western-Mālavā on behalf of Emperor Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, and his son Kumāragupta I, Mahendrāditya.” But with the gradual development of power a new scene opened with Yāsōdharmāna’s sway over that province.
6 The name Bhaṭārka which accrued to him on account of his heroism was, by a not unfamiliar process, retained in the family records to the total exclusion, as it would appear, of the personal name.
dare to call himself Mahārāja for fear that it might be contested. This proceeding is not without parallel in Indian history. When empires fall, the governors of the provinces become independent and preserve their former titles of honour. An instance in point is that of Harihara and Bukka, founders of the great Vijayanagara empire, who, though virtually independent, called themselves Mahāmandalesvaras, and not until the reign of Harihara II, the third king of the dynasty, did these rulers venture to assume the imperial titles.

After asserting his independence, Bhātārka seems to have transferred his capital from Girinagar to Valabhi. This is confirmed by the epigraphical records, and Girinagar lost its importance.1 According to the Bombay Gazetteer, "its (Valabhi's) choice as a capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhāvanagar creek. The place was not so much inland as it is now. Since the days of Valabhi kings the silt which thickly covers the ruins has also filled and choked the channel which once united it with the Bhāvanagar creek when Ghālā was probably a fair sized river." It is difficult to ascertain whether the Sanskrit Valabhi was the original name or whether Vālēh is a corruption of the Pākṛt form Valahī.2 Jinaprabha-Suri, a learned Jain monk of the thirteenth century, describes the holy Jaina hill of Śatrūnjaya as being situated in the Valāhaka province. This shows that he was familiar with the Pākṛt form Valahī. The Sanskrit form Valabhi is found in the Kathāsaritsāgara, which though of a comparatively very late date, treats of very ancient materials.3

Of Bhātārka's personal accomplishments, besides his military prowess, the inscriptions recount but a few details. He was a Śaivite—a fact which is borne out by the title 'Parama-Maheśvara' used for him in his successors'

1 We get references of the Brahmanas who migrated from Girinagar and settled down at various places round about Valabhi. One of such examples from the Valabhi grants is found in the Anapstu plates (E. L., XXII, p. 114) where the donee had migrated from Girinagar and resided at Śrāddhikā. The earliest direct reference to Valabhi is perhaps in the Daśa-kumaracharita of Daṇḍin (p. 225). The new capital Valabhi is represented by the modern site Vajā situated in the east of Kāthiawād, twenty miles to the west of Bhāvanagar and twenty-five miles to the north of the holy Jaina hill Śatrūnjaya. The ruins of Vajā consist of vast mounds and foundations of brick admidst which clay seals have been found inscribed with the well-known Buddhist formula 'Ye-dharma-hetuprabhāvāh.'

2 Bombay Gazetteer, I, Pt. I, p. 96 ff. However, it is strange that its name is not recorded by Periplus (a.d. 80) or by Ptolemy (a.d. 150), (cf. "Gujarat nā Prāchina Kinārāni Bhugōla," XII, Gujarati Sāhiṣya Pariśad Sammelana). Possibly it had not acquired the importance it did after it became the capital.

3 Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, wrote in the introduction to this work that he borrowed his material from the Bhātakathā of Guṇḍaṭhya which was written in the Pāisāchi language. Somadeva further states that "he did not add anything to the original material." In the Kathāsaritsāgara we find the name Valabhi which might have occurred in Bhātakathā, a fact which would suggest that Valabhi existed even in early centuries of the Christian era. However, in the absence of the original work we cannot get a full idea of the state of affairs in Valabhi at the period.
records. The fact that not a single copper-plate or record of his own is obtained till now leads us to imagine that like Babur, the first emperor of the Mughal dynasty, he obtained power, but could not consolidate and organise his principality. It was one of his successors, Dronasimha, like Babur's grandson Akbar, who seems to have established a firm hold over the Empire.


2 Remarks on the variant forms of Bhāṭārka's name: The original form of the founder's name seems to be 'Bhāṭārka', as indicated by the royal seals as well as by the early grants of Valabhi. Later on we also find the name spelt as 'Bhāṭārkā'. This is evidently the Sanskritised form of the original Prākṛt name. It was customary to Sanskritise Prākṛt names when they were to be in Sanskrit compositions, like the names in the Maitraka copper-plate grants. In some cases the consonant preceding a conjunct 'r' was doubled. This was used frequently in ancient India, e.g. Bhāṭārka (Bhāṭārka). The doubling of 'Ka' in the name Bhāṭārkā is due to the practice of doubling of consonants following a conjunct 'r', which was optional orthographically. Thus the simple form of the name in Sanskrit is Bhāṭārka, which actually occurs in a few Valabhi grants. We also come across the forms Bhāṭārkkā and Bhāṭārkkā in the case of some other grants. Comparatively, this latter name occurs far less frequently than the above forms, 'Bhāṭārka', 'Bhāṭārkā' and 'Bhāṭār'. Even out of these 'Bhāṭārkkā' is the most frequent form used in the grants. Now 'Bhāṭārkkā' and 'Bhāṭārkkā' are altogether two different words lexicographically. In Sanskrit there are both words 'Bhata' and 'Bhāṭa', but they denote quite different senses. Philologically 'Bhata' is derived from 'bhata' and 'Bhāṭa' from 'bhart'. The former means a mercenary soldier or servant, while the latter is an honorific term used for the royal or the learned class. According to Sir Monier William 'Bhāṭa' sometimes occurs as a wrong variant for 'Bhata'. However, in either sense this may be used for the Maitraka Senāpati. One of the terms means "the Sun among the soldiers," while the other means "the Sun among the learned." Such a Maitraka hero was distinguished both for his learning and his valour. It is, however, certain that only one of these two terms could be taken as correct. The more usual and the earlier form, viz., Bhāṭārka or Bhāṭārkā is, therefore, to be preferred to the less frequent Bhāṭārkkā.
CHAPTER III
DHARASENA I
(A.D. 493-499)

Bhatārka was succeeded by his eldest son Dharasena I. His reign lasted approximately from 174 to 180 of the Valabhi Saṁvat, i.e., A.D. 493 to 499.

As we have already seen, Bhatārka took advantage of the weakness of the Gupta power to shake off their yoke. But complete independence could be achieved only in the next reign. Dharasena's succession to the office of Senāpati held by his father, was quite in conformity with the prevailing custom, since the higher posts in the Gupta administration had by then become hereditary. Thus, for example, in the Udayagiri cave inscription1 of the time of Chandragupta II his minister Vīrasena is described as one who had acquired the post of a minister by hereditary succession (anvaya-prāpta-sācivyah); and in the Karmadande Lingāṁ inscription2 Prthivisena is said to have succeeded to the post of a Mantri of Kumāragupta I, an office which his father Śikhara had held under Chandragupta II. Again, we have it in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription3 of Skandagupta that the provincial governors were themselves empowered to appoint their assistants. It was according to this practice that Paṇḍadatta appointed his son Chakrapālita as a "Charge d'affaires" of the city. Hence, there is reason to assume that Bhatārka had already associated with himself his son Dharasena in the affairs of administration. After the death of his father Dharasena succeeded to the offices held by Bhatārka, viz., both as the head of the military and of the civil administration at Valabhi.

Dharasena I saw in the condition of things around him a splendid opportunity to consolidate the power and position which his father had acquired. He made himself independent in his new kingdom during the dark days of the Gupta empire. At that time most probably king Bhānugupta was on the throne of Magadha. His great problem was the increasing power of the Hūnas. The battle of Eran4 in which Goparāja was killed, was fought by him manifestly with the Hūnas, and as Professor Banerji maintains, he was defeated in the same.5 By defeating Bhānugupta the Hūna king Toramāna conquered Mālavā. The success of the Hūnas in Central India, however, was short-

3 Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
4 Ibid., pp. 91-93.
5 Banerji, Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 60.
lived, and according to the evidence of the Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa, Toramāna died soon after defeating Bhānugupta and Goparājā. In these circumstances it is possible that the Vākāṭaka king Harisena made an alliance with the Maitraka ruler Dharasena I for driving away the Hūnas. For it is known that during this period the Vākāṭaka king Harisena conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kośala, Trikuṭa, Lāṭa, Āndhra, etc., and acquired sovereign power. Only a few years before this event most of these countries were under the sway of the Hūnas and the Guptas. The fact that a marriage had taken place between the Vākāṭaka (ruling over Avanti) and the Maitraka (ruling over Valabhi) families during the period shows that an alliance had been concluded for the specific purpose of ending the Hūna menace. The princess chosen for the marriage seems to have been Chandralekhā, who is described in the Darasanaśāra of Devasena as the daughter of the king of Ujjaini and the queen of Dhruvasena I of Valabhipura. There should not be any doubt as to who this king of Ujjaini was. For Ujjain had by this time definitely come under the sway of the Vākāṭakas, a fact to which the Ājanṭā inscription of Harisena, just referred to, bears undisputed testimony. But the marriage only meant that the Maitrakas had changed one hegemony for another. However, to have been thus honoured with the hand of Chandralekhā, the Maitrakas must have occupied a place higher than that of the mere feudatories in the political system of the Vākāṭakas. Their position may be described as that of the subordinate allies.

To follow up the history of the break-up of the Gupta power, the Maukharies threw off their yoke in the eastern part of their empire and established their independence, just as the Vākāṭakas had done in the western parts. The epigraphical records in the caves at Barābar (Gayā, South Bihār) and Nāgarjuni (Gayā district) bring to light a new and independent line of Maukharies, inaugurated by one Harivarman who is styled ‘Mahārāja’ in the Asīrgadh copper seal inscription of his successor. That a chief should have so dared as to set at naught the authority of the Guptas in their home province of Magadha—for it must be noted that Harivarman’s territory lay in eastern Magadha—proves that the power of the Guptas must have indeed declined beyond recovery.

1 Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, p. 54.
2 Jayaswal, “History of India (Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period)”, J. B. O. R. S., XIX, p. 103; Harisena ruled from about A.D. 490 to 520.
3 Ibid.
5 Cf. Shah, Jainism in North India, p. 68.
6 Jayaswal, “History of India (Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period)”, J. B. O. R. S., XIX, p. 75.
CHAPTER IV
DRONASIMHA
(A.D. 499-519)

The successor of Dharasena I was his younger brother Dronasimha. He appears to have ascended the throne in about 180 Valabhi Samvat, i.e., A.D. 499.

We have seen that Dharasena I virtually assumed the status of a king in the latter part of his reign. Dronasimha went a step further and called himself 'Mahārāja', as proved by his copper-plate grant issued in v.s. 183, i.e., A.D. 502,1 hardly a year or two after his accession. His coronation is also much spoken of in the records. In all the Maitraka plates, he is referred to as one whose coronation ceremony was performed in the presence of the paramount sovereign himself.2 This confirms our view that though the Maitrakas had thrown off the Gupta yoke, they had to acknowledge the paramountcy of some higher power. Though the name of this power is not stated in the inscriptions, it is evident from the facts mentioned in the last chapter, that it could not have been any other than the Vākāṭakas. In the North Indian history of this period, four rulers of note stand out above the rest and all the four have had their claims urged by different writers in this connection. We may examine here the title of each of them. They are, besides the Vākāṭaka king Herisena, the Gupta ruler Bhānugupta,3 the Hūṇa4 ruler Toramāna or Mihirakula and Yasodharman of Mandsor.5 As regards the last ruler, he may at once be dismissed, for the simple reason that his imperial career started only a few years before the year A.D. 533-534 as the Mandsor Pillar inscription tells us.6 As for the suggestion that a Hūṇa chief was the overlord—this too falls to the ground in view of the considerations we have

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2 Akhila-bhuvana-manḍalaika-swāmīna-paramasvāmīna-svayam-upahita-rājyabhisēkah, i.e., whose coronation ceremony was performed in the presence of the master of the whole Universe.
5 In the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 88, the date of Drōnasīhā's investiture is supposed to be about A.D. 520 and therefore Yasodharman is suggested as the paramount ruler of his time. But the discovery of the Bhāmōdar Mohotā plate of the year v.s. 183, i.e., A.D. 502, proves that Drōnasīhā's coronation had taken place in or before A.D. 502 and hence Yasodharman, whose imperial career started after A.D. 533 cannot be supposed to be the paramount sovereign present then.
6 Fleet, op. cit., p. 142.
offered in the last chapter. Further, we find that in the territories which passed into the hands of the Hūnas the use of the Gupta era in dating the records was given up and the regnal year of the Hūna kings was used instead, while the Maitrakas uniformly used the Gupta era. It may, therefore, be conceded that the Maitraka dominions never came under the suzerainty of the Hūnas. As we have already seen, Bhānugupta also is out of the question. We know nothing of his achievements beyond the fact that in the Eran pillar inscription of Goparāja,—one of his dependents—he is described as “the Epic hero Arjuna.” But this is mere conventional praise; and as we have already had occasion to note, the Gupta power was well on the wane during this period. Hence, Bhānugupta hardly fits into the description of the paramount sovereign of Dronasimha as ruling over “the whole circumference of the earth.” Turning now to the emperor Harisena Vākāṭaka, we know from the Ajantā inscription that he conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāta, Andhra, etc., and acquired the suzerain power during his glorious days, i.e., a.d. 490-520. The Bālāghāṭ plates further make it clear that the Vākāṭakas had their own feudatories and that they made peace and war on their own account. These facts coupled with the Vākāṭaka alliance, brought about by the marriage of the Vākāṭaka princess Chandralekhā with Dronasimha’s brother Dhruvasena I, suggests that it was Harisena Vākāṭaka who is referred to as the master of the whole universe, and his presence at the coronation ceremony was, therefore, in his dual capacity as overlord and father-in-law of the Valabhī king. The occasion was a landmark in the history of the Maitrakas and the event was carefully recorded in the dynastic accounts. This personal visit of the suzerain must have gone a long way in strengthening the bonds of friendship between the two dynasties, and we may even say that the Maitrakas were thus set on the course of complete independence, which they actually asserted in the reign of Dharasena IV, a century later.

In his own as well as his successors’ copper-plates Dronasimha is described as an ambitious man and a good general. Like most of the Valabhī kings he was a great devotee of Śiva. This is seen from the epithet Parama-Maheśvara used of him in all the Valabhī records. He made a grant of the village Trisaṅgamaka in Hastavapra āhāra (modern Hāthab) to one Paṇḍurāja of the Devipantha, an act of munificence by which he set an example to be followed by his successors.6

1 Fleet, “Eran Boar Stone Inscription,” and “the Gwalior Inscription,” op. cit., p. 158 and 161 respectively.
2 Fleet, op. cit., p. 91.
3 Jayaswal, op. et loc. cit., “History of India (Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period),” J. B. O. R. S., XIX, p. 75.
6 Jackson, Barnett, and Acharya, op. et loc. cit.
We know from the inscriptions that Bhaṭārka and his eldest son Dharasena were military leaders whose reigns were mainly occupied with fighting and carving out a principality and thus making their power recognised by all and sundry. It was only in the reign of Dronasimha that measures could be taken to ensure the social and economic welfare of their subjects. Accordingly, Dronasimha is described as having set up before him the ideal of a Dharmarāja. In the inscriptions he is described as "one whose nature (manifested itself in) the performance of the regulations laid down by Manu and others; who like Dharmarāja, (i.e., Yudhīṣṭhira), fixed the path of the laws of good conduct,"¹ ('praśa-(śa) vimala—mauli (li) manīr—Mmanv-ādi-pranīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmām Dharmmarājaiva vihita-vinaya-nya (vya) vasthā-paddhātir '). This description in the Valabhi plates reminds us of the description of Dilipa by the poet Kālidāsa in his Raghuviras, as the real father of his subjects because he educated, protected and supported his people who were said to have swerved not an inch from the path laid down by Manu.

CHAPTER V

DHRUVASENA I

(A.D. 519-549)

Dhruvasena I was the third son of Senāpati Bhaṭṭārka and the first of the several Maitraka sovereigns of that name. He succeeded his brother Dronasimha and ruled for about thirty years from A.D. 519 to 549.

In the Valabhi copper-plate grants we usually find an expression, which a reigning king used by way of paying respect to his predecessor, viz. “whose head was purified, bent before and reddened by the dust of his (predecessor’s) feet,” etc.1 (tat-pādā-rajō-run-āvanata-pavitri-kṛta). The sudden break in this usual formula makes us suspect that the succession of Dhruvasena I was perhaps not peacefully effected. This seems to be confirmed by the next epithet “that he acquired the throne by the strength of his own arms,”2 (Sva-bhujaparākramena) used in connection with this ruler. One may be tempted to infer from this that it was a successful rebellion against his brother that brought Dhruvasena I to the throne. But this hypothesis is unwarranted. For the circumstance mentioned in the records, viz., that he was himself responsible for his rise, shows that either during the last days of his predecessor Dronasimha or immediately on his accession to the throne the Maitrakas were assailed by a superior power, which drove Dhruvasena from his inheritance and that it was only by the strength of his own efforts that he succeeded in regaining his kingdom. Now, the external power responsible for the troubles of the Valabhi kingdom at this time was probably Yaśodharman of Mālavā. However, though Dhruvasena boasts that it was by his own efforts that he regained his kingdom, the epithet he bore, viz. “(He) who meditates on the feet of paramount lord” (parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādāmudhyāta),3 would show that he received valuable help from his overlord. The latter could have been none other than the Vākāṭaka king Harisena. After this success, Dhruvasena I would appear to have ruled undisturbed for about a decade, as seen from his inscriptions issued from the beginning of his reign down to v.s. 2104, i.e., A.D. 529. In these inscriptions he is styled ‘Mahāsāmanta’ and ‘Mahārāja’.

But it was not long before Dhruvasena came into conflict with his erstwhile enemy. His grants dated v.s. 2165 and v.s. 2176 (i.e., A.D. 535 and 536) were

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1 Sten Konow, op. cit., p. 107.
3 Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1591, 1592, etc.
5 Bühler, loc. cit.
issued actually from the battlefield (vijaya-skandah-vārāti). The war that followed, however, was not as successful to the Maitrakas as the previous one, and it would appear that it was only on his acceptance of humiliating terms that peace was made. This is also evident from the titles which he assumed from now onwards, viz., ‘Mahāpratihāra’, the great door-keeper, ‘Mahādān-\-danāyaka’ the great general or governor, ‘Mahākārtika’ which may be literally translated as the great follower of Kārtika—the general of the gods, all of which are indications of a distinctly lower status. It is possible that Yaśodharman availed himself of the death of the great Vākātaka emperor Harisenā, which seems to have taken place at about this time,\(^1\) to measure his strength once more, with the Vākātakas. The defeat which he inflicted on the latter was so overwhelming that they could not survive as a power. They disappeared from history, since no record of any successor of Harisenā is known to exist. The battle must have taken place some time before A.D. 533 in which year the Mandsor Pillar inscription\(^2\) of Yaśodharman, is dated. In this prasasti his prowess and conquests are thus described as “He, who spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys, those countries,—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (and) having (their) kings assaulted by (his) prowess,—which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of) the earth, (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hūnas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings, failed to penetrate:—He, before whose feet chieftains, having (their) arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lauhiya up to (the mountain) Maheṇдра, the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (and) from (Himālaya) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) Gāṇgā, up to the Western Ocean,—by which (all) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their) heads”\(^3\).— Dhruvasena, it would seem, had to pay the penalty for his loyalty to his overlords—the Vākātakas. He was degraded from the exalted position of ‘Mahāsāmanta’ or chief feudatory, to that of mere dāṇḍanāyaka or captain.

But the rise of Yaśodharman was like that of a meteor.\(^4\) His power was as short-lived. Ten years after the Mandsor inscription (c. A.D. 543-544) we find a portion of his dominions being ruled by a viceroys or son (?) of a Gupta

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\(^1\) The period of rule assigned to Harisenā is from A.D. 490 to 520 cf. Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 79. But since this is purely conjectural, we may extend it by a few years. The war between Yaśodharman and the Vākātakas would then be taken as being fought early in the next Vākātaka reign. According to Jouveau-Dubreuil, Harisenā ruled from A.D. 500 to 530 cf. Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 76.


\(^3\) Ibid., lines (4-5).

emperor, who is styled \textit{"parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja prthivīpati"} \textit{"Supreme sovereign, king of kings, lord of the earth."} At about the same time we find that the Maitrakas also were regaining their former status. In his inscriptions dated \textit{v.s.} 221\textsuperscript{2} to \textit{v.s.} 226\textsuperscript{1} (i.e., \textit{A.D.} 540 to 545) it is seen that the old titles of Mahārāja and Mahāśāmanta were restored to Dhruvasena I.

During these turbulent days Dhruvasena I seems to have lost his son.\textsuperscript{4} For the famous Jaina-council held at Valabhi condoled with him on his great loss.

Dhruvasena was a worthy successor to the warlike kings that had preceded him on the throne of Valabhi. He is described in the records to have, \textit{"like a lion, defeated single-handed by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (his) enemies; and to have been the refuge of those who sought protection."}\textsuperscript{5} The records also speak of his scholarly attainments and his patronage of the learned referring to him as \textit{"Avabodhāsāstrārtha-tattvānam,"} \textit{"he who knows the essence of the Śāstras, the authoritative works on the different branches of learning,"} and as \textit{Kalpataru-iva suhrit-praṇayiniṁ yathābhilaśita-kāma-phal-opabhoga-dah,} \textit{"one who showed great liberality to friends and the learned and the existing religious institutions of his time."}

We find from Dhruvasena I’s plates that his father Bhaṭṭārka and his elder brothers king Dharasena I and Dronasinha were \textit{Parama-Mahēśvaras,} i.e., great devotees of Śiva; and that he himself was Parama-Bhāgavata, i.e., a great devotee of Viṣṇu. This was perhaps due to the influence of some Vaiṣṇavite preceptor of the time who had also influenced the Vākāṭaka and the Gārulaka kings in favour of Vaiṣṇavism. But he was, with all, a man of liberal religious outlook. This is confirmed from the following facts. His grant dated \textit{v.s.} 216\textsuperscript{8} (\textit{A.D.} 535) is made for the benefit of a Buddhist Vihāra built by his niece (sister’s daughter) Dūddā, who is called \textit{Paramā突如}, and that of \textit{v.s.} 217\textsuperscript{9} for the benefit of another built by one Buddhādāśa. The expenses of providing the Buddhist monks with the necessaries of life, of feeding Buddhist pilgrims who flocked from all parts for worshipping the Buddhist idols, and of repairing the Vihāras, were to be met from the income accruing from these grants. The other grants were made to Brāhmanas learned in different vedas.

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\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Raychaudhuri, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 505.
\textsuperscript{4} Jacobi, \textit{Sacred Books of the East}, XXII, p. 270.
\textsuperscript{5} Hultsch, \textit{"The Ganeśgaḍ Inscription of Dhruvasena I,"} \textit{E. I.,} III, p. 318 (lines 8-10); and Fleet, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 165 (lines 6-8).
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{8} Bühler, \textit{"A Valabhi Copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I,"} \textit{I. A.,} IV, pp. 104-107.
It may be noted that three grants—one of v.s. 207,1 v.s. 2102 (A.D. 529), another of v.s. 2213 (A.D. 540) and a third of v.s. 2264 (A.D. 545)—are made to the Brāhmanas of Ānandapura, the present Vaḍanagar, the famous seat of Brāhmanical learning. In the first it is simply called Nāgara, in the second Ānandapura, and in the third Ānarttapura. In the first the donees are two brothers, Śāntisarma and Devasarma of Ātreyagotra, who were the students of the Vajasaneyī Śākhā of the Yajurveda. In the second the names of the donees are Skandatrāta and Guhatrāta of Bhāradvāja gotra, who were the students of Sāmaveda (Chhandogasabrahmachāri); the name of the donee in the third grant is lost.

The famous Jaina council,5 which was held at Valabhi in the early part of his reign (A.D. 5266) is another proof of his broad religious views and interest in the different religious philosophies. Although we know that the two distinct divisions in the Jaina community did not come into existence till the beginning of the Christian era, it must be admitted that the tradition of Bhadrabāhu of the days of the great famine7 and the Jainchandra and Śivabhūti of c. A.D. 80 are some of the stages in the history of the great schism. But in the opinion of several scholars the great council at Valabhi led to the final separation of the two sects under Devarddhigani. It was here that the final reduction into writing, of the whole canonical literature of the Jainas, resulted in the split of the Jaina community, with differences in matters of certain dogmas and beliefs. The whole thing was arranged at Valabhi, because of the efforts of queen Chandralekhā,8 and thus Valabhi became an important city in the history of the Jaina literature.

The increase in the Maitraka power under Dhruvasena I is also attested by the fact that a ruling family called the Gārulakas9 acknowledged his supreme authority over the Maitrakas. The Gārulakas were a powerful and influential family in the Maitraka kingdom. They were venerated and treated with special respect by the rulers of the Maitraka dynasty.

1 An unpublished grant of this year was made on Kartika Sukla 3. It is in the collection of Mr. Sarabhai Nawab of Ahmedabad.
5 Charpentier, "The Date of Mahāvīra," I. A., XLIII, pp. 176-177; Jacobi, Kalpa Śūtra, p. 270.
6 Charpentier, Uttarādhyāyana Śūtra, p. 16. This date of the learned scholar is based on the date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa in 467 B.C., and 993 A.D. is the date of the redaction of the Jaina Canon.
7 Nathuram Premi, Darasanasara of Devasena, p. 31.
8 Cf. Shah, op. cit., p. 68.
9 The genealogy of the Garulakas according to their inscriptions is as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Mahārāja Sura</th>
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<tr>
<td>Senāpati Varahadāsa I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sāmanta—Mahārāja Śūtra II (Bhuṭṭisūtra)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sri Mahāsāmanta Varahadāsa II (574 A.D.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sāmanta Mahārāja Siṃhūditya.</td>
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macy. Two copper-plate grants of this family are found along with the Valabhi inscriptions, and what is remarkable, is that the former resemble very much the Maitraka grants. In one of these copper-plates, Dhruvasena’s name is actually mentioned as an overlord by the Gāruleka king Varāhadāsa (in G.E. 230, i.e., A.D. 549). This king is said to have obtained a victory over Dwārika, and presumably it was done with the help of his Maitraka overlord. The capital of these Gārulekas was Phānikaprasravanā, close to Girinagar in the heart of the Maitraka kingdom. The name Gāruleka or Gāruḍaka suggests that the family probably had the Garuḍa, the vāhana of Viṣṇu, as its emblem, and the description in the plates further makes it clear that the rulers of this dynasty were Vaiṣṇavites. The fact that they were brave and ambitious rulers, is clearly seen from their records. It is said that “the Gārulekas subdued all enemies by their prosperity due to performance of eminent deeds; and they gained decisive victories in encounters (with their enemies) in many of the battles.” This would imply that they distinguished themselves in wars under their suzerains. Like the Maitrakas they too were broad-minded in religion. They made grants indiscriminately to the Brāhmaṇas and to the Buddhists. The gratitude of their subjects on this score is revealed from the comparison of their rule to that of Yudhishthira and of Daśaratha of the heroic age. The details in the records of their administrative officers suggest that they had an excellent system of administration, for various officers, both civil and military, from princes (rājaputra), palace-officers (rājasthāniya), and ministers, to city officers (drāṅgika), headmen (mahāttara), regular and irregular soldiers, spies and riders on elephants and horses, are mentioned.

Dhruvasena I’s grants were made at various places like Valabhi, Hāthab and the camp at Khudāvediya, and the donees came from far off places to receive their grants, one of such examples being Siṃhapura which is identified with Sihore, situated at the Bhāvanagar-Vaḍhavāna junction. Three of his grants dated V.S. 210, V.S. 221 and V.S. 226, as we have seen above, are made to Brāhmaṇas of Vaḍanagar. This shows that the limits of his kingdom in the north must have included Vaḍanagar also. To the west the kingdom seems to have spread as far as Dwārika, the extreme end of Surāṣṭra, in this direction. As for the expansion of the Maitraka kingdom towards the east and the south, beyond Valabhi, we know that this development took place in later days, under Dhruvasena’s successors.

2 Ibid.; cf. Hultsch, “Pallitana Plates of Siṃhadiya,” E. J., XI, p. 17. The king of Dwarika who was defeated by the Gāruleka king was probably one of the Heroes chief who ruled over this country in the sixth century A.D. as mentioned in the Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, p. 590 (Kāthāwad).
3 Gadre, op. et loc. cit.
4 Hultsch, op. et loc. cit.
5 Ibid.
6 Gadre, op. et loc. cit.
CHAPTER VI
DHARAPATTA
(A.D. 549-553)

King Dhruvasena I was succeeded by his younger brother Dharapaṭṭa who seems to have ruled for a very short period. For the earliest known grant of his son and successor Guhasena is dated v.s. 240 (i.e., A.D. 559), while the last known date of his predecessor, as we have already seen, is v.s. 230 (i.e., A.D. 549)\(^2\). Indeed, having succeeded to the throne after his three elder brothers, whose reigns covered a period of five decades, he must have been an old man, when he was anointed king. In these circumstances the short duration of his reign is nothing exceptional. No records of his are discovered as yet. It is said that Dharapaṭṭa is not mentioned in the grants of his son, though he is styled in the records of his grandson Dharsena II as a 'Mahārāja', which proves that he did succeed to the throne of Valabhi.

Now the question arises as to why the passage describing this ruler does not occur in the grants of Guhasena and was subsequently inserted by his successors. On examining the three of the copper-plate grants of Guhasena, however, it is found that one of them has its first plate missing,\(^3\) while the second plate begins with the passage on Guhasena himself, as continued from the end of the first plate. Thus the missing of the first plate leaves the case undecided as far as this record is concerned. In the case of the third, i.e., of the year v.s. 248,\(^4\) both the plates are well preserved, but while editing these plates the author has given neither the transcript nor the facsimile of the first plate. He only gives the summary of the first plate, which again leaves us in doubt. The editor simply says that the "first plate gave nothing but the genealogy from Bhaṭārka to Dharapaṭṭa, such as is known to us from the grants of Dhruvasena I and Dharsena II." On turning to the early grant of v.s. 240, we find this vital difference, viz., the omission of Dharapaṭṭa's name. Also, the beginning of Guhasena's description after that of Dhruvasena I is very abrupt in as much as no relationship with the former is specified. This creates suspicion about some mistake of the (lekhaka) writer who may have omitted some words in the grant, suspicion which requires to be resolved with the help of some other grant of Guhasena to be discovered hereafter.

In describing him as 'Paramādiya-Bhakta', the records suggest that he was a devotee of the Sun god. It is curious that Dharapaṭṭa alone, among the

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2 This date is known from Dhruvasena I's contemporary feudatory king Varāhādāsa of the Gārulaka dynasty. Cf. Gadre, "The five Vaḷā Copper-plate grants," *J. U. B.,* III, p. 79, while the last known grant of Dhruvasena I is dated v.s. 226.
3 Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*
Valabhi rulers, should profess the Sun-faith. But what is more significant is that his other contemporaries also seem to have had a partiality for this cult. We know from the history of the Gurjaras that kings Dadda I and II and Raṇagraha were devotees of the Sun, a fact which shows the prevalence of the Sun-worship in northern India in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. However, since the kings were tolerant in matters of religion, the faith, confined as it was to the royalty and only a small section of the people, could not make progress and was short-lived.¹ It seems to have lingered on for some time, for we know a temple of the Sun god stood at Kāvi to which the Gurjara Rāṣṭrakūta king Govindarāja made a grant.²

It is said in the inscriptions that Dharapatta “forcibly conquered the renowned greatness of the ranks of (his) enemies.”³ In the absence of reliable data these military exploits of Dharapatta may be said to refer to one of his campaigns in his younger days, against the enemies during the reign of his brothers.

Before we pass from Dharapatta to his son Guhasena the interesting fact may be noted that all the elder sons of Bhaṭārka are in turn succeeded by their respective amujas, i.e., younger brothers. Dharasena I, the eldest, was succeeded by his younger brother Dronasiṇha, the latter was then succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena I, who in turn was succeeded by the youngest brother, Dharapatta. Did all these three elder brothers of Dharapatta have no male issue to succeed them? Or was there such a tradition among the Maitrakas that the Anuja, i.e., younger brother should have a prior right over the son, so that all the sons of a king could exercise their claims to the throne successively? Later on king Śilādiṭya I also is succeeded by his amuja, Kharagraha I, though he himself had a son named Derabhaṭa. Kharagraha explains his direct succession to his elder brother simply as an act of obedience to the will of his elder brother (guru). This possibly suggests that Śilādiṭya himself had appointed his amuja to be his successor. Accordingly, it may also be said that each son of Bhaṭārka selected his amuja to succeed him. The phrase “tat pāda-amudyaṭah” used by every succeeding king for his immediate predecessor bears such a significance, viz., that each king naturally showed reverence to his predecessor who selected him to be his successor. The assumption that each king selected his successor according to his own choice will also help us in explaining the cases of ‘Agraṭa’ successors among the later Maitrakas.

¹ The fact that king Śilādiṭya I made a grant to a Sun-temple, proves the existence of the faith in his time, cf. I. A., IX, p. 237.
CHAPTER VII

GUHASENA

(A.D. 553-569)

Guhasena was the son and successor of Dharapaṭṭa. He was perhaps the first great king of the Maitraka dynasty. This can be seen from the fact that all the Valabhi rulers from Śilāditya I down to the last ruler of the line, drop the names of his four predecessors in their dynastic records, while his name is recorded with due respect in all the grants. Thus after naming the founder Bhaṭārka, the genealogy commences with him.

Guhasena appears to have ruled for about sixteen years from v.s. 234 to v.s. 250 (i.e., A.D. 553 to 569). The last known date of Dhruvasena I is v.s. 230¹ (i.e., A.D. 549) and as has already been shown in the last chapter, Dharapaṭṭa's reign was of short duration. Since the first known date of Guhasena is v.s. 240² (i.e., A.D. 559) we may rest content that he came to the throne in about v.s. 234 (i.e., A.D. 553). As the earliest known grant of his successor Dharasena II is dated in v.s. 252³ (i.e., A.D. 571) we may conclude that Guhasena's reign extended down to v.s. 250 (i.e., A.D. 569).

From the Jaunpur stone inscription⁴ of the Maukhari³ ruler Īśvaravarman it is known that he had reached the Raivataka mountain,⁶ a region which was included in Guhasena's territories. The upshot of this invasion, however, is not specified in the inscription. Nevertheless, judging from the epithet borne by Guhasena, it may be said that the latter successfully repulsed his enemy. We are told in his own records that his "strength was manifested by clapping (his) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (his) foes," and further that, "the heads of (his) enemies were made to bow down by his prowess."⁷ That this was not an empty boast is also manifest from the fact that in contrast to his predecessors, who called themselves Mahāsāmantas, he assumed the higher title of Mahārāja. On the other hand, unlike his successors who bore imperial titles such as Mahārājādhīrāja, Īśvaravarman is given the simple

¹ Gadre, op. et loc. cit.
⁵ In the Jaunpur stone inscription the Maukaris are called Mukharas.
⁶ On this point there is a divergence of opinion among scholars, for which the fragmentary nature of the inscription is responsible. According to some, Īśvaravarman defeated a king who took shelter in the Raivataka mountain, while others opine that his expedition into Suraṣṭra took Īśvaravarman as far as Raivataka. But none of these authorities have tried to identify the ruler of this territory. Nevertheless, he could be none other than our Guhasena because the country invaded was the Maitraka kingdom.
⁷ Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
style of Kṣitipati and Mahārāja in the later inscriptions⁴ of his dynasty; while in his own inscription the style adopted by him is merely that of nrpati (a king). But the Harāhā inscription declares that “for the attainment of martial glory” Ādityavarman “caused the birth of Īśvaravarman.”⁵ This doubtless means that Īśvaravarman was destined to exalt and celebrate the name of the Maukhari kula. A probable inference that may be drawn from this is that the imperial ambition of the Maukharis originated from his time, though he himself did not succeed in achieving it. He was driven back from Suraśṭra by the Great Maitraka ruler Guhasena, who compelled him for ever more to respect the integrity of his territory.

This attempted annexation of the Maitraka kingdom may have taken place somewhere in the beginning of Guhasena’s rule, and the concluding years of the reign of Īśvaravarman, for we know, from the Harāhā inscription, that in the Vikrama Saṃ. 611, i.e., A.D. 544, Īśvaravarman’s son Īśānavarman succeeded to the Maukhari throne. This victory over the Maukharis went a long way in strengthening Guhasena’s position as an independent king. And it was, no doubt, because of this victory which he won single-handed over a powerful adversary, that he boldly gave up the feudatory title of Sāṁanta, hitherto borne by his predecessors, and made himself feared and respected in the neighbouring kingdoms.

In all we have five records of this ruler. One copper-plate grant is dated in v.s. 240⁴ (i.e., A.D. 559), another in v.s. 246⁵ (i.e., A.D. 565) and the third one bears the year 248⁶ (i.e., c. A.D. 567) of the same Saṃvat. An inscription recording the name of Guhasena and dated in v.s. 247 (i.e., A.D. 566)⁷ was found inscribed on a small clay-pot discovered at Valā. The word ‘Ghata’ of the record obviously refers to the vessel on which it was inscribed. One more fragmentary stone inscription⁸ discovered at the village Baṅkodi in the Rāval district of the Navānagar state, also records the name of Guhasena, and has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to this Maitraka king. These are the only two inscriptions of this type, bearing the name of a Maitraka ruler, who

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2 Ibid., p. 119, line 8; cf. Pires, The Maukhars, p. 69.
4 Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
5 Bühler, “The Grant of Guhasena of Valabhi,” I. A., IV, p. 174 ff; Barnett, “Wala Plate of Guhasena of the year 246,” E. I., XIII, p. 338. (Bhandarkar’s list Nos. 1312 and 1313 and Sankalia’s list Nos. 79 and 80 are for one and the same grant.)
7 Bühler, “Wala fragmentary Inscription,” I. A., XIV, p. 75. In his Life in the Gupta Age, p. 105, Dr. R. A. Salatore has suggested that this ‘ghata’ may have been a pot for water-clock.
8 The Bhāvanagar Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, p. 30.
happened to be Guhasena in both these cases; one of this is about 18" x 7" and consists of three lines, though all its sides and corners are chopped off. Unfortunately, the date and the purpose of the inscription are missing. It is, therefore, difficult to say anything about its object.

It may be gathered from his records that Guhasena combined in himself the qualities of a warrior as well as of a statesman. It seems that the royal treasury was replenished in his time, for he is compared to an ocean for possessing wealth. He was a skilled and formidable warrior almost cradled in the art of warfare. "His sword," we are told, "was verily a second arm to him from his childhood," (Sālavātri-pra bhūtā-Khaḍga-dvitiya-bāhur-eva). His statesmanlike qualities are obvious from the fact that he is reported to have governed his subjects according to the Smṛtis and other traditionary laws. His "title of 'king' was obvious and suitable," we are told in his copper-plates, "because he pleased the hearts of (his) subjects by properly preserving the path prescribed by all the traditional laws," (Śakala-smṛti-praṇīta-mārga-samyak-paripālama-prajā-hṛdaya-raṁjanād-anvaritha-rāja-śabdō). We may, therefore, rightly maintain that it was his keen political insight coupled with his consummate generalship that gained for him a great influence in his kingdom. The Maitraka records are unanimous in representing him as a handsome man possessed of elegant bearing and refined and courteous manners who resembled (the god) Smara. He is invariably described as 'Dhanēśa' and 'Bṛhaspati', a fact which testifies to the prosperity, both material and moral, of the country under him, and a full exchequer. Though all these attributes are stereotyped and modelled on the Rāghuvamśa of Kālidāsa, they nevertheless show that their Maitraka recipient was an important personality.

All the plates of Guhasena are records of donations made to Buddhist monasteries. The very first known grant is made to the Vihāra, in the city of Valabhi, built by Dūḍḍā. She is referred to as 'Pūjya' "respected". This is natural, for she was an aged cousin (father's sister's daughter) of Guhasena. In addition to the usual purposes of providing for the monks and pilgrims, repairing the monasteries, etc., one more purpose is mentioned—viz., the purchase of books of 'good religion,' i.e., Buddhism for the Vihāras. This proves the existence of a library, at least of Buddhist books. The eighteen Nikāyas or schools of Buddhism, are also mentioned in this plate. His second record describes the grant made for the same purpose. Dūḍḍā is referred to more respectfully as Dūḍḍāpāda; and the Vihāra is named after her as Dūḍḍā Vihāra. At the end of this record we find the word 'Śvamukhājñā' 'oral order.' This probably implies that no dūtaka was necessary as the grant was

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1 Fleet, op. cit., p. 165—lines 1-15.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Bühler, op. cit., VII, p. 66.
made directly without the usual intermediaries being present. It was written by Skandabhāṭṭa, who was appointed to the post of the minister of war and peace. The third grant was made to Abhyantarikā-Vihāra, built by Mimmā who is referred to as Mimmāpāda. From the terms of respect accorded to her, it seems that she was also related to the royal family like Dūḍḍā. However, in the absence of evidence, it is not possible to be definite on this point. This Vihāra was situated near the Bhataṅkara-Vihāra which was given to the Rajasthāniya (i.e., the official guardian) Sūra. The ‘oral order’ is mentioned in this grant also. This explains the absence of the dūtaka’s name as in the previous case. The grant was written by the same Skandabhāṭṭa.

In the first two grants Guhasena is styled a Parama-Maheśvara “a great devotee of Śiva.” While in the latter one, which was issued in v.s. 248 (i.e., A.D. 567), he is said to be a Paramopāsaka “a great devotee of the Buddha.” This shows that he was greatly influenced by Buddhism between the year A.D. 565 and 567. It was perhaps due to the influence of the nun Dūḍḍā and other pious and learned monks of the time. But the emblem of all his plates continued to be that of a Nandi (vrśabha), the vāhana of Śiva. Even in the inscriptions of his successors Guhasena is invariably styled ‘Parama-Maheśvara’. This is a clear proof that he was not converted to Buddhism, as Bühler would have us believe,1 and the change from ‘Parama-Maheśvara’ to ‘Paramopāsaka’ in the grants would, in that case, only signify that he was greatly interested in Buddhism and may even have had a decided leaning towards it, but did not adopt it. But conviction, as is repeatedly shown in the histories of religion, is one thing, and conversion quite another.

The mention of Dūḍḍā’s and Mimmā’s names in the copper-plate grants, is significant from another point of view also. It shows the importance given to ladies in those days. That they were highly cultured and educated is clearly seen from the fact that they could construct and organise institutions like the Vihāras.

At about this time, the Saurāseni Apabhramśa, the spoken language of the people, was growing into a literary language. And we are told that king Guhasena wrote poems2 in Sanskrit, Prākrit and even Apabhramśa, a fact which gives a glimpse of the literary activities of the time.

In his classic on Rājasthān Tod has observed that the Guhilots of Mewār were the descendants of the Maitrakas.3 Tod based his accounts on local chronicles and traditions, according to which king Śilāditya, the last king of the Maitraka line, died and lost his kingdom while resisting an attack of the barbarians. A posthumous son was born to him and was named Guhāditya.

1 Bühler, Archæological Survey of West India, III, p. 84.
2 Munshi, Gujarat and its Literature, p. 20.
3 Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, I, pp. 176-181.
The latter was brought up in a family of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Vaḍnagar in Gujarāt. When the child grew up, he conquered the aboriginal Bhil chieftain of Idar, and became the progenitor of the Guhilots of Mewār. But the account can hardly be reconciled with the evidence of contemporary epigraphs. The Samoli inscription of the Guhila Śīlāditya dated A.D. 646¹ and the Nāgada inscription of the Guhila Aparājīta dated A.D. 661² suggest that the Guhila family was already established in Mewār during the time of the earliest Śīlāditya of the Maitraka line, and flourished along with the Maitrakas, when the latter became extinct—about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.³ On the other hand, there is an inscription to show that Śīlā, a king of the Guhilot dynasty, lived in Vik. Saṃ. 703, i.e., A.D. 646. The Raṇapur Achalgaḍh Chitorgadh and Ātapura inscriptions distinctly show that Śīlā was five generations apart from Guhadatta or Guhila, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty. Guhadatta, therefore, must be carried to the middle of the sixth century, allowing roughly twenty years for each generation. Thus it was quite impossible for him to be a descendant of the last Maitraka king Śīlāditya VII.

The Bombay Gazetteer⁴ states that the Guhilots of Mewār were a branch descending from the Maitraka king Guhasena: a branch of the family springing from Guhasena took their dynastic name from the name of their progenitor as Gohilot or Gehlots. But great doubts at once arise in regard to this suggestion also. The Gohils were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas,⁵ a fact which is supported by a well-known verse occurring in the Achalesara stone inscription⁶ (Vik. Saṃ. 1342), the Chitorgadh stone inscription⁷ (Vik. Saṃ. 1331) and the Māmadeva prasasti. The Chitorgadh inscription also styles Bappa (the founder of the family) a Brāhmaṇa. Again, the Ekaliṅga-Mahāmya, composed during the reign of Rānā Kumbha, declares that Guhadatta, the founder of the race, belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family which had migrated from Ānandapura.⁸ The same work further on states that Vijayāditya, the ancestor of Guhadatta, was the ornament of the Nāgar race. If, then, it is undoubted that the Gohilots were Brāhmaṇas, how could they have descended from the Maitrakas, whom we definitely know to be Kṣatriyas?⁹

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⁶ Bhavanagar Inscriptions, p. 84 ff., verse 11.
⁷ Ibid., p. 74 ff., v. 8.
⁸ The following lines from the Ekaliṅga-Mahāmya of Mahā Rānā Kumbha Karpā are quoted here:—Ānandapa-samāgata-vira-kulānanda-dā-mahidevah Jayati-Śrī-Guhadattah-prabhahāvah-Śrī-guhila-vamśāsaya, i.e., Victorious is Śrī Guhadatta, the founder of the Gohila Race, the delight of the families of Brahmanas and come from Anandapura (Wadhwaṇi = Vardhamāna), cf. ibid., p. 89.
⁹ Beal, op. et loc. cit.; Watters, op. et loc. cit.
CHAPTER VIII

DHARASENA II

(A.D. 569 to 589-90)

After the death of Guhasena the Maitraka sceptre passed into the hands of his son Dharasena II. In all about sixteen copper-plate grants of this ruler have been found with dates ranging from v.s. 252 (i.e., A.D. 571) to v.s. 270 (i.e., A.D. 589). The earliest known date of his successor Śilāditya I is v.s. 2861 (i.e., A.D. 605) and the last known date of his father, who preceded him, is v.s. 248 (i.e., A.D. 567).2 This would show that he ruled for about twenty years, from v.s. 250 to v.s. 271 (i.e., A.D. 569 to 589-90).

In his first two grants dated v.s. 252 (i.e., A.D. 571) Dharasena II styles himself ‘Sāmanta’, unlike his father Guhasena. This would show that the power of the Maitrakas was on the decline during the early years of Dharasena II. Did the Maukhari seize the opportunity offered by the change of rulers, to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the Maitrakas? Whatever it may be, a few months later, in the month of Vaiśākha of the same year,3 Dharasena is found dropping the subordinate title of ‘Sāmanta’. This was tantamount to defiance of the Maukhari suzerainty and Īśānavarman seems to have at once taken the field against the Maitraka kings. That Dharasena II was at war with him can be also seen from his next record4 which mentions his camp at Bhadrarāṇaṇaka. But the Maukhari king could not succeed in imposing his hegemony over the Maitraka ruler, and in his next record5 dated v.s. 254 (i.e., A.D. 573), Dharasena II appears with his former title of Mahārāja, indicative of the higher rank. But Īśānavarman was determined to impose his yoke on him and continued the war against him. The former soon found himself unable to continue this unequal struggle. And hounded into flagellation by a powerful external enemy, he saved himself by offering his submission to him. In consequence, in his grants dated v.s. 269 and v.s. 2706 (i.e., A.D. 588 and 589) he contents himself with the mere title of ‘Mahāsāmanta’. Significantly enough, among his attributes Dharasena bears the following one: “who averts calamities that would afflict (his) subjects.”7

4 The Bhāvanagar Inscriptions, pp. 35-39.
7 Bühler, op. cit. (lines 9-13.)
It is possible to infer from this that he came to terms with his enemy in order to avert the destruction and havoc caused to his subjects by these imperialist wars.\(^1\)

This conquest doubtless raised Īṣānavarman’s status, and he was all but universally acknowledged as the emperor of northern India and proudly designated himself as Mahārājādhirāja,\(^2\) a “resplendent moon in the sky of the circle of princes.”\(^3\) His reign is by common consent acknowledged as the heyday of the Maukharī rule.\(^4\) In describing his exploits the Harāhā inscription says: “Being victorious and having princes bending at his feet, (he) occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Āndhras, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas, who had an army of countless galloping horses, and after causing the Gauḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm”;\(^5\) and adds that “the illustrious Īṣānavarman, who had crushed his enemies, was the lord of the earth.”\(^6\) It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that under so successful a monarch as Īṣānavarman, the Maukharis found no difficulty in lording it over the Maitrakas, and Dharasena II was soon reckoned among the “princes bending at his feet.” Since Guhasena is given the title of Mahārāja even in his last inscription issued in v.s. 248 (i.e., A.D. 567)\(^7\) we may take it that the Maitrakas successfully maintained their independence throughout the reign of this king, and it was only after the removal of his strong hand by death, that they were compelled to submit to the power of the Maukharis.

The inscriptions as usual indulge in exaggerated praises of Dharasena’s virtues. He is said to have “astonished all the archers by the speciality of (his) innate strength and skill acquired by practice”;\(^8\) that he maintained all the gifts of the previous kings; and that like his father he could show that Śrī (wealth) and Saraswati (learning) could live together in his kingdom, a description which is similar to that of Kālidās’ Bharatavākya or delineation of an ideal king in his Vikramorvasīya. He was liberal and charitable like the other rulers of his line, a fact which is amply borne out by the large number of grants that have come down to us recording his great donations to various donees irrespective of caste or creed.

Most of his grants were made to the Brāhmaṇas learned in the different Vedas. A copper-plate of the year v.s. 252 (i.e., A.D. 571) is a record of a grant

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5. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 120 (verse 13).
to one Rūdragopa, son of Rūdraghoṣa of Kauśravas gotra, who was a student of the Atharvaveda, and resided at Ānarītapura, i.e., modern Vadanagar. Another grant of the same year was made to a Brāhmaṇa named Chchhahara, who was a resident of Brahmapura and who was of the Bhārgava gotra and of the Maitrāyaṇaka śākhā. The purposes for which the grants were made are recorded as in the cases of the other Brāhmaṇa donees in the inscriptions, e.g., the performance of the five great yagñas, viz., Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra and Atithi. The object of the grant in each case was a certain piece of land the income from which was to be used by the donee for the specified objects. Other grants of this year mention some Brāhmaṇa donees who received similar donations with all the rights of the owners of the land, viz., that of “vāta, bhūta (i.e., that which is to be cut, reaped or mown), grain, gold and ādeya, and forced labour.” One more grant of v.s. 254 (or v.s. 257 as read by some scholars) was made on a solar eclipse day. The date of this grant is very important and of special interest, as it helps us to decide the era of the Maitraka records. Two more grants of the year v.s. 269 and v.s. 270 were made for the benefit of the Buddhist Vihāra: one of these was to the Bappapādiya Vihāra which was built by the famous monk Sthiramati, who is mentioned by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, while the name of the other Vihāra is not clear. The purpose of the grant is, as usual, for the repairs, worship, and for supplying the other requirements of the Bhikṣus. In this grant the dūtaka is Śāmanta Śilāditya who probably succeeded Dharasena to the throne of Valabhi. Another grant which is thought to be spurious gives the year 400 of some unknown era. Bühler and other scholars have read it to be the Śaka era.

A copper-plate grant dated G.E. 255 (i.e., A.D. 574) of Śāmanta Mahārāja Śimhāditya of the Gārulaka family has been found at Palitānā along with Maitraka grants. He was a feudatory of the Maitraka king and contemporary of Dharasena II. Did Śimhāditya remain loyal to him during the days of his difficulties? This, of course, cannot be determined with certainty. The fact that the Maitraka and the Gārulaka grants were found at the same place, induces us to believe that they did remain so, while the absence in the present record of any reference to the Maitrakas as Mahārājas in contrast to the previous grant, would show that the Gārulakas may have attempted to make themselves independent of their overlords.

2 Fleet, op. cit., plate XXIV, p. 164 (lines 26-27).
3-4 Bühler, “The Copper-plate Grant of Dharasena II.” I. A., X, p. 278.
CHAPTER IX

SILADITYA I

(c. A.D. 590-615)

Siladitya I was the son and successor of Dharasena II. He was called Dharmaditya or the "sun of religion." He took particular care in following the model of the great kings of old.

As seen above the last known date of his predecessor Dharasena II is v.s. 270 (i.e., c. A.D. 589), and the first known date of his successor Khara-graha I is v.s. 297 (i.e., A.D. 616). This shows that he must have ruled for about twenty-five years, which may be reconciled to the round number of thirty years' reign, assigned to him in the Maṇju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa. If this is granted, we may suppose that he succeeded his father in c. A.D. 590 and since his successor Khara-graha I's known date is A.D. 616, Siladitya's reign seems to have come to an end in about A.D. 615.

There are, in all, eleven copper-plate grants of this ruler known to us, and giving dates from v.s. 286 (i.e., c. A.D. 605) to v.s. 292 (i.e., A.D. 611). Besides these copper-plate grants, the Śatruñjaya Māhātmya has a prophetic account of Siladitya as one who will be propagator of religion in Vikrama Sāṃvat 477. But Vikrama Sāṃvat 477 corresponds to A.D. 420 and at this epoch the Maitrakas had not yet assumed rule over Śravastī. However, if Vikrama Sāṃvat is taken as a mistake for Śaka Sāṃvat, it would then correspond to the Gupta-Valabhi Sāṃvat 237 or A.D. 556. But even then this would amount to, according to our chronology, ante-dating Siladitya by forty to fifty years. This, however, should not disturb us, in any way, since it is known that the work is comparatively modern, and consequently, not much confidence could be reposed on its evidence. The fact seems to have been that the author took the current tradition about the Maitrakas and noted it down in his work, but paid little heed to chronology. Nevertheless, there should be no

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1 The name Siladitya was a favourite on with the Buddhists who valued virtue (Sīla) more than valour (Vikrama).
4 Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, p. 24.
doubt that the Śilāditya mentioned here, is the same as Śilāditya I, for as in the inscriptions, here also he is called Śilāditya Dharmāditya.

The dynastic account as given in the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa and the copper-plate grants of Śilāditya, and the extent of his territories, as can be gathered from them and from those of his successors, settle once for all the controversy started by Dr. Hoernle. 1 Śilāditya’s rule extended over the territory from “Ujjain in Eastern Mālavā up to the western Ocean or to Cutch, which in terms of the Pūrānic geography” is the limit of the western country. 2 This Śilāditya is rightly identified by Prof. M. Sylvain Levi with Śilāditya of Molapo (Mālavā) 3 mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. 4 It is certain that Mālavā was included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. The Virdi plates of his successor, dated v.s. 297 (i.e., A.D. 616), were actually issued from Ujjain, the capital of Mālavā. 5

An excursion into the political history of this period is, therefore, necessary to account for this extension of his kingdom on the part of Śilāditya I, since Mālavā had never formed a part of the Maitraka kingdom. It was fortunate for Śilāditya that he should have ruled at a time when the various powers of Hindustan were exhausting themselves by constant warfare. Towards the end of the sixth century the later Guptas of Mālavā came into conflict with the Kaṭachuris of the Chedi country. This conflict probably arose due to the machination of Devagupta who evidently was a scion of the Gupta family. 6 Devagupta would appear to have entered into a conspiracy against his kinsman Mahāsenagupta, the then ruler of Mālavā, and agreed to have acknowledged the supremacy of Śāṅkararāgaṇa on condition that he (Devagupta) was installed as the sovereign of Mālavā. The Abhoṇa plates of Śāṅkararāgaṇa seem to allude

1 Hoernle, “Some Problems of Ancient Indian History," J. R. A. S., 1903, p. 545 ff; 1909, p. 122 ff. The controversy started by Dr. Hoernle was about identifying Śilāditya of Mālavā, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang with Yaśodharman of Mālavā, the conqueror of the Hūṇas. But Jayaswal’s account based on the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa makes it clear that it was Śilāditya, the Maitraka king who ruled over Mālavā (cf. Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 24). This is further supported by a grant of Śilāditya’s immediate successor Kharagraha, issued from Ujjain in A.D. 616 (cf. Gadre, op. cit., p. 7 ff). Dr. Hoernle’s views are discussed in Appendix A.


6 The suggestion (cf. Hoernle, op. cit., 1904; Dandekar, History of the Guptas, p. 180; Saleotore, op. cit., p. 65) that Devagupta must have been a son of Mahāsenagupta, does not seem very reasonable. In the absence of any mention of such relationship in the family records, it is wise not to go beyond the suggestion that he was a scion of the Gupta family. Moreover, if they were so related, would Bāṇa, who pays so much attention even to little details, have failed to note this interesting fact?
to the same fact, when they relate that he “re-installed families of kings who had long been dethroned,” and “uprooted those that were too proud.”

The disaffection between Devagupta and Mahāsenagupta is also clear from the omission of the former from the official genealogy of the Guptas, which was continued in their records, when after the death of Harsa, Adityasena, the son of Mādhavagupta, established his power at Magadha. It is also possible, as Dr. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri has pointed out, that Devagupta represented a collateral line of the Mālavā family, who were opposed to the policy of friendship with Thānēśvara and Kanauj. For it must be borne in mind that a Gupta princess, Devi-Mahāsenaguptā, probably a sister of Mahāsenagupta, had been married to Ādityavardhana of the Thānēśvara dynasty. Dāmodargupta, the father of Mahāsenagupta, is actually credited with stopping the progress of the Maukharis, who were the traditional enemies of the Guptas of Mālavā, and the marriage alliance between the two houses may have been brought about for this purpose. But not long after a grand-daughter of this Gupta princess, Rājiyaśri, was married to Grahaivarman, the Maukharī king, and the Maukharīs were thus brought within the ambit of the allies of the Gupta house.

Mahāsenagupta must have suffered a terrible disaster at the hands of the allies and was probably killed in the battle. After this event his two sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta fled to Thānēśvar and found shelter at the

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3 Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, p. 514.
4 That Prabhākarvardhana was the son of Ādityavardhana and Devi-Mahāsenagupta is known from the Sōnapat copper-seal inscription (cf. Fleet, op. cit. p. 232 and also the Introduction C. I. I., III, p. 15). From her cognomen Gupta, it has been assumed that the latter was a sister of Mahāsenagupta (cf. Fleet, op. et loc. cit. followed by Ganguli, op. cit., p. 405; Dandekar, op. cit., p. 174; Salestere, Life in the Gupta Age, p. 63, rejects without assigning reasons the suggestion of P. S. Parakhī in his Life of Harṣa (Marathi) that Devi-Mahāsenagupta was the sister of Dāmodargupta and follows Fleet. But Parakhī’s suggestion is untenable (vide App. No. A, C) though apparently it looks plausible. We know from the Harṣa Charita, p. 119, that Prabhākarvardhana was a contemporary of Mahāsenagupta and that the sons of the latter were play-mates of Prabhākarvardhana’s sons Rājiyaśrī and Harṣa. This makes it difficult, though not impossible, to believe that Devi-Mahāsenagupta was Mahāsenagupta’s sister. The disparity in age, inferred from the circumstance that she belonged to the previous generation, would rather suggest that she was a sister of Dāmodargupta, father of Mahāsenagupta. But as against this we have to bear in mind the fact that since the kings married young and had many wives taken at different times, the disparity in age among the children was nothing unusual.
5 Cf. Fleet, C. I. I., III, p. 200 ff. The Apsad inscription says that Dāmodargupta, the son of Kumāragupta broke up “the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis.”
court of their relation Prabhākarvardhana,¹ and Mālavā passed under the rule of Devagupta. Though no inscriptions of the latter have come down to us, the fact is nonetheless clear from the Thānesvar records.² But Devagupta had to observe scrupulously the terms of the agreement he had entered into with Śaṅkaragaṇa. The aforementioned Abhonā plates were issued from Ujjain, the capital of Mālavā, a circumstance which would show that the Kalachuris had then imposed their hegemony on the Guptas of Mālavā. Shortly after this Prabhākarvardhana appears to have taken up the cause of the Gupta princes and led an army against Mālavā.³ It is probable that he was joined by his son-in-law and ally Graha-varman.⁴ Though he claims to have taken away the glory of the Mālavā king,⁵ Prabhākarvardhana could not drive the Kalachuris and their feudatory Devagupta from their possessions in Mālavā, and restore them to Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta. As may be seen from his Abhonā plates, Śaṅkaragaṇa firmly established his power at Ujjain,⁶ and it is clear from the Śaṅkheda inscription of the time of Nīrīhullaka, a feudatory of Śaṅkaragaṇa, that he had extended his power as far as southern Gujārat.⁷ Now Bāṇa describes Prabhākarvardhana also as "a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭa."⁸ It is well known that the Lāṭa country is the tract of land lying between the Tάpti and the Mahī rivers, and has been described by Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra, a work written in the third century, as situated to the west of Mālavā.⁹ It is, therefore, possible that in the war with Prabhākarvardhana, Devagupta received valuable help also from the other feudatories of Śaṅkaragaṇa such as Nīrīhullaka¹⁰ and the Gurjaras¹¹ between whom the Lāṭa country was then divided. We may take it

¹ Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 119 and in the Apśad inscription (Fleet, C. I. I. III, p. 200 ff.) it is stated that one of these princes Mādhavagupta was filled "with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harṣadeva." Thus Bāṇa’s statement is confirmed by epigraphical evidence also.

² The Madhuvan and Bāṅskhedā inscriptions class Devagupta among kings "who resembled wicked horses, and who were ultimately vanquished by Rājyavardhana" (Bühler, "Baṅskhēra Plate of Harṣa," E. L., IV, p. 210; Bühler, "Madhuvan Plates of Harṣa," E. L., I, p. 72; Kielhorn, "Madhuvan Plates," E. L., VII, p. 157). Since no other Gupta house is known to have held sway anywhere else at this time, it follows that Devagupta was the ruler of Mālavā and is to be identified with "the wicked king of Mālavā" Bāṇa speaks of.

³ Ganguli, op. cit., p. 405.

⁴ Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 173. This is inferred from the attack of Devagupta on Kanauj, shortly after this, and the death of Graha-varman that followed, which would otherwise be unprovened, and which would appear to have been the result of the sequence of events.

⁵ Ibid., p. 101.

⁶ Pathak, op. et loc. cit.

⁷ Dhruru "Three land-grants from Śaṅkheda," E. I., II, p. 26 ff. This record in describing Nīrīhullaka as one who mediates on the feet of Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Kṣṇarāja, clearly implies that Nīrīhullaka had acknowledged the overlordship of Śaṅkaragaṇa.


¹⁰ Dhruru, op. et loc. cit.

¹¹ Appendix B.
that at least a contingent from the Lāṭa country fought side by side with the Mālavā troops.

Śaṅkaragaṇa died after an exceptionally successful reign, sometime before A.D. 602. In the reign of his son Buddhāraṇa the Kalachuri advance was checked by the rising power of the Chālukyas. The struggle between the two powers seems to have continued for about a decade. The Mahākuta pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa, issued in April A.D. 602, records a crushing defeat inflicted on Buddhāraṇa by this king. "Having set (his) heart upon the conquest of the northern region," says this record, "and having conquered king Buddha (and) having taken possession of all his substance, [he desired] to set up a pillar of victory of his prowess on the bank of (the river) Bhagirathi." The Nerur plates refer to this victory, when they relate that Maṅgaleśa "had driven out king Buddha, who was the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, and who was possessed of the power of elephants and horses and foot-soldiers and treasure." It was inevitable that the two powers should come to a clash. The Kalachuris were extending their conquest to the south and the south-west, while Maṅgaleśa as the Mahākuta inscription aptly observes, had already "set (his) heart upon the conquest of the northern region." But it was not an easy thing to defeat the Kalachuris. It is evident from the description, in the Chālukyan inscriptions, of the armies which Buddhāraṇa launched against the Chālukyas, that he was indeed a formidable adversary. And it seems certain that had Maṅgaleśa to deal with him single-handed, Buddhāraṇa would have surely given him a short shrift. But fortunately for the ChāluKyas the Kalachuri king had also to fight against enemies nearer home, viz., the Puṣpabhūti-Maukhari combination, which was bent on reinstating the Gupta princess Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta in Mālavā. In describing Vidiśa, the present Besnagar, one of the chief cities of Mālavā at this time, as "his camp of victory," the Vaḍner plates of Buddhāraṇa, which record a grant of land in

1 Fleet, "The Mahākuta Pillar Inscription of the Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa," I. A., XIX, p. 19 ff. From this inscription it is clear that Buddhāraṇa succeeded Śaṅkaragaṇa in or about A.D. 602 when he is said to have been defeated by Maṅgaleśa.

2 Ibid.


6 The fact that the Kalachuri king was the formidable adversary of the ChāluKyas is evident from the Aihole prasasti of Pulikesin II, who, notwithstanding the fact that he had every reason to pass over in silence the achievements of his uncle because of his attempt to deprive him of his inheritance, proudly claims his feat against the Kalachuris. "Maṅgaleśa," says the inscription, "took in marriage the damsels, the fortune of the Kalachuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, viz., the array of elephants (of the adversary) with hundreds of bright rayed lamps (viz.) swords (of his followers) and was desirous of taking the island of Revati" (E. I., VI, p. 8).

7 Gupte, "Vaḍner Plates of Buddhāraṇa, K. Sam. 360," E. I., XII, No. 7, p. 33.
the Vāṭanagāra-Bhōga (i.e., Chandward tāluka, Nāsik district) in the extreme south of his dominions, clearly imply that the king had been called up north-east, presumably to repel an invasion of these enemies.

The Kālachuris could not withstand the onslaughts delivered simultaneously from north and south; their resources were exhausted before long, and their power came to a violent end.

With the disappearance of the imperial Kālachuris from the arena, Devagupta may have assumed independence. At any rate, he is no longer referred to in a subordinate capacity and is next met with as an ally of Śaśānka, the king of Gauda. The fact appears to have been that at this time Śaśānka, who was trying to throw off the overlordship of Kāmarūpa, must have been as much in need of an ally as Devagupta himself. We know that Karnasūvarṇa once formed part of the dominions of Bhāskaravarman (Kāmarūpa) since his Nidhānpur plates were issued from this place. But it is clear from Bāna that it had changed hands by A.D. 610-611, and Śaśānka was in undisputed possession of it—thus testifying to the success that crowned his efforts. Thus community of interest may have driven Devagupta and Śaśānka into each other’s arms. Our view finds confirmation in the slow and steady rise of Śaśānka to imperial power. At first he was no better than a feudal chief, and he actually appears in his Rohtasgadh stone seal inscription as a Mahāśāmanta only. But in A.D. 619-620 he had already attained to imperial status.

Such was the realignment of powers after the disappearance of the Kālachuris from the historical stage. Happily for Devagupta and his ally, the Puṣpabhūtis were threatened by a new menace on their north-western frontiers. This was the old scourge that had afflicted the Gupta empire in their last days and concluded this most glorious epoch in our history. The Hūṇas, who were showing signs of new activity, had to be nipped in the bud, if history were not to repeat itself. Accordingly, Prabhākarvardhana mustered a mighty host. But being too ill to assume himself the supreme command, he placed his elder son Rājiyavardhana at the head of his troops. Even so the effort

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1 It has been suggested that Śaśānka allied himself with Devagupta because of his blood relationship, both being of the Gupta family (cf. Basak, History of North-Eastern India, p. 183). This latter fact, it is said, is borne out by the appellation ‘Narendragupta’ applied to Śaśānka. In the absence of authentic information on this point, the suggestion may be left at this. What seems to have brought the two princes together was not so much, as we have demonstrated, blood-relationship as their immediate common interest.

2 Bhāṭṭacharya, “Nidhānpur Copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman,” E. I., XII, p. 73.

3 Appendices C, F.


5 Hultzsch, “Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja G. Saṅvat 300,” E. I., VI, p. 143. The inscription refers to him as exercising his authority over Sāmantas, and calls him Maharājā-dhīrāja.

6 Bāna, op. cit., p. 132.
which this danger called forth, and the anxiety the situation caused, were too much for the ailing monarch, and he succumbed to his illness before the decision of the issue. This was a golden opportunity for Devagupta to aggrandise himself at the expense of his enemies. He first surprised Kanauj; Grahavarman was taken unawares, and in the absence of any support from Thaneswar, the Maukhari kingdom fell an easy prey to the invader. "On the very day," says Bana, "on which the king's [Prabhakarvardhana's] death was rumoured his majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Mālavā cut off from the living along with his noble deeds." The king had been so completely taken by surprise that he found no time even to remove his family to a place of safety. In consequence the royal seraglio fell into the hands of the victor. The king was beheaded and the queen Rājaśri was sentenced to spend the rest of her life behind prison bars. "Rājaśri also," the message concluded, "had been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kānyakubja." Following up his victory Devagupta decided next to invade Thaneswar itself. By this time, however, Rājyavardhana had already arrived at his capital, having brought the war against the Huna to a victorious conclusion. On receipt of news of the impending invasion of his territories by Devagupta, he left Harṣa in charge of the administration and marched against the enemy with his cousin Bhandi in command of 10,000 horse. Bana would have us believe that with ridiculous ease he routed the Mālavā army but was shortly afterwards treacherously killed by Devagupta's ally, Śaṅkara, the king of Gauda. The latter would seem to have invited him to a parley and thus "allured to confidence by false civilities," to quote Bana again, "on the part of the king of Gauḍa and then weaponless, confiding, and alone (was) despatched in his own quarters."

A fact of supreme importance for the understanding of the relative position of the contending parties emerges from the circumstances under which "the murder" of Rājyavardhana was committed. To have accepted the invitation to a parley, and that too in the enemy's own camp, shows that the decision of the issue must have been still in dispute, the parties equally matched, and the balance slightly tilting in favour of Śaṅkara. Furthermore, the

1 Bana, op. cit., p. 173.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Cf. Smith, op. cit., p. 349.
5 Bana, op. cit., p. 178.
6 Ibid. Bana is not clear as to the allurement offered by Śaṅkara. But Śaṅkara, an old commentator of the Harṣacharita, would have us believe that he enticed Rājyavardhana by the offer of his daughter in marriage. He adds that while the banquet was in progress in the Gauda camp, Śaṅkara killed his would-be son-in-law in disguise. Śaṅkara, however, is a later writer whose source of information is not known to us.
7 Ibid.
Madhuban plates of Harśa significantly observe, in regard to Rājayavardhana’s achievements, that he “curbed Devagupta” merely which would mean that at this juncture, the latter was far from being crushed—an eventuality for the successful accomplishment of which,—Rājayavardhana, at any rate, was not responsible. But Bāṇa nevertheless refers to “the Mālavā king’s army and royal equipage won by the power of his majesty Rājayavardhana’s arms,”¹ a circumstance from which it may probably be inferred that the advance into Kānyakubjā was made by Devagupta alone, and it was only when he was on the point of being routed by Rājayavardhana that he appealed to Śaśāṅka for assistance; and the latter’s timely appearance helped not only to restore the balance but also to retrieve the losses already suffered by Devagupta. Rājayavardhana, it is plain, had underrated the potential powers of the Mālavā usurper: “why thus dear brother,” he is reported to have said to Harśa when the latter begged leave to join in the expedition, “by putting forth too great an effort, add importance to a foe too slight for our power? A concourse of lions in the matter of a deer is too degrading.”² The Thānēswar troops were overwhelmed by the superior numbers which the Gauda king must have brought to the relief of Devagupta, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Bhaṇḍi could escape with the spoils they had won by defeating the Mālavā troops.³ This becomes evident from the way in which Bāṇa describes Bhaṇḍi when he made his appearance before Harśa in “his soiled garb, his breast filled with the points of enemies’ arrows, like an array of iron pins implanted to restrain his heart from bursting…”⁴ Whatever may have been the actual fact connected with Rājayavardhana’s death, whether he was treacherously murdered or was captured and then dispatched,⁵ it is, at all events, evident that the tables were turned against him with the appearance of Śaśāṅka on the scene. Despite the visible efforts of Bāṇa to conceal the defeats of Rājayavardhana under the cover of treachery, the following words which he puts into Harśa’s mouth, make it abundantly clear that the expedi-

1 Bāṇa, op. cit. p. 225.
2 Ibid., p. 176.
3 From the fact that Rājayavardhana had defeated the Mālavā army, the late Rao Bahadur R. P. Chanda concluded that the defeat was inflicted in Mālavā itself. But the circumstances do not warrant this inference. Devagupta, at this time, was actually in possession of Kanauj. Nor is there any support for the Rao Bahadur’s opinion that Bhaṇḍi was sent back to Thānēswar after his victory over Mālavā. What seems to have transpired was that, as said above, with the appearance of Śaśāṅka on the scene, the Thānēswar troops were overpowered, and Rājayavardhana fell into the enemy’s hands; when it was found impossible to rescue the sovereign, Bhaṇḍi did the next best thing, viz., to prevent a wholesale surrender and by a skilful rearguard action succeeded in reaching Thānēswar.
4 Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 223.
5 It is not unlikely that Rājayavardhana’s death was caused by treachery because he was killed in an unarmed and captive state, an inference justified by the circumstances, according to Bāṇa, under which his death was brought about: “weaponless, confiding and alone.” This, according to the rules of warfare among the Kṣatriyas, was considered unheroic and cowardly. Cf. Max Muller, Laws of Manu, S. B. E., XXV, p. 231.
tion had ended in a disaster: “the hot pain of my brother's defeat forbids even the briefest delay in marching.”1 The war was thus an unqualified victory for the allied powers, and Bāna admits it as such in the laconic reply of Bhāndi to Harṣavardhana: “After his majesty Rājyavardhana was taken to paradise . . . Kānyakubja was seized by the man named Gupta . . . .”2 It is needless to point out that this Gupta could be none else than Devagupta himself. A serious task now confronted the young prince to seek out his widowed sister, and to avenge his brother's defeat and death. But Harṣa rose equal to the task. He issued a proclamation, that all kings “as far as the Orient hill, . . . as far as Suvela3 . . . as far as the western mound . . . as far as Gandhamādana . . . (must) prepare their hands to give tribute or grasp swords.”4 This was in sober language, an order to his feudatories to manifest their real intentions either to place themselves and their resources under the command of their liege-lord, or fight him. Thus assured of their loyalty, Harṣa himself

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1 Bāna, op. cit., p. 191. We are glad to note that our doubt as to the supposed murder of Rājyavardhana was shared by the late Rao Bahadur R. P. Chanda who in his Gaunda Rājamālā, pp. 8-10, arguing from different premises, actually concluded that Rājyavardhana had been killed in a fair fight, a conclusion which we again find, is supported by R. D. Banerji (History of Orissa, I, p. 126; Bāṅglar Ithasa, Part I, p. 107) and Mazumdar (Early History of Bengal, p. 17). Dr. Basak, in his History of North-Eastern India, p. 146, has, however, disputed this conclusion. His first argument is that Harṣa would not have prepared an expensive and elaborate expedition at this tender age “but for the fact that he wished to avenge the treacherous death of his brother.” Dr. Basak has here failed to gauge the gravity of the situation after the defeat of the Thāneśwar army, when Thāneśwar itself must have been threatened by the combined forces of Devagupta and Śaśānka, who were now the undisputed masters of Kanauj. The second argument of Basak is equally futile, viz., that it was the treachery practised on Rājyavardhana that made “Harṣa’s vassals and independent rulers” support his cause. For one thing, despite the disastrous end of the expedition, the resources of Thāneśwar were still considerable for the vassals to think of renouncing their allegiance to the Vardhanas; and secondly, if an independent king like Bhāskarvarman proposed an alliance with Harṣa, it was because he himself had been already hard pressed by Śaśānka, or was becoming apprehensive of his increasing power, and found in the war between the Gauḍas and the Puṣpabhūtīs, a favourable occasion to broach the question of alliance, to safeguard his own interests. But it is more probable, as has been hinted at above, it was under the terms of an offensive and defensive treaty, already subsisting between the two powers, that Bhāskarvarman came to the help of Harṣa. The statement of Dr. Basak that “there was no record of any fight between Rājyavardhana and Śaśānka” is disproved by the passage quoted above where Bāna in an unguarded moment, as it would seem, has given expression to the truth of the matter. We are not insensitive to the cumulative effect of the inscriptive evidence (cf. Kielhorn, “Madhuban Plates of Harṣa,” E. I., VII, p. 159 and Bühler, “Banskhera Plates of Harṣa,” E. I., IV, pp. 208-211) backed by that of Bāna and Huien Tsiang (cf. Watters, op. cit., I, p. 343 and Beal, op. cit., I, p. 210). But it should be noted that it is one-sided, and may have been intended by Bāna, who was living under the patronage of Harṣa, and Huien Tsiang, who had every reason to hate a persecutor of Buddhism such as Śaśānka, to malign the latter.

2 Bāna, op. cit., p. 224.

3 A mountain in Laṅka, Ceylon.

4 Bāna, op. cit., p. 224.
went in search of his sister, while he entrusted to Bandhi the more difficult task of leading the attack on Sasaṅka and his ally.¹ Both these missions were crowned with success. Arriving at the nick of time when Rājaśri was preparing to plunge herself into the funeral pyre, Harṣa saved her from a cruel death. Bandhi, whose exploits are not recorded for us by any writer, must also have carried all before him, since Harṣa is very soon seen in secure possession of Kanauj.² In summing up the result of this expedition, the Mañju-Śri-Mūla-kalpa, a later Buddhist work, tells us that Sasaṅka was reduced to abject submission and was thereafter compelled to confine himself to his own kingdom.³ This remark, of course, should not be taken literally, for the reason that Sasaṅka was still in his ascendancy as late as A.D. 619-620. So much so that not only was he able to preserve his own kingdom of Gauḍa intact, but even have his suzerainty acknowledged by kings beyond his frontiers.⁴ In fact, in a record of the Silodhōhavā family of Orissa, issued in the year 300 of the Gupta era (A.D. 619-620), the chief Mādhavarāja II, who here describes himself as “Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta” in referring to the reign of “Mahārājadhirāja the glorious Sasaṅka,”⁵ acknowledges by implication that the latter was his overlord. It is, therefore, doubtful if during his campaign Bandhi succeeded in penetrating into Sasaṅka’s dominions further than Kośala, especially because, as is evident from the above record, the country to the east of the present Ganjam district was still included within Sasaṅka’s empire.

This struggle between Harṣa and Sasaṅka seems to have continued for a considerably long period; and it is clear even in the light of the evidence furnished by sources favourable to Harṣa, that he could not have prevailed over his adversary. The Mañju-Śri-Mūla-kalpa, while extolling his achieve-

¹ Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 224.
² The fact that Harṣa entertained scruples about proclaiming himself the king of the Maukhari dominions, is clear from Bāṇa (op. cit., p. 57) and Hsuan Tsiang’s account (Watters, op. cit., I, p. 343). This unwillingness to comply with the request of his counsellors was due to the fact that Harṣa was afraid lest this step should antagonise the people of Kanauj for the reason that he was not the rightful heir. But things had come to such a pass that they had now to choose between Harṣa and Sasaṅka. For in the event of Harṣa not accepting the kingdom, Sasaṅka was ready to pounce on it. In these circumstances they may not have thought it advisable to leave the power in the hands of their young queen Rājyaśri, and run the risk of their country being again invaded by Sasaṅka’s armies. Harṣa, on his part, proceeded very cautiously in the matter, preferring to be called merely “Kumāra” until such time when he became assured that his assumption of the supreme power in the state had the approval of the whole populace. It was only then that he dared to style himself as Mahārāja (e.g., in the Nālandā Seal of Harṣa, A. S. I. R., Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44) and probably made Kanauj his capital.
³ Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 51.
⁵ Hultzsch, op. et loc. cit.
ments, is constrained to admit that he could not make headway towards the east, and was compelled to beat a retreat homewards:

"Parājyāmāsa Sūmākyām duṣṭakarmānucaśāram

tatō niśiddhā sūmākyā Svadeśėṇavatiśṭatah || (725)
nivartayāṁśa hakārākyā mlechchharājyamapūjitah |

tuṣṭakarmā hakārākyā nṛpah śrīyasā chārthaḥdarmināḥ || (726)
Svadeśenaiva prayātaḥ yatheṣṭaṁctaiṁapi vā " || (7279)

In the light of this passage\(^1\) we may picture to ourselves the grand strategy determined upon by Harṣa or rather by Banḍhi, his general. It was that Śaśāṅka’s dominions should be attacked simultaneously by Bandhi from the north-west and Bhāskararvarman from his kingdom of Assam in the north-east. The converging point of the allies was some place in the northern portion of Bengal, from which they were to march on Śaśāṅka’s capital, Karnaśuvaṁja. But Śaśāṅka drew a wedge as it were, between the hostile armies and made it impossible for them to join their forces. He crushed the forces of Bhāskararvarman, who is not so much as mentioned in the Māṇju-Sīra-Mūla-Kalpa; while Harṣa, who had advanced as far as Pundra in north Bengal, “not being honoured with welcome in these foreign countries,”\(^2\) as this work euphemistically puts it—“returned leisurely to his own kingdom.”

The inference to which we are led is not that Śaśāṅka “escaped with little loss,” as Dr. Vincent Smith has concluded,\(^3\) but that Harṣa had reason to be thankful that Banḍhi was able to withdraw his army without heavy loss. Again when the AMMK says that Harṣa returned to his own kingdom with the satisfaction that he achieved victory, it evidently magnifies out of all proportion, as is not unusual in Buddhist sources while speaking of Buddhist kings, the successful depredation of the enemy country till Pundra. The results of the expedition were, therefore, nugatory in the extreme. Nor does the argument of Basak, viz., that “Śaśāṅka’s defeat is also indicated by the gold coins which were largely debased by a great mixture of silver,”\(^4\) establish his point. The debasement of currency need not necessarily show a defeat of the power issuing such coinage. It only indicates that the period was one of stress and strain and financial stringency. An exact parallel to the circumstances then facing Śaśāṅka is provided by the British Government in the second world war. The currency was then debased not as a result of England’s defeat, but because the ever-growing expenses of the war had to be met, among other things, by this device.

That being so, we may take it that the conflict between the two powers continued unabated\(^5\) till the death of Śaśāṅka somewhere about the year A.D. 625.

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\(^1\) “He (Harṣa) defeated Soma (Śaśāṅka) the pursuer of wicked deeds; and Soma was forbidden to move out of his country (being ordered) to remain therein (thenceforth). He returned having (or not having) been honoured in that kingdom of the barbarian.”

\(^2\) Vide, Basak, op. et loc. cit.

\(^3\) Smith, op. cit., p. 352.


\(^5\) Majumdar, The History of Bengal, I, p. 64.
An event which occurred in the course of this struggle, and which had repercussions on the history of the Maitrakas, is that Devagupta is heard of no more. It seems probable that when Kānyakubja was wrested from the allies, Śaśāṅka was confined to his own kingdom, that is to say put on the defensive. Devagupta probably may have either died or resigned from his active life in the course of the conflict. But strangely enough, the ancient kingdom of Mālavā was not annexed to Harṣa’s empire, as it should have been. On the contrary we now find it in the possession of Śilāditya, the Maitraka king. How is this to be explained? The suggestion offers itself that on the fall of Devagupta, Śaśāṅka may have allied himself with Śilāditya and offered as a quid pro quo the province of Mālavā, which was now without a ruler. This suggestion is supported by the fact that no sooner did Harṣa find himself safe on his eastern frontiers consequent on the death of his formidable enemy Śaśāṅka, than he attacked the Maitraka kingdom. This is seen from the Gurjara records.

King Śilāditya was a man of a very lively nature. In Hiuen Tsiang’s account he is described as a man who “from the time of his birth never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injure a living thing. His elephants and horses,” it is further said, “drank water that has been strained after which he gave it to them, lest any creature living in water should be injured.” In these words his love of humanity is described. He was a man of eminent wisdom and great learning, and his skill in literature was profound. The Maitraka copper-plate grants describe him as a liberal and religious man. His great intellectual abilities as recorded in the grants must have been due to his knowledge of different philosophies acquired by him from preceptors like Dhaneśvara and others. His skill in literature, as described by the Chinese traveller, receives confirmation from the description of him in the epigraphical records as a poet, while his generosity is manifest from a good number of grants that have come down to us recording his donations to individuals and institutions.

We know that like most of the Maitraka rulers Śilāditya I was also a staunch Śaivite. His various grants have recorded his liberality towards the

1 This is inferred from the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang (Watters, op. et loc. cit.), who says that Śilāditya was the ruler of Mālavā, and also from the Virdi copper-plate grant of his immediate successor Kharagraha I, dated v.s. 297, i.e., a.d. 616 which was actually issued from Ujjain; cf. Gadre, “The Virdi Copper-plates of Sam. 297,” The Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, p. 659 ff.
4 Ibid.
Brāhmaṇas. One of his grants dated v.s. 290 (i.e., A.D. 609) was made to a temple of Mahādeva—which is a rare instance, looking to the fact that though almost all the kings of the Maitraka line were Paramamahēśvaras, no other grant to a Śaivite institution is known to exist. This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that such grants have either been lost in the course of the centuries or, which is more probable, that Śaivism being the religion of the rulers, the Śiva temples were state foundations and maintained from the state revenue. But a Śiva temple referred to in one of the Valabhi grants also shows that even private individuals undertook the building of Śiva temples. It may incidentally be observed that one of these copper-plates records a grant made by Śilāditya to a sun-temple in the year v.s. 292 (i.e., A.D. 611)—a unique instance of a Maitraka ruler's patronage of Sun-worship. The benefits of Śilāditya's liberality were also enjoyed by members of other religions. The Śatrujaya-Mahātmya, a Jain work, mentions that its author was a preceptor of Śilāditya; while as regards the Buddhists there are specific instances of grants made to them. Two of these—one dated v.s. 286 (i.e., A.D. 605) and the other whose date cannot be ascertained—were made to a Buddhist Vihāra in Vaṃśakata, which was built by the king himself. The grants of v.s. 287 (i.e., A.D. 606) and v.s. 290 (i.e., A.D. 609) were made for the benefit of the Bhikkupis of the Yakṣasūra Vihāra. Describing his favour to the Buddhists, Hiuen Tsiang has remarked that he "cherished and protected the four kinds of creatures, and deeply respected the three treasures." By the side of his palace Śilāditya built a Vihāra," and "He exhausted the skill of the artists, and used every kind of ornament in decorating it. In it he put images of seven Buddhas, Lords of the world." Every year", says Hiuen Tsiang, "he convoked an assembly called Mokṣa Mahā-Parīsad, and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them "the four things," in religious charity; he also gave them sets of three garments used in their religious services, and bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety." This very well shows that the meritorious custom started by Śilāditya continued in practice, till Hiuen Tsiang's time, i.e., A.D. 640. All this shows the broad religious outlook of this Śaivite king. The spirit of Sarvadharmasamabhāva or catholicity of the mind of the Maitrakas, is best illustrated

1 An example of such a grant is recorded in copper-plates dated v.s. 290 (i.e., A.D. 609). The grant was made to Brāhmaṇas Mitraśarman and Gameśvara, sons of Rūdraśarman. These donees originally belonged to a village of Daśapura (Mandsor in Mālavā) but were living at Valabhi at the time when they received the grant.
3 Ibid.
5 Buddha, dharma and saṅgha.
6 This Vihāra may be the ancient Vihāra of Talāja as identified by Shah in Purattatva, I, p. 99 (30 miles from Bhāvanagar).
8 Ibid.
in the policy of Śilāditya whose equal treatment of his subjects, irrespective of the religious differences among them, justified the title assumed on his accession, viz., that of Dharmāditya.

In his introduction to the Śatruṇjaya Mahātmya, Dhaneśvara narrates that he tried to induce Śilāditya to expel the Buddhists from Valabhi, and establish a number of chaityas near the Tirthas. To a liberal-minded man like him, such a thing could have appealed only in the event of the safety and peace of his kingdom being endangered by the set of people marked out for such treatment. It is possible that Dhaneśvara Sūri pointed out some Buddhist individuals in the kingdom working against the interest of Śilāditya and favouring Harṣa. And accordingly, the statement of the Śatruṇjaya Mahātmya is true only to the extent that Śilāditya, who had fallen out with Harṣa, might have been compelled by this circumstance to take steps against some Buddhists suspected of disloyalty and expelled them from the country. This event was exaggerated by the Jainas, as expulsion of the Buddhists as a community. Furthermore, had Śilāditya really persecuted the Buddhists, as this Jaina would have us believe, Hiuen Tsiang would not have praised him as a zealous adherent of the religion of Śākyasimha. The fact of the matter, therefore, seems to have been that Śilāditya was constrained to take precautionary measures so as to forestall any manifestation of sympathy for Harṣa on the part of his Buddhist subjects on the score of their common religion. It may be noted in passing that under similar circumstances Śaśānka, as we are informed by the Chinese pilgrim, let loose a sanguinary persecution against the Buddhists throughout his empire.¹

Usually in the Valabhi grants the dūtaka is the heir-apparent, and it was only during the minority period of the heir-apparent that other dūtakas were appointed. Now it is seen that in the first six grants of Śilāditya I, the dūtaka was Bhaṭṭā-Ādityayaśas.² But the dūtaka in the grants of v.s. 290 onwards is Śrī-Kharagṛaha, who actually succeeded his elder brother Śilāditya I.³

The genealogy of the Maitrakas, however, makes it clear that Śilāditya did have a son, Derabhaṭṭa, a prince of undoubted abilities.⁴ What made Śilāditya declare Kharagṛaha as his successor cannot be said definitely. The

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¹ Watters, op. cit., II, p. 115.
² Acharya, op. cit., Nos. 51-56.
³ Ibid., Nos. 57 and 60.
⁴ There is a legend current among the people at Goghā to the effect that a Valabhi prince was expelled from the kingdom because he was in love with some fisher-girl. The prince, we are told, thereupon went southwards in the course of his wanderings, and having obtained victory over the king of Lāṅka, he settled there with the fisher-girl as his queen. We do not know whether the story has any reference to Derabhaṭṭa. However, it is possible to suppose that the exile of Derabhaṭṭa, if he had been exiled at all, may have lingered in popular memory and was embellished with a touch of romance by some fertile mind in a later age; App. D.
inscriptions merely say that Śilāditya “excessively full of respect (for him) [Kharagraha] (behaved) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (brother) of Upendra.” Now this allusion to the contest between Upendra, i.e., Viṣṇu and Indra, concerning the tree of Indra’s paradise, would seem to suggest that there was some dispute regarding the succession to the Valabhi throne between the two brothers, and that in the end Kharagraha, like Upendra, had the point in dispute conceded to him,² evidently during the last years of Śilāditya’s reign when Kharagraha appears as dūtaka in the former’s grants. That there was some trouble about the succession at this time and that Derabhaṭṭa was forcibly excluded therefrom is also apparent from the Maitrakā grants of three succeeding generations of rulers, which pass Derabhaṭṭa in silence, and from the fact that he comes to be mentioned only when the succession was restored to his house in the person of his son Dhruvasena III.³

In the records that speak of him Derabhaṭṭa is compared to Saint Agastya. He is also spoken of as the master of countries lying between the Sahyā (the Western Ghāṭs)⁴ and the Vindhyas.⁵ It is probably under his military leadership that some more land in this part of the country was conquered. Now that we know that Derabhaṭṭa did not succeed his father on the Valabhi throne, the conquest of this territory must have been effected in Śilāditya’s time. Only a few years before this, as we saw above, the struggle had been going on here between the chief Nirihullaka and his overlords the Kalachuris on the one hand and the Gurjaras backed by the Chālukyas on the other. But we know from the Vaḍner plates dated A.D. 609 (19th August) that the Kalachuri king Buddharaśa granted some plot of land in the Vatanaśarabhoga (Cāndvaṭhāluka, Nāsik district), a circumstance which proves that at this date the Kalachuri power extended as far as that region.⁶ This extension may have taken place during the civil war between Mangaleśa and Pulikeśin when in the words of the Aihole inscription “the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies.”⁷ But fortunately for the Chālukyas, Buddharaśa had also to fight with enemies in the north; and as we have already noted, the

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1 Fleet, op. cit., p. 182.
3 It is not likely, though not impossible, that Derabhaṭṭa should have lived to succeed Dharasena IV, the grandson of his uncle Kharagraha I. Further, we see that in the Valabhi grants the names of those who succeeded to the throne are given in nominative case. But the names of Derabhaṭṭa and of his son prince Śilāditya are given in the genitive case; and they are not styled paramēṣvaras. This is a further proof that they were not anointed as rulers.
4 Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 474; Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 171.
5 This is seen from all the copper-plate records issued from the time of Dhruvasena III onwards.
6 Gupte, op. et loc. cit.
advancing power of the Kālachuris foundered on the rock of opposition of these northern neighbours somewhere in A.D. 610.\textsuperscript{1} Nirihullaka or his successor Appayika\textsuperscript{2} may have then made himself independent; and it was thus that as the Aihole record remarks, when Pulikeśin emerged victorious from the civil war, he found himself confronted by Appayika. Now since the Chālukya power had been weakened by the civil war,\textsuperscript{3} Pulikeśin doubtless found it difficult to deal with the enemy single-handed. He may, therefore, have requisitioned help from his neighbour the Maitraka king Śilāditya. The latter in his turn may have sent his son Derabhaṭṭa against Appayika. The expedition was successful; the dynasty of Nirihullaka was extinguished, and the land which they claimed as their principality was partitioned between the allies. While the territory, the possession of which had been contested by the Chālukyas and the Kālachuris, viz., Southern Gujarāt and North Koṅkan, went to the former, the tract between the conjunction of the Sahya and the Vindhyā ranges was retained by the Maitrakas. It is highly probable that this territory was made over to the charge of Derabhaṭṭa, who had led this campaign to a successful conclusion—a fact which justifies his description as the lord of the earth which has (the mountains) Sahya and the Vindhyā for (its) lovely breasts, the nipples of which, are (their) summits that are made of a dark blue colour by the clouds (resting upon them).\textsuperscript{4} Over this territory, it is possible, Derabhaṭṭa ruled with independent rather than dependent authority and was, after his death, succeeded by his son Śilāditya. Of him the inscriptions say that he was the lord of the earth, the bulky breasts of which are the Vindhyā mountains.” These were perhaps the terms of the compromise between the two brothers, Śilāditya and Kharagragha.

In one of the Maitraka copper-plates a queen by name Jaṉjikā is referred to.\textsuperscript{5} She was probably Śilāditya’s wife. This is the only instance in the Valabhi records where a queen is mentioned. Her name was mentioned here to show the location of a piece of land which was granted to a Brāhmaṇa, and it was situated to the south-east of Kālāsamaka—a village which was in her possession.

In the copper-plates Śilāditya has curtailed the genealogical list by dropping the names of the four sons of Senāpati Braṭārka, the founder of

\textsuperscript{1} Kielhorn, “Sarsavāmi plate of the Kālachuri king Buddhārāja,” \textit{E. I.}, VI, p. 297 ff. This is the last known record of the dynasty.

\textsuperscript{2} That Appayika was a descendant of Nirihullaka is suggested by Prof. Moraes in his “Notes on the Pre-Kadambha History of Goa,” \textit{Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Fifth Session, 1941}, p. 168.

\textsuperscript{3} The fact that the Chālukyan power had been weakened by the civil war is clear from Pulikeśin’s title in the sixth year of his reign when he calls himself “Mahārāja, glorious Satyasraṇya” only. Cf. Fleet, “Yekkeri Rock Inscription of the time of Pulikeśin II,” \textit{E. I.}, V, p. 8.


\textsuperscript{5} Acharya, \textit{op. cit.}, No. 55; Diskalkar, “Valabhi Plates,” \textit{J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.)}, I, p. 28.
the dynasty. The practice was followed by the later kings of the dynasty, who instead of further curtailments, used larger plates and wrote the details of their records in small letters.

A clay seal bearing the legend "Śrī Śilāditya" was found in the ruins of Valabhi. In the absence of more details or the date of the seal, the question as to which of the seven Śilādityas of this dynasty this seal belonged, remains unsolved.\(^1\) The Mahāyānic work Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa gives a detailed account of king Śilāditya's character. It records that "in the country of Lādas (extending from Ujjain to the western coast), there will be a king Śīla, a Buddhist. At Valabhi, he will be a dharma-rāja. He will make attractive (artistic, 'cistrān') monasteries with relics for public good, and beautiful Buddha images, and various worships."\(^2\) Thus Hiuen Tsiang's eulogy for his devotion to Buddhism is well corroborated by this Buddhist work of the eighth century. Then again the Valabhi records give the most eloquent expression to the eulogy of his noble character, specially when he is described "to have attained great glory by making clear the path of the kings of the Kṛta Yuga, which was blocked up since long." In other words, the perfectly righteous rule of this noble king reminded his people of the glorious reigns of ancient kings like Rāma and others. The people felt as if the golden age was revived after a long interval of several centuries. It is said that "he had purified his enjoyment of wealth, felicity and prosperity by the unflagging adherence to virtue and thus confirmed his second title 'Dharmāditya'." The early Guptas, it is well known, were very fond of assuming such second names ending in Aditya, e.g., Chandragupta II was known as Vikramāditya, Kumaragupta I as Mahendrāditya, Skandagupta as Kramāditya, Narshihagupta as Bālāditya, etc. Among the Maitraka kings Śilāditya was the first to set this fashion of assuming such second names in imitation of the early Gupta sovereigns. Though the Gupta kings styled themselves with the title "the sun of powers," showing thereby their desire for power, Śilāditya took pride in calling himself by a title which definitely praised 'virtue' (Śīla) more than power.

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\(^1\) Annual Report of the Archeological Department, Baroda State, 1937-38, p. 16.  
\(^2\) Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 24 (Sloka 586-601).
CHAPTER X

KHARAGRAHA I

(A.D. 615-621)

Kharagraha, the next king, also called Iṣvaragraha,\(^1\) seems to have continued the hostilities against Harṣa, started in his brother's lifetime. It was probably in the course of this war that he issued a grant to a Brāhmaṇa from his victorious camp at Ujjain.\(^2\) He seems to have been successful on the whole. In the stereotyped account of his achievements, written by his order and later accepted as official, he is described as one "who was covered over with the lustre of the jewels on the heads of hundreds of kings subdued by (his) wealth of might," and again "by (whose) enemies, even though renowned for manliness and pride, no remedy other than obeisance alone, could be successfully employed."\(^3\) It is possible that Harṣa, whilst directing his major strength against Śaṅkha, may have sent a few troops against Kharagraha as well. This probably accounts for the fact that the latter made Ujjain his "victorious camp," i.e., his base of operations. But the Maitraka power was too firmly entrenched in Mālavā to allow itself to be ousted by the feeble efforts of Harṣa. Moreover, the latter was at this time involved in a life and death struggle with his rival of Gauḍa. Consequently, Mālavā was left in the possession of the Maitrakas till about the middle of the seventh century,\(^4\) when Harṣa was free to deal with the western powers.

Like his ancestors, Kharagraha was a Śaivite, and is described as a "great devotee of Maheśvara." He was noble-hearted, we are told, and "was not tainted by any of the faults that assert an ascendency over inferior people."\(^5\) As to his personal accomplishments, we are informed that he was skilled in the use of missiles.

Kharagraha's reign was short. This is known from the fact that the last known grant of his predecessor was issued in v.s. 292 (i.e., A.D. 611) and the only known inscription of his son and successor Dharasena III bears the date v.s. 304 (i.e., A.D. 623).

4 Two of the Valabhi grants v.s. 320 (i.e., A.D. 639) and v.s. 321 (i.e., A.D. 640) were discovered at Nogāva, ten miles north of Ralīm. These grants are issued in Nawagrama (modern Nogāwa) and Chandraputra respectively in Mālavaka (modern Mālavā). Cf. Hultsch, "Nogava Plates of Dhruvasena II," E. I., VIII, pp. 188 and 194 respectively.
In his grants Kharagraha I departed from the practice followed hitherto of mentioning officers by their designations. They were thenceforth mentioned in a general way—a practice which seems to have come into common usage in western India during this period. Nevertheless, two officers continued to be mentioned: the Dūtaka or 'executor', who in the Virdi and Amreli grants was Śri Dharasena who succeeded him to the throne and the minister of peace and war (Sandhivigrahika) who in the same records was one Vatra Bhaṭṭi. The latter, it may incidentally be observed, appears in this capacity from v.s. 286 to v.s. 310. From the Valabhi copper-plate records it is clear that Kharagraha had two sons named Dharasena and Dhruvasena who succeeded to the throne in succession.

1 Gadre, op. et loc. cit.
2 It is interesting to observe that all the Chāḷukya inscriptions (copper-plates) conform to this style from the time of Pulıkeśin II onwards.
CHAPTER XI

DHRASENA III

(A.D. 621-627)

Dharasena III succeeded his father, Kharagraha I. He seems to have ruled for about six years only, from about c. A.D. 621 to 627.1

From the only inscription of his, dated v.s. 3042 (i.e., c. A.D. 623) that is known to us, it may be gathered that he was a learned man of liberal views. He was a devotee of Maheśvara like most of the Valabhi kings. Himself learned in the sciences of his age, he greatly encouraged learning, and raised the cultural level of his kingdom.3

This inscription was issued from the military camp at Khetaka. This is indeed an important circumstance in that it shows that Dharasena III came into hostile contact with some power during this period. Again, it is significant that in this record Dharasena is accorded only the epithet of parama-maheśvara, from which it may be inferred that he was not a powerful ruler. In fact the period of his rule coincides with the great military activities of Pulikeśin II in the south and Harṣavardhana in the north. But in order to determine as to which of the two paramount sovereigns was responsible for the diminution of Dharasena’s power, we have to go into the history of the two powers of this time. As for Harṣavardhana, it has been observed by Hiuen Tsiang that “he went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient . . . and after thirty years his arms reposed and he governed everywhere in peace.”4 Did Harṣa then come into conflict with the Maitrakas, in the course of his

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1 The only known date of Kharagraha I is v.s. 297 and the first known date of Dharasena’s successor Dhrusasena II is v.s. 310. From this it is clear that he did not rule for a long period. However, if the account given by the A. M. M. K. is correct, then only eleven months and a fortnight’s reign can be ascribed to him.
2 Diskalkar, “The Bhabanagar copper-plates dated 304,” E. I., XXI, p. 181 ff. and Watson Museum Report, 1925-26, p. 14. The Gopnath plate is also taken to be of this king but the date of this plate is not known, as the second part of the plate is lost (cf. I. A., XII, p. 148).
4 Beal, op. cit., I, p. 213. We prefer the reading of this passage as given by Beal to that of Watters for the reason that the latter’s reading is obviously corrupt. As has been rightly observed by Tripathi, a victory over “Five Indias” including sovereignty over the Gauḍa and Orissa could not have been achieved in the course of five years only. The Ganjam plates dated c. A.D. 619 show that at least till that date Šaśāṅka was a powerful ruler in that country. As for Pulikeśin II who succeeded in about A.D. 609-610, it would be difficult to imagine that he could have defeated Harṣa within three years of his accession, having regard to the exhausted condition of Chālukyan empire after the civil war (cf. Tripathi, “A Note on Remark of Yuan Chwang,” I. H. Q., VIII, p. 114). Nor could Harṣa think of venturing out so far to the Vindhyas within a year or two of his accession, leaving behind a powerful enemy like Šaśāṅka to wreak havoc in his train. App. C.
campaigns? This possibility has to be ruled out for the simple reason that he had not as yet finished with Śaśānka, and it is but reasonable to suppose that every ounce of his energy must have been devoted to the task of destroying him and avenging his brother's death. But as is obvious from Hiuen Tsiang's account, Harṣa could hardly make any headway against his adversary, who, far from being crushed, could not even be dislodged from the part of Magadha in his occupation.1 And it is almost certain that so long as he lived Harṣa was kept so fully occupied that he could think of no further campaigns elsewhere. But Śaśānka must have died only a few years before Hiuen Tsiang's visit. In referring to Śaśānka as the late king, the pilgrim seems to allude to this event as having happened not long time before. Moreover, the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa gives Śaśānka a reign of seventeen years2—which if taken to have commenced in C. A.D. 6103 would make C. A.D. 627 his closing year. Furthermore, we know from inscriptional evidence that the Harṣa-Maitraka conflict took place in the time of the Gurjara king Daḍḍa II, who is said to have given shelter to a Maitraka ruler fleeing before Harṣa.4 Now the reign of this Daḍḍa is known to have begun in about A.D. 629 or a little earlier. It is evident, therefore, that the war of Harṣa with the Maitrakas could not have occurred before this date.

On the other hand, during this period the Chālukyas under their able sovereign Pulikeśin II were waxing more and more powerful. The slow and steady rise of Pulikeśin is well described in his Aihole prasasti5 apparently in chronological sequence.

According to this epigraph, "when having found the opportunity, he who was named Āppāyika, and Govinda, approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of the Bhairamarthi, the one in battle through his armies came to know the taste of fear, while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him.

“When he was besieging Vanavāsi, which for a girdle has the rows of harṣa birds that sport on the high waves of the Varadā as their play-place, and which by its wealth rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all round covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water.

“Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Gaṅga and Āḷupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him.

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2 Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 50 (Sloka 732).
3 As already pointed out in the last chapter, Saśānka must have disposed of Rājyavardhana somewhere about that period.
“In the koṅkaṇas the impetuous waves of the forces directed by Him speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools—the Mauryas.

“When, radiant like the destroyer of Pura, he besieged Puri, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky.”

“Subdued by His splendour, the Lātas, Mālavās and Gūrjaras1 became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave.”2

It will be seen from this passage that having averted by diplomacy and by force of arms, the danger that threatened him on his northern frontiers3 from the invasion of the two chiefs Āppayika and Govinda, Pulikeśin II reduced, during the first series of his campaigns, the Kadambas of Banavāsī who had reasserted their power during the civil war. He then won the allegiance of the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas who had been subdued in the time of his father Kīrtivarman I. This may have brought him to the part of the west coast now known as South Kanara which was then ruled by the Ālupas from their capital at Udyavar. Then proceeding northwards along the coasts he exterminated the Mauryas who are usually associated with Puri—a city—which is variously identified with Chandrapur or Chandor in the present Goa territory, and with Ghārāpurī or the Elephanta Island across the Bombay harbour. From there he entered the present Gujārāt and Mālavā which brought him into conflict with the two powers between whom the sovereignty of this part of India was then divided, viz., the Gurjaras and the Maitrakas. It was probably this occasion which brought the Maitraka ruler to the southernmost part of his kingdom. As is evident from the afore-mentioned record which speaks of the victorious camp of Khetaka, he seems to have made this place his base of operations. But he was so overwhelmed by the majesty and power of Pulikeśin that he and the Gurjara chief made their submission to him of their

1 Another king of Gujārāt who is said to have been defeated by Pulikeśin during the course of this campaign was king Vyāgramukha of the Chāpoṭaka family who ruled in about A.D. 634 (cf. De La Vallee Poussin, op. cit., pp. 117, 140). The writer however does not give the authority for this statement. But we find that in A.D. 628 the astronomer Bhāmaṣṭakaputra wrote his Siddhānta at Bhimāl under king Vyāgramukha, who he states belonged to the Śrī Chāpa dynasty. From this reference Bhagvanlal Indrāji has suggested that this Vyāgramukha was probably of the Gurjara line, and may have been the same king who was defeated by Pulikeśin in A.D. 634. This is not true because, as we have already seen, the Gurjara king whom Pulikeśin had subdued was the Gurjara king of Broach, most probably Jayabhaṭṭa I.


3 Govinda, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, was a Rāṣṭrakūta chief, and Appayika may perhaps be taken to be a successor of Nīrīhullaka on phonetic resemblance as suggested by Prof. Moraes (cf. Moraes, “Pre-Kadamba History of Goa,” Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, V Session, p. 168).
own accord. And thereafter they "behaved (themselves) so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force." As the Aihole inscription puts it, "subdued by His splendour the Lātas, Mālavas and Gurjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force ought to behave." Since the inscription of Dharasena is dated V. S. 304 (C. A.D. 623) this event may be said to have taken place about this time. Thereafter for a considerable time the Maitrakas continued to acknowledge the Chālukyan overlordship and their feudatory status is attested by the fact that the old title of Mahārāja was not revived in the Maitraka house during the reign of Dhrusasena II, the successor of the present monarch. And indeed, how could they bear this title when their liege-lord Pulikeśin remained contented with the same birudā?

A corroboration of the events related in the Aihole praśasti is perhaps found in the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja which discloses the existence at this time of a feudatory branch of the Chālukya family in Gujarāt. The genealogy in this record commences with a Chālukya prince named Jayasiṁhaṭa. His son was Rāja-Buddhavarman, to whom are accorded the epithet of Vallabha and the birudā of 'Ranavikrānta', while the donor of the grant which was issued on the 9th of April A.D. 643 was the son of the latter. It is possible that after the successful campaign through Gujarāt and Mālavā Pulikeśin II appointed Jayasiṁha, or his son Buddhavarman, as his viceroy. It is significant that the grant was found at Kaira, the ancient Khetaṭa, from where, it will be remembered, the grant of Dharasena III had also been issued.

The prosperity of the country during Dharasena's rule is attested by the fact that a temple dedicated to the goddess Śaṅkarikā (i.e., Bhavani) was built by the villagers at their own expense.

The dūtaka of Dharasena III's inscription was the prince sāmanta Śīlāditya, and the writer was Vatrabhaṭṭī who was the chief secretary and the minister of peace and war in this reign.

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2 Kielhorn, op. cit., p. 10, line 22. It will be noticed that the countries comprised in the dominions of the Maitrakas and the Gurjaras are separately mentioned in the record; the reason for this seems to be that, though at this time they had come under the rule of these two powers, the Lātas and the Mālavas were famous people when they were in enjoyment of independent existence. The separate mention of these peoples would besides serve the aims of a praśasti which is to extoll the achievements of the subject thereof.


4 Diskalkar, op. et loc. cit.
The Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa mentions one ‘Chapala’ as the successor of Śilādiṭya. This ‘Chapala’ is identified by Jayaswal with Kharagrhaṇa¹ and the details in the account of Chapala’s character are applied to Kharagrhaṇa, the younger brother of Śilādiṭya who succeeded him to the Valabhaī throne. We, however, propose to identify Chapala not with Kharagrhaṇa but with Dharaṇaṇa II, the successor of the latter. The A.M.M.K. describing the succession say: “After the passing away of Śīla, there will be Chapala. He will rule for eleven months and a half. Then he will be killed by some soldiers in consequence of his lust for women and go to hell,” and further, “next will come his younger brother Dhrūva by name.”² The passage, just referred to, however, involves the omission of one king between Śīla (Śilādiṭya I) and Dhrūva (Dhrūvasena II).³ For in fact, two kings, viz., Kharagrhaṇa I and Dharaṇaṇa III actually intervened, while the A.M.M.K. gives an account of only one, viz., Chapala. It is, therefore, certain that one of these two intervening kings is omitted here, and hence the name occurring in the passage may be applied to either of the two, i.e., it may as well apply to Dharaṇaṇa III as to Kharagrhaṇa I. It must be admitted nonetheless, that the word ‘Chapala’ hardly bears any affinity to either of the names ‘Khara’ or ‘Dhara’. If, however, Chapala is at all to be identified with either, it should rather be with Dharaṇaṇa III than with Kharagrhaṇa I. In the first place the work does not make it clear that Chapala was the immediate successor of Śīla. What it says is simply that after Śīla there will be one Chapala. Secondly, ‘Dhrūva’ is represented as anuja of Chapala (i.e., younger brother). According to this relationship, Chapala has to be definitely identified with Dharaṇaṇa III, the elder brother of Dhrūvasena II, unless we agree with Jayaswal’s far-fetched interpretation of the word anuja as a younger cadet (and not younger brother).⁴ Then again in moral character Kharagrhaṇa I is represented in the Valabhaī records as far superior to Dharaṇaṇa III, who was more a man of learning than a man of character. It is rather strange that a king who is

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¹ Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 24.
² शहीद्ये नूत्त्रवा तु च नापुक्षनमभिन्दति | वर्षाश्च नमेक तु पंचमासं तेषमेक तु।
   राज्यमहत्तमविविधोपति। ||६०२|| श्रीकटेन्द्र दोषण श्रक्षर्थो क्षोभत:।

Dr. Jayaswal has translated the first half of the line and given six and a half months' reign to Chapala which appears to be a mistake. It should be eleven and a half months.

³ Cf. Fleet, C. I. I., III, p. 171 ff. According to the genealogy given in the Valabhaī grants:

(8) Śilādiṭya

(9) Kharagrhaṇa I

(10) Dharaṇaṇa III

(11) Dhrūvasena II

⁴ Jayaswal, op. et loc. cit.
said to have "forcibly destroyed all the specious procedure of (this wicked) Kali age" ¹ should have met his death at the hands of soldiers in consequence of his lust for women. Hence the identity of the 'Chapala' of the *A.M.M.K.* with Dharasena III would be more correct than with Kharagraha I, as Dr. Jayaswal has suggested.²


² Jayaswal, *op. et loc. cit.*
CHAPTER XII

DHARUVASENA II, BALADITYA

(A.D. 627-641)

On the death of Dharasena III his younger brother Dhruvasena II ascended the throne of Valabhi. He was well known as Baladitya, the 'rising Sun', because of the great affection which he bore towards his subjects, an affection which they gladly reciprocated.

In all about seven copper-plate grants of this king are known, the earliest being dated v.s. 310 (i.e., c. A.D. 629), and the last is v.s. 321 (i.e., c. A.D. 640). All his records attribute to him proficiency in arts generally, and mastery of the celebrated grammar of Pāṇini (also known as Śālāturiya), and of the science of polity. He is compared to Manu, because like him he was resorted to by his subjects for his sterling merits. He was a loyal friend; but this did not deter him from giving up those who were found guilty of moral turpitude. This description is similar to that of Dilipa, given by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvravīśa, where king Dilipa is said to have severed his connection with even a dear person if he found him to be wicked, as one cuts off a snake-bitten finger. But according to Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Valabhi at this time, he was of "a lively and hasty disposition and his wisdom and statecraft were shallow." Hiuen Tsiang further states that "quite recently he had attached himself sincerely to faith in the three precious ones," viz., the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. His esteem for Buddhism is evident from the grants he made to the Buddhist Vihāras. In v.s. 310 (i.e., c. A.D. 629) he made a donation to a monastery built by Gohaka, which was itself a part of the celebrated Duddā Vihāra, viz., the Vihāra founded by the Maitraka princess Duddā at Valabhi. Nine years later, in the year v.s. 319 (i.e., c. A.D. 638) he donated certain villages for the Bhikkhuṇiś residence in the Vihāra built by one Puṇṇabhaṭa at Valabhi, near Yakṣaśūra Vihāra. But this should not be understood to mean

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1 His famous second name of Bālāditya was appropriate to his character, meaning as it did, that the (whole) world was pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by (his) rising.
3 Acharya, op. cit., No. 63.
5 Ibíd.
6 Ibíd., Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
7 Raghuvīśa, Canto I, verse 28.
8 Fleet has rightly suggested that Hiuen Tsiang visited Valabhi in Dhrusvasesa II's reign and not in Śilāditya VII's reign as suggested by others. Cf. Fleet, C. I. I., III, p. 40 (Introduction). The name of the ruling king as given by Hiuen Tsiang is Dhrusvapatu (Tu-lo-po-po-tu) or Dhrusvabhaṭa (Tulopopota) who is identified with Dhrusvasesa II. Cf. Burgess, A. S. W. I., XI, p. 82.
10 Acharya, op. cit., No. 66.
that he converted himself to the faith of the Buddha, for in all his inscriptions he styles himself paramamāheśvara. The fact seems to have been that, like his ancestors, Dhrusasena also was of a tolerant disposition, and viewed all religions with equal favour. Accordingly, we find him making donations to Buddhists no less than to Hindu institutions. In v.s. 320 (i.e., c. A.D. 639) he renewed a grant to the Hindu temple of Kotāmmhikādevī made by his ancestor Mahārāja Dranašimha, which appears to have become null in the interim. This might either refer to the grant of Dranašimha, made in the year v.s. 183 (i.e., c. A.D. 502) where, however, the name of the goddess is Pāndurāja, or it might refer to some other gift which is not known to us. Similarly, there are grants which he made to individual Brahmans. In v.s. 320 and v.s. 321 (i.e., c. A.D. 639-640) he made over to them some villages in Mālavā.

In referring to the achievements of the Gūrjara king Daḍḍa II the Gūrjara records of a later date aver that he gave protection to “the lord of Valabhi, who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣadeva.”¹ The inscription, however, does not make it clear who this Valabhi king was. Daḍḍa, it may be concluded from his inscriptions which are spread over the period from A.D. 629-641, ruled from A.D. 629,² and was thus a contemporary of the two Maitraka rulers Dhrusasena II and Dharaśena IV. Was it the former or the latter that was helped by the Gūrjara monarch? Unfortunately no original authority clears this point. The question is further complicated by the information of Hiuen Tsiang that Dhrusasena II, the nephew of Śilāditya, was also the son-in-law of Harṣa.³ The clash of arms, however, between the Maitrakas and the Vardhanas is easily explained. So long as Śaśānka lived he could not think of retrieving the province of Mālavā which ought to have gone to the Vardhanas as a result of the victory of Rājyavardhana over Devagupta, but of which they had been baulked by the interference of the

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¹ Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
² Daḍḍa I.
   Jayabhaṭa I Vitarāga.
   Jayabhatta III c. 690-710 (K. 456).
   Ahirola c. A.D. 710-730.
   Jayabhata IV c. A.D. 730-750 (K. 486).

Three plates of Daḍḍa II dated Śaka 400, 415 and 417 have been left out of consideration, because they have been accepted as spurious. This genealogical table is according to Mirashi, “A Note on the Prince of Wales Plates of Jayaṃbhata (III),” E. I., XXIV, p. 178 ff. and it appears to be more accurate, Appendix F.

³ Watters, op. cit., II, p. 246; Beal, op. cit., II, p. 267. Beal’s translation of this passage as ‘son-in-law of the son of Śilāditya . . . etc.,’ is obviously wrong. It is well known that Harṣa had no male issue. Watters’ translation, therefore, is preferable, and is followed here. It may also be noted that M. Julien (Vol. I, p. 206), in his French translation of Hiuen Tsiang, agrees with Watters’ translation of this passage.
Maitrakas.1 As has been seen in the last chapter, the death of Śaśānka in or about A.D. 627 was followed by a period of confusion. As the Mañju-Śri-Mūla-Kalpa says: "After the death of Sōma (Śaśānka) the Gauda political system (Gauḍaṇattra) was reduced to mutual distrust, raised weapons (sic) and mutual jealousy—one (king) for a week; another for a month; ... ."2 Thus freed from the fear of attack from the eastern frontier, Harṣa must have thought of attempting to wrest Mālavā from the Valabhi king. The attack on the Valabhi kingdom must have occurred about A.D. 632,3 a view which seems to be confirmed by the gap in Dhruvasena's records from 313 to 319 (i.e., A.D. 632-638), a period which is probably filled with the counter-offensive of Dhruvasena. For it will be noticed that the records are fairly constant before A.D. 632 and after A.D. 638.4

At the time we are speaking of, Harṣa's empire seems to have embraced the whole Gangetic valley from Thānesvara to Magadhā.5 It is no wonder then that when the resources of the vast empire were directed against him the Maitraka sovereign was all but crushed, and in a short time obliged to flee to the court of his Gurjara neighbour Daṭḍa II.6 In this campaign Harṣa followed the same course as that pursued by his famous Maukhari predecessor Īśvaravarman against a former Maitraka king Guhasena.7 Presumably the Kānyakubja legions at first entered Mālavā, and swept across this ancient kingdom as far as the gates of Valabhi.

Why did Dhruvasena seek refuge at the court of Daṭḍa II? Broach after all was a small power, nothing in fact as compared to Valabhi, and therefore admittedly not in a position to resist effectively "the lord of Northern India." This point, so important for an understanding of the alignment of the powers of the time, was entirely ignored by earlier writers, though they realised the absurdity of such a claim. Writing in 1888, Bühler in his sketch of the Gurjara history sought to explain away the contradiction with the following explanation: "He (Harṣa) directed his attack, as a matter of course, against Valabhi, the largest and the most powerful state in Gujarāt, and defeated its ruler Dhruvasena II. Dhruvasena fled after his defeat to Broach and was sheltered

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1 While admitting that the war between Harṣa and the Maitraka king was due to the addition of Mālavā to the kingdom of the latter, Dr. Saṅkalia asserts that the kingdom was annexed by Dhruvasena II. The latter statement is not correct, as has already been proved in the chapter on Śilāditya I. The Virdi plates of Kharagraha I dated A.D. 616 were actually issued from Ujjain.
2 Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
3 The inscription of v.s. 313 is dated in the month of Śrāvaṇa. Since the campaigns were generally undertaken after the Dasaṛa festival (after the rainy season) in the month of Aśvin, the invasion of Harṣa must have taken place two months after this grant was made.
4 See Appendices B, F.
6 Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
by Daḍḍa IV. From his place of refuge he made his peace with and his submission to his great foe, and was restored to his throne as a feudatory of the latter. The peace was cemented, as has happened in many similar cases, by a marriage of Dhruvasena with Śri Harṣa’s grand-daughter (daughter). With this supposition, the magnitude of Daḍḍa’s feat is somewhat reduced, but it loses the appearance of absurdity which it has at first sight.” Ettinghausen, in his Harsavadhana, closely followed Bühler’s explanation, but was apparently not satisfied as to “why the king of Broach, in welcoming Dhruvasena II, could think of resisting Harṣa.” He, therefore, ventured to suggest that Broach probably “called on Pulikeśin II, the Chālukya king of Mahārāṣṭra and emperor of the south,” who wished to contest with Harṣa the title to Indian paramountcy. But it was not clear to this scholar, writing in the early days of Indian historical research, the reason why Pulikeśin II at all allowed himself to be drawn into this conflict. Even Dr. Altekar, in his attempt to solve this puzzle, only suggests that the cause of conflict between the two powers must have arisen on account of their clashing imperialistic ambitions in Gujarāt and Mālavā. From the foregoing account of the relations of the Gurjaras and the Maitrakas on the one hand and Pulikeśin II on the other, it is now evident that when Harṣa invaded the dominions of Valabhi and was on the point of overrunning Broach as well, Pulikeśin, as the overlord of these two powers, could not but come to their rescue. It is thus clear that in fleeing to the court of Daḍḍa, Dhruvasena was taking the only course that was open to him, a very simple fact which in the course of seven decades was magnified into seeking an asylum at the Gurjaras court.

The course of this war is nowhere described in the extant documents. While Hiuen Tsiang merely observes that among the countries invaded by Harṣa Mo-ha-la-ch’ā (Mahārāṣṭra) alone “refused to become subject to him”; the Aihole praśasti celebrates the ultimate victory of Pulikeśin II in a verse which has since become memorable: “Harṣa, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Him had his mirth (Harṣa) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle.” It may be concluded from this that the result of this war was disappointing to Harṣa, and does not justify Dr. Mookerji’s conclusion that his campaign in western India seems to have resulted in the submission

2 Ettinghausen, Harsavadhana, p. 40.
3 Altekar distinguishes between the king of Valabhi and the ruler of Mālavā (cf. op. et loc. cit.). This is obviously a mistake. It need not be repeated that Mālavā at this time formed a part of the Valabhi kingdom.
4 Watters, op. cit., II, p. 239; Beal, op. cit., II, p. 259.
6 Mookerji, Harṣa, p. 31.
to his suzerainty of a few other states like those of Ānandapura, Kita (Cutch) and Su-la-cha (Surat), but it is true that on the eve of Hiuen Tsiang's visit they really were dependencies of (Mālavā) "Mo-la-po," or rather Valabhi, which had then acknowledged Harṣa's suzerainty. On the contrary the grandiloquent description of the Aihole praśasti would suggest a complete victory of Pulikeśin over his great northern adversary. And if this is undoubted, the victory must have been followed by the restoration of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena to his ancestral kingdom, consequent on the repulse of Harṣa from the Valabhi dominions. But the war though it came to a close, so far as Pulikeśin was concerned, soon after the repulse of Harṣa in the course of the year, was probably continued on the outskirts of Mālavā for a few years more between Dhruvasena and Harṣa—a troubled period thus accounting for the absence of state-grants down to a.D. 638.

Harṣa now realised that no headway would be possible against his formidable adversary of the south, so long as the rival political system continued intact. Consequently, he seems to have attempted to wean the Valabhi ruler from his allegiance to the Chālukyas. The bait of a matrimonial alliance was held out and Dhruvasena II succumbed in a moment of weakness. The embroilment of the Chālukyas with the Pallavas, at this time may also have led Dhruvasena II to decide on the step. Dhruvasena exchanging one overlord for another, thus became a subordinate ally of his father-in-law. This seems to be the only rational explanation of the changed relations between the Maitrakas and the Vardhanas. The alliance continued till the last days of the two monarchs, and we have it on the authority of Hiuen Tsiang that at the quinquennial assembly or the Mokaśparīṣada convoked by Harṣa at Prayāga (Allāhabad), the king of Valabhi guarded the "arena of charity" at the west of the confluence, while the king of Assam, another subordinate ally of Harṣa, was employed by him on the south of the Yamunā river.

1 We are inclined to accept Beal's (Vol. II, p. 268) identification of Su-la-cha with Surāśtra, which is supported by Julien, rather than with Surat, as Watters (II, p. 248) would have it; for the reason that the Gurjaras in whose kingdom Surat was presumably included, are not known in the account of Hiuen Tsiang or in the inscriptive evidence to have acknowledged the supremacy of Valabhi at this time.

2 Vide, Appendix F.

3 Beal, op. cit., II, p. 269; Watters, op. cit., II, pp. 242-244.

4 The conversion of Dhruvasena II as mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang is believed to have been connected with his marriage with Harṣa's daughter, who if she was not a Buddhist had nonetheless certain predilection for that faith. Hiuen Tsiang says "the king of Valabhi was devoted to Buddhism very recently." This statement shows that the submission and marriage of the Valabhi king must have taken place a short time before Hiuen Tsiang's visit in a.D. 640. Cf. Vaidya, op. cit., I, p. 247; De La Vallee Poussin, op. cit., p. 147; Sankalia, op. cit., p. 17.

5 Beal, op. cit. (Life), p. 185.

6 Ibid.
An idea of the extent of the Valabhī kingdom is obtained from the Nogāwa plates of v.s. 3201 and v.s. 3212 (i.e., A.D. 639 and 640 respectively). It would appear that it extended on the east up to the Ratlam state, 35 miles to the west of Ujjain, which would imply that all the intermediate territories between Valabhī and Ratlam were under the sway of Dhruvasena II. The whole of northern and central Gujarāt may thus be said to have formed part of the Valabhī kingdom.

In spite of all these military activities in the country, the greatness of the capital and the prosperity and culture of its citizens at this time is testified to by Hiuen Tsiang. He says: "Its circumference was six miles and population is numerous and wealthy. There are a hundred whose wealth amounts to a million. The rarest merchandise from distant countries is found there in abundance."3 The caste system prevailed but was devoid of the rigidity associated with it in later times.

The dītaka in the earlier grants is Sāmanta Śilāditya, who should be identified with prince Śilāditya, the son of Dërabhaṭṭa of the Vindhyā region. He officiated as the dītaka upto v.s. 319 (i.e., c. A.D. 638). The dītaka in the later grants is the prince Kharagragha II, the younger brother of this Śilāditya. That he succeeded to the Valabhī throne after Dhruvasena III will be seen in the following chapters. The Lekhaka in the early grants of Dhruvasena II was Vatrabhaṭṭī. Later on in about v.s. 314 (i.e., A.D. 633) a son of the latter named Skandabhāṭa the Divirapati officiated in his place as lekhaka.

1 Hultzsch, E. I., VIII, p. 194.
3 Beal, op. et loc. cit.; Watters, op. et loc. cit.
CHAPTER XIII

DHARASENA IV

(A.D. 641-650)

The twelfth ruler of the Maitraka dynasty was Śrī Dharasena IV. He was the son and successor of Dhruvasena II, who, as we have seen, was the son-in-law of Harśavardhana of Kanauj.¹

Dharasena was the most powerful of the monarchs of Valabhi. He was called Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara Chakravarthi Śrī Ajjakaḍanudhyāta Śrī Dharasena.² Alone among the Maitrikas of Valabhi, he assumed the imperial style of Chakravarthi.³ The mention of this higher title requires explanation and confirmation. Was this merely an ornamental appellation or was it founded on fact?

It is significant that the reign of this monarch, as may be deduced from the last known date of his father, viz., v.s. 321⁴ (i.e., c. A.D. 640) and his own extant records which give dates ranging from v.s. 326⁵ to v.s. 330⁶ (i.e., A.D. 645-649), coincide with the dark period in the history of the Chālukyas. It is well known that the reign of Pulikeśin II ended in disaster in or about the year A.D. 642⁷; and that it took no fewer than twelve years for his successor to restore the Chālukya power to its pristine greatness. The misfortune of the imperial Chālukyas was a signal for their satraps to attempt to make themselves independent of the centre. Thus from the fact that Vijayarāja, who in the heyday of their power could have been no more than a governor in charge of the northern province of Southern Gujarāt, makes no reference at all in his Kaira grant of A.D. 643⁸ to the paramount line, it has been assumed that he renounced or was on the point of renouncing allegiance to Badāmi.

¹ Beal, op. cit., II, p. 267.
³ The title Chakravarthi is explained by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning "a ruler, the wheels (chakra) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction," or "the ruler of a chakra or country described as extending from sea to sea." Another explanation is given in the Viṣṇu purāṇa, Book I, Ch. XIII, verse 46, viz., "a discuss (chakra) the sign of (the god) Viṣṇu (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all Chakravartins (and such a ruler is one) whose powers cannot be withstood even by the gods." The word Chakravarthi denotes a universal ruler and is one of the technical titles of paramount sovereigns, though it is not of such frequent occurrence as the others are, such as Mahārāja, etc.
⁴ Hultsch, op. cit., E. I., VIII, p. 194; Acharya, op. cit., No. 69.
⁵ Bhandarkar, op. cit., I, p. 45; Acharya, op. cit., No. 70.
⁶ Bühler, op. cit., XV, p. 335; Acharya, op. cit., No. 73.
⁷ Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 359.
at this period. The confusion reigning in the Chālukya empire was doubtless availed of by the new and ambitious Maitraka king to aggrandize himself at their expense. It is worthy of note that in A.D. 649, Dharasena issued two grants from what he calls “his victorious camp at Broach.” Broach, as we know, was an important town of the Gurjaras, the feudatories of the Chālukyas. Now for a power that had lately abandoned the Chālukyan-Gurjara political system, and joined the hostile system of the Pūspabhūtis to have issued grants from Broach, this city must have been wrested from its old masters by the Maitrakas after overrunning their kingdom. Since the inscriptions make no mention of Harṣa, it may be taken for granted that the war against the Gurjaras was waged by the Maitrakas on their own account and not at the command of any suzerain power. If this be so, the position of Dharasena IV in relation to Kanauj could not have been that of an ordinary vassal. The higher status of this Maitraka ruler is further shown by the fact that he had a number of Sāmantas under him, as his commands are said to have been “treated by the circle of Sāmantas as the crest-jewels worn on the head.”

But when did Dharasena assume imperial status? We have four of the copper-plate grants giving dates ranging from v.s. 326 to v.s. 330 (i.e., A.D. 645-649). From the fact that the last known date of his father Dhruvasena II is v.s. 321 and the first available inscription of his successor Dhruvasena III is recorded in v.s. 332, it may be concluded that Dharasena IV ruled for about eight years, v.s. 322-323, being his first regnal year. In his very first grant issued in the year v.s. 326 (i.e., A.D. 645-646) he boldly flaunts the imperial title of Chakravartin. It follows from this that the imperial title was assumed by him before he invaded southern Gujārāt—the invasion itself being probably due to the refusal of the Gurjara sovereign to acknowledge his supremacy.

It has been suggested that Dharasena assumed the imperial title by virtue of the fact that he was the grandson of Harṣa, who had died without an heir—a claim which is said to have been supported by the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa. And it is also contended that the initial letter ‘Dh’ of the successor of Harṣa as given in this work is really the initial letter of Dharasena IV, described therein as the anuj or descendant of Harṣa. But there are serious difficulties militating against this theory. For one thing, it is by no means clear that

1 Fleet, op. cit., p. 360.
2 Bühler, op. et loc. cit.; Acharya, op. cit., Nos. 72 and 73.
3 Vide, Bombay Gazetteer, I, p. 92.
4 Dr. Jayaswal states that Dharasena IV is not Chakravartin in Māgha of v.e. 326, while he bears that title in Āśādha of the same year, from which he concludes that Dharasena IV assumed this title between Māgha and Āśādha of v.e. 326, when Harṣa must have died. The grand of Māgha, however, does mention that he claimed as high a status as that of the Chakravartin. This is evident from the phrase he was “the universal sovereign” (Bhandarkar, “A Valabhi Grant,” I. A., I, p. 45).
5 Ray, op. et loc. cit., Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 67, Parki, op. cit., p. XLIII.
6 Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 67.
Dharasena was the son of Harṣa’s daughter. For if the marriage took place between A.D. 638 and 640 he must have still been a minor or a mere child incapable of the achievements with which he is credited.

Like other members of his line Dharasena was also distinguished for his charities. In his grant of the year 326 (A.D. 645) he donated a piece of land for the upkeep of a vihāra and for the repair of a reservoir in the vicinity. Both of these had been originally gifts of the minister Skandabhata. It may be noted that the Bhikkhus who resided in this Vihāra were of Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism. In the same year he issued to a Brāhmaṇa endowment amounting to 182 pādāvartas of land. There are two more grants made to various Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas. The first one of the year 330 (i.e., c. A.D. 649) was made to a Brāhmaṇa hailing from Ānarttapura. This was issued together with another of the same date from the royal camp at Bharukachchha, i.e., modern Brouch. The dūtaka in the two grants of 326 is Kumāra Dhrusenas, while in those of 330 it is Rājaduhiṭā (i.e., a princess) Bhūpā (or Bhūvā).

It is clear from his records that the royal treasury was fully replenished at the time of Dharasena IV, for he is said to have made great donations. This is expressed by the phrase: “the lotus-like palm of his hand is (always) washed by the water (poured during the acts) of gifts.” His liberality is further made clear from the fact that he reduced taxation as seen from his description that he “intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes (kara).” It is well known from the description of his predecessors that they had made liberal donations either to individuals or to private institutions. But he showed greater liberality and delighted the hearts of all his people indiscriminately by reducing taxes on them.

Two attributes of the emperor may be noted: “The learning he had received through his ears is represented as splendid as his ear-ornaments; the other epithet ‘Karmuka-Dhanurvēda’ would imply his mastery of the science of archery. Given these attributes it was natural that Dharasena should have been a patron of scholars. It was probably in the reign of this emperor

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1 That the Valabhi kings married more than one wife is clear from Hiuen Tsiang’s account of Śilāditya I (Beal, op. cit. (Life), p. 111) and it will not be wrong to suppose that Dharasena IV was Dhrusena’s son by another wife.

2 The war between Valabhi and Kanauj must have ended, as we have supposed in c. A.D. 638 and the visit of Hiuen Tsiang who described Dhrusena as Harṣa’s son-in-law took place in or a little before A.D. 640.

3 See Appendix G: Vajrata or the ‘ Va ’ of the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa.


5 Ibid., p. 14; Acharya, op. cit., No. 71.

that Bhaṭṭi,¹ the author of the Rāvaṇavadha, well known as the Bhaṭṭikāvyā, flourished and actually wrote his work under the patronage of Dharasena IV.² This work is a grammatical poem composed with the object of illustrating Pāṇini’s and the Kaumudi’s śūtras and was long regarded as an authority on questions of grammar.³ The list of Alaṃkāras given by Bhaṭṭi is in a certain measure original when compared with those of Dāṇḍin and Bhāmaha. Its source is still unknown. It is said of this poem that “it is a lamp in the hands of those whose eye is grammar, but a mirror in the hands of the blind for others.”⁴

King Dharasena IV seems to have left no male issue to succeed him to the Valabhi throne. Hence the succession passed to Derabhatta’s line. The eldest son of the latter officiated as a dūtaka of Valabhi grants as long as v.s. 319 (A.D. 638) during the reign of Dhruvasena II. This must have happened during the minority of the prince Dharasena IV. Thereafter his younger brother Kharagraha II appeared as dūtaka for some years. From this it may be inferred that Śilāditya must have expired before Dhruvasena II and when Dharasena IV was not old enough to shoulder the responsibility of this important office. However, as we have seen above, Dharasena IV succeeded to the Valabhi throne after his father’s death. He selected the youngest of his cousins Dhruvasena III as dūtaka of his grants, and subsequently, as his successor to the Valabhi throne. This is an instance to show that the Maitraka kings used to select their successors.

¹ In the colophon it is said:

काययसिद्ध सर्वत्र मया वक्तन्त्रो श्रीपरमानंदंदाक्षितायादाय।
शीतितिर्नि महतापुष्पं तत्वे प्रेसकरे, श्रीतितितिण्डत: प्रभासाय, ||36||

Bhaṭṭikāvyā, Ch. XXXII, pp. 42-43.

² In the colophon the author says that he wrote this poem at the court of king Dharasena of Valabhi. But it is not known of which of the four rulers of this name he was a contemporary. If he were the same Bhaṭṭi Bhata of Mahichchhaka who received a grant from Dhruvasena III in v.s. 334 as suggested by Dr. Hultsch (“Notes on Idioms,” J. P. O. I., I, p. 139) he would naturally be the same poet patronised by Dharasena IV whose known dates are v.s. 326-330.


CHAPTER XIV

DHROVASENA III

(A.D. 650 to 654-655)

After Dharasena IV succession was restored to the elder branch of the Maitrakas, the line of Śilāditya I, who was a brother of Dharasena’s grandfather, Kharagraha I. Dharasena IV seems to have left no male issue\(^1\) and hence was succeeded by Dhruvasena III, son of Derabhaṭṭa and grandson of Śilāditya, Dharmāditya. He was probably in charge of a district near the Vindhyā mountains, the erstwhile conquest of Derabhaṭṭa, his father, and succeeded as Dhruvasena III to the throne of Valabhī.

Three of his copper-plate grants are found. Two are dated respectively in v.s. 332,\(^2\) and v.s. 334,\(^3\) while the third one is undated.\(^4\) The first one records the grant of a village of Pedhapada in Vāmansthali, the modern Vanthali in the Junāgadh state. The beneficiary of the second grant v.s. 334 (i.e., c. A.D. 653), was Bhatṭībhaṭṭa, who was a son of Bappa and a resident of Mahīchchhakā. We are tempted to guess that this Bhatṭī was the same man who wrote the Bhaṭṭīkāvya. The other grant is a Buddhist grant donated to the famous Duḍḍāvihāra in the Svātala of Valabhī. A village named Rākṣasaka included in Kāśahrdā was granted for maintenance of the inmates of the monastery. The last known record of Dharasena IV is dated v.s. 330\(^5\) and the first known date of Kharagraha II who succeeded Dhruvasena III is v.s. 337.\(^6\) From this account Dhruvasena’s reign may be taken to be of about four or five years’ duration.

The Maitrakas, it would seem, did not or could not continue the grandiloquent titles such as Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramesvara, Chakravartin etc.\(^7\) They are definitely dropped by Dhruvasena who was content to bear the old religious title of the family—Paramamaheśvara. Now

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\(^1\) Mention of princess Bhūpā (or Bhūvā), probably Dharasena’s daughter in the capacity of a dītaka of his grant confirms the view that Dharasena had no male issue. Generally in Valabhī records the heir-apparent is found in the office of dītaka. For some time Dharasena IV may not have decided as to whom the throne should be entrusted after him—to his daughter or cousin, but finally, he seems to have made up his mind to give it to the youngest of his three cousins.


\(^3\) Hultsch, op. cit., E. L., I, p. 85; Acharya, op. cit., No. 74.


\(^5\) Bühler, I. A., XV, p. 339; Achārya, op. cit., No. 73.

\(^6\) Bühler, op. cit. (I. A.), VIII, p. 76; Achārya, op. cit., No. 76.

\(^7\) It may also be argued that the title Chakravartin may be assumed by the conqueror himself and it could not be hereditary. But even otherwise the omission of the other imperial titles would signify that Dhruvasena could not retain the status acquired by Dharasena IV.
this loss of the former imperial titles obviously indicates a diminution of their power—a circumstance which coincides with the military activities of Pulikēśīn II's son Vikramāditya I. Of him the records say that "he (Vikramāditya I) conquered in many battles, by means of his horse of the breed called Chittra-kantha, and with the edge of his sword"; that he "acquired for himself the (regal) fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings, and then made a burden of the whole kingdom to be presided over by one (sole monarch)," that he "confirmed the grants to gods and Brāhmaṇas, which had been confiscated under (those same) three kings," and that he "conquered the hostile kings in country after country, and re-acquired the (regal) fortune of his ancestors." 1 It seems certain that he came into hostile contact with the Maitrakas also, since the latter, as we have seen, had encroached on the Chālukya territory in the days of their misfortune. An inscription of Dhruvasena III of A.D. 653 referring to his "victorious camp" at Sirisimminika, seems to point to a struggle with a hostile power at about this time. This power could have been none other than the Chālukyas, who, as the assumption of lower titles by the present Maitraka ruler would show, emerged victorious from the struggle, and as a result retrieved their dominions in Southern Gujarāt. In fact in c. A.D. 655 we have a Chālukya governor, the Sendraka prince Allāṣakti Prthivivallabha making a grant of the village Balīśa which is identified with Wānēṣa in the Bārdoli tāluka of the Surat district. 2 This was precisely the territory which was in the charge of Vijayarāja, the Chālukya governor of Pulikēśī's time, 3 for the villages mentioned in his Kaira grant are all to be found in the same (Surat) district. 4 No wonder for the nonce the grants fail to wax eloquent on the achievements of the Maitraka ruler. The reason is patent: his reign was inglorious. He is given the conventional praise that his "ears had been adorned with extensive sacred knowledge of various kinds." It is highly probable that the Gurjaras appearing in the baggage train of the Chālukyas were restored to their principality in northern Gujarāt.

2 Bühler, "Bagumra Grant," I. A., XVIII, p. 266.
3 Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 359.
4 In his well-written article "New Light on the History of Medieval Gujarāt," Prof. Mirashi (Acharya-Puspājali Volume, p. 53) observes that Southern Gujarāt was placed by Pulikēśīn II under the Sendrakas after overthrowing the Kajachuris. His only reason seems to be that the Bagumra plates of the Sendraka prince Allāṣakti give a short genealogy of his line beginning with his grandfather Bhānuṣakti. From which he concludes that Southern Gujarāt was ruled by the Sendrakas for three generations, Bhānuṣakti, being the first ruler. It must, however, be observed that the mention of his ancestor by Allāṣakti is no indication that these had ruled over the territory under his charge—a supposition which, as pointed out above, is disproved by the fact that in A.D. 643 this very same territory was under the Chālukya Vijayarāja.
CHAPTER XV

KHARAGRAHA II

(A.D. 655-658)

Kharagraha II, like Siläditya I, had a biruda Dharamäditya. It is strange that he succeeded his younger brother Dhruvasena III to the throne of Valabhi.

From the fact that the records of Kharagraha II make less than usually complimentary and respectful reference to Dhruvasena III it has been suggested that Kharagraha II took the kingdom by force from his younger brother. Be that as it may, the circumstance of the succession passing from the younger to the elder is rather suspicious and may perhaps show that it was not accomplished in a peaceful manner. However, it is more plausible that Dhruvasena went under in the struggle with the Chālukyas, and was thereafter succeeded by Kharagraha. And the fact that the latter betrays less respect for him in the record may possibly be due to this circumstance along with the fact that he being the elder brother of Dhruvasena III may not have paid respect to his younger brother in the usual manner.

The only known grant of this king is dated v.s. 337 (i.e., c. A.D. 656). It was issued from the victorious camp at Pulindaka, a circumstance from which it is possible to deduce that the war with the Chālukyas was continued during this king's rule. This inscription was written by an officer who was Divirapati or the chief secretary, and minister of peace and war, named Anahila. The dūtaka of the grant was pramatr or survey officer Śrīnāga. The donee of the gift recorded by this inscription is a Ṛgvedī Brāhmaṇa of the Sārkarākṣī gotra, one Nārāyaṇa hailing from Ānandapura and residing in Khetaka.

It was this Kharagraha who seems to have officiated as dūtaka in the later grants of Dhruvasena II (v.s. 320-23). Anyway as we saw above, the throne passed from Dhruvasena II to Dhurasena IV who may have been a

1 Dhurasena IV entrusted the Valabhi kingdom to Dhruvasena III (youngest of the three cousins) probably because he was the cleverest of the three brothers. After Dhruvasena III, his elder brother Kharagraha II came to the throne. The reason for this may be that either Dhruvasena III died in battle leaving no male issue or, as the Bombay Gazetteer suggests, Kharagraha II took the kingdom by force from him, and Dhruvasena's eldest brother Siläditya may have died before both his brothers. The other possibility suggested by scholars (cf. Mandlik, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 332) is the clerical error in using the word 'Agraja' for 'Angaja' in the records, and thus considering Kharagraha as Dhruvasena's younger brother. However, the latter explanation cannot be correct, as the word 'Agraja' is used in more than one grant of the same ruler, which obviously cannot be a clerical mistake.


3 Bühler, "Grant of the Valabhi King," I. A., VII, p. 73.
minor in the early years of Dhruvasena II’s reign. The choice of Dharasena IV, however, fell on Dhruvasena III as successor and dītaka of his grants and not on Kharagraha II. But it was Kharagraha II that was destined to succeed to the Valabhi throne which he obtained by the death of his younger brother.

That he was very generous like other Maitraka kings, in making grants, is clear from the Valabhi records which mention him as one who “imparted wealth to the suppliants.” He not only made grants but took special care to renew the old grants that had lapsed during the reign of his predecessors. Even as a king he is said to have promulgated the varṇāśrama system of the Āryan society. It is said that like dharma (religion) incarnated, he well established the duties of the various Varṇas and Āśramas.1

The writer of his grant has praised him very much by the Vyattireka (excellence) figure of speech2 wherein the king is represented to excel Viṣṇu through a number of Śīlias (puns), e.g., it is said that this “king has distributed ‘Lakṣmī’ (here it means wealth) among his pranāyinas (suppliants), has turned out ‘gadā’ (disease), has raised up the chakra (whole number) of ‘Sudarsana’s (good scriptures), has given up sports of a child, has not cast down (aḍhah) the Dvijātis (Brāhmaṇas) has conquered the world by a single ‘vikrama’ (exploit), has not taken to a jala (dull) bed, and thus has been an extraordinary Puruṣottama (the best of men), while the traditional Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) has not imparted Lakṣmī (his wife) to the Pranāyins (suitors), has not turned out the ‘gadā’ (mace), has not raised up the sudarśana chakra (wheel), has not given up sports of a child, has cost the dvijātī (bird) beneath him, has conquered the world not by one Vikrama (stride) and has taken to a jala (water’s bed).” What the passage implies is generally to show that the king was liberal, healthy, learned, respectful towards the Brāhmaṇas, valiant and active, and all the qualities of a great king according to the description were found in him.3

Like Dhruvasena III, king Kharagraha also seems to have left no son behind him. Thus both the younger sons of Derabhaṭa died without leaving a male issue.

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1 Fleet, C. I. I., III, p. 185.
2 In this figure of speech a comparison is made.
3 Fleet, op. et. loc. cit.
CHAPTER XVI

SILADITYA II

(C. A.D. 658-685)

Śilāditya II was the son of Śilāditya, the elder brother of Kharagraha II. From the description of the Valabhi records it seems that this brother of Kharagraha had never attained to the regal status, and that when the throne fell vacant on his death, it went in the absence probably of other claimants, to Śilāditya II who was next in the line of succession to Kharagraha II, the late ruler. In his inscriptions, however, Śilāditya II has thus honoured the memory of his father: "the lord of the earth whose breast is the mountain Vindhya." This description suggests that like his father Derabhaṭṭa, Śilāditya was the master of the territory round about the Vindhya mountains, and that he probably ruled conjointly with the king of Valabhi in his general policy.

Eleven copper-plate records of Śilāditya II have so far come to light with dates ranging from V.S. 3423 (i.e., C. A.D. 662) to V.S. 3574 (i.e., C. A.D. 676). Hence it may be assumed that his reign began in or about A.D. 658—two years after the only record of his predecessor was issued—and ended somewhere in the neighbourhood of A.D. 685, six years before the first known record of his successor Śilāditya III.

It would appear that the reign of Śilāditya II was attended with gradual success, as his grants record that he "day by day increased (his) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold rayed (moon) day by day increasing (its) digits."5 It may be concluded from this that he slowly retrieved the losses suffered by his family in the previous reign. It will be remembered how in the reign of Dhrusasena III the old dominions of the Chālukyas in Gujarāt were recovered by Vikramāditya I, who appointed Allāṣakti Prthivivallabha, the Sendraka chief, as his governor. Kharagraha II who followed Dhrusasena on the Valabhi throne, had some hopes of restoring the losses, but they were never materialised. It was thus left to Śilāditya II to try to reinstate the fallen fortunes of his family. He seems to have taken to his task in right earnest ever since the outset of his reign. He was so successful in this enterprise that he seems to have ousted the Sendrakas from southern Gujarāt, so that it soon became necessary for Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, the brother of the

1 Cf. Appendix D.
2 Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
3 Acharya, op. cit., No. 78.
5 Fleet, C. I. I., III, p. 185.
emperor, to lead a campaign against the Maitrakas to regain this province. His Nāsik plates of 20th March A.D. 666 expressly say that “with his brighttipped arrows Jayasimha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Mahī and Naramadā.”¹ Now this is precisely the tract of land under the direct rule of the Chālukyas since the palmy days of Pulikeśin II, a tract which became a bone of contention during the dark period of their history between them and the Maitrakas. Obviously for this territory to have become again the theatre of war soon after its recovery by the Chālukyas, the latter must have been forced to withdraw within a few years. This was just the time when the Pallavas in the south were making frantic efforts to recover their conquests while Vikramāditya had not yet definitely rolled back the tide of their aggression. This task was accomplished only some time in A.D. 670. In his Honnrur plates dated Vaiśākha s.s. 592 (A.D. 670) we find him “residing at the great camp at Malliyur to the west of Kāṁchipura,”² and therefore carrying the war into the enemy’s own country. But a fortnight later he is already at his capital Pattadakal with a proud addition to his biradas: victorious over enemy kings (ripiṇa-narendra-n德拉) diṣi (isi) jitva etc. . . .³)—an ample proof to the success of this campaign.

We regret we cannot say with certainty who this Vajjaḍa was and in the absence of more definite information we can only hazard the suggestion that he was probably a general of the Maitrakas or that the name may be equated with king Śilāditya, as Prof. Mirashi has tried to do;⁴ for there was no contemporary north Indian ruler, known to research, powerful enough to dispute successfully the possession of southern Gujarāt.⁵

¹ Khare, “The Nāsik Plates of Jayasimha,” Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, I, p. 8 ff. Cf. Mirashi, “New Light on the Medieval History of Gujarāt,” Achārya-Puspaṉjali Volume, p. 56. In a recent article, “A Note on Vajraṭa,” I. H. Q., XX, p. 353 ff., Prof. Mirashi has suggested K. Sam. 436, i.e., A.D. 683 as the date of the above mentioned plate instead of A.D. 666 without specifying reasons therefor. However, in the same article the Professor concludes through different arguments that the victory over Vajraṭa took place some time before A.D. 670 which very well agrees with the date for this war suggested above.


³ Fleet, “Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions,” I. A., VII, p. 219 ff. It is important to note that these plates were issued in the 16th year of Vikramāditya’s reign exactly as the Honnrur plates. The difference is only that while the former are dated Vaiśākha-Jyeṣṭha amāvāsyā, the latter were issued in Purṇimā. From the fact that the Śaka year is wrong (s.s. 531-32), Dr. Fleet has rashly concluded that the plates themselves are spurious. Genuine plates with wrong dates are legion.

⁴ Appendix G.

⁵ According to Prof. Mirashi, the name Vajjaḍa is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Vajrata or Vajrabhaṭa. The Rāṣṭrākūṭa records of a later period actually name him Vajrata. But no similar name is found in the contemporary documents. True, there is a Vajrabhaṭa, a feudatory of Varmalāṭa of the Vasantagāḍha inscription (cf. E. I., IX, p. 19). The former however, flourished half a century earlier (cf. Mirashi, op. et loc. cit.). Hence it is very likely that, as we have supposed above, this Vajjaḍa was a chief or a general in the Maitraka army, or it may be another name of king Śilāditya himself (cf. Mirashi, “A Note on Vajrata,” I. H. Q., XX, p. 353 ff.); Appendix G.
The battle which thus ended in victory to the Chalukya arms must be ranked among the decisive battles of Chalukya history. It was deemed equal to the rout of Harsha by Pulikesin II and was celebrated as such in the sasanas of the Rastrakutas, who having defeated the Chalukyas in their turn sought to aggrandise themselves vicariously by mentioning this Chalukya achievement in their records.1 With the decline of the power of the Maitrakas, the northern frontiers of the Chalukya empire were secured from their incursions and Vikramaditya was left free to deal with his southern enemies. As a result Siladitya never donned the imperial titles.

Vikramaditya, however, did not reinstate the Sendraka chief as governor or viceroy of his northern provinces. Clearly, this part of the empire had to be placed in safer and stronger hands, if his attention were not to be distracted from the all-important task of eliminating the Pallava peril. Hence he made it over to the charge of Dharasraya Jayasimha. Accordingly we are told in the Navsari plates of his son Sryasraya Siladitya, dated K. 421 (A.D. 670-671) that the prosperity of Jayasimha "was augmented by his elder brother Vikramaditya."2 Southern Gujarat with the adjoining territory of Nasik remained under the rule of Jayasimha throughout the reign of his brother. His Nasik plates referred to above, dated K. 416 (A.D. 666), record the grant of the village of Dhondaka in the Nasikyavishaya (modern Dhondgaon near Nasik).3 Five years later in K. 421 (A.D. 670-671), another grant of a village was made on his behalf by his son, the above-named Sryasraya Siladitya.4 This was the village of Astattirama, which is identified with Astagam, seven miles south-east of Navasari.5 Finally in K. 443 (A.D. 693) we find the same Siladitya, while yet a Yuvaraja issuing another grant in this territory.6 This was the village of Osumbhala in Karmaneya Ahara, the present Umbhad, seven miles to the south of Kamrej and fifteen miles to the north-west of Surat. The Sendrakas in the meanwhile had been transferred to Khandesh where we find Allasakti's son Jayaasakti granting a village Senana-Kalaasa by his Mundkhede plates dated Saka S. 602 (A.D. 680).7

The Maitrakas, however, were not altogether crushed by the Chalukyan victory. Three of their records dated v.s. 350 (A.D. 669)8 v.s. 3529 (A.D. 671)

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3 Khare, op. et loc. cit.
4 Hultzsch, op. cit., p. 229; Acharya, op. et loc. cit.
6 Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, p. 211 ff; Acharya, op. cit., No. 104.
8 Oza, op. cit., IV, p. 74; Acharya, op. cit., No. 82.
and v.s. 3561 (A.D. 675) were issued respectively from their victorious camps at Khetaka, Meghavana and Pichchhipajivasak. All these places were presumably not very far the from Chaluksya-Maitraka frontier. These circumstances show that frontier warfare was maintained for a considerable while. The Gurjaras probably bore the brunt of this warfare—a conclusion which the Gurjara records go to support. For it is said of Daḍḍa III, the contemporary2 Gurjara ruler, that his "other name of Bāhusahāya3 was made famous by the strength of (his) arm that was displayed in tearing through innumerable hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west."4 This is indeed a conventional praise, but it admits of the inference that his reign was troubled, a fact which is again confirmed by the paucity of records of this ruler.

That in the year v.s. 357 (i.e., A.D. 676) Śilāditya made a grant of a village in Bharukachchha Viṣaya,5 shows that this part of the country, conquered during the reign of Dharasena IV, was definitely under the Maitraka sway during Śilāditya II's reign. However, with the above-mentioned success of the Chaluksya kings, it passed once again to the Gurjaras, who were the feudatories of the latter. This happened some time before K.S. 456 (i.e., A.D. 705), as is indicated by the Navasāri grant of Jayabhāṭṭa III, which records the donation of a village Śamipadraha to a Brāhmaṇa residing at Sruddika.6 Both these villages belonged to the Bharukachchha Viṣaya.

Another event of historical importance that took place during the reign of Śilāditya was an Arab raid against Goghā,7 a port on the eastern coast of Kāthiāwa in the vicinity of Hastavapra. The Arab commander Ismail landed at Goghā with a mighty army in A.H. 57 (A.D. 677).8 The Arab historians give no further details about this expedition. It seems, therefore, that the Arab army met with a disastrous defeat at the place and gained no access to the coast of Surāṣṭra. Anyway, the occasion gave an opportunity to the Maitraka king who was then the ruler of that part, to display his prowess in driving away the foreigners.

In the grants of this king we find two princes officiating as Dūtakas. The portion containing the name of the earliest grant, dated v.s. 343, is illegible. The dūtaka in the grants dated from v.s. 346 to 352 is prince Dhruvasena.

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1 Diskalkar, op. cit., p. 57; Acharya, op. cit., No. 84.
2 Ante, Ch. XI, note 10.
4 i.e., He whose (only) helper was his arms.
8 Ibid.
It is quite probable that the same prince was the *dūtaka* in the earlier grant. Accordingly, it may be assumed that prince Dhruvasena who acted as the *dūtaka* as early as v.s. 343 was of an age to shoulder the responsibility of this important office even at the beginning of Śilāditya II's reign. The *dūtaka* in the next two grants dated v.s. 356 and 357 (Pauṣa) is another prince named Kharagraha. But Dhruvasena appears in this capacity as *dūtaka* once again, and he remained in office till the last known date of Śilāditya II's reign. Thus prince Dhruvasena seems to have officiated as the *dūtaka* throughout this reign. Evidently it was Dhruvasena who had the first claim to hold this post. It seems probable that he was substituted by prince Kharagraha for a temporary period only, when the former was probably engaged with some more responsible duty. Both these princes are designated simply as Rājaputras.

Another officer, viz., the Lekhaka of king Śilāditya's grant, was Dīvirapati Anahila, the son of Skandabhaṭa, who was a lekhaka from Dhruvasena III's reign (v.s. 334) onwards. In one grant he was substituted by another divirapati named Mammaka who was also a Sandhivigrahādikṛta, the Mahāpratiharā and a Sāmanta.

From the time of this ruler onwards no reference to the Vindhya region is made separately. This suggests that king Śilāditya inherited not only the Valabhi empire but also the Vindhya division which was so long governed (conjointly with Valabhi kings) by his father and grandfather Śilāditya and Derabhaṭṭa respectively.
CHAPTER XVII

SILADIHYA III

Siladitya III was the son and successor of Siladitya II. As a prince he seems to have borne the name occurring in the grants of his father as that of the diutaka Dhrusasena. We know that the diutaka was generally the heir-apparent; and hence it could be supposed that the name Siladitya must have been assumed by him on his accession to the throne—a practice in which he was followed by all his successors.

In the very first inscription that we have of him dated v.s. 372 (i.e., c. A.D. 691), he is given the imperial style of Paramabhataraka, Maharajadhiraja, Paramesvara. This is easy to understand in view of the fact that the bitter struggle between the Châlukyas and the Pallavas had not yet ended in a decisive victory to the former. Though it is true that the Pallava records credit Vikramaditya I with having received “by surrender, the town of Kâñchî, after defeating the lord of the Pallavas,” and with “having obeisance done to him by the lord of Kâñchî, who had bowed down to none other,” the Pallava records claim for his contemporary Paramesvara-Varman I that he “crushed the conceit of (his) enemies,” and that he was “a sun in destroying the darkness which was the army of the Châlukya king.” Nor were the efforts of the next Châlukya emperor Vinayaditya attended with better success. His records make it abundantly clear that during his reign the Pallavas were far from being crushed. In fact the victories against the Pallavas that are attributed to him are of the time of his father. In their stereotyped eulogy the later inscriptions make it a point to aver that it was “at the command of his father” (my italics) that Vinayaditya “arrested the extremely exalted power of the lord of Kâñchî, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions”; or as another record picturesquely observes, he vanquished “the proud army of the confederacy of the three (tairajya) and the lord of Kâñchî, at the command of his father, just as Kârtikeya at the command of Siva, defeated the very insolent host of demons.” Nevertheless, it is at all

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1 Acharya, J. B. B. R. A. S., (N. S.) I, p. 73; Bhandarkar, A. S. W. C. Report, 1915-16, p. 55; Acharya, op. cit., I, 80, 81, 82, 83, etc.
2 Bha. Pra. San. Ins., p. 54; Acharya, op. cit., No. 88. The last known grant of his predecessor is v.s. 357 (A.D. 676), while the first known grant of this king is v.s. 372 (i.e., A.D. 691) and the last known date is v.s. 382 (i.e., A.D. 701); this shows that he ruled for 25-30 years.
events clear that Vinayāditya preserved in their integrity the conquests of Vikramāditya, and the frontiers, as had been fixed, were respected by both the powers. Under these conditions it is no wonder that the Maitraka contemporary is seen unhesitatingly to flaunt his imperial titles.

In the official account of his family Śilāditya is described as one, “(who achieved) supreme lordship (by engaging in the creation of another world); the diffused fire of whose great prowess played about on the temples of (his) enemies’ elephants . . . whose umbrella was constituted by the canopy of (his) fame, . . . (and) who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara.”¹ Naturally enough, Vinayāditya could not look supinely at the ambitions of his northern neighbours. Moreover, a number of new dynasties were making a bid for sovereignty in northern India. We hear for the first time in c. A.D. 700 of a new family of the Rāṣṭrakūta in Berar deriving its origin from Elichpur in Central India, which were destined to take the place of the imperial Chālukyas later in the eighth century.² In Magadha the Gupta house of Mālavā was firmly entrenched. While Vikramāditya I was engaged in the task of recovering the lost Chālukya kingdom, Adityasena Gupta, the representative of this house, so strengthened his position that he was able, before long, in A.D. 672, to make himself the paramount sovereign of the north by celebrating the horse sacrifice.³ His son Devagupta III seems to have exercised the same wide powers, since he is styled, like his father, Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara . . . etc.⁴ Vinayāditya, therefore, led an expedition to the north, and attempted to bring these various powers under his control. An inscription of A.D. 694 informs us that by this time he had succeeded in imposing his suzerainty on the Mālavās and the Haḥāyas;⁵ while according to an account which later became official, he had “by churning all the kings of the north (or the lord of all the north) . . . acquired the exalted Pālidhvaja⁶ and all other signs of supreme

² Altakar, op. cit., p. 10.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ E. C., XI, Dg. 66.
⁶ Pālidhvaja seems to have been a symbol of universal empire; K. B. Pathak, “The explanation of the term Pālidhvaja,” J. A., XIV, 104, says in this connection: “the term Pālidhvaja, or Pāliketana, does not itself mean any particular kind of flag, but denotes a peculiar arrangement, in rows of the ten kinds of flags described below:—pāli, in Sanskrit, in fact signifies ‘a row.’ In each direction, a hundred and eight flags of each kind—or in other words, a thousand and eighty flags in all—are ranged in lines. Thus, the total number of flags, in the four directions, is four thousand three hundred and twenty. We are further told that the Lord Jina adopted the Pālidhvaja as an indication of his universal empire over the three worlds after the conquest of Mōha or Māyā, or ‘delusion.’ Lakṣmīsmesabhāṭṭaraka, the head of the Jaina Math at Kolhāpur, says that some years ago a pālidhvaja was constructed there in honour of Mahāvira.”
power." The Mālavās here referred to, were evidently the Maitrakas, who in the words of the above record, were "brought into service equally with the Ālupas, Gaṅgas and others of old standing." The campaign was apparently crowned with success. The Chālukya sovereignty was extended over the entire territory which was once included in the glorious empire of the Vākāṭakas. Vinayāditya was now in fact as well as in name the proud successor of this illustrious dynasty, and accordingly he took over their imperial symbols of Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

Śilāditya III seems to have ruled from A.D. 690 to 710. Five of his copper-plate grants are known to us, the earliest being of v.s. 375 (c. A.D. 694) and the last v.s. 387 (i.e., c. A.D. 706). Three other inscriptions record v.s. 376, v.s. 381, and v.s. 382, as their dates and with the Brāhmaṇa donees.

As regards the dūtaka of the grant issued by king Śilāditya, we find mention of two princes, viz., Kharagara and Dharasena. The former appears as a dūtaka in his earlier grants dated v.s. 372, 375 and 376, and the latter in that of 381 and 382. The former dūtaka, viz., Kharagara was probably the same who appeared in Śilāditya II’s grant dated 356 and 357. He was probably the younger brother of king Śilāditya III. The office of dūtaka was taken up by prince Dhruvasena who was probably the yuvarāja and officiated as dūtaka on attaining his maturity.

The writer of the grant was Śrī Haragaṇa, son of Bappabhōgika, who was also a balādhikṛta (commander-in-chief). The writer Haragaṇa himself was a divirapatī. This office, according to the records, thus shifted from the

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1 E. C., X, Kl. 63; Fleet, “The Nerur Plates,” I. A., IX, p. 129. There is no evidence for the statement of Saletore (Life in Gupta Age, p. 88) that “the sovereign whom Vinayāditya defeated is also styled as Vajraṭa in Western Chālukya as well as some Rāṣṭrakūṭa records.” The sources cited by this writer, I. A., XI, p. 114, 119; IX, p. 129, do not support the assertion. Cf. Appendix G.

2 E. C., XI, Dg. 66.


4 Acharya, op. cit., No. 88; B. P. S. I., p. 54.


7 Acharya, op. cit., No. 90.

8 Kielhorn, op. et loc. cit.; Acharya, op. cit., No. 91.

9 B. P. S. I., p. 54; Kielhorn, op. cit., p. 69; Bhandarkar, A. S. W. C. Rept., 1915-16, p. 55; Acharya, op. cit., Nos. 88, 89 and 92.
family of Aṇahila to that of Haragaṇa, who was succeeded by Śrī Ādityasena, the adopted son of the former.¹

¹ Another event said to have taken place during this period was the fall of Paṇḍhāsara which was ruled by a petty chieftain, Jayaśekhara of the Chāpoṭaka line. Although there is no epigraphical evidence to support this event, this is referred to by the Ratnamālā, a historical poem. The victory is said to be of king Bhūvaḍ of Kalyāṇa, and the battle is said to have taken place in Vik. s. 752 (A.D. 696-97). Later on the posthumous son of the vanquished king named Vanarāja founded a new kingdom at Aṇahilavāṇa in Vik. s. 802, i.e., (A.D. 746-47).

In the bardic tradition, as gathered by the late Vrajīlā Śāstrī (cf. Rāsmālā, p. 40 f.n.), some light is thrown on the relations of Valabhi with Kanauj and Paṇḍhāsara. According to this tradition the country of Gujarāt was under the sway of the king of Kanauj. The daughter of this king named Ratnagāṇghā was married to king Dhruvapaṭu of Valabhi. The Gurjara country was given as a dowry to this princess. Another daughter of this king was given to the king of Lāta. The Kanauj king himself was a staunch Buddhist and had also turned his son-in-law into a Buddhist. As a result of this conversion the Valabhi king is said to have levied taxes on the land which was formerly donated to the vedic Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt. This was to please his father-in-law, the king of Kanauj. On hearing this, king Jayaśekhara of the petty kingdom of Paṇḍhāsara, taking the side of the vedic Brāhmaṇas, snatched away the Gurjara country from the Valabhi king. Thereupon king Sudhanavā of Kanauj came to the help of the Valabhi king, killed Jayaśekhara and annexed Paṇḍhāsara.

In this traditional account it has not been made clear as to who this king of Kanauj was. The name of the Valabhi king is said to be Dhruvapaṭu. This, it may be suggested, was king Śilādiyā III who was a contemporary of Jayaśekhara and who also had another name, probably Dhruvasena (this name is known from the grant of his predecessor, in whose time he must have acted as a dūtaka). That Jayaśekhara lived in this period is proved by the account given in the Ratnamālā.
CHAPTER XVIII

SILADITYA IV

Siladitya III was succeeded by his son who styled himself Siladitya IV. As a prince he must have borne his personal name Dharasena which occurs in the grants of his father. In the official account of the family as recorded in the Aliṅā grant of his successor Siladitya VI, it is said of him that “the waterlilies” of his feet “were tinted by being covered over with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all the chieftains, who did obeisance through the affection (produced) by (his) splendour.”

He is invariably accorded in his own grants, no less than in those of his successors, the imperial titles of the family: Paramamahaṅvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Parameśvara—a fact which shows that during his rule the Maitrakas renounced the obedience, more or less nominal, which they had yielded to the Chālukyas. His reign synchronises with the rule of the unwarlike Vijayāditya, whose achievements, according to the records, were in the art of peace, when the Chālukyas, it would seem, beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks.

But conditions changed with the succession of Vikramāditya II in A.D. 733. He is said to have “resolved to uproot the Pallava king, his natural foe, who had robbed the splendour of the former kings of his line, who on coming to the Tunḍaka district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king.” Naturally enough, he could have started on his southern expedition only after he had seen to the security of his northern frontiers. Here, as we have already observed, the Maitraka monarch was giving himself imperial airs, and was possibly harassing his Gurjara neighbour, the faithful feudatory of the Chālukyas. Accordingly, the imperial troops moved across the Maitraka frontier, an enterprise in which they were presumably joined by the Gurjara chief Jayabhaṭṭa IV. The expedition was a success, and, Siladitya was compelled to surrender a large part of his kingdom. We are informed in the Sanjan plates that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra I had married the Chālukya princess Bhāvanāga by rākṣasa form of marriage at Kaira. Naturally, this well-known part of the Maitraka territory?

3 Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 374.
4 Fleet op. et loc. cit.
5 Pathak, “Kendur Plates of Kiritvarman II, s.s. 672,” E. I., IX, p. 205.
7 As late as A.D. 722 Kaira was included within the Maitraka kingdom (cf. J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 335; Acharya, op. cit., Nos. 93 and 94). The Maitrakas surrendered, besides, their dominions between the Sahya and the Vindhya mountains.
must have some time after A.D. 733, the year of Vikramāditya's accession, changed hands as a result of the Chālukya victory. Following the example of his grandfather the Chālukya sovereign confirmed his kinsman Avanjanāśraya Satyāśraya Pulikeśin, (youngest) son of Jayasimha, in the government of southern Gujarat.

A greater calamity was the formidable invasion of the Arabs, arranged according to Biladuri, the Arab historian, by Junaid during the Caliphate of Hasham, A.D. 724-743. This must have occurred somewhere in A.D. 735, for the Gurjara records clearly refer to this expedition in Chedi Samvat 486 or A.D. 735-736. Biladuri relates that Junaid sent officers to reduce, among others, “Marmad Mandal, Dahnej and Barus,” and that “he sent a force against Uzain and also sent Habib, son of Marra, against the country of Maliba. They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharimad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered al Bailamán and Jurz, and he received at his abode in addition to what his visitors presented to him, forty millions, and he himself carried off a similar sum.” The places mentioned here are indeed corrupted beyond recognition, and we have, therefore, to thank Dr. R. C. Majumdar for his ingenuity in restoring them to their original form: “Marmad is the same as Marn-māda which is referred to in the Ghatiālā inscription of Kakkuka and includes Jaisalmar and part of Jodhpur State. Barus is undoubtedly Broach and Mandal probably denotes Mandor. . . . Jurz was the Arabic corruption of the Gurjara country, and Bailaman probably refers to the circle of states mentioned in our inscription as Vāllā-Mandala. It would thus appear that the Arab army under Junaid conquered the main Gurjara states in the north as well as the feudatory state of Broach in the south.”

1 Indra I himself seems to have come to the throne in A.D. 730; cf. Altekar, Rāṣṭrakūtās, p. 10.
2 A passage in the Kāvi plates of Gurjara Jayabhaṭṭa III, as translated by Bühler, “The Inscriptions from Kāvi,” I. A., V, pp. 114-115, which reads, “who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī” could have been most appropriately adduced in support of our inference, if it had not been found that the interpretation given by Bühler was wrong. Cf. Acharya, “A grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭṭa III,” E. I., XXIII, p. 154, note 1.
4 Majumdar, op. cit., E. I., XVIII, p. 93; Elliot, however, says that Junaid was succeeded by Tamin about A.D. 726 (cf. Elliot, History of India, I., p. 126 (Futu-hu-I-Balda'n) from which Dr. Majumdar concludes that “the expeditions were undertaken shortly after A.D. 724,” though he doubts about the exact year when Tamin succeeded Junaid.
7 Majumdar, op. et loc. cit.
A more comprehensive account, however, is met with in the afore-named Navsāri plates of Pulikeśīn. The Tajjikas, that is to say the Arabs, are here described as having first destroyed the Saindhava, Kacchela, Surāṣṭra, Cāvōṭaka, Maurya, and Gurjara kings, and then to have proceeded against the Dakṣināpatha or the Deccan intent on conquering the southern kings. In the face of this common peril, the Hindu powers of western India seem to have sunk their differences and offered a united front to the enemy. In his records of A.D. 736 Jayabhāṭṭa IV, the Gurjara ruler of Broach, boasts that he was “the very cloud (in the form of) Jayabhāṭṭa who has forcibly extinguished the fire (in the state) of Tajjikas who had caused plenty of suffering to numerous people, in the city of the Lord of Valabhi with the water of the edge of his sword.” But the Hindu resistance proved futile till at Navasāri the confederate army was reinforced by the Chālukya troops under prince Pulikeśi; who routed the Tajjikas, and won from a grateful sovereign the epithets of “Dakṣināpatha Svādhārana” or solid pillar of Dakshina-patha or the Deccan and “Aḍivarta Kanivartayitr” or Repeller of the Unrepellable.

It is thus clear that along with other states in the north-west, the Maitraka kingdom was also wrecked by the invaders, and confusion reigned therein for the next two decades, when the scattered remnants of this principality were put together by Śilāditya V.

The diūkaka of the grant was prince Śilāditya who was probably the same Śilāditya V who succeeded this king. Another officer, the writer of his grant was Gillaka, the son of Buddhabhaṭa. He was also a Balādhikṛta.

1 Acharya, op. et loc. cit.
2 Bühler, op. cit., pp. 114-5. (Kāvi-plates), Acharya, “A Grant of the Gurjara King Jayabhāṭṭa III: year 486,” E. I., XXIII, pp. 151, 154, notes 7 and 1 respectively. The line as corrected by Dr. Chakravarti is: “Prasabhāṃ Valabhī-patḥḥ pure yō (ye) n-āśeṣa-lōka-sāṃ (tāpa)-kalāṃ-da-Tajjik-analaḥ; Ja(ya)bhaṭa-Jalda esha sa(h).” Dr. Chakravarti remarks that “there could not have been any reference to a fight with the Lord of Valabhi in the fragmentary Kāvi Plate of Jayabhāṭṭa III (K. 486) as suggested by Bühler and adopted in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I.—On the other hand, it appears that the latter came to Valabhi to help its ruler in fighting the Tajjikas or the Arab invaders who were the common enemies of all the rulers of western India.”
4 Two copper-plate grants of this king are known to us; both are dated v.s. 403 (i.e., A.D. 722). The donees of both the grants were Brāhmaṇas. They were Śravānins and belonged to the Gārgya-gotra. The genealogy recorded in these grants is a bit different from that of the other grants. Here Dhrusasena III is described as Dharasena III’s son. This is probably due to the writer’s mistake, as it differs from a large number of other records of the line which give a different genealogy.—Mandlik, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 335.
CHAPTER XIX

SILADITYA V

(A.D. 740-762)

When the stirring events mentioned in the last chapter were taking place, two royal houses were slowly laying the foundations of their power in central India. They were the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The former had before the invasion of the Tājikas wrested the province of Mālavā from the Maitrakas who had held it for more than a century. The origin of this dynasty is still obscure. While it was agreed on all hands that Mahodaya or Kanauj became their capital from the time of Bhoja I onwards, nothing was known until recently as to where they were ruling before they came to Kanauj, and it was a mere surmise when Vincent Smith sought to connect them with Bihimal or Bhinamāl in Rajputānā. However, on the strength of a verse from the Harivamśa which describes Vatsarāja, the Gurjara Pratihāra, as the monarch of Avanti (Ujjain) in A.D. 784, when Jinasena wrote his book, it has been concluded that Mālavā was their home province. This is said to be confirmed by the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa which aver that, when Dantidurga (A.D. 745-756) performed the ceremony of Hiranyakarbhā at Ujjain, “the Gurjara lord and others were made doorkeepers.”

When did the Gurjara-Pratihāras come by this province? Nāgabhāṭṭa, the founder of this royal line, is represented as having defeated the Mlechchha army—a description which agrees perfectly with the statement of Biladurī, who in this connection merely says that the Ārabs “made incursions against Ujjain,” whereas in connection with others he uses the words conquered or defeated. From these circumstances the inference is justified that Mālavā had been constituted into a separate kingdom under the Gurjara-Pratihāras some time before this invasion of the Tājikas. It may here be observed that in the comprehensive list of the states destroyed by the latter the Navasāri

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1 Appendix F.
7 Elliot, History of India, I, p. 126; Majumdar, op. cit., E. I., XVIII, p. 102.
plates of Pulakeśin-Jayaśraya, above referred to, do not include Avanti, while they specifically mention Surāśtra in which Valabha is situated. However, in the absence of any historical data, we may only hazard the guess that the province perhaps passed to the Gurjara Pratihāras as a result of the defeat of the Maitrakas by the Chālukyas. Dr. Altekar has advanced the view that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra I joined this campaign as one of the feudatories of the Chālukya king. We may not be far too wrong, if we suggest that Nāgabhaṭṭa also co-operated with the latter by causing a diversion from the north or northeast, if Bhinamāla is taken to be his original seat of government. In the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhōjadeva, one of Nāgabhaṭṭa’s descendants, he is spoken of as having overwhelmed the Saindhavas. The latter were the feudatories of the Maitrakas, who may have on this occasion charged them with the defence of the northern frontiers.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the only power that had been left untouched by the invasions of the Ta[jjikas. To the Chālukya empire already exhausted by the age-long warfare with the Pallavas, the Ta[jjika invasion was indeed the last straw. Furthermore, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were fortunate in their king Danti-ḍūrga, a great leader “gifted with political insight and possessed of great organising capacity.” He was quick to exploit the weakness of his neighbours including that of his overlord. He defeated the Chālukya Kirtivarman II “without taking up,” as the Samangad plates put it, “his polished weapon; unawares, without any inward concentration of his thoughts (?), and without any effort,—by simply knitting his brows, he straightaway conquered Vallabha with a spike of wild rice that served him as a mace, and acquired the condition

1 Altekar, op. cit., p. 32.
2 Huen Tsiang who visited India towards the middle of the seventh century speaks of a Gurjara kingdom which roughly included part of northern Gujarāt and south of Rajputānā with its capital at Pl-lo-molo, which has been identified with Bhīmlā or Bhīnahāla. Nāgabhāṭṭa may have carved for himself a kingdom round about this ancient seat of the Gurjaras, while the latter ruled from Mandor, P. R. A. S., W. C., 1907-1908, pp. 40-41.
3 Cf. Altekar, “Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli,” E. I., XXVI, p. 186; A. R. A. S. I., 1903-1904, p. 281. This fact, however, is not recorded in the same inscription as edited by Majumdar, E. I., XVIII, p. 111. Puṣyadeva, the founder of this dynasty, was probably an emigrant from Sindh so that though he himself traced his descent to the Jayadradhavaṇā, he was known to the people he came to live with as a Saindhava, or as he would have been called to-day a Sindi. He began his career as a military leader and ended by founding a dynasty. He and his descendants styled themselves “apara-Surāṣṭra-mandaṇḍana”—an epithet which shows that their sphere of influence was confined to Kāṭhīawād. Being a coastal power the Maitrakas had quickly realized the need and uses of a navy, and the A. M. M. K., refers to this arm in connection with a Valabha king. (Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, pp. 24-25.) It is possible that Puṣyadeva began as an admiral of the Maitraka fleet and the family eventually developed considerable naval strength which justified their second title ‘apara-samudrādhipati,’ or masters of the Western Ocean. Their capital was Bhūṭāmbilika or modern Gumli, where they ruled from c. A.D. 740 to 920 (Altekar, op. cit., p. 186).
4 Altekar, op. cit., p. 40.
of being the supreme king of kings and the supreme lord. Even with but a few dependents, possessed of chariots and horses which were not to be conquered, he quickly overcame the boundless army of the Karnāṭaka which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kañchī and the king of Kerala and the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas and Śrī-Harṣa and Vajraṭa. The whole of Mahārāṣṭra now lay at his feet, as places mentioned in these plates would amply testify. Shortly before this he had taken the country between the Mahā and the Revā, by storm. This was the old Gurjara kingdom of Broach or Nandipuri; it had remained loyal to the Chālukyas till the very end. Dantidūrga made it over to the charge of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Nāgabhāṭṭa who had in the meanwhile accepted his overlordship. It will be remembered that the latter had acted as door-keeper at his capital Ujjain when Dantidūrga performed there the Hiranagarbha ceremony—a post of honour, reserved at the time we are speaking of, to the most trusted feudatories. Over southern Gujarāt Kakka II, his kinsman was possibly appointed in the capacity of a governor.

Śilāditya V had in the meanwhile restored his authority in Surāstra, the original kingdom. In v.s. 441 (i.e., c. A.D. 760) we find him embarked on an enterprise against some neighbouring power, in the course of which he fixed his camp at Gōdraka, probably the present Godhra in the Pañchamahāl district. Now the direction of this place which is situated to the north-east of Valabhi shows, if anything, that the Maitraka forces were proceeding towards Mālavā. It is likely that Śilāditya was then endeavouring to retrieve this province from its usurper Nāgabhāṭṭa. Though he failed in his attempts to dislodge the latter, the expedition was nevertheless a success inasmuch as he was able to recover the Kheṭaka-āhāra from its present occupant.

Before the close of his reign, however, Śilāditya had to repel another invasion of the Tañjikas. In c. A.D. 760 Hasham, the governor of Sindh, sent “Amrū bin Jamāl with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada,” which seems

2 Ibid.
4 Ghosh (cf. I. H. Q., VII, p. 754) thinks that acting in this capacity was more a dishonour than anything else. But it should not be forgotten that Harṣa reserved these posts to his most faithful allies and friends Bhāskaravarman of Assam and his son-in-law and feudal lord Dhrusvanasa II, at the quinquennial assembly held at Prayāga. Beal, op. cit., p. 185.
7 The villages granted in the Alīpū plates of the next ruler Śilāditya VI are all in the Kaira district; cf. Fleet, C. I. I., III, p. 189; Buhler, op. cit., VII, p. 79 ff.
8 Elliot, op. cit., I, p. 444; Muhammad Umar (Kokil), op. cit., p. 25 ff.
to be the present village of Bardia, ten miles to the north-west of Porbandar.\(^1\) Since the Arab historians, who hardly miss an opportunity of singing their victories, have bestowed on it merely a passing notice, it must have been easily beaten off. The brunt of this attack was borne by the Saindhava feudatory Agguka, who with his flotilla probably became the hero of the war. Agguka, we are told "showed the greatness of Varāha when he easily rescued his country, which was being drowned in an ocean of naval force sent by powerful enemies."\(^2\)

The dūtaka of this king was Śrī Jaiju whose titles are not legible in the only known grant of Śilāditya. The writer was one Śaśigupta whose titles are not mentioned in their record.

\(^1\) Altekar, *op. cit.*, *E. I.*, XXVI, p. 190

\(^2\) *Ibid*, p. 190 (lines 4-5).
CHAPTER XX
SILADITYA VI
(A.D. 762-C. 776)

Siladitya VI succeeded to the throne of Valabhi in c. A.D. 762. Like his father he is accorded, in his Aliṇā grant of v.s. 447 (i.e., A.D. 766), all the imperial titles of his family: Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājaḥdirāja and Paramesvara. This circumstance is enough to show that, though their kingdom had suffered a contraction the Maitrakas had not as yet bowed to the Rāṣṭrakaūtas. In fact, issued as it is from his victorious camp of Anandapura (modern Vadnagar) the inscription under reference proves on the contrary that Siladitya was ever intent on conquest. It is likely that the war with the Gurjara-Pratiharas, started in the last reign, had been protracted, and it was in the course of one of the expeditions connected therewith that Siladitya encamped at Anandapura. Clearly, the Maitrakas had taken full advantage of the confusion reigning in the northern parts of the Rāṣṭraṇā empire, thanks to the clash between Karka II, their governor of Gujarāt who was developing imperial ambitions, and the new Rāṣṭraṇā emperor Kṛṣṇa I, consequent on the latter’s murder of Dantidurga. The Maitrakas may even have allied themselves with the neighbouring rulers like the Abhiras and the Gurjaras of Mandor, to both of whom the rising Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty was alike a menace. Nāgabhaṭṭa had long died and had been succeeded by his nephew Kakkuka or Kākustha, and he in turn by his brother Devarāja. Now we know it for a fact that the former was defeated by the Abhiras, who infested the environs of Jodhpur and the latter by Siluka, the king of the Gurjaras of Mandor.

Surāṭra was again invaded by the Tajjikas (Arabs) in A.H. 159 (c. A.D. 776). This time they seem to have come in force. For unlike the previous occasion the township of Bārada easily fell to them. But sickness broke out

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1 The Hansot grant of Bhāṛṭravaddha II (op. et loc. cit.) states that his father was Dhruva-bhaṭṭa. We also know that this king Siladitya was called by this name; from this Dr. Sten Konow has inferred that the king Siladitya may have been related to him from his mother’s side, possibly the latter was his maternal grandfather. However, in the absence of any reliable evidence we cannot say with certainty whether this relationship existed.


3 Ibid. p. 170.

4 Altekar, Rāṣṭrakaūtas, p. 42.


6 Majumdar, op. cit., E. I., XVIII, p. 103; Vallee Poussin, op. cit., pp. 116, 120.

7 Cf. Elliot, op. cit., II, p. 245 ff; Kokil, op. cit., p. 25.

8 This fleet brought the well-known Muslim author Rabia-bin-Sabih with it.
in their camp and "swept away a great portion of the troops." "And the rest," we are told, "on their return, were shipwrecked on the coast of Persia." "So that" concludes the annalist, "the Khalif Mahdī was deterred from any further attempts upon India."1

Śilāditya VI is the last known Maitraka king with whom this illustrious line becomes extinct. The exact date of the event, however, is still undetermined. In the Jaina authorities it is variously stated to have taken place in Vik. S. 375 (A.D. 319),2 Vik. S. 475 (i.e., A.D. 419),3 Vik. S. 573 (i.e., A.D. 517),4 and Vik. S. 845 (i.e., A.D. 789).5 But the first three dates are clearly out of question. The last date is given by Jaina Prabhavasūri and seems to come closer to the truth. Nevertheless, this too is unacceptable; for it is now an established fact that the kingdom was no longer existing when in A.D. 7836 Jinasena wrote his Jaina Harivarṇa. In a well-known passage in the latter work this writer tells us that it "was finished in Śaka Sainvat 705 (expired), = A.D. 783, when there were reigning,—in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with modern Wādhawāna in the Jhālavād division of Kāṭhīawād—in the north, Indrayuḍha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avanti.

1 Elliot, op. cit., I, p. 444. An echo of this invasion and the havoc caused thereby is to be found in the Vividhatirthakalpa of Jina-prabhasūri, in which it is related that the Mencha armies under Hammir invaded and destroyed Valabhi and in consequence the Hindu and the Jaina statuary had to be removed to Srimāla. The Tappogačchha-Pattavali by Vijayasūri again refers to the three invasions of the Tajjikas, but it misnames them as "Turkas of Ghazani." The author evidently confused them with the Ghaznavids, as he wrote in a later period, when the havoc caused by the latter was fresh in his mind.

2 Jīnavijaya, Pūrātan Prabandha Saṅgraha, 192; the same date is also given by Tod Western India, p. 506.

3 Merutunga, Prabandhachintāmanī.

4 Rajasekharasūri, Prabandhakośa, Ch. VII, śloka 66.

5 Jina-prabhasūri, Vividhatirthakalpa, p. 29.

6 Recently attempts have been made somehow to bring the Jaina dates of the fall of Valabhi closer to those of the Arab raid (in A.D. 776) and of the last known record of the last Valabhi king Śilāditya (A.D. 766). It is argued that the year 375 of the Prabandhakośa may be a mistake for 475, the year given by the Prabandhachintāmanī (the year as read by Muni Jīnavijaya is 573, but it can also be read as 375). This may be of the Gupta-Valabhi era instead of the Vikrama era given in these works. Accordingly, we get (475 + 319) c. A.D. 794 as the year of the fall of Valabhi. Similarly, the year 477 of the Śurūvālaya Mahātmya is also taken to be of the Gupta-Valabhi era which makes (477 + 319) c. A.D. 798 the date of the fall of the city. Further, the year 845 of the Vividhatirthakalpa is taken to be of the Vikrama era which places the event in c. A.D. 789. But, as we have seen above, the fall of Valabhi took place prior to A.D. 783, i.e., about ten to fifteen years earlier than any of these three dates (A.D. 794, 789 and 798).
(Ujjain); and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas."

The circumstances under which the Maitrakas were overthrown are nowhere mentioned save in the legendary accounts which connect the event with the Tajjika invasions. One such legend was related to Alberuni when he visited India, and is reported by him in his fascinating account of our country: "A man of the rank of a Siddha asked a herdsman with reference to a plant called Thohar, of the species of the Lactaria, from which milk flows when they are torn off, whether he had ever seen Lactaria from which blood flows instead of milk. When the herdsman declared he had, he gave him some drink-money that he should show it to him, which he did. When the man now saw the plant, he set fire to it, and threw the dog of the herdsman into the flame. Enraged thereby, the herdsman caught the man, and did with the same as he had done to his dog. Then he waited till the fire was extinguished, and found both the man and the dog, but turned into gold. He took the dog with him, but left the man on the spot.

"Now some peasant happened to find it. He cut off a finger, and went to a fruit-seller who was called Raṅka, i.e., the poor, because he was an utter pauper, and evidently near bankruptcy. After the peasant had bought from him what he wanted, he returned to the golden man, and then he found that in the place where the cut off finger had been, a new finger had grown. He cut off a second time, and bought again from the same fruit-seller all that he wanted. But when the fruit-seller asked him whence he had the finger, he was stupid enough to tell him. So Raṅka went out to the body of the Siddha, and brought it on a carriage to his house. He stayed in his old abode, but managed by degrees to buy the whole town. The king Vallabha desired to own the same town, and asked him to cede it to him for money, but Raṅka declined. Being, however, afraid of the king’s resentment, he fled to the lord of Almansūra, made him presents of money, and asked him to help him by a naval force.

1 Majumdar, op. cit., E. I., XVIII, p. 102.


Dr. Bhandarkar has withdrawn his objection to the reading and interpretation of this passage by Dr. Fleet in editing the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa, E. I., XVIII, p. 239. Dr. Bhandarkar had proposed to separate Vatsaratāja from the king of Avanti. Contra. Ghosh, I. H. Q., VII, p. 753. It is now idle to press this point.
The lord of Almansūra complied with his desire, and assisted him. So he made a night attack upon the king Vallabha, and killed him and his people, and destroyed his town.”

It will be seen from this account that the fall of Valabhi was associated in men’s minds with the repeated incursions of the Tajjikas, which must have eventually brought about its end by thoroughly exhausting its resources.

As a fitting epitaph of this dynasty we may here cite the description of the last ruler Śilāditya VI, as given in his Alina plates, a description in which the noblest qualities of the kings of this line are crystallized, qualities which made the period of their rule an era of prosperity to the country over which they swayed their sceptre: “the glorious Dhruvabhaṭṭa, born in a lineage of supreme kings of kings and supreme lords, (and) possessed of great happiness—who is renowned for an abundance of heroism that is hard to be resisted; who is the abode of the goddess of fortune; who has striven to destroy hell; who has made it (his) sole resolve to save the earth; whose fame is as pure as the rays of the full-moon;—who is full of virtue through his knowledge of the three (vedas) who has conquered the ranks of (his) enemies; who is possessed of happiness . . .; who always confers happiness; who is the abode of knowledge; who is a protector of the world, whom all people applaud; who is attended by learned men; who is praised far and wide on the earth;—who is resplendent with jewels; who has a beautiful person, who is a very pile of

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1 Sachau, Alberuni’s India, pp. 192-193.

2 Tod relates in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajashan, I, p. 258 what befell the Valabhi queen after she had escaped the sack of Valabhi. According to his account she was the daughter of the Paramāra prince of Chandrāvati (history of this dynasty is very little known, except the account given in the Someśvara praśasti which mentions its existence). It is said of her that she had been to pilgrimage when the city was wrecked by the foreigners. She took refuge in a cave in the mountain of Malia where she gave birth to a son. Before committing Sati, she confided the infant to a Brahmana lady named Kamalāvati who was staying at Birnagar, charging her with the upbringing of the young prince, who was to be educated as a Brahmana but to be married to a Rajput lady. The legend further says that from this boy the Guhil dynasty of Mewār sprang up. This, however, is far from the truth, as has already been seen in a previous chapter. On the authority of Baxi, Safar Nama Ye Suleman, Prof. Nadvi (Ahmadabad) believes that the Rāṣṭrakūtas were responsible for the Maitraka downfall. The enemy troops, according to him, consisted chiefly of Muslims, and hence the tradition that Valabhi was destroyed by the Mencñas. On the other hand, Mr. Mahipat Ram Ruparam, in his historical novel, Vanarāj Chāvādā, conjectures that the fall of Valabhi was brought about by the Gurjaras of the Panjab. But this is merely a figment of the mind of the novelist and nothing more.

That he was also called Śilāditya is known from the same record.
jewels that are virtuous qualities; who is endowed with the choicest virtues of lordship and prowess; . . . whose great prowess is sung over the (whole) earth.”

On the fall of the Maitrakas their viceroy at Vāmanasthali and Girinagar became independent and established their own dynasties.

1 Fleet, op. cit., C. I. I., III, p. 189. Soddhala in his Udayasundari kathā (A.D. 1026) while tracing his descent from Kālāditya, the brother of Śilāditya (VI) of Valabhi says that the latter prevailed against his enemies save Dharmapāla, the lord of the North (Uttarāpatha). The conflict of Śilāditya with Dharmapāla mentioned here need not be taken seriously. The clash between Vatsarāja of the Gurjara-Pratihāra and Dharmapāla took place after A.D. 783. If, however, evidence be forthcoming to substantiate this alleged conflict between Dharmapāla and Śilāditya, this will presuppose an alliance between Vatsarāja and the latter in the course of which Śilāditya marched out of his kingdom across Mālavā to meet Dharmapāla on whom Vatsarāja had declared war. Cf. Altekar, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 55 ff.

2 Altekar, “The Solanki Dynasty at Junagadh,” Ancient Cities and Towns in Gujurat Kāthiawād, p. 41; Śāstri, Gujarātī Itihāsīc Sādhana, p. 190; Watson, “Legends of the Earlier Chudāsamā of Junagadh,” I. A., II, 312. There is a Jain legend connected with the fall of Valabhi: according to it a sage Dhoondulec Mull “came with a single disciple to Wullubheepoor. The holy man made his residence at the foot of the hill called Eshālna, near Chamārde, a spot which was at that time in the very outskirts of Wullubhee. The disciple went into the city to seek alms, but received none; he then cut wood in the jungle, which he took into the city and sold, and thus procuring money, purchased flour. No one, however, would make it into bread for him, until at last a potter's wife performed this service. After several days had passed on in this manner, the hair on the disciple's head began to be worn away, from this continually carrying loads. The sage asked the reason, and received for answer, 'Mighty Sovereign! in this city there is no one who gives alms, I am, therefore, compelled to cut wood and sell it, and a potter's wife makes bread for me—in the labour my hair is worn away.' The holy man said, 'I will myself go to-day to beg.' He did so, but with the exception of the potter's wife no one gave alms. The saint became very angry; he sent his disciple to tell the potter, 'Take your family with you and leave the city. The very day it shall be overwhelmed . . . . the saint having taken into his hands an earthen vessel, reserved it, pronouncing the words,—'city! be you overthrown, and thy wealth turned into dust,' (Pattan sō daṭṭan). In the moment Wullubhe was destroyed.” Rawlinson, Forbes’ Rāṣa Māla, I, pp. 17-18. The truth in this legend has been doubted; for as Mr. Parakh has observed in his work on Gujerat history in Marāthi (Gurjara Desācha Itihāsa, p. 14), “the kings and people of Valabhi were liberal and charitable,” an observation which is also borne out by the Valabhi records.

One more tradition (mentioned in the Purātana-Prabandha Sangraha, para 193) makes the Mencchas responsible for the fall of Valabhi. It further condemns the extremely greedy nature of its subjects which resulted in their indifference to religious duties like Agnihotras. The fact that a poor Brāhmaṇa who had asked his wife to beg some ghee for the Agnihotra ceremony and was given urine of an ass instead is given there as an instance in point. In the belief that it was pure ghee, the Brāhmaṇa used it in the ceremony and was surprised to find gold at the place of the hotra. From this habit of using ass's urine in the place of ghee with the desire of getting gold, the greed for gold took possession of these people, and they refrained from offering sacrifices with the result that they were defeated by the Mencchas, since they were not backed up by the spiritual force of religion. (Cf. Rājaśekharasūri, Purātana Prabandha Sangraha, para 193 ff., edited by Jīnavijaya.)
CHAPTER XXI

THE VALABHI ERA

Curiously enough the Maitraka kings, in dating their documents, did not make use of the name by which the era in which they lived and prospered, is known to us to-day and which is now closely associated with their rule. They contented themselves with giving the bare Sāṁvat or year of the inscription. The reason for this seems to be shrouded in mystery and forms the subject-matter of an interesting controversy among present-day scholars. Indeed, it has been doubted whether the Maitrakas of Valabhi had anything to do with the institution of this era at all.

The earliest known of their grants bears the date Sāṁvat 183,¹ and was issued by king Drōnasimha, who was the third in succession but the first de jure ruler of that line. The last, dated 477,² belongs to king Śilāditya VI (VII), who was probably also the last of the Maitrakas. From these copper-plate grants themselves it is not possible to say whether the era was something totally new of their own creation or one already in existence at the time of their assumption of sway over Valabhi. The most important and definite sources of information for ascertaining the initial year of the Valabhi era are the two inscriptions found at Verāwal, in Kāthiāwād, dated respectively in the years 927 and 945 of the Valabhi Sāṁvat.³ The second of these is also dated according to three other well-established eras, giving three different dates equivalent to the Valabhi Sāṁvat 945. These years are, the Hijari 662, the Vikrama 1320, and the Simha 151.⁴ From a comparison of these dates it is clear that the Valabhi era comes 375 years later than the well-known Vikrama era, or in other words, it commenced in the 375th year of the Vikrama Sāṁvat, i.e., in about A.D. 319, and was still in current usage during the thirteenth century of the Christian era, at least in this part of India.⁵

Assuming that the Valabhi era and the era mentioned in the Maitraka grants are the same, it would follow that the Maitraka dynasty started on its career about 183 years after its commencement. For, although Bhaṭārka,

⁴ Ibid.
⁵ The date in the Verāwal inscription of v.s. 927 is given as: “Srimad-Valabhi-Sa(m)vat 927 varsha Phalguna su di 2 Saume.” This gives ‘ Valabhi Sāṁvat 927, current; the month Phalguna; the bright fortnight; the second solar day of the fortnight and presumably Monday.’ If the day is read as Monday, then the corresponding date falls on 19th February A.D. 1246.
the founder of the Maitraka line, established his power at Valabhī some years before this, he and his immediate successor continued to be feudatories of the Guptas, and it is Drōṇasimha who was the first independent king and the real founder of the dynasty. The question naturally arises whether the Valabhī era, bearing as it does the name of the capital city of the Maitrakas, originated with its foundation. Indeed, such a suggestion would seem to be justified by the reluctance of the kings to use the name of the era in dating their grants. But both the copper-plate records and the bardic tradition1 are unanimous in attributing the foundation of the city of Valabhi to Bhatārka. Could he or his immediate successor, like him a vassal of the Guptas, have dared to start an era of their own while continuing in their subordinate position? Even if we assume that the capital city existed before Bhatārka and his line, there is hardly any evidence worth the name to justify our belief that it had attained a position of pre-eminence sufficient to have an era named after it. Moreover, as we have already noted, the Maitrakas do not specify the era in dating their records. Such a practice of giving the bare date with the name of the era understood could have come into fashion only when a particular era had already become well established in country-wide usage. An instance in point may be cited from our own practice of giving the bare figures '1952' without naming the words of 'the Christian era.' The conclusion seems to be inevitable that the Maitrakas may have adopted an era started by some other ruling family and already current in Surāṣṭra at the time when they established their rule.

What was then this era, which was current in Kāthiāwād about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.? The Jūnagadha rock inscriptions offer a clue to the solution of our problem. One of these inscriptions belongs to the time of the Mahākṣatrapa ruler, Rudradamaṇ, and is dated in the year 72 of the Śaka era.2 Clearly, then, the Śaka era was current in Kāthiāwād during the Kṣatrapa period, i.e., from the second to the fourth century A.D. After this the country passed under the sway of the Guptas, and the inscription of Skandagupta found on the same rock, and dated in g.s. 138, is evidence enough that the Gupta era was current during this period.3 After the death of Skandagupta the Gupta power over this part of the country declined. It was at this time, as we have seen in the chapters on political history, that Bhatārka established a separate dynasty at Valabhī. Now, the last date known to have been recorded by the Guptas in Surāṣṭra is g.s. 138 (i.e., A.D. 457) and the earliest known date of the Maitraka kings, given by the Bhāmodar Mōhota plate of Drōṇasimha, is 183 (i.e., A.D. 502). The interval of forty-five years between the two dates is long enough to fit in the two predecessors of Drōṇasimha, Bhatārka and Dharasena I, the latter of whom appears to have ruled only for a few years. Accordingly, we may take it that the era used by the Maitraka

1 Watson, op. cit., II, p. 313 ff.
2 Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 7.
3 Ibid., No. 15.
kings was the same as that used by their immediate predecessors, a conclusion supported by the fact that the initial year of both the eras was A.D. 319.

We might ask ourselves at this stage why the Gupta era as used by the Maithra kings came to be called by the Valabhi name in the post-Maithra period. An answer to this question is attempted by Alberuni in his account of India. During his stay in the country (A.D. 1030) he became acquainted with the different eras current here, and he offers the following remarks regarding them: "People have given up using them (the eras called Kālayavana, Pāṇḍavakāla, Kalikāla, and so on) and have adopted the eras of

1. Śrī Harṣa
2. Vikramāditya
3. Śaka
4. Valabha, and
5. Gupta."¹

A description of each follows, and regarding the Valabhi era with which we are here concerned, he says: "the era of Valabha is called so from Valabha, the ruler of the town Valabhi, nearly 30 yojanas south of Aṇhīlavāra. 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 Śakakāla, and then subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 (216 + 25 = 241). The remainder is the year of the Valabha era."² And further, comparing it with the Vikrama era, "the epoch of the era of Śaka or Śakakāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya."³ He also gives the following formula to ascertain the date according to either era when one of them only is mentioned: "The year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:

1. To the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harṣa,
2. To the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya,
3. To the year 953 of the Śakakāla,
4. To the year 712 of the Valabha era,

which is identical with the Guptakāla."⁴ Alberuni, however, accounts for the change of name from Gupta to Valabha with the remark that "the era of Valabha is called so from Valabha, the ruler of the town Valabhi."⁵ His explanation, of course, does not appear convincing. For one thing, there has been no king of this name among the Maithrakas. For another, the traitor

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¹ Sachau, *Alberuni’s India*, II, p. 5.
² Ibid., p. 7.
³ Ibid., p. 6.
⁴ Ibid., p. 7.
⁵ Ibid. A correct result may be obtained by taking Śaka Saṅvat 1167 expired.
Raṅka who, according to Alberuni, betrayed "king Valabha" to the Arabs, actually lived, as known from Jain tradition, during the reign of Śilāditya. What is not shown anywhere is that Śilāditya had the appellation of Valabha. Possibly, either Alberuni himself, coming some three centuries after the last king Śilāditya, or the Hindus from whom he got the tradition made some confusion between the king of Valabha and 'King Valabha', or it may be that Alberuni arrived at his conclusion by merely arguing on the analogy of the other eras which go for the most part by the name of some tribe or person. To our own mind, the real reason for different names seems to be that though, as pointed out by Dr. Fleet,¹ the two eras were identical for the most part, the Valabhi era was nonetheless, different in so far as it had certain peculiarities of its own.

These peculiarities can be ascertained only from the dates given in the Maitraka records. These records give the year, the month, the fortnight, and the lunar day (tithi) as prescribed by the Hindu Dharmaśāstras.² The first word 'Saṁ' is an abbreviation of 'Saṁvatsara', i.e., the year; next, the number of the year is given in figures; the comens the name of the month which in all cases, is followed by the name of the fortnight 'Su' in case of 'Sukla-pakṣasya', i.e., bright half, and 'ba' for 'bahula-pakṣasya' in case of the dark half of the month; last of all comes the date (tithi) given in figures.³ These dates, however, do not directly help in ascertaining the local peculiarities and in telling us, for instance, whether the era was current or had expired, whether it was Chaitrādi or Kārtikādi, whether months were purīṇānti or amānta, i.e., ending with the full moon or the new moon, and so on. We have to find them with the aid of test cases like those of eclipses and the intercalary months that are mentioned in these records. We have in all four such cases. The Bāntia grant of king Dharasena II records a solar eclipse (sūryoparāga) on the new moon day of Vaiśākha in the year 254⁴; the Kaira grant of king Dharasena IV records a second-Mārgaśīra⁵ (Dvi-Mārga) in the year 330⁶; the Valā grant of king Śilāditya III records a second Áṣādha in the year 343⁷; and the Jesar grant of the same ruler provides us with a second Pauṣa in the year 357⁸.

¹ Fleet, op. cit. (introduction), pp. 72-73.
² Kane, op. cit., II, p. 837 ff.
³ The week days are not recorded in the Maitraka grants along with the dates, otherwise that would have been an important factor to decide this question.
⁴ Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 44; the year of this plate was first read as 257 by Mr. Diskalkar (Wat. Mus. Rept., 1925-26, p. 13) but is now corrected by Dr. Dikshit as 254, cf. E. I., XXI, p. 179.
⁵ Intercalation of a month is indicated by the mention of the word 'Dvi', i.e., Dvitiya, before the name of the month.
⁶ Bühler, "The Kaira grant of Dharasena IV," I. A., XV, p. 335 ff; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 73.
⁷ Diskalkar, op. cit. (N. S.), I, p. 37; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 78.
Now, applying the Chaitrādi system of the Gupta era to all these cases, according to the epoch of A.D. 319-20 we might obtain solutions to some of our questions. The years corresponding to 254, 330, 343 and 357 of the Valabhi era will be A.D. 573-4, 649-50, 662-3 and 676-7 respectively. First of all, as we find it recorded in the calendar, a solar eclipse did occur in Vaiśākha of the year A.D. 373, if the months are named according to the Purnimānta system (i.e., ending with the full moon day). Similarly we find Srāvana instead of Aṣāḍha intercalated in A.D. 662. Thus we get a difference of 319 years between the two eras for the two summer months, Vaiśākha and Srāvana. As regards the other two cases, it must be noted that the months Mārgasira and Pauṣa can hardly be intercalated in the present system of true-intercalation, as the lunar months are generally longer than the corresponding solar months in winter. However, any month could be intercalated in the old system of mean-intercalations, as a mean lunar month is shorter than a corresponding mean solar month in all seasons. As the Valabhi grants record the winter months as intercalary, we have to calculate their dates as belonging to the system of mean-intercalation like that found in the Brahma-siddhānta. From such calculations we note that the month Pauṣa and not Mārgasira was intercalated in the year A.D. 648. A similar calculation for the year v.s. 357 brings an intercalary month of Māgha (instead of Pauṣa) in the year A.D. 675 (i.e., 357 + 318) and not in A.D. 676 or 677 (i.e., 357 + 319 or 320). These two cases indicate that in winter the difference between the epoch of the Valabhi era and the Christian era was a period of 318 years instead of 319-320. Our calculations thus give us the intercalary month uniformly one month later than the date of the records in all the three cases. But we would not be justified in rejecting this epoch merely because of this circumstance. In the normal system the intercalary months are named according to the Mīnādi rule so distinguished from the fact that at the beginning of the year in this system the sun stands on the sign of Mina. The first month is called Chaitra, the second Vaiśākha, and so on, according to the signs occurring at their commencement. Now the old Meṣādi (Aries) rule of Brahmagupta lays down that intercalated months should be named after the preceding and not after succeed-

1 An assumption that the solar months were of unequal length forms the basis of the doctrine of the Sāya-Siddhānta which is current at present.
2 The mean system is said to have been in use up to the time of Śripati (A.D. 1030), who protested against it in his Siddhānta-Śekhara (cf. Fleet, op. cit. (Introduction).
3 Bendall, A Journey in Nepal and Northern India, p. 76. In this book Mr. Bendall has given the results of calculation of Dr. Schram (Privat docent fur chronologische Astronomie at the Vienna University) and of Dr. Adams, according to which winter months also intercalated.
4 Sewell, Indian Calendar. Being satisfied with this result Dr. Bühler withdrew his objection against the view of accepting the epoch of the Guptas as that of the Valabhi Saṁvat. Bühler, op. cit., XV, p. 335; Pillai, The Indian Chronology; The Indian Ephemeres.
6 Bhuskaracharya, Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, p. 49.
ing natural months,¹ and the Meṣāḍi signs occur at the beginning of each natural month. This is entirely different in the Mīnāḍi system where the intercalary months are named after the succeeding months. For instance, when in the Mīnāḍi system the first Pauṣa is an intercalary² month in the Meṣāḍi system, it is the second Mārgasira or the Adhika-Mārgasira.³ Thus if the latter system be accepted for the Valabhi era all the three intercalary months of the Maitraka records correspond exactly to the intercalary months in the corresponding years A.D. 662, 648 and 675, and the months which are named Pauṣa, Śrāvaṇa and Māgha according as they commence in Dhanuṣ, Karka and Makara rāsīs (Signs) respectively, would be re-named Mārgasira, Aśāḍha and Pauṣa according as they end in the signs of Dhanuṣ, Karka and Makara.⁴

Next, the difference of one year observed in the cases of the Margasira and Pauṣa month of the Valabhi grants may be explained by shifting the Chaitrādi years of the Gupta Śāmvar into the Kārtikādi years, a system which was then in current usage in Kāthiāwād as at present. The commencement of the year may be taken five months earlier than in the Gupta era. Now, as we have seen above, the exact difference between the epoch of the Gupta and that of the Śaka era is 241 years according to Alberuni’s account, while according to the Kārtikādi Valabhi era it would be 240 years and 7 months.

We may well ask ourselves how some of the peculiarities native to Surāṣṭra found their way into the working of the Gupta era. As stated by Mr. Šen Gupta, it is possible that before A.D. 499 the Gupta year started with the month Pauṣa,⁵ and it was only after this year that the Guptas adopted the system of the Chaitrādi year following Brahmagupta’s theory.⁶ After this, the difference between the Gupta era and the Christian era from Chaitra to

¹ The order of the twelve rāsīs is then Meṣa, Vṛṣabha, Mithuna, Karka, Sīśāha, Kanyā, Tūla, Vṛśchika, Dhana, Makara, Kumbha and Mīna, and the corresponding months according to the Meṣāḍi system may be named Chaitra, Vaiśākhā, Jyeṣṭha, Aśāḍha, Śrāvaṇa, Bhādra-pada, Aśvin, Kārtika, Mārgasira, Pauṣa, Māgha, and Fālguna respectively.

² In the Amānta system (so called because of the months ending with the conjunction of the Sun and the Moon, i.e., with the new moon) the intercalary month precedes the natural month, and so the intercalary month is first and the natural month the second of the two; in the Purnimānta system without Meṣāḍi rules the intercalary month interposes itself between the dark and the bright half of the natural month; while in the Purnimanta system with Mesadi rule the first two fortnights make the natural month while the next two an intercalary one.

³ Fleet, op. cit. (Introduction), p. 94; Sewell, and Dikshit, The Indian Calendar, p. 27; Sewell, Indian Chronology, p. 11; Dr. Schram as quoted by Dr. Bühler, op. cit., XV, p. 338.

⁴ Here it is important to note that great significance is attached by the Dharmāśstras, to making a grant in an intercalary month, for it is believed that by that practice greater Pūṇya is obtained. Hence the Valabhi grants made in any of the Dvitiya months may have probably been an intercalary according to the Meṣāḍi system rather than that of the Mīnāḍi system of naming the intercalary month previous to the natural month.


⁶ Ibid.
December was 319 years, and that from January to Fālguṇa 320 years. This epoch is not quite applicable to the Valabhi Saṁvat between which and the Christian era, according to the calculation given above, the difference in case of the winter months was 318 and in summer it was 319. The probable reason for this change may be that when in the year A.D. 499 the Gupta era of northern India underwent a change, the Guptas had lost their influence over the Maitrakas who, possibly did not like to follow their example. In their turn they may have preferred to adopt the system current in Surāśṭra over which they ruled; and unlike the Guptas they had their capital at the very centre of their dominions instead of at a far off extremity.

The Devāli grant of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Govinda IV made to a Brāhmaṇa of Valabhi, records a solar eclipse in the Valabhi Saṁvat 500. Unfortunately the month, the fortnight and the date of the inscription, which would have been an additional and useful test case to ascertain the epoch of this era, are not deciphered. However, working on the basis of A.D. 318-9 as the initial date of the Valabhi Saṁvat, we do find that a solar eclipse occurred on the Amāvāsyā day in the month of Āśādha, i.e., Purnimānta Śrāvana Amāvāsyā, on Sunday, 26th of June (500 + 319) A.D. 819. This would strengthen the above theory.

Our conclusions are that the Valabhi era was Kārtikādi and Pūranimānta; that the epoch of its year falls in about A.D. 318-9, that a Meṣādi instead of Minādi rule was applied in naming its months; that its year commenced earlier than the Chaitrādi year by five months; and lastly that it included a system of mean-intercalation.

Unfortunately, some scholars do not accept the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi eras even as approximately near or equal to one another. Among the

1 In his article on "The Gupta Era," Mr. Sen Gupta has once again proved with the test cases of the Gupta era that it was equal to A.D. 319-20, cf. op. et loc. cit.
2 Cf. Chapters on Political History.
4 From the month Kārtika (i.e., 4th October 818) to December of the year A.D. 818 1st January 319 to 22nd October 819 (i.e., Āśvin) only one solar eclipse had taken place on Sunday the 26th of June 319, which should be taken as the date of issuing this grant according to our data.
5 Besides this we find about four inscriptions of the ninth and the tenth centuries of the Valabhi era (Bhandarkar's Nos. 1379-82), but as they give the bare date without any specific reference to the name of the day or the like, none of them help to solve the above question.
6 In the true system of intercalation "all the years from 1 A.C. down to 2000 A.C. the month of Margaśīra never intercalated, save in one and the only one year 1296 A.C., whereas according to the system of mean intercalations, however, there are frequent intercalations of Margaśīra, no less frequent than those of the other lunar months." Evidently therefore it is this system that seems to have been adopted in the date of the Valabhi grants. Cf. Pai, op. cit., XII, p. 222.
earliest of them Mr. Thomas tried to apply the Śaka era to the Gupta dates and suggested that the Vikrama era was probably one which would be identical with the Valabhi era of the Maitraka grants.  

1 Dr. Bhau Daji and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar tried to identify the Valabhi era with the Śaka era.  

2 But on noticing the chronological inconsistency they changed their view and accepted the theory that the Valabhi era is the same as the Gupta era.  

3 On identifying the Valabhi king Dhruvapāta mentioned by Huen Tsiang, with Śīlāditya VII, Dr. Bühler suggested that the era used by the Valabhi kings commenced shortly before or after the year A.D. 200.  

4 Dr. Cunningham who also applied his mind to the subject maintained that the era mentioned in the Valabhi grants commenced in A.D. 166-7.  

5 In the year 1888, Dr. Fleet, writing his book on the Gupta Inscriptions, discussed the problem at length and rightly discarded the various theories and gave his decision in favour of Alberuni’s statement.  

6 We, however, know that some exceptions are still there, and scholars like Dr. Shamasastri, Mr. Pai, Mr. Mookerjee and Mr. Shankar have opposed the views of Dr. Fleet. Dr. Shamasastri advocated the epoch of A.D. 200-1. Mr. Pai assigned A.D. 272-3 as the epoch of the Gupta era and A.D. 334-7 for the Valabhi era; lastly, from the year 1932 onward Mr. Mookerjee would have us accept the year 58 B.C. as the initial year of this era; and he has tried to identify it with the well-known Vikrama era.

According to all these suggestions the initial date of the Valabhi era may vary from 56 B.C. to A.D. 337 and the dates of the Maitraka inscriptions may fall between A.D. 127 and 391 (according to the epoch of 56-7 B.C.), or between A.D. 520 and 784 (according to the epoch of A.D. 334-7). This wide gulf of four centuries can be considerably reduced by taking into account contemporary evidence of the Valabhi period. The account of Huen Tsiang who visited India in C. A.D. 640 reveals that the Valabhi kingdom was in its flourishing state at the time of his visit to the court of the Maitraka king Dhruvabhaṭa.  

7 This ruler is described by him as a son-in-law of the great

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4 Bühler, op. cit., VII, p. 79.
11 Watters, op. cit., II, p. 269; Beal, op. cit., II, p. 246.
Harṣavardhana who ruled in the first half of the seventh century. Then again epigraphical evidence like the copper-plate grants of the Gurjara kings Daḍḍa (A.D. 629-41)\(^1\) and Jayabhaṭṭa IV (c. A.D. 735)\(^2\) support the view that the Valabhi kingdom was in its flourishing state round about the seventh century of the Christian era, and that the Gurjaras and the Maitrakas were contemporaries. For, the Navasāri grant of Jayabhāṭṭa III, dated K.s. 456, i.e., c. A.D. 705, accounts for the glory of Daḍḍa II that was achieved by him “by protecting the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣadeva.”\(^3\) This statement clearly indicates that the Valabhi king was a contemporary both of the Gurjara king Daḍḍa II (A.D. 629-41) and of king Harṣa of the Puspaḥūti dynasty. Thus, there seems to be no difficulty in placing this Valabhi king in about the seventh century. The Junagadhā rock inscription of Rudradaman, also, dated the Śaka year 72, i.e., A.D. 150\(^4\) shows that Suraśṭra was ruled by the Kṣatrapas in the second century of the Christian era. Likewise, too, the evidence of other sources like the Kṣatrapa coins show that they ruled over this part of the country from Śaka Sainvat 41 to 310, i.e., A.D. 119-388.\(^5\) The Maitraka kingdom, as seen from their records, also extended from Ānandapura in the north to Kheta ka and sometimes even upto Bharukachchha in the south, and from the western coast of Kāthiawād in the west, to Ujjain in the east. They could not have ruled over these provinces at the same time and that the Śaka sway prevailed over them. Hence, it is not possible to equate the Maitraka era with the Vikrama era of 56 B.C. Nor can the year A.D. 200-1 be accepted as the initial year of the Valabhi era, inasmuch as it would then assign the year (447 + 200) A.D. 647 to the reign of the last king Śilāditya who must have ruled at least upto A.D. 725 as we are bound to infer from the abovementioned Gurjara grant.\(^6\) Lastly, the inconsistencies to which we expose ourselves, if we accept either the epoch of A.D. 334-7 or that of A.D. 272-3 may be seen by adopting these epochs and examining the astronomical test cases provided by the Valabhi grants. Accordingly, out of the four test cases mentioned above, the year 254 when the solar eclipse occurred would correspond either with A.D. 526-7 or with A.D. 588-91. There was no solar eclipse in A.D. 526-7 in Vaiśākha, according to Mr. Pillai’s table. Mr. Shankar, however, notes that there was a solar eclipse in Pūrṇimānta Vaiśākha of this year but it was not visible in India. This explanation is not very convincing, as grants were particularly made on the eclipse day to get additional merit as recommended by the Dharmāśāstras,\(^7\) and if the eclipse was not visible in the country the writer of the grant would not have given as much importance to mentioning


\(^{3}\) Ibid.

\(^{4}\) Kielhorn, op. et loc. cit.

\(^{5}\) Cam. Hist. of India, I, p. 585.

\(^{6}\) Bhagwanlal Indraji, op. et loc. cit.

Kane, op. cit., II, p. 852.
it as he has. As for the years 588, 589, 590 or even 591 (according to Mr. Pai’s suggestion of the epoch of 334-7) there was no solar eclipse in Vaiśākha during any of them. Mr. Pai, however, taking the old reading of the grant as 257, gives the date as A.D. 592 when a solar eclipse took place in the Pūrṇimānta Vaiśākha. Next, according to the epoch of A.D. 272-3 corresponding test cases of intercalary months of the V. Sâm. 330, 343 and 357 did occur in the years 602-3, 615-6 and 629-30 respectively. Lastly, these years 330, 343 and 357 correspond to A.D. 664-7, 667-80 and 690-4 respectively, according to the epoch of A.D. 334-7. The result is a difference of 335, 337-8, 337-8 and 338 years respectively in each of these four cases which is difficult to explain away.

Mr. Mookerjee has raised doubts as to the acceptance of the Valabhi era as given by Alberuni on several grounds. His first objection is that the Dhinki grant dated Vik. S. 794 or A.D. 738 mentions Jaikadeva of Ghumli as the lord of Surāṣṭra, while in fact the Maitraka king Śilāditya was ruling over this part of the country in A.D. 738 (v.s. 418). In connection with this it should be noted that the Dhinki grant mentioned above has been proved to be a forgery. In fact, the Saindhava family to which king Jaikadeva I and II of the main branch as also king Jaik of the junior branch belonged, seems to have flourished in the sixth century of the Gupta era. And, even supposing that they flourished from Vik. S. 415 to 600, as asserted by Mr. Mookerjee, it is impossible that Jaika’s plate may have been dated in Vik. S. 794, as given in the Dhinki grant. Another argument put forth by Mr. Mookerjee is that the king Śilāditya mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang flourished from c. A.D. 526-76, whereas even the first Śilāditya of the Maitraka dynasty flourished in the years A.D. 595-615 according to the epoch of A.D. 319-20. Now we know for a fact that king Dhruvasena II, the nephew of Śilāditya I, was the contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang. This can be reconciled only if we take the epoch of c. A.D. 319-20. As regards the years of Śilāditya’s reign, Hiuen Tsiang gathered his information from the local records only, which may have been erroneous in their exact details. We know, moreover, that the Chinese traveller visited Valabhi in c. A.D. 640 and at that time as he has recorded, about sixty years had passed since Śilāditya’s rule had come to an end. This will take Śilāditya to the period of about (640-60) c. A.D. 580 which is not very far from fact. Now, taking the Valabhi era to be the same as the Vikrama era (of 56-7 b.c.) the reign of even the last Śilāditya falls round about A.D. 391 (A.D. 447-56) and not anywhere in the neighbourhood of the period of Hiuen Tsiang’s visit. Again, it is evident that the last Śilāditya cannot be taken into consideration, especially in this instance, as he had no nephew, called Dhruvasena, to succeed him.

1 Mookerjee, op. et loc. cit.
4 Watters, op. et loc. cit.
Mr. Mookerjee further argues that Śilāditya the fifth descendant of Guhadatta of the Gohilot dynasty, flourished in c. Vik. Sam. 703 (A.D. 646); Gohilot, therefore, must have ruled in about Vik. Sam. 600 (A.D. 544). Bardic tradition refers to this Guhadatta as a posthumous son of the last king Śilāditya of Valabhi, who is known to have been ruling in V.S. 447, but could not have been alive in A.D. 766 as would follow if we accept the epoch of c. A.D. 319-20. But the bardic account connecting the Maitrakas with the Gohilots, does not seem to be correct. According to this tradition, on which Mr. Mookerjee's inference is based, the last Śilāditya should be dated in about A.D. 520, while according to the epoch of Vik. era, his date falls in 447-56 (A.D. 390).

Mr. Mookerjee then takes his ground on the fact that the name of Valabhi was not mentioned in the list of the victims of the Arab raids in the accounts of the seventh or the eighth centuries although its fall is assigned to that period. This statement does not seem to be correct as we find it definitely mentioned in the Jaina works and Arabic records that the two Arabic raids of the years A.D. 760 and 776 were directed against Valabhi.

Further, Mr. Mookerjee points out that the three Kaira grants, one of the Chāluksya prince Vijayarāja dated K.S. 394 (c. A.D. 642) and the two of the Gürjara king Daṭḍa II dated K.S. 380 and 385 (A.D. 628 and 633) respectively, were discovered at Kaira while the Khetaka Āhara, i.e., the present Kaira district was included in the Valabhi kingdom at least up to V.S. 246, in the sixth century A.D. But a mere findspot of the Gürjara and Chāluksya records cannot be taken into account as proof of the fact that that particular part of the country was included in their dominions. As regards the argument of the same scholar that Kaira and Ānandapura were appanages of the Mālavā kingdom in A.D. 640 as known from Hiuen Tsiang's account, and not under the sway of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena II, it must be noted that the statement made by Hiuen Tsiang himself and confirmed by the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa and the Valabhi epigraph would clearly show that Mālavā itself was part of the Valabhi empire in c. A.D. 640.

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1 Bührer, op. cit., VII, p. 79 ff; Fleet, op. cit., III, p. 173 ff; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 96.
2 Cf. Ch. VI of the Political Section; Oza, op. et loc. cit.
3 Elliot and Dowson, op. et loc. cit.
4 Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 102.
5 Ibid., No. 109; Fleet, op. cit., XIII, p. 82 ff.
6 In fact the villages mentioned in both these inscriptions are clearly out of the limits of the Maitraka kingdom. Though Vijayarāja, the victorious camp of Vijayarāja, has not yet been ascertained, nor the village donated, viz., Pariyaya, Jambusara where the recipients lived has been identified with the present Jambusa "almost in a direct line between Kaira and Broach, about 50 miles to the south by east of Kaira, and 25 miles to the north by west of Broach." As for Nandipuri and other places mentioned in the Gurjara grant, they are all in the Broach district.
7 Acharya, Ibid., No. 110; Fleet, Ibid., XIII, p. 88 ff.
8 Watters, op. et loc. cit.
10 Gadre, op. et loc. cit., Diskalkar, op. et loc. cit.
The fact that the Abhoṇā plates of Śaṅkaragāna were issued from Ujjaini in K.S. 347 (A.D. 595) cannot stand as a reasonable objection to the supposition that the Maitraka king Kharagraha’s issuing a grant from the place in v.S. 297 (A.D. 616). The interval of about 21 years is quite sufficient for the power over this country to have changed hands. Even if we say that the Kalachuris held their sway as long as A.D. 601-610, the Maitraka rulers may easily be taken to have had possession of the same country five years after their disappearance.

Mr. Mookerjee’s contention that the absence of any reference to Valabhi, in the contemporary inscriptions of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, excepting in the grants of Jayabhaṭṭa III and Jayabhaṭṭa IV, creates difficulties in the way of accepting the epoch of c. A.D. 319-20 for the Valabhi era is untenable. The references, though few, clearly indicate that the Valabhi kingdom flourished in the sixth, seventh and the eighth centuries A.D. and not in the second, third and the fourth centuries as maintained by him.

As regards the same scholar’s argument of tallying dates of the Maitrakas and the Jaina work, the Śatruṇḍaya-mahātya, we know that the dates assigned by most of the Jaina works to the events in the history of Valabhi, differ from one another, and hence should not be taken as authentic.

Again, his objection to the epoch of A.D. 319-20 on palæographical grounds does not appear to be of weight. The grants of the Gurjaras, the Chāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas bore a close resemblance to the grants of the Maitrakas as confirmed by scholars who edited them.

Lastly, Mr. Mookerjee argues that a grant of Dharasena II of the year v.S. 269 alludes to a vihāra built by Achārya Sthiramati during the reign of his father (in G.S. 240), i.e., A.D. 559 according to the A.D. 319-20 epoch, whereas the date of the translation of certain Chinese works done by Sthiramati is accepted to be about A.D. 380. The date of his teacher Vasubandhu is taken to be A.D. 360. This difficulty, however, created by the discrepancy in dates is not solved even if we accept the epoch suggested by Mr. Mookerjee who would take us back to A.D. 182-183 instead of advancing us to the later half of the fourth century.

2 Gadre, op. et loc. cit.
3 Cf. Last Chapter on Political History.
4 Bühler op. cit., VI, p. 11 ff.
5 Cf. Watters, op. et loc. cit.
6 Ibid.
7 The expression ‘Bappa-pādiya’ used in the Valabhi records could not be applied to some religious head as stated by this scholar. It was in all probability used for ancestors of the donors of the Maitraka grants as shown elsewhere.
APPENDIX A

A DISCUSSION OF DR. HOERNLE’S VIEWS

Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, in his article "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History" has put forward the view that king Śilāditya of Mālavā, described by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, was the son of Yaśōdharmar of the Mandasor Pillar inscription. He avers that Yaśōdharmar inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hūna chief Mihirakula by A.D. 533 and thus delivered the Gupta empire from a threatening Hūnic domination by A.D. 533, and that it was—thanks to this victory—that he could assume the title Vikramāditya. This statement of Dr. Hoernle has no foundation in fact. As Professor R. D. Banerji has pointed out, it is not mentioned in any of the three inscriptions of his, nor in any of his coins. It is merely an inference from the fact mentioned in the Rājatarangini that Vikramāditya was a king of Mālavā who had a son by name Śilāditya. However, as Dr. Aurel Stein has repeatedly asserted, "Kalhaṇa’s chronicle is absolutely unreliable even about the history of the sixth century, unless corroborated by reliable and independent evidence," and it must be admitted that there is no such evidence to support our author’s contention. But it is above all the Vikramāditya of the Rājatarangini that is sought to be identified with Yaśōdharmar, in spite of the fact that the Rājatarangini explicitly says that this Vikramāditya was also known as ‘Harṣa’. Then as to his theory that it was by virtue of his victory on the Hūnas that he donned the title, surely had this been the case, would the Mandasor inscription have failed to record it?

Again the course of events narrated in the Rājatarangini, viz., the dethronement of Śilāditya and his reinstatement, do not agree with the authentic history of Mālavā, as it has come down to us through the inscriptions. For we know that the later Guptas were in possession of Mālavā long before A.D. 583. We further know that the Kalachuris came into possession of Mālavā in or a little before (27th July) A.D. 595—a circumstance evidenced from the Abhoṇā plates of the Kalachuris which were issued from Ujjaini itself.

2 Fleet, op. cit., C. I. I., III, No. 33, p. 142; No. 34, p. 149; Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions—Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yaśōdharmar," I. A., XV, p. 253. The identity of the Śilāditya of the Rājatarangini (iii, 330) with the Śilāditya of Hiuen Tsiang was first assumed by Dr. Stein in his note and Introduction, p. 6.
3 Ibid.
5 Rājatarangini, (Translated by Pandit), p. 84; iii taraṅga, v, 330.
6 Cf. Stein, Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir, I, p. 83.
7 Ibid. Taraṅga Third, v, 125, p. 68. For equating this Yaśōdharmar with king Śilāditya of Mālavā described by Hiuen Tsiang, Dr. Hoernle has suggested that Yaśōdharmar may have been called Śilāditya. This is baseless and does not require criticism.
8 See Appendix C: The Later Guptas of Mālavā.
But Dr. Hoernle does not stop here. He goes further and assumes that Yaśōdharman ruled from A.D. 533 to 583. This seems to be based on Hiuen Tsiang's statement that king Śilāditya of Mālavā ruled for about fifty years, which, to suit his fancy, Dr. Hoernle ascribes to Yaśōdharman himself. Even apart from the irregularity involved here, the view can hardly be accepted. In A.D. 533 Yaśōdharman was a full-fledged emperor having carved out an empire after defeating several powers including the Hūṇas. Hence his rule must have begun long before A.D. 533, i.e., the date of the Mandasor pillar inscription, when he must have already passed middle age.

Furthermore, Dr. Hoernle supposes that the king of Mālavā who came into hostile contact with Rājyavardhana was Śilāditya, the son and successor according to him, of Yaśōdharman, whereas the cumulative evidence of Bāṇa and the Madhuban and the Banśkhera plates tends to show that it was Devagupta. Our view is further strengthened by the contrast in the character of the two princes. For, while Bāṇa describes the king of Mālavā as 'wicked,' Śilāditya is described by the Chinese traveller as a man “of rare kindness and compassion.”

Finally, in identifying this Śilāditya with the enemy of Pūspabhūti kings, Dr. Hoernle states that his son Bhaṇḍi was surrendered to the Thāneśvara court and makes Yaśōmati, the wife of Prabhākaravardhana, Yaśōdharman’s daughter. This is pure imagination, and a number of objections at once well up in the mind against it. In the first place, as Mr. Vaidya has indicated, the names of a sister and brother may have some portion in common, as it often happened in those days, but not of a father and daughter. Secondly, when Bāṇa represents Yaśōmati’s brother as bringing Bhaṇḍi to Prabhākaravardhana he simply calls him Yaśōmati’s brother. Had he been a king of so great a fame as Śilāditya of Mālavā is believed to be by Dr. Hoernle, Bāṇa would have certainly mentioned the name of the king or at least affixed some epithet indicating his high position. It appears from the plain reference in the context that Yaśōmati was not the daughter of a great king at all, but of some Sāmanta.

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1 Hoernle, op. et loc. cit.
4 That Yaśōdharman rose from a feudatory position only would imply that it must have taken a number of years to establish himself as a sovereign king.
5 Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 173.
8 Watters, op. et loc. cit.
9 Vaidya, The History of Medieval Hindu India, I, p. 38.
10 Bāṇa, op. et loc. cit.
11 Vaidya, op. et loc. cit.
at the most, and hence her brother is mentioned without any handles to his name. Moreover, when Yaśomati was widowed and became a sati her father and mother appear to have been alive, while Yaśōdharmar had died long before. Further, if the epithet Mahābhūḥṇtakulodgata, "one born in the family of great kings," applied to Yaśomati by Bāṇa be interpreted literally, this brother who brought Bhanḍi must be taken to be a younger brother not entitled to royal titles. This plain mention of Yaśomati’s brother clearly shows that the latter took his son to the court only with a view that the latter might have his prospects improved there. If, on the contrary, Dr. Hoernle’s theory is accepted we would be reduced to the absurdity of believing that Bhanḍi fought his own father and had the hardenedness to present to Harśa the family and the dependents of his father enchained; and to rifle his treasures without any hesitation or feeling at all. It is not possible, as Dr. Hoernle would have us believe, that a boy about eight years old could so far forget his relationship with his own father as to proceed in course of time, against him as his enemy, and fight him with great zeal.

It is further suggested by Dr. Hoernle that after the overthrow of Śīlāditya Harṣavardhana conferred Mālavā on Bhanḍi, who was his cousin and Śīlāditya’s son. But against this we have the epigraphical evidence which shows that the Maitraka kings were in Mālavā after A.D. 616. Nor does Hiuen Tsiang support Hoernle’s assertion. His statement that some time before his visit the country of Mālavā was ruled by a king named Śīlāditya corroborates the above epigraphical evidence. Further, Hiuen Tsiang has described Tu-lo-po-po-tu or Dhruvabhaṭṭa, the actual king of Valabhi, as “a nephew of Śīlāditya,” a former king of Mālavā. This Dhruvabhaṭṭa of the Chinese

1 Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 152.
2 Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 103 (Sanskrit text, 176).
3 Vaidya, op. et loc. cit.
4 His age at the time is known from Bāṇa’s Harṣacharita (p. 116); that Bhanḍi was about eight years old when he was sent to Thanesvara.
5 Gadre, “The Virdi Copper-plates of Sam. 297,” The Proceedings of Seventh All India Oriental Conference, Baroda, p. 659 ff.
6 Watters, op. cit., II, 247.
7 Hiuen Tsiang actually says that it was sixty years before. This is merely from hearsay, and all the details may not have been recorded quite accurately by this Buddhist monk who in the words of Watters “cared little for other things and wanted to know only Buddha and Buddhism” (cf. Watters, op. cit., II, 15). As regards this point of inconsistency, Dr. Hoernle himself has remarked that “being a foreigner, it cannot be expected that he always grasped correctly all the details of the historical informations which he gathered,” J. R. A. S., 1903, p. 565.
8 This Śīlāditya of Mālavā is rightly identified with the Maitraka king, cf. Sylvain Levi, Journal des Savants, 1905, pp. 544-548. The identification is accepted by Smith, E. H. I., p. 343 and others.
9 Watters, op. et loc. cit. We cannot but assume that Hiuen Tsiang has made a confusion in taking Śīlāditya as a local king of Mālavā simply on account of his having happened to learn his account in that province, which was in fact, only a part of his vast kingdom.
traveller, as has been already proved, was none other than king Dhruvasena II, a son of Śilāditya I’s brother Kharagraha. All this is confirmed by a statement in a later Buddhist work, the *Mañju-Sīra-Mūla-Kalpa*, that Śilāditya ruled from Mālavā to the western Ocean.\(^1\) The circumstances under which the Maitraka kings obtained the country of Mālavā are explained in the chapter on Śilāditya.\(^2\)

Thus we arrive at the following conclusions:—

1. Vikramāditya of the *Rājaratana-rinj* is not the same as the Śilāditya mentioned by Hsiian Tsang.

2. The king of Mālavā who killed Grahavarman was not a son of Yaśōdharmar. It was Devagupta.\(^3\)

3. The king of Mālavā referred to by the Chinese traveller was the Maitraka king Śilāditya, Dharmāditya.

4. In the year A.D. 533 Yaśōdharmar was a full-fledged emperor and had passed middle age and that he could not have ruled down to A.D. 583.

5. Yaśōmati, the wife of Prabhākarvardhana, could not have been a daughter of Yaśōdharmar. Her father must have been some Sāmanta at the most.

6. Mālavā came under the Kalāchuris some time before A.D. 595 and as we shall presently see, remained under them down to A.D. 609-610.

7. It came under the sway of the Maitrakas some time during the latter part of Śilāditya, Dharmāditya’s reign, i.e., c. A.D. 612-614.

We now go a step further and make bold to say that the stirring events described by Bāna took place not in c. A.D. 606, as Dr. Hoernle tried to prove, but after A.D. 609-610. We know that the Kalāchuri kings held a vast kingdom under their sway till about this date. This is known from the Vāṇeri plates dated A.D. 609 (19th August) where Buddhārāja is stated to have granted some plot of land in a village named Kōṇiyas near Bhaṭṭiūrīka situated in the Vatanagarabhoṭa which has been identified with Vāṇeri (usually called Bhāhirobaca Vāṇeri) in the Chandīvā taluka of the Nāṣik district; while his ‘victorious camp’ was situated at Vidosā (Besnagar).\(^4\) Evidently, in this year Buddhārāja started some of his campaigns from Vidosā which was in the Mālavā dominion. Then again his Sarsavani plates dated A.D. 609-610 reveal that Buddhārāja was “in the royal residence of victory fixed at Anandpura,”\(^5\)

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2. Chapter IX above.
3. Cf. Ch. VIII on Śilāditya I.
and he granted a plot in the Gorajabhoga—situated in the Bharukachchha—viṣaya, to a Brāhmaṇa of the village called Kumārideva, near Brḥannarika. Since Viḍisā (near Bhilsa) and Ānandapura are places flanking Mālavā as it were, one in the east and toe other in the west, and since Mālavā had been reduced during the reign of Saṅkaragana, it follows that the Gupta ruler Devagupta whom we see installed there was a feudatory of the Kalachuris. Looking to these circumstances it is not possible to believe that the Kalachuri king could have remained aloof when important changes were taking place in a neighbouring kingdom, specially when one of the parties involved was a feudatory of Mālavā. Nor is it possible to conceive of a political alliance between a feudatory and a foreign ruler like the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka, especially when the suzerain, viz., the Kalachuri emperor was not referred to by his feudatory regarding the same. On the other hand, it is absurd to hold, as Dr. Ganguli has suggested, that the king of Mālavā who killed Grahavarman, was himself the Kalachuri king. For, had this been the case, Bāṇa would have designated the slayer of Grahavarman as the Kalachuri king, and not as the king of Mālavā, because the Kalachuris were the overlords, while Mālavā was a feudatory state or at best an appanage of the Kalachuri empire. What is more, the intervention of the Gauḍa king at this stage shows, if anything, that the Kalachuri power was then no more and that suzerainty had passed to the Gaudas. Again, was it not strange for the Bāṁskhera and the Madhuban inscriptions to state that Rājyavardhana had curbed the power of Devagupta and others in the battle while they should say nothing about the Kalachuris who were in full possession of their strength till A.D. 609-610? The conclusion, therefore, follows that it was after the disappearance of the Kalachuri imperialism that the momentous events described by Bāṇa took place, i.e., some time after A.D. 609-10. The accession of Harsa which occurred after these events must, therefore, be shifted from A.D. 606 in which year it is usually placed, to a date, which is in agreement with the above chronology preferably to A.D. 612, as was long ago suggested by Watters.

It must also be noted that the year A.D. 606 was assigned as the year of the accession of Harṣa on the statement of Alberuni, who in an ambiguous passage discusses the difference between the Harṣa and other eras. "His (Harṣa’s) era is used in Mathurā and the country of Kanauj. 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 Kashmirmian calendar I have read that Śrī-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In face of this discrepancy, I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information." The

3 Watters, op. cit., I, 347.
4 Sachau, Alberuni’s India, II, p. 5.
former date is about three centuries earlier than Harṣa’s reign, and hence it could be rejected outright. As regards the latter date, as read by Alberuni in the eleventh century (A.D. 1030), it is not clear whether Harṣa Śaṁvat commenced in the course of the 664th year of Vikramādiya’s era or after its completion. In case the year of the abhiśekha of Harṣa was taken to be the 664th year of Vikramādiya, the corresponding date in A.D. would be 606-607. If, on the other hand, it was taken to be 664 years after Vikrama Śaṁvat, the first year of Harṣa-Śaṁvat would correspond to A.D. 607-608.1 Moreover, as Dr. Bühler says, “what Alberuni really means can be settled only by astronomical calculations, in case a number of dates with the days of the week, or a statement regarding an eclipse, are found.”2 Fortunately, out of a good number of inscriptions believed to be dated in the Harṣa Śaṁvat, the requisite astronomical data are supplied by two records—that of 34 and of 563—which give an intercalary month and a day of the week respectively. The former of Śaṁvat 34 belongs to Aśīsuvārman who was a feudatory of king Śivadeva of Nepal. As regards this inscription, it is not clear as to what era the year 34 is to be referred. Prof. S. Levi thinks that it may be a local era for the very sound reason that Aśīsuvārman could not have ruled after A.D. 637 since Hiuen Tsiang who visited northern India in that year, speaks of him as already dead: “Lately there was a king called Aśīsuvārman who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity.”3 But in the seventh century, according to the calculation given by Mr. Bendall, it was in the year A.D. 640 that Pauṣa was intercalary.4 Moreover, we know that the inscription was discovered near Nepal5 and not near Thāneśvara, as is the case with the other

2 Ibid.
3 Bendall, A Journey in Nepal and Northern India, p. 74.
5 Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
7 Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 565; cf. Bühler, op. cit., p. 419.
8 Beal, op. cit., II, p. 81.
9 Bendall, op. cit., p. 76. The commencement of the local era here referred to is assigned by S. Levi to A.D. 595. But as has been pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn (E. I., XX, p. 189), the same objection would militate against this era also, for an inscription of Aśīsuvārman of 400 and 45 has been found (Bhagawanal Indraj, “Inscriptions from Nepal,” I. A., IX, p. 171). Beal has tentatively suggested A.D. 580-600 as the period of Aśīsuvārman’s rule (cf. Beal, op. cit., II, p. 81, note 102). The same argument also holds good against the opinion of Mr. Bendall. He has rightly taken the basis of this era (in which the month of Pauṣa was intercalary in the thirty-fourth year) to be not the Śūrva-siddhānta in which Pauṣa is never intercalary, but a work which had the same elements as the Brahma-Siddhānta; and that according to this rule the year 34 will correspond to A.D. 640, thus placing the commencement of the Harṣa era in A.D. 606.
10 Bendall, op. et loc. cit.
inscription (of 563) in question. Hence the use of a local era is more likely than that of Harṣavardhana’s. Harṣavardhana was the ruler of Thāneśvara and Kanauj. Since Aṁśuvarman was a feudatory chief of Nepal he may have followed the local era of his overlord.

The other inscription, viz., the Panjaur inscription, which is believed to be dated in the Harṣa Samvat, gives 563 Jyeṣṭha Śukla 9th with Friday as the day of the week.¹ Now, taking the era to have commenced early in the seventh century, there are three years when Friday could have occurred on Jyeṣṭha Śukla 9th. These are 17th May 1168,² 2nd June 1172³ and 30th May 1175.⁴ The first is out of the question, the era in that case being commenced in (1168-563)=A.D. 605. But neither Alberuni’s account nor the calculations given by Bendall, tend to support this date, as in the first case the era would have to be placed between A.D. 606 and 608, while in the second in A.D. 606. As for the second date, A.D. 1172 we know that the month Jyeṣṭha of this year was intercalary⁵, while in the inscription referred to above, the intercalation is not mentioned. Had there been an intercalary Jyeṣṭha when the inscription in question was issued, the writer would not have failed to record it. Hence the commencement of the era cannot be placed in A.D. 609 either. But the date exactly fits in with 30th May A.D. 1175 when the month (Jyeṣṭha), pakṣa (Śukla), tithi (navami) and the day, viz., Friday, are all in full correspondence. According to this date the commencement of the era would fall in (1175-563)=A.D. 612.⁶

Further, Hiuen Tsiang, who attended the sixth quinquennial assembly to be held during the reign of Harṣa at Prayāga in A.D. 643, says that at that time Harṣa had “been lord of India” for thirty years and more!⁷ This expression would suggest that he had ruled for a little more than thirty years and also possibly that the pilgrim had a round number in mind. This again is more in agreement with the view that his reign commenced in A.D. 612 than with that which would put it in A.D. 606. For while the one gives thirty-one years the other yields thirty-seven, which is nearer the round number of forty than thirty.

¹ Kielhorn, op. et loc. cit.
² Pillai, An Indian Ephemeris, III, p. 338.
⁴ Ibid, p. 352.
⁵ Ibid, p. 346.
⁶ The fact that this inscription was found in a village named Panjaur, which is situated 70 miles to the north of Thāneśvara, (cf. Kielhorn, op. cit., I. A., XXVI, p. 31), the first capital of Harṣavardhana, is another confirmation that it was dated in the Harṣa era.
Finally, Harṣa, as we know from the evidence of Bāṇa, was born in A.D. 590, and accordingly he would be only sixteen years old if A.D. 606 be taken as the year of his accession. This is rather too early an age for all the adventures recorded of him, while on the other hand, if his accession be placed in A.D. 612, it would make him a lad of twenty-two, an age, when the deeds ascribed to him could have been accomplished, and which yet answers to the description of him as a boy—"if I (Harṣa) am regarded as a boy"—which possibly only means that he was just out of his teens.

1 Cf. Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 109. Bāṇa says that Harṣa was born in "the month of Jyeṣṭha, on the twelfth day of the dark fortnight, the Pleiads being in the ascendant, just after the twilight time, when the young night had begun to climb."

2 According to the astronomical calculations made on the basis of the data supplied by Bāṇa, Prof. Apte of the Victoria College, Lashkar, maintains that the corresponding year was Śaka 511 or 512 (i.e., A.D. 589 or 590 vide Vaidya, op. cit., I, 40-1). Mr. Vaidya, on the other hand, thinks that it must be Śaka 512 (Sunday, 4th June A.D. 590) as in the former, i.e., Śaka 511 Dvādaśi set in after the sunrise, cf. Vaidya, op. cit., I, pp. 41-2.

3 Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 175.
APPENDIX B

THE GURJARAS

The origin of the Gurjaras has not still emerged from the field of controversy. While on the one hand it is contended that they entered India along with the Hūnas and were a branch of that race, it is pointed out on the other that the Indian records clearly distinguish between these two peoples. It is also assumed from the place-names in the Punjāb like Gujjarānwālā, Gujarāt, Gujarakhānd and the like, that their first settlements were in that province. This again is a gratuitous assumption, for the simple reason that there is no mention of this people as existing in the Punjāb before the end of the sixth century, while it is known for a fact that in or about A.D. 550 they had established their power in Rajputānā. From Rajputānā they may have extended their sway over a part of the Punjāb where their memory still lingers in the above place-names. Thus the question of the origin of these interesting people has to be left as an open one.

The five Ghatiyālā inscriptions of the Gurjara kings supply a long line of kings belonging to the Gurjara dynasty extending over twelve generations. Now taking twenty-five years for each generation, the total period of their rule would be three hundred years. The known date of Kakkuka is Saiṃvat 918 or A.D. 861 and that of his brother Bauka is Saiṃvat 894 or A.D. 837, hence the founder Harichandra of this dynasty may be placed as stated by Dr. Majumdar in A.D. 550. One of these five inscriptions mentions that four sons of Harichandra built a rampart round the fort of Manḍayapūra which


5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 7. Dr. Hoernle in his article “Some Problems of Ancient Indian History,” J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 28 has made a mistake in calculating the period of rule of each generation by taking less than twenty-five years. This point has been made clear by Majumdar in the above mentioned article.
was gained by their own prowess. This place can be identified as Mandor in the neighbourhood of which place the inscription was found.¹ The next mention of the Gurjaras is in the Harṣacharita, where Bāṇa styles Prabhākarvardhana as the ‘Gurjaraprajāgāra’² which according to the commentary of Saṅketa, means one who deprived the Gurjaras of their sleep. We know that the two kingdoms were not very far from each other, and since Prabhākarvardhana followed an imperialistic policy, it is possible that he sought to bring them under his control. In about the middle of the seventh century the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang found them ruling from Bhinnamāla in Rajputānā, which may thus be taken to have been the capital of the Harichandra’s dynasty.³

Harichandra had a son called Daḍḍa. Dr. Sankalia⁴ agrees with Dr. Majumdar in identifying the latter, with Daḍḍa I, the founder of the Broach branch of the Gurjara family.⁵ Now there is no doubt that Daḍḍa was the founder of this branch, since all the inscriptions of his successors refer to him as their progenitor. But it is far from certain if it was in Daḍḍa I’s time that their capital came to be established at Broach or Nāndipuri;⁶ for as to this we have so far the inconclusive evidence of a fragmentary inscription only. This is the Saṅkheḍā inscription of 346, i.e., A.D. 595-596.⁷ This plate contains neither the name of the donor nor the place from which it was issued; but the donor is identified as Daḍḍa I, the Gurjara king on the ground that the writer is the Sandhivigrahika Āditya Bhōgika. Now, it was only in very small kingdoms that the two offices of Sandhivigrahika and Bhōgika could have been held by one and the same person;⁸ and the record may in consequence be taken to belong to Daḍḍa I, within whose reign it actually falls. Similar instances are met with in the Gurjara grants of a later period. An instance in point are the Bagumra plates of Daḍḍa II, where the dūtaka, a post almost always held among the Maitrakas by a prince who is also a yuvarāja, is held by a bhōgika.⁹ Then again the characters of this grant closely resemble those of another undoubted inscription of Saṁ. 391 and other published grants of the family.¹⁰ It may, therefore, be taken tentatively that it was in Daḍḍa I’s

³ Watters, op. cit., II, p. 249; Beal, op. cit., II, p. 270.
⁵ Majumdar, op. cit., J. D. L., X, p. 10.
⁶ A Sāmanta chief Samgamasinīha was in possession of this part of the country before the Gurjaras established at Broach. This is known from his grant issued from Bharukachha dated A.D. 540-1, cf. Sten Konow, “Sumao Kala Plates of Samgamasinīha,” E. I., X, p. 72.
⁸ Ibid.
¹⁰ Ibid.
line that Broach or rather Nandipuri became the capital of the Gurjaras—an event which may have taken place in or about A.D. 580. It is at this time that the Maitraka power had been weakened by the onslaughts of the Maukharis, and naturally they could not prevent the Gurjara advance towards the Narbadā. But the Gurjara glory was of short duration; for before long the Gurjaras were caught up in the Kālachuri drive to the west coast. The territory under Daḍa was detached from the north province of Bhinnamāla, and he saved himself by acknowledging the paramountcy of the Kālachuris. This is established by the fact that the Kālachuris made their grant of land in Barukachchha Viṣaya of their empire as late as A.D. 609-10.

In editing the Sarsavni plates Dr. Kielhorn has remarked that "the eulogistic part of this inscription or of some similar Kālachuri grant was known to, and made use of by, the authors of the corresponding portions of the grants of the Gurjara Daḍa (II), Prasantarāga, of the (Kālachuri) year 380 and 385, and of the (Gujarat) Chālukya, Vijayarāja of the (Kālachuri) year 394." And again "if Daḍa Prasantarāga had been preceded by other Gurjara kings, a eulogist of his, in drawing up his prāṣasti most probably would have taken for his model some older Gurjara grant, and would not have allowed himself to be inspired by a Kālachuri grant." From which Dr. Kielhorn concludes that the Gurjaras were the underlords of the Kālachuris. While I do not doubt the fact for quite other reasons, I feel the argument of Kielhorn is weakened by his own admission that the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Gujarat and those of the Maitrakas also show the same characteristics. Nor can I agree that the word 'Krṣṇa' in the Gurjara grant implies an invocation of the Kālachuri king Krṣnarāja. For the purpose of proving the thesis of Kālachurīya suzerainty the land grant made in the Bharukachchha Viṣaya in the Sarsavani plates is more than sufficient.

1 Cf. See chapter on Dharasena II, p. 4. This is further clear from the fact that in an inscription dated A.D. 573 Dharasena II assumed the title 'Mahārāja,' while in the later grant dated A.D. 588-9 he styles himself 'Sāmanta' only, thus indicating the weakness of the Maitraka rule in the period.

2 Bom. Gaz., I, Pt. II, p. 315. That the Gurjaras were at this time engaged in a bitter struggle against the Kālachuris or their feudatory Nirihullaka (that the Saṅkhēṭa plates of the general of Nirihullaka were issued from the battle-field camp at Nirgundipadraka, which is identified as Nāgarvāḍa, 6 kos from Dabhol, supports the hypothesis) is evident from the Kāvi plates of the Gurjara king Daḍa II (cf. Acharya, Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat, II, p. 4 ff), which while speaking of Daḍa I, his father, significantly observe that he "up-rooted the Nāgas" who according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī may have been the same as the jungle tribe ruled by Nirihullaka (Cf. Bombay Gazetteer, I, Pt. I, p. 115).

3 This is clear from the Sarsavani plates of Buddhārāja where the piece of land granted was in the Bharukachchha Viṣaya, cf. Kielhorn, "Sarsavni Plates of Buddhārāja, K. Saṅ. 361," E. I., VI, p. 294 ff.


To continue the history of the Gurjaras, the Kalachuriya hegemony came to an end somewhere after A.D. 609-610. The Kalachuris were engaged in continuous warfare with the ruling family of the Chalukyas1 in the south of their dominions, and after A.D. 610 in the reign of Pulakesin II the Gurjaras definitely passed under the suzerainty of the latter.

THE LATER GUPTAS OF MALAVA

Mahāśena Gupta of the later Guptas was undoubtedly the ruler of Mālavā. This fact is supported by the fall of the Imperial Guptas and the gradual rise of the Maukhari dynasty at Magadha.1 Even in the days of Harśa and a few years before the commencement of his reign direct control over Magadha was exercised not by the Guptas but by the rulers of the Maukhari line.2 In the Deo-Baranarka inscription of Jīvitagupta II,3 which records the continuance of the grant of a village in South Bihar, a reference is made to Bālāditya and after him to the Maukharis, Sarvavarman and Avantivarman—thus indicating absolute sovereignty of Sarvavarman and Avantivarman in Magadha, while the Gupta kings were ruling in Mālavā.4 The stone inscriptions of the Maukharies which are generally found in the United Provinces (Bārā Banki district, etc.) also prove the supremacy of the Maukharis over this part of the country.5 Professor Banerji6 has followed Dr. Fleet7 in his assumption that the Gupta kings mentioned in the Āphṣad inscription,8 were rulers of Magadha9 on the basis of a statement in the inscription that Mahāśena Gupta vanquished a king of Assam (Susthitavaran)10 and that his glory was sung on the banks of Lauhiya.11 This according to him could not have happened unless Mahāśenagupta had been ruling in Magadha. For

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1 The Maukharies were steadily but surely building up an empire at this time; cf. Pires The Maukharies, p. 84. This is supported by Īśvaravarman’s title ‘Mahārāja’ in the Asiragarh inscription, ‘Kṣitipati’ in the Harhā inscription and ‘Nṛpati’ in the Jaunpur inscription. While Bāṇa says, “at the head of all royal houses stand the Maukharis.” (Cf. Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 22.)

2 Ibid.


8 Fleet, op. et loc. cit. (line 10).

9 This view is also held by other scholars such as R. C. Majumdar, Outline of Ancient Indian History and Culture, (1927), p. 537; and in his History of Bengal, pp. 55-7; Saletore, op. cit., p. 68.

10 On the authority of Bāṇa, Harṣa Charita, p. 177, Nidhanpur Copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman and the Nālandā Seal of Bhāskaravarman Susthitavaran is accepted as a king of Kāmarupa. Hoernle, J. R. A. S., 1904; and Dr. Mookerji, op. cit., p. 25, f.n. 1, held that he belonged to the Maukhari line. Banerji proved this erroneous (J. B. O. R. S., XIV, p. 255). In spite of Mookerji’s arguments to the contrary (Ibid, XV, p. 252), it is generally and correctly held that Susthitavaran was a king of Kāmarupa.

the banks of the Lauhitya, i.e., the Brahmaputra here means Assam—the country of Susthitavarman or perhaps the land along the Brahmaputra river. As regards this point Dr. Raychaudhari has observed that "the way before him (Mahāsenagupta) was prepared by his immediate predecessors: Kumāragupta, his (Mahāsenagupta's) grandfather, pushed to Prayāga,\(^1\) while Dāmodargupta, father of Mahāsenagupta, claims to have "broken up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis."\(^2\) But this argument of Dr. Raychaudhari will hardly convince any discerning student. True, Dāmodargupta is said to have broken up "the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis." But his reign was not successful at all. The inscription veils his defeat under a phraseology which suggests victory, while in reality the victory lay with Sarvavarman; for the Gupta king as the record euphemistically puts it, "became unconscious (and expired in the fight)."\(^3\) Similarly we know that Mahāsenagupta's reign was not a success either. The Kalachuris or the Kaṭachuris, as we have already seen, defeated him and occupied Ujjain by A.D. 595,\(^4\) and his two sons had to seek refuge at Thānēśvara court.

What seems a more reasonable answer to Professor Banerji's argument is that the increasing power of Susthitavarman was a menace to all the northern powers. The kings of Gauḍa of this period were feeble rulers. We know that Śaśāṅka began his reign as Mahāsāmanta only. And possibly he and his immediate predecessors were living under the suzerainty of Susthitavarman, and continued under his son Bhāskaravarman. This may be gathered from his Nidhānapura plates which were actually issued from Karnasuvarna.\(^5\) In the face of this increasing menace to their independence the Maukharis, the Vardhanas and the Guptas must have buried their differences and joined hands against the common enemy. This is substantiated by the fact that while the family history is particular in its reference to the conflict they had with the Maukharis down to the reign of Mahāsenagupta, it is silent about this during the latter's rule. The marriage of Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākarvardhana, a grandson of the Gupta house of Mālavā, with Grahavarman was a culmination of this policy of friendship between the three north-western powers. There was no difficulty, therefore, for Mahāsenagupta to march across Magadha. But it seems more likely that it was the king of Assam that was the aggressor, and was soundly defeated by the combined armies. When the poet says that the victory of Mahāsenagupta was sung on the bank of the Lauhitya, he only

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1 Fleet, op. cit., C. I. I., III, p. 221.
2 Raychaudhari, op. et loc. cit.; and Saletore, op. cit., p. 67.
wants to say in the exaggerated language of the poets that the defeat brought home to the people of Assam the lesson that they should never again think of invasion. As a result of the victory of these allied powers Susthitavarman was baulked of his ambition to impose his yoke on Magadha and Malava. The victory was, therefore, decisive only to this extent. For the power of Susthitavarman so far as eastern India was concerned continued undiminished throughout his reign and even during a part of the reign of his son Bhaskaravarman. Therefore, there is no contradiction between the information yielded by the Aphśad inscription regarding the defeat of Susthitavarman and the glorious panegyric on the part of Bāna of the same ruler. When Professor Mookerji objects that Mahāsenagupta could not have attacked an ally of Hārṣa, the king of Kāmarūpa, he forgets that Hārṣa was not a contemporary of Mahāsenagupta, that the event under reference took place perhaps even before he was born; and that the Hārṣa-Bhāskarvarman alliance came about only after Hārṣa's accession to the throne.

Thus the fact that the later Guptas ruled in Malava cannot be doubted. That there was a branch of the Gupta family ruling at Malava had also been perceived by Professor Banerji. But he, nevertheless, opposed the view that Mahāsenagupta was ruler only of Malava. Evidently he did not clear the point as to who were the rulers of that line. The existence of the Gupta kings of Malava is well testified to by Bāna when he mentions the two sons of the king of Malava named Kūmāra-Gupta and Mādhavagupta figuring as companions of Rājya and Hārṣa at the court of king Prabhākarvardhana. This is supported by the Aphśad stone inscription which mentions a Mādhava Gupta who was "wishing for the company of Śrī Hārṣa," on the basis of the common characterisation that he was a companion of Hārṣa. From this inscription we know it for certain that Mahāsenagupta was Mādhavagupta's father. Although the name of Mādhavagupta is omitted by Bāna it is supplied by the Aphśad inscription. Moreover, Hiuen Tsiang who visited India in Hārṣa's time calls Purṇavaḍarman the occupant of the Magadha throne, and does not say a word about Mādhavagupta or his father. The fact is, therefore apparent that it was only after Hārṣa's death that Mādhavagupta or his son Adityasena Gupta established the Gupta line in Magadha. This is also borne out by the Maṅju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa when it asserts that the later

3 Mookerji, op. et loc. cit., p. 254.
4 Bāna, op. et loc. cit.
6 Beal, op. cit., I, p. 218; Watters, op. cit., II, p. 115.
7 This Purṇavaḍarman is identified with a later Maukhari ruler, cf. Cunningham, A. S. I. R., XV, p. 166; Pires, op. cit., p. 130.
Guptas became rulers of Magadha only from the time of Devagupta, the son of Āditya Gupta.¹ The author of this work is obviously mistaken in the earlier part of his statement in trying to connect these Guptas with the Gauda country,² but the point nevertheless is established that their rule began elsewhere than Magadha.³

¹ Cf. Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 58.

² We know from the statement of Huien Tsiang that the Bodhhi tree was cut off by Śaśānka at Buddha Gayā, hence it is clear that the place must be under him and not under the Guptas as stated by the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa.

³ Even at the time of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta, memory of Varmas at Magadha was not forgotten as the Maukhari supremacy over this country is hinted in this inscription, Hirālāl, “Sirpur Inscription of the time of Mahāśiva Gupta,” E. I., XI, p. 89.
APPENDIX D

A NOTE ON THE GADDEMEANE VIRAGAL

"While Śilāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful and a thorn in the way of the bravest, ascended the throne of his empire, Pettani Satyānka, a brave soldier capable of destroying enemies in the battlefield, pierced through the thick of the battle with the brave Beḍara Rāya, so as to cause frightfulness to Mahendra and reached the abode of Svarga. Whoever preserves the field of crops (gifted to his relations), attains good and he who removes it will be guilty of five great sins."\(^1\)

On a stone set up in the jungle near the village Gaddemane of Sāgar Hobli there is mention of one Śilāditya who, as given above, is described as "the light of the quarters, the most powerful, and a thorn in the way of the bravest" and that "(he) ascended the throne of his empire." This Śilāditya can be no other than the Valabhi prince who is described as ruling over the lands near the Vindhyās. The inscription does not supply any clue to ascertain who this Śilāditya was. However, the above description leads one to suppose that he was one of the rulers of the Maitraka dynasty, in whose records this name is found very often. Now the next question arises as to which of the seven kings of this name this Śilāditya was. From the description recorded in the Maitraka grants we know that it was only Derabhaṭṭa’s son who is described as having conquered and ruled over the southern part of the Valabhi kingdom. It seems likely that after the death of Pulikeśin, when the Chālukya empire in the Deccan became practically a Pallava province, Śilāditya may have led a predatory excursion into this territory and came into conflict with the Pallavas. He was met by Mahendravarma and in the course of the fight he may have lost one of his commanders in whose memory the Gaddamane Viragal was set up. This Śilāditya, as we have seen above, was a contemporary of Dharasena IV, and may have ruled conjointly with him, the part of the Maitraka territory entrusted to his care being the territory which had been annexed to their kingdom by his father.

Their antagonist mentioned under the name of Mahendra seems to be their Pallava contemporary Mahendravarman II.\(^2\)

This Śilāditya of the Viragal was first identified by Śrīkantha Śāstri with Harṣavardhana of Kanauj on the ground of the existence of a couplet in Sanskrit:\(^3\)

``
Bhupālāḥ śāśibhāśkarānvayabhūvaḥ ke nam nāśādītaḥ/
Bhārtāram punar ekameva hi bhuvastvā devam manyā mahē/
Yenāṃgam parimṛṣya Kuntalamathā kṛṣya vyudasyā yatam/
Coḷam prāpya ca madhyadesamadhunā kāncyām karaḥ pātitaḥ/
``

\(^2\) Moraes, The Kadamba Kula, p. 65.
\(^3\) Śāstri, J. R. A. S. (1926), p. 487.
\(^4\) Ibid.
These lines are supposed to have been written by a man called Mayūra, who is taken to be the father-in-law of Bāna. In this couplet, it is said that Harṣa conquered the Chōla, Drāvida and Karnāṭaka countries. The evidence of the couplet written by an uncertain author cannot be taken seriously. Secondly, in the absence of any other confirmatory evidence, this can only be regarded as "praise in the conventional exaggerated style" and without any reference to historical accuracy. As regards the identification of this Śilāditya of the Viragal with Harṣa, neither Mr. Śāstri nor Mr. Ray, who has followed him, quoted the important clause of the Viragal. They have besides wrongly inserted the phrase "when Harṣa came conquering, and Mahendra fled in fear" where it should have "while Śilāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful, ... ascended the throne of his empire." From this it would follow that Harṣa invaded the Deccan immediately on his accession. But this is a fact about which both Bāna and Hiuen Tsiang are silent, when they would have certainly made much of it had such a thing ever taken place, specially in view of the later defeat of Harṣa. Furthermore, as we have already seen, Harṣa could not have ventured out of his kingdom at a time when he was still contending with a mortal enemy next door, the Gauda king Śāsānka. He could, of course, have come down to the south during the period that followed the death of Pulikeśin, i.e., between A.D. 642 and 648. But then the fact mentioned in the inscription goes counter to this supposition, viz., that the invasion took place soon after the accession of the Śilāditya mentioned in the Viragal.

As regards this Śilāditya's identification with the Chālukya prince Śilāditya Śrayāsraya (grandson of Pulikeśin II), it may be noted that Dr. Majumdar does not give any reason beyond stating that constant hostility was going on between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas as in the south. Moreover, the description in the Viragal, viz. "when Śilāditya ascended the throne of his empire, ... etc.," goes directly against this identification, for the simple reason that this Śilāditya had no throne to speak of, leave alone "a throne of the empire." He was a mere officer of the Chālukyas, who bore the title of Yuvarāja, possibly because he belonged to the royal family, not because he was the heir-apparent, as the known facts about Chālukya history amply testify.

Lastly, Dr. B. A. Saletoore, while he is correct in his observation that he was a Valabhi king, trips when he says that "this was Derabhaṭṭa also called Śilāditya " for Derabhaṭṭa as is well known from the Valabhi inscriptions was never called Śilāditya. This Śilāditya was his son, who like him may have ruled jointly with his cousin, the Valabhi king, and is described as the lord of the Vindhya Mountains.

APPENDIX E

NOTE TO CHAPTER ON SILADITYA V

That the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāra was Ujjain is doubted by Mr. Sharma in his article on "The Original Capital of the Pratihāras of Kanauj" (A. B. O. R., XVIII, p. 396). He thinks Jālor was the capital of the early Pratihāra rulers. "If Vatsarāja and Avanipati were identical," he argues, "there would be no need to use the two words 'Bhūbṛta' and 'Nrpa' in juxtaposition"; the conclusion, therefore, follows that they were used to show that Jinasena regarded the two as different persons. But this argument of Mr. Sharma is not convincing. It may be for the sake of metre that such words are employed. Then again the word 'Gurjareśa' cannot be taken as the king of the present province of Gujarāt as Mr. Sharma believes.¹ At this time it only meant the lord of the Gurjara tribe. For we know that Gujarāt was not then known by this name. And it was only in the later period that we find the earliest mention of Gujarātra bhūmi as given in the Daulatpur Copper-plate inscription,² possibly in conformity to the age long practice, whereby after a dynasty was overthrown the country over which it had ruled was named after it—Kadamba-Manḍala, Sendraka-Viṣaya, Nalavādiviṣaya being instances in point. Lastly, the writer has quoted a short extract from Uddyotana Sūri's Kuvalayamāla, a Śvetāmbar Jaina work in which it is stated that it was composed while its author was staying in a temple of Rṣabhadēva at Jivālipura (modern Jālor), which was at the time ruled by the redoubtable Raṇahastin Vatsarāja.³ We may grant the identification of the latter with the Vatsarāja mentioned in the Jaina Harivamśa Purāṇa. It must, however, be pointed out that the reference to Jivālipura in these lines nowhere indicates that it was the capital of Vatsarāja. All that we gather therefrom is that the place was included in the kingdom of Vatsarāja.⁴

¹ These Pratihāras undoubtedly belonged to the Gurjara tribe as proved by Dr. Majumdar ("The Gurjara Pratihāra," J. D. L., X, p. 1 ff) on the evidence of the Rajor Inscriptions.
⁴ Mr. Sharma (art. cit.) believed that the "Gurjara-Pratihāra" is the term used to show that the Pratihāra family ruled over Gujarāt. But the arguments of Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Fleet, Pathak and Peterson in favour of the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāra are more convincing, or at the most it may be, as Mr. Munshi (op. cit.) and Dr. Ganguli (I. H. Q., X, 337, 613) believe, they were originally the lords of the Gurjaradeśa which was different from the present Gujarāt.
APPENDIX F

DATE OF HARSA-PULIKEŚIN WAR

C. V. Vaidya,1 Ray,2 Altekar,3 Sankalia,4 R. C. Parikh,5 are among the scholars who hold that it was Dhruvasena II that was defeated by Harṣa. Contrary to this opinion the late Dr. Bhagwânläl Indrají6 held the view that the conflict between Valabhi and Harṣa took place in the reign of Dharasena IV for the reason that Dhruvasena II was Harṣa’s son-in-law. This argument is elaborated by Mr. K. Chattopadhyā.7 He bases his opinion among others on the silence of Hiuen Tsiang regarding this war between Valabhi and Kanauj, and the fact that in the known grants of Daṇḍa II which range from A.D. 629-641 no mention is made of this important event. Taking this argument first, it must be observed that the boast of Jayabhaṭṭa that his ancestor Daṇḍa gave shelter to the king of Valabhi, has to be taken with great reservation. It has been pointed out above that as compared with Valabhi, Broach was a very feeble power, hardly in a position to render any help worth mentioning, i.e., help which would have made a difference to the receiver. If, therefore, the fact was not recorded among the achievements of Daṇḍa, it was very probably because the latter realised the absurdity of such a mention. But the fact is undoubted that Dhruvasena did betake himself to the court of Broach, after his kingdom was overrun by Harṣa, a circumstance easily understandable since Daṇḍa was his fellow-feudatory under Pulikeśin II. It is very likely that from Broach he sent appeals for help to his overlord. Presumably this simple fact served as a basis for the later account of the Navasāri plates, magnified out of all proportion in the course of seven decades. In this connection Dr. Altekar has rightly observed that “it is quite probable that the credit claimed by (for?) Daṇḍa II may have really belonged to Pulikeśin whose feudatory he probably was,”8 and he has given instances to show how feudatories appropriated for themselves the achievements of their suzerains. But the silence of Hiuen Tsiang regarding this incident is not very difficult to explain. The silence of this Chinese pilgrim could not be given great importance, as we are told that “he was not a good observer, a careful investigator or a satisfactory recorder, and subsequently he left very much untold which he would have done well to tell.”9 However, it can also be argued that this reticence was a

3 "Date of Harṣa-Pulikeśin War," A. B. O. R. I., XIII, p. 304.
4 Archaeology of Gujarāt, p. 17.
5 "Historical Introduction," Kāvyamūḍāsana, p. lxiv.
7 "The Date of Harṣa-Pulikeśin War," Proceedings of the 3rd Indian History Congress, pp. 596-600.
9 Watters, On Yuan Chwang, I, p. 15.
deliberate attempt on the part of the pilgrim to save the face of the son-in-law of Harṣa, the great protagonist of Buddhism, whose proceeding in changing suzerains in the manner he did, was not honourable, and who was thereby, according to the accepted standard of conduct, guilty of disloyalty to his liege-lord. Despite his efforts Huen Tsiang betrays his contempt for the man in his estimate of Dhruvasena’s personality. It will be agreed that the expressions “man of hasty temper and shallow views,” are no compliments. The other arguments of Chattopadhya, being closely linked with these two, stand or fall with them and, therefore, need not be discussed. In a recent publication,¹ R. N. Saletore has likewise taken the defeated Valabhi king to be Dharasena IV, but has blundered palpably in assigning reasons for the opinion. He writes, “Harṣa apparently commenced his career of conquest in A.D. 606 and must have completed it by A.D. 612 when he was defeated decisively by Pulikeśin II. The only Maitraka ruler who can be placed within this period is not necessarily Dhruvasena II, Bāḷāḍīṭya, whose known date is G.E. 310 (A.D. 630), but rather his son and successor Dharasena IV, whose known dates are (g.s). 326, 328 and 330. Dharasena IV, obviously a name misheard by Yuan Chwang as Dhruvabhaṭa, must have been the king whom Daṇḍa II sheltered after his defeat by Harṣa.” We regret to say that in arriving at these conclusions, the writer has failed to take note of the research done on these subjects² in recent years. Firstly, Harṣa’s career of conquest, as has been demonstrated above, started not in A.D. 606 but in c. A.D. 612, as ... Watters shrewdly guessed.³ Secondly, his campaigns can by no means be compressed within the first six years of his rule, an inference based upon the wrong reading of the passage in Huen Tsiang by Watters.⁴ Then again, the Maitraka king whose rule coincides with this period A.D. 606-612 is neither Dhruvasena II nor his son Dharasena IV as Saletore would have us believe, but their ancestor Śilāḍīṭya I.

¹ Life in the Gupta Age, p. 74.
² Cf. Tripathi, “A Note on a remark of Yuan Chwang,” I. H. Q., VIII, p. 113-16; Altekar, op. et loc. eit.
³ Watters, On Yuan Chwang, 1, p. 347.
⁴ Cf. Tripathi, op. et loc. eit.
APPENDIX G

'VAJRATA' OR THE 'VA'
OF
THE MANJU-SRI-MULA-KALPA

In a recent article on "Vajrata" Dr. N. Venkataramanayya\(^1\) tries to identify the Vajrata of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records with a king mentioned in the Maṅju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa whose name is said to have commenced with the syllable 'Va' (≡).\(^2\) Dr. Venkataramanayya rightly contends that the name Vajrata is a personal name, and that it is not found among the rulers of any of the four South Indian dynasties, viz., Kāñci—Śa, the Kerala-Narādipa, the Coḷa and the Pāṇḍya, "placed in juxtaposition" to him.

He maintains that the Chāluukiyas came into conflict with the north Indian powers on three different occasions, viz., (a) Maṅgaleśa with the Kalachuri King Buddhharāja,\(^3\) (b) Pulikeśin II, with Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj,\(^4\) (c) and lastly, Vinayāditya, who assisted by his son Vijayaśīthī, conducted a campaign into north India during the reign of Vikramaśīthī himself.\(^5\) Dr. Venkataramanayya further says that Vajrata must have been as great and powerful a king as Śrī-Harṣa in as much as his name was considered worthy to be placed with that of the latter, and that he may have flourished subsequent to the time of Harṣa—an inference suggested by the circumstance that in the record, his name is mentioned after that of Harṣa. Hence he concludes that the conflict between the Chāluukiyas and Vajrata must have taken place after the death of Harṣa and, therefore, on the third and the last occasion when they had to deal with a north Indian power, i.e., under Vikramāditya. Consequently, the defeat referred to in the Nerur plates is the defeat inflicted on Vajrata:

"(His dear son) Vinayāditya—Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world—who was possessed of the Pālidhvaja and all the other mighty insignia of supreme dominion which he had acquired by crushing the lord of all the region of the north"—"(Vijayaśīthī), (who), his grandfather having been victorious in the region of the south, uprooted the thicket of the thorn brushes which was the assemblage of his foes, (in that direction) ; who, following the avocation of war even in front of his father who was desirous of conquering the region of the north, had the edge of his Sword worn away by splitting open the

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\(^{1}\) Dr. Venkataramanayya, "Vajrata ", I. H. Q., XX, No. 2, p. 181 ff. (1944).

\(^{2}\) Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, p. 63 (S. 848), 66-67.


foreheads of the elephants of his foes, who was in the foremost rank in all battles, who was flavoured with the quality of excellent impetuosity."

The Nerur plates, however, for some unknown reason, do not disclose the name of the vanquished monarch, but rest content with calling him a Sakal-ōttara-ādhipati, the paramount sovereign of northern India. Dr. Venkataramanayya assigns A.D. 674 for his defeat, as the north Indian expedition under Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya was conducted during Vikramāditya's conquest of the southern reign, which took place in the same year as recorded by the Gaḍvāl plates.

Now with reference to the conjecture of Dr. Venkataramanayya that Vajrāṭa is the same as the monarch ‘Va’ mentioned in the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa, it must be observed that if he accepts, as he seems to do, the identification of Dha (jay) his immediate predecessor, with Dharasena IV of the Maitraka dynasty, ‘Va’ does not correspond to the first syllable of the name of the successor of Dharasena, viz., Dhruvasena III. Nor is any ruler of this name, viz., Vajrāṭa, known among the successors of Dharasena IV. But it is possible to argue that either Dhruvasena III or one of this successors may have borne another name which began with the syllable ‘Va’ just as Kharagraha who is called Chapala in the same Buddhist work. Here an objection may be raised against K. P. Jayaswal’s interpretation of the passage in the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa in connection with the syllables ‘Dha’ and ‘Va’ as referring to the rulers of the Maitraka line. Firstly, why should the name of Rājyavardhana be introduced so abruptly in discussing the later Gupta chronology, while the change of dynasty is not indicated in the passage? Then again, why should Rājyavardhana’s name alone be given in full, while the rulers in the preceding as well as in the following verses are referred to with the first syllable of their names only? The inconsistency of style causes one to doubt the correctness of the meaning given by Jayaswal to the word ‘rājyavardhana’ as used in the context. We have no definite proof to say that the line of the Guptas became extinct with Vajra (i.e., ‘Va’ of the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa), the son of Bhānugupta, and hence there is no reason to assume that Rājyavardhana’s name is inserted as their successor. True, Hiuen Tsiang stops with the name of Vajra, but he does not say that the latter was

3 Venkataramanayya, art. cit.
5 Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, p. 66.
the last ruler of the dynasty. He actually mentions one more king after Vajra though he does not specify his name. Moreover, it is well known that the Chinese pilgrim included in his list the names of those kings only who had constructed Vihāras at Nālandā. But the most surprising thing of all if Jayaswal’s interpretation of the passage be accepted, would be the omission in the *Maṭju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* of the more important ruler Harṣa while mentioning the less important Rājyavardhana.

These difficulties created by Jayaswal’s rendering will be settled if the passage in question be interpreted as:

"His (Pa’s) younger brother ‘Va’ will solemnly become a king for three years and one, and he will expand the limits of his kingdom; and even though both (Pa and Va) were young they died being attacked with acute faints and both attained Yakṣahood," instead of: "After ‘P’, ‘Bh’ became king for 3 years. His (Pa’s) younger brother (or descendant) V (Vajra) solemnly become a king, he ruled for 3 years," and "Rājyavardhana will be king for 1 year. Both these kings (V and Rājyavardhana) had sudden and unnatural ending," as translated by Jayaswal.

Thus if the above interpretation is accepted and the Puṣpabhūti dynasty dropped from the context, the question of ‘Dha’ or ‘Va’ succeeding Rājyavardhana or Harṣa, will not arise. And in this case the kings represented by these syllables will not refer to the Maitraka dynasty. Even as it is, Dharasena IV cannot be taken to be the descendant of Rājyavardhana, the brother of his supposed grandfather Harṣa. Finally, the respective attributes of these two rulers ‘Dha’ and ‘Va’ if they are regarded as Maitrakas do not correspond to the known history of Dharasena IV and his successor Dhruvasena III. For according to the *Maṭju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* ‘Dha’ who is not referred to by any *biruda* was less powerful than ‘Va’ who "will be ruler over the whole country an All-India Emperor (Sarva-bhūmitā-bhūpati)." While according to the authentic history of the Maitrakas it was the other way about, viz., Dharasena IV was a Chakravati ruler and Dhruvasena III was only a Mahārāja.


2 I am indebted to Dr. H. G. Shāstri for the above translation of the following passage:

3 Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 66, that the word ‘rājyavardhana’ taken as an adjective instead of a noun explains the difficulties presented above.

4 Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*

Finally Dr. Venkataramanayya, for all his theorizing about Vajraṭa seems to be ignorant about the important fact that Vajraṭa is mentioned in the Nāsik plates (20th March 666) of the Chālukya prince Dharāśraya-Jayasiṃhavarman. According to this inscription Jayasiṃha, with his bright-tipped arrows, defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjada in the country between the Mahi and the Narmadā. And Prof. Mirashi seems to be right in his suggestion that Vajjada "is clearly a corrupt form of some Sanskrit name like Vajraṭa or Vajrabhaṭa" and that though the Rāṣṭracūta records name him as Vajraṭa, "they belonged to a much later age." But it is clear that Vajraṭa was in some way related to the Maitrakas for the simple reason that the territory in which he met his defeat, is contiguous to, nay partly included in the Maitraka dominions. And the defeat, therefore, must have taken place not in A.D. 674 as Dr. Venkataramanayya suggests, but some time before A.D. 666 when the Nāsik plates of the Chālukya prince Dharāśraya-Jayasiṃha were issued.


PART II

CULTURE
CULTURE
CHAPTER I

SOCIETY

The history of Valabhipura and specially the history of the Maitrakas would be incomplete, if some mention is not made of the life of the people in the social, economic and religious spheres. To understand this, it is very essential to give a brief sketch of the institutions that formed the basis of social life.

The caste system ever strong and rigid in India formed the basis of society, which was divided into four main castes, viz., Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The caste system as it prevailed in the Maitraka period is thus described by Hiuen Tsiang: "There are four orders of hereditary clan distinctions. The first is that of the Brāhmins or 'purely living'; these keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity. The second order is that of the Kṣatriyas, the race of kings; this order has held sovereignty for many generations, and its aims are benevolence and mercy. The third order is that of the Vaiśyas or class of traders, who barter commodities, and pursue gain far and near. The fourth class is that of the Śūdras or agriculturists; these toil at cultivating the soil and are industrious at sowing and reaping. These four castes form classes of various degrees of ceremonial purity." It was regarded as the bounden duty of the rulers to see to the proper working of the caste system, so that the duties assigned to each caste may be carried out by the members of that caste without being interfered with by the members of other castes. Accordingly the Maitraka records speak of their monarchs as having "properly regulated the practices of the different castes and stages of life."

Of these four castes the Brāhmaṇas stood at the head of all. They were highly respected and were as a rule more learned than the rest of the society. The Smṛtis laid down as a matter of principle that it was the duty of a king to support the Srōtriyas (i.e., learned Brāhmaṇas), and in the Dharmaśāstras great importance was attached to gifts of permanent character made to the Brāhmaṇas which were termed atidānas or gifts of great value. These were made on auspicious occasions such as the first day of each ayana (i.e., the Sun's passage to the north or south) the day when an eclipse of the sun or moon occurred, a new moon day or amāvāsyā, a sadāśīta, etc. Naturally the

1 Arthaśāstra, I, Ch. III, pp. 6-7; Manu, Ch. I, pp. 88-90.
2 Watters, On Yuan Chwang, I, p. 168; Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, I, p. 82.
3 Fleet, op. cit., p. 185. This is said with special reference to Kharagraha II.
4 Tajnavalkya, III, 414.
5 Kane, op. cit., II, pp. 837-88. That the punya attributed to the gift of land is of 1000 arvamedha, 100 rajas and 100 kanyādāna.
6 Kane, op. cit., p. 852.
Maitraka kings paid due respect to the Brāhmaṇas. They rewarded them with grants of land, and even assignments on the state revenue.¹ For instance, it is recorded of Dharasena II that for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of his parents, and that he himself might reap the reward of good action, he made a grant to the Brāhmaṇa Rudrabhūti, consisting of pieces of land in several villages, irrigation wells, and certain taxes including the right to forced labour.² In return for these privileges and exemptions, which they enjoyed, the Brāhmaṇas were expected to discharge certain duties to the state. In the law books these duties are stated as study and teaching of the Vedas as well as profane learning, and also performance of religious rites.³ These rites were usually the five Mahāyajñas,⁴ viz., the Bhūta-yajña, the Manusya-yajña, the Pitryajña, the Daiva-yajña and the Brahmayajña.⁵ The main items of expense incurred in performing these Mahāyajñas and which have been enumerated in the Maitraka records are bali, charu, vaisvadeva,⁶ agnihotra and atithi.⁷ Bali evidently represented śrāddha (i.e., where rice-balls, etc., are offered to the Manes) offered in the Bhūta-yajña⁸; atithi was associated with the Manusya-yajña which consisted in honouring guests⁹; Vaisvadeva was connected with the Daiva-yajña at which hōma was offered to all the gods (viśvedevah); Charu was presumably the oblation of rice offered in the pityryajña, which according to the texts may partake of tarpana, śrāddha or bali to the manes¹⁰; while the study of the Vedas which the Brāhmaṇas were required to pursue, in itself amounted to a sacrifice which was termed Brahmayajña, (i.e., svādhyāya or one’s own study).¹¹ The agnihotra was a daily observance to be performed with the offerings of cow’s milk to agni and prajāpati. Though not included in the five Mahāyajñas, the morning hōma was an indispensable preliminary, which had to be performed before the commencement of any of the five rites. But it was not all the Brāhmaṇas that were entitled to this state bounty. For according to Manu and others, a

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¹ The system of giving regular grants to the Brāhmaṇas was started by the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas. We are told that Chakrapālita, a Gupta officer, before commencing to repair the dam of the Sudaśāna lake, first gave a gift to the Brāhmaṇas. Cf. Fleet, op. cit., pp. 56-65.
² Fleet, C. I. I., III, p. 170; Acharya, op. cit., I, Nos. 80, 84, 21, 42, etc. Instances of this kind may be multiplied.
³ Manu, I, 88-91; X, 74-80; Yaj., I, 118-119; cf. Kane, op. cit., II, Pt. I, Ch. 3.
⁴ Fleet, op. cit., III, p. 170; Bühler, op. cit., VI, p. 16; Acharya, op. cit., I, Nos. 21, 42, 80, 84, etc. The Pañcchamaḥāyajñas were the daily observances prescribed from very early times, the earliest reference being found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XI, 5, 6, 7.
⁵ Kane, History of Dharmasāstra, I, p. 696.
⁶ Fleet, op. et loc. cit; Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
⁷ The Vaisvadeva is also called a midday sandhyā in the Dharmasindhu, III, p. 299.
⁸ Kane, op. cit., I, p. 698.
⁹ Ibid.
¹⁰ Manu, III, 70.
¹¹ Kane, op. cit., I, p. 696.
Brāhmaṇa who is like a cat or a hypocrite or one who does not know the Vedas, is unfit for receiving a grant. Nor were the Brāhmaṇas concerned with religious duties alone. There were, besides, other learned avocations which they could follow. Some of them were physicians, others astrologers, while the most learned were appointed to ministerial and other administrative offices. But as a rule they took no part in the industrial life of the country and lived as non-economic men concerned, for the most part, with spiritual and literary matters, and it was to their care that the intellectual life of the country was committed. But the Brāhmaṇas on occasions, also took to the profession of arms, and when successful even founded kingdoms. An instance in point is the Brāhmaṇa king of Ujjaini mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, another is that of Hariśchandra, the first known king of the Gurjaradeśa. But such Brāhmaṇas usually merged in the Kṣatriya caste by freely marrying into the existing Kṣatriya ruling houses.

There were several gotras among the Brāhmaṇas, the following being the most commonly met with in the Maitraka records: Śāndilya-gotra, Vajagana-gotra, Droṇāyana-gotra, Sunaka-gotra, Jābāla-gotra, Kapistala-gotra, Āreya-gotra, Kairādi-gotra, Tāpasa-gotra, Traivalambaya-gotra, Vatsa-gotra, Bhāragava-gotra, Aupasvati-gotra, Bhārādvaja-gotra, Kāśyapa-gotra, Kauśaravasā-gotra, Kauśika-gotra, Andarśani-gotra.

3 Ibid.
5 Munshi, The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa, p. 22 ff.
6 Beal, op. cit., II, p. 271.
8 Acharya, op. cit., I, Nos. 17, 43, 44, 88.
9 Ibid., No. 18.
10 Ibid., No. 19, I. A., V, p. 204.
11 Ibid., No. 12.
14 Ibid., No. 24.
19 Acharya, op. cit., Nos. 25, 38.
20 Ibid., No. 26.
21 Ibid., Nos. 29, 55, 64, 74, 77.
22 Ibid., No. 39.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., Nos. 42, 50, 68, 81, 92.
Vājasaneyi-Kānavya-gotra, Sārkkarāksi-gotra, Daunavaya-gotra, Garga-gotra, Parāsara-gotra, etc. These Brahmanas, according as the gotras and the branch to which they belonged, studied some particular Samhitā of a veda. Most of them studied the Bhāvyā Śaṁhitā of the Rgveda, the Maitrāyaṇīka Śaṁhitā of the Krṣṇa-Yajurveda, Madhāndina-vājasaneyi Śaṁhitā of the Śukla-Yajurveda, Kauthum Chhandōga Śaṁhitā of the Śaṁveda and the Ātharvāna Śaṁhitā of the Ātharvaveda. But the Śukla-Yajurveda and the Śāma-veda seem to have been most popular in Kāthiawād, while in the north-east around Anandapura, it was the Rgveda and Śāma-veda that were most studied. This did not mean, however, that the other vedas were neglected. For the "tachchaturvīdyā-samānya," which often recurs in the Maitraka grants indicates that almost all the important towns were centres where all the four vedas were taught.

The Kṣatriyas were the ruling class of the realm. They received a military education, and since the word implies protection, it was conceived as their chief duty to defend the country from external aggression and internal trouble. "The duty of the Kṣhatriya," says the Arthasāstra, "is study, performance of sacrifice, giving gifts, military occupation, and protection of life." The same is also the view of Manu, who would have the Kṣatriya protect the people, bestow gifts, offer sacrifices, study the veda and abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures. The Kṣatriyas provided the administration with the necessary personnel and the army with the soldierly. According to Hiuen Tsiang, the sovereign de jure should always be of the Kṣatriya caste, and it was that caste alone which could lawfully produce a king, though instances have not been lacking of men of other castes assuming the crown: "The succession of kings is confined to the Kṣhatriya (T'sa-li) caste who by usurpation and bloodshed have from time to time raised themselves to power." Their chief merit, however, was their prowess. Just as the seniority of the Brahmanas, observes Manu, is from knowledge, so that of the Kṣatriya is from valour. The army was recruited from the bravest of the people and as their profession was hereditary the soldiers become adepts in military tactics.

1 Acharya, op. cit., No. 42.  
2 Ibid., Nos. 49, 72, 76, 96.  
3 Ibid., No. 82.  
4 Ibid., Nos. 79, 83, 93, 94.  
5 Ibid., Nos. 68, 69, 73, 95.  
6 Winternitz, History of Sanskrit Literature, I, pp. 57, 119 ff.  
8 Manu, II, 31.  
9 Arthasāstra, I, 3, 7.  
10 Manu, I, 89.  
11 Beal, op. cit., I, p. 82; Watters, op. cit., I, p. 171.  
12 Manu, I, 155.  
13 Beal, op. et loc. cit.; Watters, op. et loc. cit.
In times of peace they guarded the sovereign's residence and in wartime they became the intrepid vanguard. An idea of the military education of the Kṣatriyas may perhaps be obtained, if an attempt is made to visualize what the armies of those days were like, and what tactics they followed. It may be gathered from Hiuen Tsang that the army during the Maitraka period still consisted of the four classical arms, "elephantry," cavalry, infantry, and the chariots. Indeed, the Maitraka records show that the elephants formed the chief body of the army of their times. The Maitraka rulers, Śilāditya III and Śilāditya IV, are actually described as parting asunder in battle the elephants of their enemies, and splitting open their temples by the powerful blows of their swords. It is no wonder then that Kauṭilya counsels: Elephants serviceable in war "shall be kept inside the fort; and those that are still being tamed or are of bad temper shall be kept outside," and prescribes elaborate rules for the times of their bath, food, exercise, drink, sleep, and rest. Military training of these war-elephants consisted of seven kinds: drill (upasthāna), turning (saṁvartana), advancing (samyāna), trampling down and killing (vadhāvadha), fighting with other elephants (hastiyuddha), assailing forts and cities (nagarayamam), and warfare (sāngrahamikam). The military elephants, again, according to Kauṭilya, were equipped with such war accoutrements as mail, armour (varma), clubs (totra), arrow bags, and machines. During a campaign these beasts were to be looked after by the elephant doctors and trainers, negligence of duty (viz., not to clean the stables, to fail to supply grass, cause the animal to lie down on hard and unprepared ground, strike it on vital parts of its body, permit a stranger to ride over it or ride it at odd times, lead it through impassable places and allow it to enter into thick forests) on whose part was severely punished.

Since the immigration of the Āryans in India the horse was recognized as an important war implement to supplement the efforts of man on the battlefield. By the time of the Mahābhārata it had a recognized position in the army as could be seen from the agile horsemen scattered among the fighting hordes, accomplishing a sound victory over the infantry when, especially, the heavy chariots and elephants were rendered useless. By the time of Alexander's invasion the cavalry also, like the elephants, took an important rank in the organisation of the army. Arrian, for example, describes the

1 Beal, op. et loc. cit.; Watters, op. et loc. cit.
2 Ibid.
3 Fleet, op. cit., p. 185 (lines 47-51).
4 Arthaśāstra, p. 136.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., pp. 137-8.
7 Ibid., p. 138.
8 Ibid., p. 139.
9 Dikshitar, War in Ancient India, pp. 174-9.
10 Mah. IX, 23, 60.
Assakemans as having possessed a force of 20,000 horse and Porus having 4,000 of them. That the horse was very scientifically used in the army during the early days could very well be seen from the different positions assigned to this force in the different military arrays, as is shown by Kautšiya in his Arthaśāstra. It is, however, at the hands of Sōmadeva that the horse receives its due praise when the author says that “enemies situated at a distance are drawn nearer with the help of a horse. In difficulty a horse gives sufficient relief.” According to Hiuen Tsiang, “The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist an attack.” Cavalry which, according to the classical writers, raised terrific dust to prolific heights while running with great speed, was thus the vanguard of the ancient Indian army of the time of the Maitrokas. And as could be seen from the paintings of Ajanțā, these soldiers mounted on horseback wore typical military costumes and possessed long lances which were generally held by them in their right hands. While on the actual battlefield, they put on armours and helmets.

Out of the four component parts, the foot had become, from the very early times, an indispensable part of the army. Porus possessed 30,000 efficient infantry and there was, as Strabo mentions, a special board to look after them. The importance of the infantry could also be very well seen from Megasthenes’s mention of huge numbers in the different army divisions. According to him the Calinga had 60,000 foot, the Modagalinga and other tribes, 30,000, the Andarā, 1,00,000, the Prasii, 6,00,000, the Antamela, 1,50,000, the Pandae 1,50,000, an island in the Ganges, 50,000, and the Gangaridae, 60,000. And in later times, as could be seen from the Śukraniti, the infantry was fixed to be four times the cavalry.

Even as early as in the days of Chandragupta Maurya, the army was divided into different units accordingly as it was hereditary (maula), mercenary (bhṛtaka), corporations of soldiers (śreni), troops belonging to a friend or foe (mitrāmitra balam), and wild tribes. This practice was closely adhered to by the Maitra rulers.

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1 Invasion of Alexander, p. 65 ff.
2 Ibid., p. 102.
3 Arthaśāstra, Bk. X, Ch. VI.
4 Nīti Vākyānīta, p. 84.
5 Beal, op. cit., I, p. 83.
6 Cf. Cave, XVII.
7 Sāletore, op. cit., p. 134.
8 M'Crindle, The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 102 ff.
9 M'Crindle, Ancient India in Classical Literature, p. 55.
10 Bostock and Riley, The Natural History of Pliny, II, p. 44.
11 Śukraniti, p. 218.
But it must be observed that it was not the Kṣatriyas alone that made up the army. In the vedic period, the Kṣatriyas, though they made it a special vocation to fight and protect their own people from the attacks of the enemies never constituted the whole army. They acted as "leaders or officers rather than the rank and file."¹ This social superiority of the Kṣatriyas as a fighting caste continued till the Maurya period when the position of the Kṣatriyas in the army was even shared by the members of the other castes, Chandragupta Maurya belonging to a caste lower than the Kṣatriya, being a noteworthy example. And even later on it was the ability rather than the caste that decided the commissions in the militia.² Hiuen Tsiang seems to be supporting this contention when he states that "the sovereignty for many successive generations has been exercised only by Kṣatriyas: rebellion and regicide have occasionally arisen, other castes assuming the distinction."³

According to the Arthaśāstra "for every ten members of each of the constituents of the army, there must be one commander, called padika, ten padikas under a senāpati, and ten senāpatis under a nāyaka."⁴ But in the later period, with the advance of the art of warfare, this division of command seems to have become more scientific. According to Śukra, for instance, the lowest grade of the military officers was a sergeant of six foot soldiers (paṭṭipala); a lieutenant (gaumimika) over thirty soldiers; the captain over a troop of a hundred soldiers and so called śatānika; then came the sāhasrika and the āyutika with their power over a thousand and ten thousand soldiers respectively, as their names indicate. And over all these officials was the sachirita, 'war secretary',⁵ who "had to keep himself informed of the state of national defence, and to communicate the results of his inspection to the king through the crown prince."⁶

This class of soldiers is well described by the Chinese travellers: "The infantry by their quick movements contribute to the defence. These are chosen for their courage and strength. They carry a long spear and a great shield; sometimes they hold a sword or sabre, and advance to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons of war are sharp and pointed. Some of them are these—spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins, and various kinds of slings,"⁷ which they have been using for ages.

The last arm in which the Kṣatriya trained himself was the chariot, a very important apparatus of war. It was from the chariot that the leader of the

² Cf. Śukranīti, pp. 78, 101.
³ Watters, op. cit., I, p. 170.
⁴ Arthaśāstra, p. 377.
⁵ Cf. Sukranīti, pp. 78-79.
⁶ Date, op. cit., p. 62.
⁷ Beal, op. cit., I, p. 83.
army gave commands, whilst two attendants on each of the sides drove the chariot drawn by four horses. According to Hiuen Tsiang, "The general of the soldiers remains in his chariot; he is surrounded by a file of guards who keep close to his chariot wheels."  

The third estate consisted of the merchant class, who went under the designation of Vaiśyas. According to the Arthaśāstra, the duty of a Vaiśya "is study, performance of sacrifice, giving gifts, agriculture, cattle-breeding, and trade." Manu's views are identical, except that he would add to the duties already mentioned, that of lending money. All the Dharmaśāstras agree that the sum total of the attributes of the Vaiśya class is honest trade. Fa Hien on his visit to India observed that the Vaiśyas lived in opulent circumstances. "In the city," he says, "there are many Vaiśya elders, and sabeen merchants, whose houses are stately and beautiful." The merchant class, according to Hiuen Tsiang, engaged in commercial exchange and followed profit at home and abroad. Naturally, great wealth accumulated in the hands of this class, which often lavished it on charitable purposes. Fa Hien has recorded how "the heads of the Vaiśyas built vihāras for the priests, and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens, and orchards, along with the resident populations and their cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal." At Valabhi itself we have notable instances of their munificence. Two rich merchants Kakka and Ajjita were responsible for the building of the two vihāras, which were named after them. There was also a practice which was almost invariably observed by this class of making offerings before they attended to their family affairs. But their charity did not stop at the religious mendicants. They established orphanages where the poor were fed and their ailments treated free of charge. "All the poor and destitute in the country," to quote Fa Hien again, "orphans, widowers, and childless men, maimed people and cripples, and all who are diseased, go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases. They get food and medicines which their cases require, and are made to feel at ease; and when they are better, they go away of themselves."  

1 Beal, op. cit., I, p. 83.  
2 Ibid.  
3 Arthaśāstra, I, 3, 7.  
4 Manu, I, 90.  
5 Valavalkar, Hindu Social Institutions, pp. 299-301.  
6 Legge, op. cit., p. 104.  
7 Beal, op. cit., I, 82.  
8 Legge, op. cit., p. 43.  
10 Legge, op. cit., p. 38.  
11 Ibid., p. 79.
The fourth class was that of the Śūdras. It consisted of the labourers and the agriculturists. Their duty was to serve the other three classes and thus obtain their livelihood. "One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the Śūdras," says Manu, "to serve meekly even these (other) three castes." According to the Śāntiparva the Śūdra, created "as the servant of the other three varṇas" should never amass wealth (samchayam) for himself, for then "he makes the members of the three superior orders obedient to him." Hence whatever he possessed belonged to his master, whose duty it was to maintain him. The Śūdra was further required to marry in his own caste; nor was the recitation of the Vedic mantras, svadhā, svāhā, vaṣaṭ, etc., allowed to him. Kauṭilya describes his occupation as "agriculture, cattle breeding, and trade (vārtā), the profession of artizans and court-bards."

The chaṇḍālas were presumably the lower order of the Śūdra caste. The Arthaśāstra prescribes that "Heretics and Chandalas shall live beyond the burial grounds." Hieu Tsiang saw these unfortunate people actually forced to live outside the towns, and includes among them butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers. According to Fa Hien, "When they enter the gate of a city or a market-place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men know and avoid them." Bāna has left a gruesome, though exaggerated description of a typical Chaṇḍāla colony: "It was surrounded on all sides by boys engaged in the chase, unleashing their hounds, teaching their falcons, mending snares, carrying weapons, and fishing, horrible in their attire, like demoniacs. Here and there the entrance to their dwellings, hidden by thick bamboo forests, was to be inferred from the rising of smoke of orpiment. On all sides the enclosures were made with skulls; the dust heaps in the roads were filled with bones; the yards of the huts were miry with blood; fat, meat chopped up. The life here consisted of hunting; the food, of flesh; the ointment, of fat; the garments, of coarse silk; the couches, of dried skins; the household attendants, of dogs; the animals for riding, of cows; the men's employment, of wine and women; the oblation to the gods, of blood; the sacrifice, of cattle. The place was the very image of all hells." The Chaṇḍālas were thus the scum of the Hindu society.

1 Watters, op. cit., I, p. 168; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 82.
2 Manu, I, 91.
3 Śāntiparva, 60, 8-29; cf. Valavalkar, op. cit., p. 299.
4 Ibid.
5 Yaj., I, p. 121.
6 Śukraniti, 66-8, p. 168.
7 Arthaśāstra, I, 3, 7.
8 Ibid., II, 3, 59.
9 Watters, op. cit., I, p. 147; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 74.
10 Legge, op. cit., p. 43.
11 Bāna, Kadambari, pp. 204-5.
As a rule one married in one's own caste, though inter-caste marriages were not quite unknown. Huen Tsiang observed that there were several classes of people who inter-married.\(^1\) Such marriages were frequent specially among royalty,\(^2\) an instance in point being the marriage of Grahavarman and Rājaśri, who were respectively Kṣatriya and Vaiśya by caste,\(^3\) or that of the Maitraka king Dhrusasena II with Harṣa's daughter.\(^4\) The rule generally followed with regard to inter-caste marriage was that a man could take unto himself a wife of a lower caste,\(^5\) but not of a higher caste than himself. The first was called anuloma, and was licit, while the second which was called pratiloma had no sanction in the Dharmaśāstras.\(^6\)

Marriage in the case of boys took place when they had completed their studies and were about to enter the grahamhāsrama. According to Vātsayana a person should enter the householder's order only when he completed his studies, and lived the life of a citizen.\(^7\) The girls were given in marriage generally after the attainment of puberty.\(^8\) Eight forms of marriages are known to the Dharmaśāstras: Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣas and Piṣacha.\(^9\) The Brāhma form consisted of the gift of a daughter by her father to a man of good character and learned in the Vedas, after adorning her with ornaments. The Daiva form meant the offering of a daughter to a priest in the course of a sacrifice which he is himself performing. The Ārṣa form consisted in giving a daughter in marriage to a bridegroom after receiving a cow or a bull or two pairs of these from him. In the Prājāpatya form a father made a gift of the daughter by addressing the couple with the words: "May both of you perform together your duties."\(^10\) In the Āsura form the bride was exchanged for a monetary consideration. The Gāndharva form approached the western ideal of marriage, in which mutual consent was the only condition. In the Rākṣas form the bride was forcibly abducted from her home, weeping and wailing, after her kinsmen had been put to the sword. When the girl was seduced the resulting union was described as the Paisācha form of marriage. It will be noticed that except in the Gāndharva form the girls enjoyed little freedom in the choice of their partners. The match was settled by the parents and the day of the wedding was fixed in consultation with the astrologers.\(^11\) On that day the bridegroom came to the house of the bride and was received

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\(^1\) Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^6\) *Yaj.*, I, 120; *Sukraśīta*, 72, p. 164.
\(^7\) *Kāmasūtra*, I, 4, 1.
\(^8\) Ibid., III, 4, 36; Bāṇa, *op. et loc. cit.*: Manu, IX, 93, 90; *Yaj.*, I, 64.
\(^9\) *Yaj.*, I, 123; Manu, III, 21.
\(^10\) *Yaj.*, I, 125.
with due ceremony by the father-in-law and his party. He was offered arghya and taken to the Kantuka-grha where the marriage ceremony took place. It was customary for the bridegroom to stay at the place of the bride for ten days.

Further, the Dharmaśāstras prescribed, and custom conformed to the prescription that widows should not be permitted to remarry, a prohibition borne out by the observation of Hiuen Tsiang who writes, "a woman never contracts a second marriage." But curiously enough, custom, so stringent in the case of women, relaxed its severity when it came to men who were allowed to take more than one wife at the same time. Worse still, the practice had already become firmly established of widows immolating themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. But it is pleasant to observe that in the Maitraka period social reformers were beginning to raise their voice against this inhuman practice. Bāna, for instance, condemns it in no uncertain terms, when he writes, "to die after one's beloved is the most fruitless. It is the custom followed by the foolish. It does not do any good whatever to the dead person. . . . On the other hand, by surviving the deceased, one can do much good to both oneself and to the departed by offering prescribed oblations for his happiness in the other world."

These dark patches apart, it is possible to infer from the contemporary accounts of it we have from travellers that the Maitraka kingdom partook of the country-wide improvement in the standard of living which came in in the wake of the Gupta rule. The Chinese pilgrims seem to have been impressed by the opulence of the people in general. Hiuen Tsiang noticed that the towns and the villages were enclosed by walls which were high and wide with towers of wood or bamboo at intervals. The streets and lanes were winding and tortuous and were lined with shops on either side. He, however, had no high opinion of the social hygiene of our people, since he observes that the "thoroughfares are dirty." The houses had balconies and belvederes made

1 Bāna, op cit., p. 128.
2 Ibid., p. 130.
3 Ibid., p. 131.
4 Yad, I, 93.
5 Watters, op. cit., I, p. 168; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 82.
7 The practice of sati existed even in the Mahābhārata time and is referred to by the writers Vatsayana, Kālidasa, Bāna, Danjīn and others. The Eran stone inscription also records an instance of sati in the period, cf. Fleet, op. cit. (26), p. 93.
10 Watters, op. cit., I, p. 147; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 73.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
of wood with a coating of lime or mortar and covered with tiles.\(^1\) They were thatched with rushes, dry branches, tiles or boards.\(^2\) Their walls were of wattle-d bamboo or wood,\(^3\) and they were plastered with chunam.\(^4\) The floor, as is usual in Indian houses even today, was dabbed with cow-dung, and the custom prevailed of strewing them with flowers according to the season.\(^5\) These houses had terraces which were used for purposes of sleeping on hot summer nights.\(^6\) The furniture consisted of rattan cane-chairs,\(^7\) corded benches,\(^8\) bamboo couch\(^9\) and so forth.

The upper classes in the kingdom appear to have been well dressed. Their clothing was made of a variety of material. Hiuen Tsiang arranges it into four groups and observes that "the names for their clothing materials are Kiao-shè-ye (Kau-shèya) and muslin (tieh) and calico (pu), kausheya being silk from a wild silk-worm\(^10\); Ch’u (or ch’u)-mo (Kshauma), a kind of linen; Han (or kan)-po-lo (Kambala) a texture of fine wool (sheep’s wool or goat’s hair), and Ho-la-li (Ral?) a texture made from the wool of a wild animal— this wool being fine and soft and easily spun and woven is prized as a material for clothing."\(^11\) It is interesting to note that the Kauśeya type of cloth is also referred to in the works of Kālidāsa and it would appear to be a type of silk. But besides, there was also another variety, which is mentioned by Bāna under the name of bark yellow silk.\(^12\) This variety is also referred to in the account of I-Tseng.\(^13\) Calico and linen were probably manufactured from flax (kṣuma), jute (šana) or hemp (bhaṅga). To these may be added the heavy brocade known as ‘Kinkhăb’, which was famous as ‘puṣpapataṭa’.\(^14\)

These materials, rich and artistic as they were, were rendered more attractive by printing, painting and colouring. Numerous designs were used such as chequers, stripes, swans, etc., designs which in the course of the ages became

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\(^1\) Watters, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 147; Beal, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 73.
\(^2\) \textit{Ibid.}
\(^3\) \textit{Ibid.}
\(^4\) \textit{Ibid.}
\(^5\) \textit{Ibid.}
\(^6\) Bāna, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 104-8.
\(^7\) Takakus, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 22.
\(^8\) Beal, \textit{op. cit.}, I, 75; Watters, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 147. Hiuen Tsiang while writing about the corded benches says: "The royal family, the grandees, officials and gentry adorn their benches in different ways," and further "adorn them with precious substances." Watters, \textit{op. cit.}, I, pp. 147-148.
\(^9\) Bāna, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 133.
\(^10\) Hiuen Tsiang’s statement that the silk Kauśeya was from the wildworm does not seem right, as Kauśeya in the \textit{Amarakōsa} (II, 6, 111) stands for all types of silk obtained from cocoons, wild or cultured as stated by Mr. Motichandra (\textit{op. cit.}, XII, p. 13).
\(^11\) Watters, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 148; Beal, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 75.
\(^12\) Bāna, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 212.
\(^13\) Takakus, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 55.
\(^14\) Bāna, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 85; cf. Motichandra, \textit{op. cit.}, XII, p. 15.
the traditional patterns of the calico printers.  

Hiuen Tsiang speaks of the striped manufactures at Mathura. Though we have not come across any direct mention of tye-dyeing, the Maitraka kingdom must have been already celebrated for it, since Gujarāt, Cutch and Rajputānā have from times immemorial been famous for their tye-dyed clothes known as ‘bāndhani’ or ‘chundaḍi’.

It must, however, be observed that Bāna does refer to ladies’ blouses under the name of ‘pulaka bandhana’, and by this he probably means the tye-dyed clothes.

From the earliest times, men’s attire consisted of ‘dhōti’, ‘dupsattā’ and turban, all of which were unstitched, justifying the observation of Hiuen Tsiang that “the inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring,” and again “their clothing is not cut or fashioned.”

But the contact with foreigners like the Indo-Greeks, the Kuśāṇa, the Scythians and the Śakas was not without influence on clothes, and it is to this influence that we should attribute the appearance of coats, tunics and trousers in ancient India. These may be seen in the effigies of the Gupta emperors on some of their coins. But the Ajantā paintings which may be assigned to the same age show that the official court dress was based on the old style. The members of the nobility wore their ‘dhōtis’ in a graceful manner, and as Dr. Motichandra has remarked their ‘artistic arrangements of pleats and folds prove that the wearers were not unaware of the aesthetics of dressing.’ They also used a shawl which covered their shoulders and was rolled round on the left arm and flung back in firm folds which were firmly held fast by a heavy tassel. A ‘Kamarabhandha’ or a waist-band either laced or plain was worn round the waist, and it was in this that their ‘dhōti’ was held. Its loop, of which the efficiency of the dice-makers has left a minute portrait, was on the left and the ends falling on the ground. Further details about the ‘dhōtis’ of

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1 Motichandra, “The History of Indian Costumes from the 3rd to the end of the 7th century,” J. I. S. O. A., XII, p. 9. This is a most valuable study based upon archaeological, numismatic and literary material as well as the far-famed paintings of Ajantā.

2 Watters, op. cit., I, p. 301.


4 Cf. Ibid., pp. 21, 44.

5 Watters, op. cit., I, p. 148; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 75.

6 Watters, op. cit., I, p. 148.

7 Beal, op. cit., p. 75.

8 Cf. Motichandra, op. cit., XII, p. 43; Allan, Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasty and Śaśānka king of Gauda (1914), Pt. I, pp. 11-17.

9 Ibid.

10 Griffiths, Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta, p. 49.

11 Motichandra, op. cit., XII, p. 4. The act of dressing properly is indicated by five Sanskrit words, viz., akalpa, vesa, nepathyta, pratikarma and prasadhana (cf. Amarakaṭa, II, p. 99). This shows how great an importance was attached to this art of dressing.

12 A. S. I. R., 1911-1912, pl. XL, II; A. S. I. R., 1909-10, pl. XXXVIII.

13 Cf. Motichandra, op. cit., XII, p. 54.
the age may be gathered from I-Tsung when he states that people of India in general including the officers and persons of higher class wore a pair of soft white cloth as garment, while the poorer and the lower class wore only a single piece of linen. The 'dhōtis' were eight feet long. They had no girdle, nor were they cut or sewn, but wrapped round the waist to cover the lower part. The other fashion consisted of a tunic with loose sleeves folded half-way with pointed ends, trousers not of the loose 'shalwar' type but of 'churidar' type and a close-fitting cap. The loose-sleeved tunic was often rolled up at the wrists; and the sleeves and breeches were frequently decorated with a vertical series of round plaques or possibly buttons.

The women generally wore 'sāris' and 'chādars' — a dress which was equally cool and comfortable for the hot climate of our country like the 'dhōtis' worn by men. The women's clothes were of complex pattern and 'decked in all their fineries' both in style and material. Along with these they must have worn a corset opening in front with an arrangement for fastening there. The upper garment was supported by a girdle (baṁda) worn above the navel, and the petticoats which were worn over the silk cloth were fastened by this girdle. The half-armed and full-armed jackets were also in vogue, as may be seen in the Ajantā paintings, and mention of Sīhānāmsūka and Kurpasaka in Kālidāsa's Rūtusamhara leads us to believe that these may have been the prototype of the present-day bodice. The mode of wearing the sāri may be seen from the picture of goddess Laxmi on the coins of the Guptas where the 'sāri' was worn in such a way that its folds fell down to the ankles and the body was draped in a full-sleeved tunic reaching the knees. Below the breasts there was a waist-band, as depicted in the figure, which is tied with its loop visible on the left of the figure. The shoulders were covered with a 'chādar'.

1 Takakusu, op. cit., pp. 67-8.
2 Cf. Motichandra, op. cit., XII, pp. 5, 6, 7, 16, 20, 40 and 45; Śukranīti (14, p. 164) recommends a practice of having separate marks of distinction for castes and stages. It was certainly followed by the people in ancient India, and accordingly different costumes were worn by persons of various status in accordance with their respective status and professions, such as horsemen, elephant-drivers, foot-soldiers, hunters, trappers, chamberlain, ministers, chieftains, musicians, door-keepers, etc. Cf. Motichandra, op. cit., XII, p. 55 ff.
3 Ibid., p. 17; Allan, op. cit., pl. III, 2; Brown, Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta and the Maukhari, (Lucknow), No. 28, p. 6.
4 Bāna, op. cit., p. 241.
5 Bāna, Candisataka, 72, p. 334; Saletore, op. cit., p. 411.
6 Bāna, op. et loc. cit.
7 Griffiths, op. cit., p. 474 (caves XVI and XVID); cf. Motichandra, op. cit., p. 96.
8 Ṛtusamhara, IV, 16, 55 and VI, 8, 61.
10 According to Huên Tsang's description the women wore a long robe which covered both shoulders and fell down loose, cf. Watters, op. cit., 1, p. 148.
Finally, the children as depicted by the Ajantā paintings wore a 'dhōti', 'channavira' or 'pataka' and their hair was tied by a ribbon.\(^1\)

People generally went bare-footed though some kinds of foot-wear are known to have existed.\(^2\) The early Buddhist sources mention both shoes and sandals of different shapes, colours and materials, and the leather with which they were made was dyed yellow, red, magenta or black.\(^3\) Some varieties of shoes are known from sculpture, and they must have been fashionable in those times. These shoes are those that covered the ankles (moccasins? putābandhā), full boot (paḍiguntima), those padded with cotton-wool (tūlapunnika), those shaped like the wings of a partridge (tittirapatti), those decorated with the horns of ram and goat, those with curved points like a scorpion's sting, and those decorated with peacock feathers, etc.\(^4\)

Associated with the dress are cosmetics, coiffure and toilet. Perfumes, collyrium, oils, incense, unguent and flowers were freely used by both sexes for the make-up of their faces and bodies. What is more, this was looked upon as a necessary condition of personal hygiene.\(^5\) This point is illustrated by the use of collyrium. According to ancient belief, collyrium increased one's eyesight besides adding to one's coquettishness,\(^6\) and there are ample proofs of its use from the Mohenjodaro\(^7\) times to the Maitrakā period and beyond.

Writing in the early centuries of the Christian era, Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra has given several details about toilet and its accessories prevalent among the men of the richer classes of society, details which agree with the description given by Bāna of a typical high class youth of his day.\(^8\) According to this description there were placed on an elevated shelf all the requisites of toilet ready for the user in the morning. These requisites consisted of ointment (anulepana), a basket of garlands (siktha-karanḍaka), scent-box (saugandhikapuṭika), skin of the citron fruit (mātuluṅgatvacah), and betel-leaf. After his morning ablutions and before proceeding to other details of toilet, he applied sandal-paste or a similar ointment to the body. Incense was used to fumigate the clothes; garlands were worn and other things like collyrium and lip-stick (lac-dye) were used in front of a mirror. The toilet was completed with chewing

\(^1\) Ajantā Cave, XVII, cf. Motichandra, op. cit., p. 78.
\(^2\) Takakusu, op. cit., p. 148.
\(^3\) Mahāvagga, V, 3, 2; Motichandra *Indian Costume from the earliest times to the First Century B.C.*, "Bhāratiya Vidya, Pt. I, (1939) p. 44.
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^6\) Cf. Ibid., p. 120.
\(^7\) Ibid., p. 62. References to the use of collyrium are found in the Mahāvagga, VI, 11, 1; Jātakas, p. 302; Arthaśāstra, p. 139; Megasth. Fras., 17; Strabo, XV, c. 710; Kāmasūtra, I, 4, 8, etc., down to the writers of the Gupta period like Kālidāsa, Bāna and others.
\(^8\) Bāna, op. cit., p. 198, 16-7.
a few betel-leaves, after which a man went to attend to his work. Other items of personal hygiene were massage, shampoo and shaving on every fourth day, all of which were practised as conducive to longevity.

It was only natural that in a society which paid so much attention to personal appearance the members of the fair sex should have lavished all their care and skill on their make-up. The varieties of their coiffure, as seen in the paintings of Ajantā, are amazing. They decorated themselves with flowers and used ointments of various colours to enhance their beauty. For instance, they painted their feet with clotted lac, and stained them with saffron on the upper surface. Their loins were painted with sandal, the face with round patterns, and eyes with collyrium. The hair was perfumed with fragrant oil, the teeth stained red or black, the lips were painted with lac-dye and the designs on the face and the forehead were made in black, white and red colours. The tilaka was painted on the forehead, generally with sandal paste and musk. Designs were also drawn on arms, temples, breast, etc., for which white agallochum, gorocana, kṛṣṇaguru, saffron, realgar and red-lead were used. The face was decorated with various nature designs like that of leaves, flowers, etc. One of the favourite patterns of these paintings was called 'Kamarikā'. For fragrance, camphor-powder, sandal, saffron, musk, unguents, and other such materials were used. Varieties of ointment, scented oils and powders were smeared on the body. Betel-leaves were eaten as they imparted redness to the lips and helped digestion. These leaves were chewed with spices like cloves, camphor, nut-meg, kakkōla, latākasturi and similar other eatable objects of flavour.
Jewels and ornaments were used to adorn the arms, ears, forehead, neck and ankles, and this love for personal ornaments was manifest in both the sexes alike.\(^1\) As Hiuen Tsiang has written, "The dress and ornaments of kings and grandees are very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras with precious stones are their head adornments; and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces. Wealthy mercantile people have only bracelets."\(^2\) About the jewels of royalty there is ample information even in the contemporary epigraphical records, and it may be gathered from them that the kings at times wore a jewelled crown (kiritā)\(^3\) and at other times a chudāmanī\(^4\) or a chudārātana.\(^5\) Their locks were bedecked with jewels,\(^6\) and their forearms with valayas\(^7\) studded with beads and precious stones. From the neck there usually hung a necklace of pearls.\(^8\) The ears were ornamented with ear-rings.\(^9\) Anklets were probably worn on ankles.\(^10\) It is possible that the common run of men followed the fashion set by their betters, but the jewels they wore naturally varied according to their means. Bāna has given a description of a forester who wore ear-rings of glass and tin armlets decorated with gōdanīya beads.\(^11\) The familiar ornaments of women were, of course, the bangles. A stone image of a goddess unearthed at Valabhi has as many as eleven bangles on its hands.\(^12\) The women wore a front jewel on their forehead, a necklace with a jewelled pendant hung from their neck and there were, besides, bracelets, anklets and the girdle.\(^13\)

These people believed in celebrating the festive occasions with real pomp and éclat. These festivals fell into two broad divisions, royal and religious. An instance of the royal festival is indeed the coronation of a king.\(^14\) The people were wont to keep the occasion as a real holiday, and feudatories, generals, merchants and provincials all flocked to the capital to witness the event.\(^15\)

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\(^2\) Watters, op. cit., I, p. 151; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 76.
\(^3\) Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 96; Fleet, op. cit., p. 178; cf. Raghuvāraṇa, IV, 19.
\(^4\) Ibid.; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 42; Vikramorvasi, IV, 122.
\(^6\) Fleet, op. cit., p. 164; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 42; Bāna, op. cit., p. 61; Meghadūta, I, 46.
\(^7\) Bāna, op. cit., I, p. 83; (10) p. 45.
\(^8\) Fleet, op. cit., pp. 116-7; Fleet, op. cit. (39), p. 175.
\(^10\) Ibid., p. 230.
\(^11\) Cf. Catalogue of Finds from Valabhi (Vaḷā) in the Indian Historical Research Institute Museum (St. Xavier's College), 1939, F. C. B. 11.
\(^12\) Bāna, op. cit., p. 96.
\(^14\) Ayadhyākṣaṇa, III, XI-V.
An auspicious day was selected for the ceremony. Usually, it was the first day of the first or of the last month of the year. The abhiśecaniya or the actual coronation lasted for five days, and the grandeur of the occasion was heightened by the lavish display of flowers, costly dresses and ornaments. The king was clothed in ceremonial garments, and was seated on a golden cushion surrounded by his sons, if any, and his ministers, while the white umbrella which is the symbol of sovereignty in India waved over the scene. He symbolically ascended the quarters of the sky as an indication of his universal rule and trod on a tiger skin showing thereby that he gained the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger. To signify his safety in all quarters he was given a strung bow and three arrows. He was sprinkled with holy water by the priests and representatives of the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya castes, an act which symbolized the consent of all the people to the anointing. This was followed by the ceremonial dice-play and the symbolic march for the plunder of cows. All the deities were invoked and propitiated during the ceremony by the offerings of 'Idā, Ghee, Homa and libations,' and the entire mass of spectators were treated to a banquet. The festivities closed as usual with the donation of cows and other gifts to the hotṛ, the adhvaryu and the other Brāhmaṇas. The occasion may also have been marked by a general amnesty.

1 Bāna, Kādambari, p. 84.
2 Kane, op. cit., II, pp. 1215-6; Taittiriya Sanhita, V, 6, 2, 1; Atharvaveda, IV, 8, 1, XI, 77; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 15, 8, 7.
3 Kane, op. cit., II, pp. 1216.
4 Ibid.
5 Taittiriya Sanhita, I, 8, 15; Macdonell and Keith, op. et loc. cit.
6 Kane, op. cit., II, p. 1218.
7 Ayodhyakanda, XXVI, as quoted by Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 110.
8 Macdonell and Keith, op. et loc. cit.
9 Kane, op. cit., II, p. 1217; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, V, 3, 5.
10 These three arrows were called rupa, driva and kshupa and they were to protect him whilst he moved forward, backward and sideways; Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, V, 3, 5; S. B. E., XLI, p. 88.
11 The holy water for sprinkling on the king was poured into a vāṭ of udumbara wood and a golden jar, the water symbolising as it did 17 different duties associated with royalty. The 17 kinds of water were as follows: (1) of the Sarasvati river, (2) flowing water, (3) water from ripples produced by the entrance of man or animal, (4) water from a river drawn against the current, (5) that of the sea, (6) of the ocean, (7) of whirl-pools, (8) of deep steady reservoirs always exposed to the sun, (9) the rain water in sunshine before it falls on the ground, (10) water of a lake, (11) of a well, (12) of frost, (13) of the pond, (14) of the dew drops, (15) embryonic water of calving cow, (16) that which rises in the front, (17) and that which rises behind him; cf. Kane, op. cit., II, II, p. 1217; S. B. E., XLI, pp. 69-78.
12 Kane, op. cit., pp. 1217-8.
13 Ibid., p. 1219.
14 Ibid., p. 1218.
15 Mahābharata-Sabha Parva, XXXIII, 17-18 (Dutta, op. cit., p. 50); Kane, op. cit., II, p. 1216.
16 Ibid., p. 1218.
17 Bāna, Kādambari, XVII, 8-30.
Another occasion for festivities was the birth of a son in the royal family, which, in the words of Bāna, set the whole population of the capital a-dancing. It would appear that social restrictions were relaxed on such occasions, and dancing, drinking and singing were freely indulged in, even persons of royal birth taking part in the same. This was hardly the proper time for the ascetics to move about; they became the butt of the crowd.

Ratha Yāṭrā was one of the great religious festivals. We have a vivid account of it by Fa Hien, who actually witnessed it in Magadha: “Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car, and on it erect a structure of five storeys by means of bamboos tied together. This is supported by a king-post, with poles and lances slanting from it, and is rather more than twenty cubits high, having the shape of a tope. White and silk-like cloth of hair is wrapped all round it, which is then painted in various colours. They make figures of devas, with gold, silver, and lapis lazuli grandly blended and having silken streamers and canopies hung out over them. On the four sides are niches, with a Buddha seated in each, and a Bodhisattva standing in attendance on him. There may be twenty cars, all grand and imposing, but each one different from the others. On the day mentioned, the monks and laity within the borders all come together; they have singers and skilful musicians; they pay their devotions with flowers and incense. The Brāhmaṇas come and invite the Buddhas to enter the city. These do so in order, and remain two nights in it. All through the night they keep lamps burning, have skilful music, and present offerings.”

Ratha Yāṭrā was not peculiar to Magadha alone, but was a festival common to the whole of India just as it is at present. But so far as Surāṣṭra and Gujarāt are concerned it is now celebrated on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Aṣaḍha each year. The Buddhist counterpart of this festival was probably what I-Tsing has called the Pravarana-day on which the monks brought “storied carriages, images in sedan-chairs, drums and other music resounding in the sky,” and hoisted “banners and canopies... in regular order, flattering and covering the sun.”

The celebration of the feasts must have inevitably added to the number of ailments human flesh is heir to, as generally on such occasions the people eat not wisely but too well. In such eventualities they mostly seem to have resorted to nature-cures such as fasting, and it was only on the failure of this method that any physician was approached for medicine. As Huien Tsiang says, “Every one who is attacked by sickness has his food cut off for seven

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1 Bāna, Harṣacharita, pp. 110-1.
2 Ibid., p. 112.
3 Legge, op. cit., p. 79.
4 Ibid.
5 Takakusu, op. cit., p. 87.
days. In this interval the patient often recovers, but if he cannot regain his health he takes medicine."\(^1\) According to the same writer these medicines were of various kinds, each kind having a specific name, and the doctors differed, as they must, both in medical skill and in prognostication.\(^2\)

All the foreign visitors to India seem to have been impressed by the habit of personal cleanliness which they observed among our people as also by their habitual courtesy. Speaking of the former, Hiuen Tsiang remarks: "They are pure of themselves and not from compulsion. Before every meal they must have a wash; the fragments and remains are not served up again, the food utensils are not passed on; those utensils which are of pottery or wood must be thrown away after use; and those which are of gold, silver, copper or iron, get another polishing. As soon as a meal is over they chew the tooth-stick and make themselves clean; before they have finished ablutions, they do not come into contact with each other; they always wash after urinating; they smear their bodies with scented unguents such as sandal and saffron."\(^3\)

They were equally punctilious as regards rules of etiquette. Parents\(^4\) and elders were duly respected and the teachers and the Brähmanas\(^5\) were held in honour. Nine modes of salutation were in vogue in accordance with the degree of respect to be shown to the individual concerned: greeting with a kind inquiry, reverently bowing the head, raising the hands to the head with an inclination of the body, bowing with the hands folded on the breast, bending a knee, kneeling with both knees (lit. kneeling long), going down on the ground on hands and knees, bowing down with knees, elbows and forehead to the ground and prostrating oneself on the earth.\(^6\)

Lastly, there were three recognized customs for disposing of the dead. The first was cremation which consisted in burning the corpse on a pyre; the second was water-burial, the corpse being put into a stream to float and dissolve, and the third was burial in the wilds which consisted in throwing the body to be eaten by wild animals.\(^7\) The family where death had taken place was considered unclean and no one could dine with them until matters were set right by ceremonial bathing.\(^8\) And the offering of rice-balls (pīṇḍa) by the sons to the manes of their parents was regarded as a sacred duty.

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2. Ibid.
4. In all the Maitraka grants kings have invariably paid their respects to the parents.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., I, p. 174, and p. 86.
8. Ibid.
CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The history of religion under the Maitrakas constitutes one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of their dynasty. The rulers were broad-minded and altogether catholic in their outlook. They made no difference between one religion and another, but encouraged Śaivism, no less than Buddhism, Sun-worship, Jainism and Vaiśṇavism. Learned men of all religions derived equal benefit from the State, and no distinction was made in this matter. Knowledge and truth were considered the highest forms of religion, and the Maitraka kings showed their readiness to accept any creed, if and when its truth was demonstrated to them by its exponents. In short, the spirit of tolerance and reverence for the good things of all religions, an ideal which was taught by Aśoka, was closely followed by the Maitrakas.

Śaivism: The earliest existence of Śaivism in India can be traced back to the time of Mohenjo Daro in the ruins of which seals bearing the images of Śiva are found in a yogi-like posture.1 Unfortunately, archeological and epigraphical evidences add very little to prove its existence and development in the early-medieval province of Kāthiāwād. However, monuments from Mālavā, C.P., and U.P., speak of its flourishing state before we get definite evidence of its existence in Surāṣṭra.2 Śaivism in this country seems to have been enriched by the Maitrakas during their glorious reign.

It was the state religion, or to be more precise, the royal religion of the Maitrakas.3 The Bull and the Trident, the well-known emblems of god Śiva, which were usually found on the seals and coins respectively, and the title 'parama-mahēśvara' before the names of these kings in their copper-plates,4 go to prove the same.

All the Valabhi rulers, with the exception of Dhruvasena I (A.D. 519-49) who was a Bhāgavata, and Dharapāṭṭa (A.D. 550) who was a devotee of the Sun, were definitely followers of the Śaiva cult. True, in one of his inscriptions Guhasena adopts the Buddhist style of paramāpāsaka, but this is not sufficient evidence to show that he was converted to the Buddhist faith. For in the later records Guhasena is called 'parama-mahēśvara' by his successors. Moreover, the reason for Guhasena’s adopting this title can easily be accounted. It seems

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3 This is obvious from the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka rulers.
to have been intended to please his cousin Duḍḍā, a Buddhist nun, for whom he had the highest esteem, and also the learned and virtuous Buddhist monks, who were his contemporaries.

An insight into the nature of Valabhi Śaivism is obtainable from only one inscription. The copper-plates of Śilāditya I (c. A.D. 599-614) record that he made a grant of two pieces of land along with a Yamala-vāpi as the provision for the repairing of the temple as well as for the worship of the god by means of: bathing water (snapana), pounded sandal-wood (gandha), perfume smoke proceeding from Gum or resin (dhūpa); flowers (pūṣpa), garland (mālya), lamps (dīpa), music (gīta), dance (nṛtya), etc. The temple was a private one, but that in no way lessens its importance. For it throws a good deal of light on the prevalence of that cult in the early mediæval period. Early worship of the Brāhmanic gods was essentially private, and was performed in seclusion of which this is a typical example. Now looking to the fact that almost all the Valabhi kings were Śaivites, is it not strange that only one grant issued to a Śaivite temple should have come down to us? But it may perhaps be that Śaivism being the royal religion, the Śaivite temples were maintained by the state from the general revenue and that no special grants were made to them.

Dr. Sankalia agrees with the late Dr. Bühler in his supposition that the cult-objects in the Śiva temples at Valabhi were liṅgas and not images. Along with the liṅgas, the Nandi is always associated with Śiva, being his vehicle; and it is found on the dynastic seals and coins of the Maitrakas. That such Nandis abounded in these temples is evident from the number of them strewn about the ruins of Valā, some of which may be dated back to the sixth and seventh centuries.

The flourishing state of Śaivism may also be deduced from the literary sources and folklore, e.g., in the Udayasundarikathā, the author Sodātha traces his descent from king Śilāditya’s brother Kālāditya, whom he praises as an incarnation of the Gaṇa called Kāyastha, a follower of Śiva. Then again we are told that Śaṅkrachārya probably visited Valabhi when he went

2 Ibid.
3 It is also possible to maintain that some such grants may have been made to the Śaivite temples and possibly were lost in the confusion that followed the downfall of the Maitraka rule.
5 Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
6 Some of these Nandis are life-size (about 6’) ones from which we can imagine the grandeur of the temples.
7 Sodātha, The Udayasundari Kathā is supposed to have been composed between A.D. 1025-1050.
8 Śaṅkrachārya’s visit to Dwarka is mentioned by Madhavachārya, Śankar-dig-Vijaya, Sarva 16; Anandagīri, Śankar Vijaya, and James Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, p. 186; Śāstri, Śiva Dharma no Sākhshit Ithas, pp. 45-46.
to establish the Šaradāmatha at Dwārkā,¹ and that his visit strengthened the position of Śaivism in this part of the country. Finally, we learn from the story-literature that a huge Śiva-temple of Achaleśvara Mahādeva was erected by a Valabhi king in the centre of the capital city.² Unfortunately, no traces of this temple have been left except the vague statement of Hiuen Tsang that there existed several hundred deva-temples with very many sectaries of different sorts.³

According to the Bombay Gazetteer, Valabhi Śaivism was of the old Pašupata school of Nākūlīsa or Lākūlīsa sect.⁴ However, in the absence of any material indicating the existence of Nākūlīsa or Lākūlīsa sect, found from the ruins of Valabhi, the assumption cannot be accepted.⁵

In Vala itself there is at Moti Darai an old Śiva temple with a step-well;⁶ and not long ago there was discovered a polished granite liṅga of greenish colour.⁷ These things prove that at Valabhi people highly esteemed Śaivism.

¹ V. N. Thakur, Anangabhadra Ya Valabhipura No Vināś (Gujaratī), p. 87.
² Ibid. The description of the temple may be an imaginary one, but the main points of the novel are taken from the historical sources and as the Valabhi kings were staunch Śaivites the existence of such a temple was not impossible.
³ Watters, op. et loc. cit.; Beal, op. et loc. cit.; at Vala there are old Śiva temples of Siddheśvara Rāmesvara, Ratneśvara, and Buddhanaṭa which may be assigned to that Maitraka period.
⁵ Lākūlīsa or Nākūlīsa is a yogi-form of Śiva and the figure is at times found with a piece of cloth tied round its folded or upraised knees, called Yogapāṭha (A. S. I. R., 1906-7, p. 186). Lākūlīsa or Nākūlīsa, according to the Purāṇas, was the twenty-eighth (Khare, Murttivijñāna, p. 127), i.e., the last incarnation of Mahēśvara. It is also clear from the account of the Śiva Purāṇa, III, 549, Kurna Purāṇa, LIII, 25, the Liṅga-Purāṇa, Ch. XXIV, 131, the Vāyu-Purāṇa, Ch. XXIII, 223, verse 124-133, and the Ekalingi Inscription, (Bhandarkar, "The Ekalingi Stone Ins. and the original history of the Lākūlīsa sect," J. B. B. R. A. S., XXII, p. 157 ff.), found near Nāthadhūrā, that the incarnation took place at Kāyāvarōhaṇa. There were four ascetic-pupils of Lākūlīsa, whose names as mentioned in the Purāṇas are Kusika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurusya. The origin of this sect is supposed to be as early as the first century A.D. This incarnation took place because, as the Hemavati inscription says, Lākūlīsa being afraid that his name and doctrine might be lost in oblivion, was born on earth again as Chīlūka (Ep. Car., XII, p. 45). The origin of the name Lakuli is from Lakulaopalakshitakara, i.e., the representation of the Śiva with his hand holding a lakuta, i.e., apparently lakuta or a club. Often in the countries where this sect was prevalent the image was found with one hand holding a lakuta and the other sometimes a coconut (A. S. I. R., 1905, pp. 48-50). It is also well known that the image of Lākūlīsa, besides having other iconographical peculiarities, is characterised by the representation of an uncovered phallus (called Urdhvamedhra in Sanskrit, cf. A. S. I. R., 1906, p. 186). Assumption of the Bombay Gazetteer that Valabhi Śaivism was of this sect, cannot be accepted. The fact that Kārvan was the centre of Lākūlīsa or Nākūlīsa sect of Śaivism, which is in Gaṅkwar territory and was the seat of Pašupata worship, does not support this view at all, since it is at a fairly great distance from Valabhi itself. While in the ruins of Valabhi proper no signs are seen of the prevalence of this sect.
⁷ Ibid., p. 29.
Some scholars even date the celebrity of Somanath from the time of the Valabhi rulers.\(^1\) This is further corroborated by an inscription at Somanath which speaks of the repairs carried out by Bhimadeva.\(^2\) The inscription is specifically dated as Valabhi Samvat 850. These temples, since they were not made of durable materials, vanished long ago with one or two exceptions, and it is important to note that down to the ninth century A.D. all over Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād brick and wood were the only materials used in temples and other religious edifices.\(^3\)

Goddess-Worship also played an important part in the religion of the Maitraka kingdom. The Valabhi inscriptions mention two such goddesses, Panarājya\(^4\) or Pāndurājya\(^5\) and Koṭṭamahikādevi.\(^6\) King Dronasimha (c. A.D. 502) granted a village for the maintenance and upkeep of the temple of the former goddess. From this it is evident that as early as the end of the fifth century, temples of goddesses existed in Hastavapra (modern Hāthab) in Kāthiāwād.

The temple of Koṭṭamahikādevi, as we are told, was first built by Dronasimha\(^7\) in the Svātala (boundary) of Trisaingamaka (modern Tarsamiā).\(^8\) For some reason, the royal grant to the temple was stopped, but it was resumed and made permanent by Dhruvasena II (c. A.D. 639-40), who also repaired the temple dedicated to Kottarādevi. The ruins of this temple existed when Jackson edited the grant. But unfortunately, he did not describe the temple nor the image of the goddess. She might have been some Śakti of Śiva or a local goddess such as Pānaraṇjya. Another example of worship of the goddess is obtained from the legend about the Valabhi queen Puṣpāvati, the wife of


\(^3\) This is confirmed by the stories on record about two temples, one at Śatruṇjaya and the other at Somanath. As regards the Śatruṇjaya temple the tradition is that while a minister of Kumārapāla (A.D. 1147-1174) of Anahilawāda was on a visit to Śatruṇjaya to worship and meditate in the temple of Adinātha, the wick of the lamp in the shrine was dislodged by the mice and the edifice was set on fire and almost destroyed being wholly built of wood. The minister seeing the danger of wooden buildings determined to erect a stone edifice (cf. Kumārapāla charita). The story about Somanath is given in an inscription of the time of Kumārapāla in the temple of Bhadrakāli which shows that before the stone-temple was built by Bhimadeva I (A.D. 1022-1072) the structure was of wood which was traditionally believed to be as old as the time of Krṣṇa (cf. Bhadrakāli Inscription at Somanath, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 79).


\(^6\) Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

\(^7\) Sankalia, *op. et loc. cit.*

\(^8\) Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 16.
king Śilāditya, the last ruler of the dynasty, who had been to Ārāsur to worship the goddess Bhavāni.¹

**Vaiṣṇavism:** The province of Gujarāt-Kāṭhiawād is well known as the second home of lord Kṛṣṇa in the Purāṇas.² But unfortunately, there are no clear indications of the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in Gujarāt-Kāṭhiawād before the advent of the Guptas in the fourth and the fifth centuries.³ This was probably the beginning of Vaiṣṇavism in Surāṣṭra. The Traikuṭakas in Lāṭa, who were the contemporaries of the Guptas,⁴ also seem to be Vaiṣṇavas, as could be deduced from their titles ‘Parama Bhāgavata’ and ‘Parama Vaiṣṇava’.⁵ Skandagupta’s inscription mentions a temple of Viṣṇu as built by Chakrapālita at Girinagar.⁶ This inscription opens with an invocation of Viṣṇu in the vāmanā or the ‘dwarf’ incarnation. And the noted feature of the Vaiṣṇavism of the Gupta period, viz., worshipping the incarnation of Viṣṇu, is also indicated in the above inscription.

As for Vaiṣṇavism in medieval Gujarāt the chroniclers have not much to say except about the later period when Narasimha Mehta greatly popularised the worship of Kṛṣṇa.

Although the superiority of Śiva remained long undisputed, Vaiṣṇavism did exist in these provinces. During the Veānic period also Viṣṇu was considered a great god. He was not considered the supreme or the sole god. In fact he was considered inferior to Indra, as is evidenced by many hymns addressed to the latter. But according to a certain legend Viṣṇu came out successful in the contest among the gods and was thereupon styled the most excellent of the gods. Viṣṇu held this position during the Brāhmanic period, for as Dr. Raychaudhari says, “in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇu is described as occupying the highest place among the gods.”⁷ As for the sect called Vaiṣṇavism we know that it is the name given to the Bhakti cult which recognises Viṣṇu also called Bhāgavat-Narāyana or Hari as the sole God.⁸

Coming to Vaiṣṇavism during the Maitraka rule it must be said that there are some faint traces of its prevalence in Valabhi, especially in the title of Dhruvasena I, who is called in the Valabhi inscriptions a ‘Parama-Bhāgavata’.⁹

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¹ Merutunga, *op. et loc. cit.*; Thakur, *op. et loc. cit.*
² Thoothi, *The Vaishnavas of Gujarāt,* p. 72; Parekh, *Sri Vallabhacharyya,* 379.
³ Ibid., p. 380.
It is not possible to say when and how he was converted to this faith. Probably some religious teacher convinced him of the superiority of Vaiṣṇavism over Śaivism, and consequently he adopted the former faith. However, some important information is given by a record of the feudatory ruler of the Maitrakas, viz., the Senāpati Siṁhāditya of the Gārulaka dynasty. This record says that Kṛṣṇa lived in Dwārkā which was the capital of the western coast of Kāṭhīawād at that time. Now this is the first and perhaps the only epigraphical reference to Kṛṣṇa’s Dwārkā and its supposed survival up to the seventh century A.D. Then again we know that the Bhāṭṭikāvyā, the well-known work composed at Valabhi, deals with the plot of the Rāmāyaṇa which shows that people took keen interest in the adventures of Rāma, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. The personal names like Viṣṇu, Mādhava, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyana, Vasudevā, etc., in the Valabhi copper-plate grants also show the influence of Vaiṣṇavism in the country during the Maitraka rule.

Buddhism: Buddhism occupies an important place in the history of religion at Valabhi. The edicts of Aśoka on the way to Mount Girnar furnish us with the earliest evidence of the existence of Buddhism in Kāṭhīawād. It might have been promulgated there, as in southern Gujarāt (Aparant), by the Buddhists of Ceylon (Siṁhadvīpa). The name of one of these Buddhists, according to the edicts of Aśoka, the Mahāvamsa, and the Dipavamsa was Dharmarakṣita.

Besides Junāgaḍh, other places which the Buddhists seem to have colonised were Talājā and Sāna, where caves and sanctuaries of the early type survive.

Thus Buddhism may be said to have set foot in Surāśṭra through the efforts of Aśoka. It might have enjoyed some popularity during the days of

1 Mention of the word ‘Kṛṣṇa’ in one of the Ten Fragments of the Stone Inscription from Vālā suggests a probability of the existence of Vaiṣṇavism during the time, cf. Diskalkar, “Ten Fragments of Stone Inscriptions and a Clay Seal from Vālā,” A. B. O. R. I., XX, pp. 1-8 (No. 1).
4 Vogel, “Prakrit Inscription from a Buddhist Site of Nagarjunikonda,” E. I., XX, p. 22.
5 Fifth Edict.
6 Mahāvamsa, Ch. VIII.
7 Dipavamsa, Ch. XV.
8 It is near the village Vankia, cf. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 51; Burgess, A. K. K., p. 149. There are thirty caves at Talājā.
9 Ibid., p. 53. The caves at Sāna number about sixty-two. Anakchandra “Rock-cut Buddhist monastery at ‘Sāna’ Hills” (Moraes), Bibliography of Indological Studies 1942, p. xxii ff.
Milinda, and may have taken firm roots in the reign of the early Andhra kings. But it certainly reached the acme of its glory during the rule of the Maitraka kings of Valabhi.

An explanation of this resurgence of Buddhism is available in the epigraphical records as well as in the accounts of Chinese travellers. The details given in the copper-plates corroborate the statement of Huen Tsiang. They describe the Saṅgha of the reverend Śākya Bhikṣus as belonging to eighteen schools (nikāyas) and hailing from various places. The 'eighteen schools' mentioned therein evidently point to the prevalence of Hinayāna sect, but that the Mahāyāna sect also flourished at Valabhi, will be seen hereafter. Further, we know from Huen Tsiang's account that most of the bhikṣus in Mālavā, Valabhi and Anandapura studied Hinayāna according to the Sammitiya school, while the bhikṣus of Bharucaccha and Surāṣṭra followed the Mahāyāna according to the Stāvira school, and the bhikṣus of Khetaka and Ujjayani studied both the Yānas. As for these schools we know that the Shaviravādins represented the conservative school of the first schism while the sammitiyas formed a sub-division of the Shaviravādins. The Sammitiya school secured patronage from the emperor Harṣa whose sister Rājaśri was a follower of this school.

The earliest reference to Buddhism in Valabhi is found in a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I. In Valabhi Sam. 2167 (c. A.D. 535) he donated some

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2 The objects excavated at the site of Valabhi contain a variety of clay-seals with the Buddhist formula "Ye Dharma hetu prabhava" imprinted on them, and the copper-plate grants also record the existence of Buddhism at Valabhi. Besides this the reference to 'Ratnatraya' (frag. 1), 'Sangha' (frag. 4) and 'Tathāgata' (frag. 5), occurring in some fragmentary stone inscriptions discovered in Vajā further show the influence of Buddhism in Valabhi in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. Cf., Diskalkar, *op. cit.* Then again, the reference to the fields belonging to the Buddhist monks or Samgha may be noted from the copper-plate grants, e.g., *sangha ksetra, sthavira Brahmo-deya-khetra* (lines 36-9) of Dhruvasena II's grant, *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), I, pp. 50-3; *Bavya-sthaviraka kshetra* (line 49) of Dharasena IV's grant, *I. A.* I, p. 14, and *satka...koutumbaka kshetra* (line 59) Śilāditya III's grant, *E. L.*, IV, p. 74.

3 Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*; Beal, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 The eighteen schools of the Bhikṣus were as follows: (i) Mula-mahā-sanghika, (ii) Ekavyāharikas, (iii) Lokotiarā-vādins, (iv) Kurukullakas, (v) Bahūsrutiyas, (vi) Prajnapārvādins, (vii) Cātayasālas; (viii) Avarasālas, (ix) Sālas, (x) Vatsipūtriyas, (xi) Dharmottarasa, (xii) Bhadrāyanikas, (xiii) Sammitiyas, (xiv) Sannagarikas, (xv) Mahi-sāsakas, (xvi) Dharanaguptakas, (xvii) Kasyapayas and (xviii) Santrantikas; cf. Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, p 100 ff. Huen Tsiang records that there were eighteen schools of Buddhism (cf. Beal, *op. cit.* I, p. 80), and we know that originally all the eighteen schools were affiliated to the Hinayāna (cf. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 101).

5 Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 260 ff.


villages to the monastery built by his niece (sister's daughter) Duḍḍā who
laid the temporal foundation of Buddhism by erecting a Vihāra in or near
Valabhi. We can gather some account of Duḍḍā and her Vihāra from the
copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings. As we have seen above, Dhruvasena
I has introduced her as his niece (bhūgineyī) and also as a follower of Buddhism
(paramōpāsīka). Hence her great Vihāra in the locality of Valabhi itself must
have been built not long before v.s. 216, the date of the earliest known
grant donated to it by her maternal uncle. King Guhasena refers to
her with great respect and uses the word 'pāda' in connection with
her. The later kings represent her as a queen (Rājīnī). This epithet seems to
have been used probably to connote the idea of her royal blood relationship.
We do not know more about her parents or her husband, if at all she was
married. From the description it seems that she must have been either a child-
widow or a virgin. Any how, we know that she was residing at her maternal
uncle's place at Valabhi and leading the life of a nun in her Vihāra. Realising
the hardship of the life of Buddhist monks and nuns, she seems to have used
her royal influence to inspire the rulers to issue grants for the maintenance of
the Buddhist Vihāras.

Subsequently, other Vihāras were built by different persons or by kings
themselves. The Duḍḍā Vihāra, as we see in the Valabhi records, had become
one of the most important Vihāras at Valabhi, and gradually developed into
a Vihāra-maṇḍala containing a number of vihāras within its precincts.

The Duḍḍā vihāra itself received many gifts from the successors of
Dhruvasena I at least for about a century and a half (from v.s. 216 onwards).
It was the head of a Vihāra-maṇḍala. The Duḍḍā-Mahā-Vihāra, as it was called
later, incorporated in it the following monasteries:

(1) [The Bhaṭṭāraka Vihāra]¹ was probably named after Bhaṭṭārka, the
founder of the Maitraka dynasty. This Vihāra was dedicated (भासा
dēkhu) to Rājasthāniya Sura (an officer).

(2) [The Gohaka Vihāra]² was built by Gohaka, probably a monk.

(3) [The Abhayantarika Vihāra]³ was built by the venerable nun Mimmā.
It was situated near the Bhaṭṭāraka Vihāra. On account of the resemblance
with the term of respect (pāda) recorded in the inscription in connection with
the nuns Mimmā and Duḍḍā, the former appears to have been another popular
paramōpāsīka related to the royal family at Valabhi.

³ Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
(4) *The Kakka-Vihāra* was built by a trader named Kakka and it was situated not far off from the Duḷḍā Vihāra.

(5) *The Buddhādāsa Vihāra* was named after Ācārya Bhadaṇṭa Buddhādāsa. This was probably built during the lifetime of Duḷḍā; hence the ācārya Buddhādāsa cannot be identified definitely with Buddhādāsa, the author of Mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra.

(6) *The Vimalagupta Vihāra* was built by Ācārya Bhikshu Vimalagupta, who was a resident of the Kukkurānaka village. It was included in the Śthiramati Vihāra.

(7) *The Śthiramati Vihāra* was built by Ācārya Bhadanta (I) Śthiramati.

The other vihāras in the svatāla of Valabhi were included in the Yaksha Sura Vihāra mandala and were reserved for the nuns (Bhikshuniś). This Yaksha-Sura-Vihāra Mandala consisted of the following Vihāras:

(1) *The Yakṣa Sūra Vihāra.* It was built by Yakṣa Sūra and it formed the head of the monasteries for the nuns.

(2) *The Puruṇa-Bhāṭṭa Vihāra* was built by one Puruṇa-bhāṭṭa who belonged to the family of Sāmanta Kakkuka on the maternal side.

(3) *The Ajiṭṭa Vihāra* was built by a trader named Ajiṭta. It was situated at the village Bhattipadra (in the vicinity of Valabhi) and which was perhaps presented to a feudatory Varahādāsa of the Gūrulaka family.

Besides these the following monasteries are also mentioned in the copper-plate grants.

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1 In an inscription we find: “in the vihāra constructed by the trader Kakka (of) Mankila (gōtra) situated near Duḷḍā Vihāra,”


4 Ibid.

5 Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 57.


7 Ibid.


9 Had their names been well preserved in the following records five more Viharas would have been known to us:—*J. U. B.*, III, p. 80 ff. a Śilāditya’s grant dated 287; Bhandarkar’s Nos. 1330, 1331, 1595 and 1600.
(1) *The Bappapâdiya Vihâra* was constructed by Āchârya Bhikshu Śthiramati at Valabhi.\(^1\) It is identified with the Vihâra referred to by Hiuen Tsiang in the account of Valabhi. The Vihâra described by the traveller is as follows: "Not far from the city is a great sangharâm, which was built by the Arhat Ācârya (ochelo), here the Bodhisatvas Guṇamati and Śthiramati fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown."\(^2\) In the foot-notes to his translation of the passage Samuel Beal adds the following account of both these āchâryas. According to it Śthiramati Śñhâvira was one of the famous disciples of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, who wrote commentaries on all the works of his master. Guṇamati was also a disciple of Vasubandhu. He had a famous disciple called Vasumitra, who wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakoṣa (An Introduction to Mahâyâna).

(2) *The Vamśakata Vihâra*\(^4\): it is known that this Vihâra was built by king Śilâditya I himself, in the Vamśakata village.\(^3\)

(3) *The Yôdhâvaka Vihâra*\(^5\) was built by divirapati named Skandabhaṭṭa at a village called Yôdhâvaka; along with this Vihâra was built a water-reservoir\(^6\).

These monasteries existed not only in places where monarchism was preached and practised, but also in places where scientific education was imparted to the students on the basis of religion. The long duration of time, through which these have endowed with gifts, show how Buddhism became popular and held its sway over the minds of the people during those days.

The copper-plates thus give us the names of the several Vihâras. But being almost stereotyped in their descriptions, the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings do not help us much to know anything about the activities of these monasteries. Nevertheless, they do occasionally afford us glimpses into the life and the conditions in them. Most of them provided for the daily necessities of the monks, such as alms (*Pîndâpata*),\(^7\) beds (*Śayanâsana*),\(^8\) attendance

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2 This Vihâra was meant for monks from foreign countries, belonging to the Hinayâna sect is borne out by the expressions "नागरिकसमलागतार्थमिश्रस्वम्" and "अश्रद्धानिसाधायम्यन्तरायस्यसक्षात्".
5 Hiuen Tsiang thus corroborates this statement in his account of Malwa: "By the side of his palace he built a vihâra"; and he further says that, "he exhausted the skill of the artists and used every kind of ornaments in decorating it. In it he put images of the Seven Buddhhas, Lords of the World."
7 A Bhikṣu was generally expected to receive his food by alms, but the grants imply that this was not absolutely necessary for him, when he lived a settled life in a Vihâra.
8 śayanâsana means a dwelling place for sleeping and resting where the Bhikṣus lodge at different cells of the Vihâras.
on the sick (Glānapratyaya), medicine (Bhesajya), clothes (Chivarikas), etc., for the worship of the Buddha's images, and the current repairs to the monasteries, thus giving us an idea of the duties of the monks, their daily life and their needs. Then again when these inscriptions refer to the anointing of the images, the performances of dances and music or the covering of the floor, we know that life in a monastery was not a monotonous round of duties. One grant provides for the purchase of religious books for the monastery. In some, the fortifications and the well-laid gardens around these Vihāras are mentioned. Elsewhere we also get interesting description of the tasteful decorations in them. The most important feature of the Vihāras as described by the grants was the worship of images. In some Vihāras there were images of several Buddhas, while in some other Vihāras there was only one image of the Buddha. Hsiuen Tsiang in his account refers to images of Seven Buddhas in a Vihāra built by the king Śīlāditya. This shows that the worship of the images of the previous Buddhas and of Gautama Buddha was in vogue even in the Valabhi period. This, as we have mentioned above, consisted of snapana-gandha-dhūpa-puspa mālya dipa-taila, etc. I-Tsang gives a detailed account of the way in which a Buddhist image was bathed and worshipped. The priest in charge of performing the ceremony of worshipping the image was known as the Pādamula, and grants made special provision for his livelihood.

As regards the nature of Buddhism and its subsequent progress, we know that both the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna schools prevailed at Valabhi. When Hsiuen Tsiang visited western India in about A.D. 640 he found monasteries everywhere and the followers of the Hinayāna Sammatiya as well as the Mahāyāna Śthavira schools. However, it cannot be doubted that Buddhism in Valabhi had a leaning towards the Hinayāna sect in the early stages of its development, as a reference to the Bhikṣus who practised the eighteen Nikāyas

1 Glānapratyaya-bhaśajya means a preparation of medicine used as a requisite for sickness.
2 Usually a Bhikṣu was to keep three chiviras in all, i.e., the inner garment (antaravasaka), the upper garment (uttarasanga), and the extra garment intended for protection against cold (Sanghāti); cf. Kosambi, Buddha Sangha nō Parichaya, p. 3.
4 Ibid. Śīlāditya I's grant.
8 Bhandarkar's list Nos. 1333, 1341, 1360, etc.; Achārya's Nos. 54, 63 and 84.
10 Watters, op. et loc. cit.
11 Takakusu, op. cit., p. 147.
would imply. It shows the existence of some Hinayāna school, most probably the Sammatiya.\(^1\) But in the hey-day of Valabhi, i.e., in the sixth and the seventh centuries, the chief form of religion must have been Mahāyānam.\(^2\) It is possible that the influence of Nālandā was responsible for the growth of the Mahāyāna sect at Valabhi. The form of Mahāyānam that prevailed in Valabhi was that of the Śṭhavira school, as followers of this school were found by Huen Tsiang\(^3\) in Junāgadh, not far off from Valabhi. We have the testimony of this author, who speaks of the monks Śṭhiramati and Guṇamati the far-famed champions of Abhidharma or the beginning of the Mahāyāna. In the numerous copper-plates of the Maitrakas we have direct references to the anointing and bathing of the Buddha’s images. Sometimes the identity of the Buddha’s images can be inferred from expressions like “Buddha-Bhattāraka”\(^4\) occurring in the copper-plates. We have even a copper-plate grant of Dharasena IV where the Yodhāvaka monastery is donated with gifts, especially meant for the Mahāyāna monks staying in it.\(^5\) Some Mahāyānic clay-seals are also reported to have been found\(^6\) in Valā and so also in the excavation conducted by Rev. Fr. Heras on the site of an ancient Buddhist monastery. Similar seals and a black stone image of Buddha (?) with the Usnāṣa well preserved were discovered.\(^7\) Recently a full-length statue of the Buddha\(^8\) which was mistaken for the image of Dhundhali Māla, a local saint, was found lying on the top of the Isalvā hill near Valā. The Abhal Girasia’s field in Valā has yielded five bronze statues of the Buddha\(^9\) which are now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum.\(^10\) All these support the existence of Mahāyānam in Valabhi.

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1 Huen Tsiang’s remark on this is as follows: “There are some hundred Sangharāmas, with about 6,000 priests. Most of them study the little vehicle, according to the Sammatiya school.” Watters, op. et loc. cit.

2 Some sort of misunderstanding seems to prevail amongst scholars about the nature of Buddhist sects in Valabhi. Dr. Sankalia in the University of Nalanda, p. 180, and Dr. Diskalkar, in his article on “Buddhist Monasteries in Valabhi,” Proceedings of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference Report, p. 813, have laid undue stress on the preponderance of the Hinayana on the testimony of Huen Tsiang’s statement. There is evidence to show that the Mahayana sect also prevailed there.

3 Beal, op. cit., II, p. 268; Watters, op. cit., II, p. 246.


5 Bhandarkar, “A Valabhi Grant,” I. A., I, p. 14. The unpublished relevant text of this plate as read by Dr. G. M. Dikshit is: तुलकात्, वन्यवाच्यो, योपकाक स्मारक दिसिरसिद्धकदशः का (चित्र) (विज्ञान) नानादेशः स्‌मारक महानमतिक्यभिषुमस्माय योपकाक समाधैनः ……… etc., lines 12-13.


7 Numerous votive clay seals with the Buddhist creed in the characters of about sixth century were also discovered, cf. the unpublished Catalogue of the Finds in Valabhi in Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier’s College, Bombay, prepared by Dr. Sankalia, Type, K.C. b. 26.


9 Pro. Rept. A. S. I. W. C., 1915, Appendix, X. G., p. 30. On the pedestals, of one of these images Dr. Bhandarkar has deciphered a Mahāyāna inscription as: dharmamaya pratim (m); Mahayana; while inscriptions on the other two read: (1) Sam Va 200-20, (2) Upā Vi (s) Ka(?)

10 See pl. opposite (i) By courtesy of the curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, and (ii) By courtesy of Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J.
A BUDDHIST SEAL FROM VALA

FIVE BRONZE IMAGES FROM VALA
Further impetus given to Buddhism by the royal family can be seen from Hiuen Tsiang's account of Śilāditya I. The traveller writes: "Every year he convoked an assembly called Moksha Mahāparishad, and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them 'the four things' in religious charity; he also gave them sets of three garments used in their religious services, and also bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety. This meritorious custom has continued in practice without interruption till now."

Similarly, Dhruvapaṭa (i.e., Dhruvasena II) is described as follows: "Quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to faith in the three 'precious ones.' Yearly he summons a great assembly, and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, exquisite meats, and on the priests he bestows in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalent in value, and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given these in charity, he redeems them at twice their price." These details are further supported by references to the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings donated to various Buddhist institutions.

Thus after considering all the points from the archaeologival as well as epigraphical evidences Buddhism in Valabhi should not be estimated as leaning towards any particular sect only. It was universal in spirit, and in the fitness of things worthy of fame, so that Valabhi acquired prominence as a seat of learning. Though Valabhi was a receiving centre of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism, it must have been a radiating centre as well. Its thousands of monks and nuns must have influenced the culture of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ after the sixth century.

Jainism: Coming to the question of Jainism we see the Jaina Sūtra and the later literature confirms the fact that Jainism had spread in Gujarāt-Kāṭhiāwāḍ from remote antiquity; for it is said that the scene of the Renunciation of Neminātha, the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkar, was laid in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. However, for the present, there is no archaeological evidence to substantiate this statement.

The first wave of Jainism passed over Gujarāt-Kāṭhiāwāḍ when Bhdrabrāhu went to the south in the fourth century B.C. Evidence of its existence in this part of the country is available from the Kṣatrapa period only. It consists primarily in the use of a Jaina technical term 'Kevalajñāna,'
etc., in an inscription of Jayadaman’s grandson\(^1\) which was found in a cave at Junāgadha.

Coming to the question of Jainism in Valabhī we know that traditionally it was known to be the home of Jainism in early mediæval times after its shifting from Magadha (particularly in the fifth and the sixth centuries A.D.). It was here that the Śvetāmbar canons were collected and published.\(^2\) However, it is surprising that Valabhī inscriptions are absolutely silent about it. Out of about hundred copper-plates, not a single one refers to a Saṅgha or a Jaina religious order, Jaina images, etc., as some of them do to the Buddhist Vihāra, Saṅghas and images. The paucity of epigraphical evidence, apart from an archaeologcal one, is a puzzle\(^3\) and all that we can say about it is that the influence of Jainism in Valabhī may not have been as great as that of Buddhism.

Of the existence of Jaina learning, however, evidence is not wanting. In the beginning of the Maitraka rule, Valabhī was the scene of a great scriptural activity. In ancient days, it was customary in India to transmit learning from generation to generation orally, and this state of affairs continues down to the present time at least in the case of the old type of Pāthasālās\(^4\) which teach subjects like Jainism, Sanskrit, etc. This will show that it is not the want of knowledge of the art of writing to which this state of affairs can be ascribed. For according to the Jaina tradition Lord Rṣabha taught the art of writing eighteen scripts\(^5\) to his daughter Brahmī in the third arā (spoke) of the present Avasarpini period of the wheel of time. The Vedic Hindus, on the other hand, ascribe it to Brāhma, the creator of the Universe. Leaving aside these pre-historic items of a very remote age, we can give ample proofs of the fact that India knew the art of writing in the remote past. Various scripts such as the Brāhmī and the Kharōṣṭhī\(^6\) bear full testimony to this. It appears that the sacred works of the Jainas were not reduced to writing for their desire of strictly observing their mahāvrata, viz., aprigraha\(^7\) (destitute of possession). This prevented them from resorting to writing. Moreover, those saints who preserved

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\(^1\) Banerjee and Sukthankar, “Three Kshatrapa Inscriptions,” \textit{E., I.}, XVI, p. 239.


\(^3\) It may be suggested that the absence of any record of the Maitraka kings regarding any donations or grants made to the Jainas may be due to the ‘Aprigraha’ (destitute of possession) rule followed by the latter.


\(^7\) In the case of the Vedic literature people thought that by reducing things to writing, the sacred possession of the race might pass into profane hands, and they also thought that things could be better grasped orally from teachers; and over and above there was danger of a scribe committing errors which might transform the original out of recognition.
the MSS. were denounced. But time willed it otherwise and eventually the rules came to be modified, so much so that permission was given even for keeping any of the five types of the MSS. pertaining to the Nijjitis of Kaliyasuya in the event the retentive capacity, the grasping power and the intellect getting deteriorated. Later on, it was found absolutely necessary to prepare a number of MSS. of the Jaina canonical literature.

From the Jaina literature we understand that during the time of Skandila Sūri a famine occurred which lasted for twelve years. This is confirmed by the epigraphical records obtained from the Mahāsthān and the Sohgaurs inscriptions which mention the famine relief measures taken in this connection. Some people believe that the famine worked havoc on the Jaina scriptures

1 Kapadia, "Redaction of the Jaina Canon," A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jains, p. 60 ff., note 4-7. It is also known that penances were prescribed to those who wrote even one letter:

अहितमेला यारा मून्चकल व्यः जसिया यारा।
अति अवगुप्ताणि विद्धिछू तजिस लुहारे से च आवजे॥

Bhasa on Kappa as quoted by Kapadia.

In Cunni (p. 21) on Desaveyaliya, we find a similar reference:

Another reference is also found in the Bhasa on Nisih and Bhasa on Kappa:

"तेसमां ‘किमो दिशाये वर्गेः तेन शात नहो स य’ और ‘पोत्सु ‘ङ्गोंत्सुषु अस्तित्वो भवेध’।"

2 In the Cunni (p. 21) on Dasaveyali a it is said:

"काल गुण पत्व चरणवर्णदु आयोकिर्तिसिंहविनिस च मुहमाणस्स प्रवेशांतोऽभवेध।"


4 Kaliyasuya is that Sūtra which is studied—recited during the first and last paurusis of both night and day (paurusis is the period that elapses from sun-rise to the time when the shadow of an object is equal to its height. In short, it practically comes to about three hour, संवर्षपि ब्रह्मचर्य वदा महामाणस्स जायते सदा पौर्वीय भविष्य।"

Malayagiri in his commentary on Nandi says so). In the Bhasa on Nisaha (XII) it is observed:

"चेतविष पौर्वमाणस्स कालिविसिंहविनं भवेध।"

5 In the Visahacunni on Nisaha, it is remarked:

"प्रहस्यावाणि—वाणिभविपिनित्व भावमार्गाणि कालिविसिंहविनं ब्याप्तिते वा पौर्वमाणस्स पौर्वस्तवितमय। कौर्सितमुदाय।"

6 In the Jaina literature we come across three twelve famines prior to this. They occurred in the times of Bhadrabahu-Svamin, Arya Suhastin (c. Vira Samvat 291) and Vajrasvamin respectively. The first of them was terrible, for, it made all the Munis except Bhadrabahuvarmani forget Ditthivaya. As regards the other two famines, it appears that it did not affect the knowledge of the Jaina scriptures in case of the survivors. But these famines must have severely told upon the supply of food—an inference can be drawn from the following lines occurring in the Cunni (Pt. I, p. 404) on Avassaya:—cf.

Kapadia, op. cit.

"महावस्सर्व-सन्त-ददिविब्राहणो विविधरक्त-दत्तमिक्षु न जाय वास्सर्वस्तवितमाण स्मार्ति समार्यं ब्रह्मणोः,

"निरावर्यां सत्यं तांहु वास्सर्वमानी विज्ञापणा आहारे विद्व कालिविसिंहविनं भवेध।"


8 Jayaswal, "The text of the Sohgaurs Plate," E. I., XXII, p. 1 ff. This inscription is a public placard issued by the council of ministers of Sravasti, and is a document relating to famine relief measures.
while others maintain that all the principal Anuyogadharas (preceptors) except Skandila Śūri died in northern India. In the midst of hunger and starvation it was very difficult to remember the true knowledge and naturally people began to forget the old doctrine. So Skandila Śūri summoned a council of the Jaina saints at Mathurā and made up the Kāliyasuya by taking a note of whatever could be gathered from them. A similar attempt was made by Nāgarjuna at Valabhi. Unfortunately, the version of Nāgarjuna did not tally with that of Skandila Śūri in its entirety. Hence an attempt to improve the situation was made later on by the council held at Valabhi, under the presidency of Devardhi Gani Ksamāsramaṇa, after the terrible famine, which lasted for twelve years, came to an end during the reign of the Maitrakā ruler Dhruvasena. It is further said that queen Chandralekhā, the daughter of the king of Ujjaini took an active part at this council.

Coming to the work done in the Valabhi council we know that all the important works of the Jainas, which were then available, were put into writing. This event is technically known as “pustakārohana of the Jaina Agamas” or Redaction of the Jaina Canon. Unfortunately, we have neither a complete list wherein these works are mentioned, nor any source mentioning the order in which they were written.

At this council of Valabhi under Devardhi Gani not only the work written at Mathurā and Valabhi were rewritten and codified but some more were added to the previous list. A serious attempt was made to reconcile the differences in the two versions pertaining to the two councils held previously.

1 Cunni on Nandi, p. 8.
2 Muni Kalyanavijaya, Vīrnirvāṇa Saimvat or Jainakāla Gaṇanā, p. 188 ff.
3 Ibid.
4 (a) Ibid. Kathāvali, p. 298.
(b) a MSS. of Bhadresvar Suri’s Kahāvali also confirms this:

"विष्णु "महार्" उत्तीर्ण सुदासेमानो सेवाप्रीयो नामसुरी, तत्त "संग्रहे" नवरीश नाममुहृणो नाम सुरी। तेष्वे य जान बालकाली शिष्य हुकृतिन शिष्यशास्त्रो शिष्यकथापिये। गौमोहिन च कहितु दुरं ते पुषो निबिहितमुणाम। जान सामाययति तावं तें धर्मशास्त्राब्धं पुन्नावहिः। ततो मा भुवनोद्वित्तीय होस्तित्वां परस्यो दुर्रीभिः निहितारारो। तत्वचि च न वीरारारे तं तत्तकं निहितारारो। पन्थेतुपथे ज्ञानावारषे पुन्नत्तत्त्यागुपहरो तथा सम्पन्ना।" cf. Kapadia, op. cit., p. 62.
(c) Hemachandra Suri, in his Commentary on Yogācārastra, says that the Agamas were got written by Skandila and Nagarjuna Suri, p. 207.
(d) Malayagiri’s Commentary on Jōtsakarandaga, p. 41.
5 Ibid. This happened sometimes between Vira Sam. 827 and 840.
7 Shah, Jainism in Northern India, p. 68.
8 Muni Kalyanavijaya, op. cit. and Kalpaśūtra state the period of this council held by Devardhigani as Vira Saimvat 980 (according to Skandiliyas and V.S. 993 according to Nāgarjuniyas). This difference had its origin in the fact that some saints thought that 980 years had then elapsed since the nirvāṇa (death) of Lord Mahāvīra, whereas others thought that 993 years had elapsed.
In cases where this failed, one of the variants was noted in the original Āgamas and the other in the commentary. Practically in the Jaina council, the literature was written according to the version of Mathurā council as a connected link, while the Joisakaraṇḍaga (which supplies us with astronomical knowledge) is based on the Valabhī. The practice of referring to a third party for a controversial question was set aside, and codified works were looked upon as the final authorities. The codification acted as a preventive from further modernization of the sacred works. Several vanṇaas (descriptions) occurring in more than one Āgama and which were written only once at full length but were not reproduced (ad verbatim) a second time, were referred to merely by writing the word vanṇaa and indicating the source of the parallel description. Thus the result of the Jaina council at Valabhī was the enshrining of the sacred lore in the manuscript books.

In the Jaina literature, Valabhī is described as a great tirtha (a holy place). The Chinese travellers being Buddhists may not have mentioned this fact in their accounts, nor have they given any details about the prevalence of this sect in the country.

Another proof of the existence of Jainism in Valabhī is the reference to Mallavādin in the literary works. Malla was one of the greatest Jaina dialecticians and the author of Nayachakra. The title of Vādin was conferred on him when, according to tradition, he defeated a Buddhist monk in a controversy on the superiority of a religious question at Valabhī. Three different stories have come down to us for Mallavādin at Valabhī as follows:

According to the Prabhāvacakharita, Malla was the youngest of the three brothers—the names of the other two being Jitayasas or Jinayasas and Yakṣa. They lived at Valabhī with their mother Durlabhādevi. They had a maternal uncle who was a Śvetāmbara Jaina monk named Jinānanda Suri. When defeated by a Buddhist monk Nanda or Buddhānanda in a public disputation at Bṛṇgukachchha (Broach) he left that city and came to Valabhī where he made his nephews his disciples. All the three received high education.

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1 In the latter case there was a reference to the Nāgarjuna school: *Tika on Ayava*, pp. 245-303 "नागाजुनीयास्तु परिति-वं बढ़ि।" Another reference is found in *Tika on Suyagada*, p. 64.


3 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 64.


5 Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 450, f. 3. The idea was of lessening the trouble in writing and saving the materials required for that work.


at Valabhi and became great masters of Sāstras. Jitayasas wrote a Nyāsa—a sort of commentary—on a work of grammar, known as the Visrāntavidyādharavāra (probably Viśranta Vidyādharī). Yakṣa composed a Saṁhitā known as Nimittastangabōdhini while Malla wrote his famous treatise on Jaina philosophy known as Nayachakra. Mall went to Bhrugukachchha and avenged himself on his uncle's opponent Buddhānanda by publicly defeating him in the royal assembly, in token of which he was given the title of Vādin. There seems to be some truth in this episode, for soon after the fall of Valabhi's power, Buddhism gradually disappeared from Gujarāt and Jainism took its place.

The second story about this Mallavādin is given by Merutunga in the Prabandhachintamani. According to it, king Śilāditya of Valabhi once decided to have a public meeting where the Jainas and the Buddhists were made to confront each other and to establish the truth of their respective sects; the vanquished of the two was to leave the country as a penalty. Consequently when the Jainas were defeated and left Valabhipūr, king Śilāditya's young nephew Malla, who was a Jaina by birth, remained behind alone. As he grew into manhood, he was annoyed at the arrogance of the Buddhists, who were puffed up with their victory, and so he decided to take revenge on them. However, as there were no Jainas in the city he had to receive his education from the Buddhists. Nevertheless, he prepared himself to defeat them by self-education. One night, while he was memorizing his lessons, he saw a deity. When asked to specify a boon he wished from her he prayed for a Grantha (a book) which would teach him the art of dialectics for defeating the Buddhists. The goddess blessed him with the Nayachakra. He studied the book and then requested the king to arrange a public disputation. The king Śilāditya acceded to his request and all the conditions of the previous meeting were agreed to once again. The Buddhists were defeated and had to withdraw from the city altogether and the Jaina Āchāryas were invited to take their place. The title of Vādin was bestowed on the victorious Malla.

The story of Mallavādin as given in the Prabandhakōśa by Śri Rajšekara Sūri, is as follows:—In a village of Kheda in Gurjara Maṇḍala, there was a learned Brāhmin named Deśāditya who had a widowed daughter named Subhāgā. She obtained a Surya charm, and became pregnant. The father scolded her for this scandal and sent her to Valabhi where she begot two sons and a daughter. While they were staying there, other boys began to ask these children about their father. The mother was pained by these queries. But the Sun gave them a dagger to be used against those who troubled them

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1 This work is referred to by Hemachandra in his grammar, Siddha-Hema, vide The Purāṭtatva, Vol. IV, p. 91.

2 One Nayachakra by Devasena Sūri has come down to us consisting of 87 gāthas. It mentions Mallavādin as a great logician. However, we cannot say with certainty that it was by the help of this or the other Nayachakra that Malla defeated the Buddhists.
any more. On hearing this the king called the children and asked them about their father. In reply they employed the weapon against the king himself. One of the boys, named Śīlāditya, succeeded to the throne and became “the sun of Saurāṣṭra.” He gave the kingdom of Bharukachchha to his sister. He built a chaitya on the mount Śatrunjaya and donated gifts to the Śrāvakas. Once some Buddhist monks approached Śīlāditya and complained against the Jainas. They also requested him to hold a meeting wherein they could defeat them. Śīlāditya consented to this and made it clear that the defeated side would have to leave the country. The Jainas were defeated and the king accepted the Buddhist faith. Now Śīlāditya’s sister, on the death of her husband, started a penance, and converted her eight-year old son to Buddhism. The young boy asked the reason and got a reply that it was asked by his maternal uncle Śīlāditya. At this he got angry and started penance at Mallagiri mountain. On obtaining a book on Tarkaśāstra (logic), as a favour of the goddess, he came to the court of Śīlāditya and told him that he wanted to defeat the Buddhists, and save the Jainas. And in six months’ time he did it successfully.\footnote{1}

Mallavādin, who was apparently the founder of the Jaina temple and who was attached to a Matha at Nausāri, was very probably the same person who wrote a commentary called Dharmottaracharyā. He and his disciples belonged to the Senā Saṅgha which, according to the Paṭṭāvalis, was a branch of the Mula Saṅgha which constituted the main Digambara church.\footnote{2} This information of the Paṭṭāvalis is confirmed by the epigraphs.\footnote{3}

Dhaneśvara, the author of the famous Śatrūṇjaya Mahātmya is represented as a contemporary and teacher of king Śīlāditya of Valabhi. He is said to have instructed this ruler in “purifying the Jaina doctrine and induced him to expel the Buddhists from the country and establish a number of chaityas near the Tirthas.”\footnote{4} We have no proof of the Buddhist being expelled. Nevertheless, it is likely that he may have influenced one of the Śīlādityas to some extent.

Some information about the Jaina idols in Valabhi is found in the Prabandhachintāmani\footnote{5} and the Tappagachchha-paṭṭāvali.\footnote{6} It is mentioned in the Paṭṭāvali that the idols were removed from Valabhi to Śrīmāla or Bhinamāla.

\footnote{1}{In the Bhaktakatā Kōśa (verses 69-81) by Harisena it is mentioned that ‘Ardhahalaka’ Sampradāya’ of Jainism was stopped by a non-Jaina king Vapravāda of Valabhi.}

\footnote{2}{James Hastings, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 474.}

\footnote{3}{Altekar, op. et loc. cit.}

\footnote{4}{Rehatsek, “Paper on Śatrūṇjaya and the Jaina,” I. A., II, p. 195. We also know in the Śatrūṇjaya Mahātmya that Dhaneśvara Sūrī is said to have defeated the Buddhists by Śyādvād and the book was written at Valabhi.}

\footnote{5}{Merutunga, op. cit., p. 228 (Gujarati translation by Shastri).}

\footnote{6}{Jinaprabhavasuri, op. cit., p. 89 ff.}
at the time of Valabhi's destruction and Gandharva-vādi Vetāl Śānti Śuri protected the Saṅgha. The author of the Prabandhachintāmani narrates a miracle about idols that disappeared from Valabhi and went to Somanāthā Pātaṇ, showing thus in a graphic way the removal of the idols on the decline and fall of the Valabhi power.1

In the Bhadrabāhucharita2 we are told that king Bhupāla of Karahāta invited the Śvetāmbara monks of Valabhi at the request of his wife Nrikulādevi.3 This supports the predominant power of the Śvetāmbara Jainas of Valabhi. Tod, while describing the Jaina temples of the city, says, “in the sixth century 300 bells of the Jaina temples in the capital Valabhīpur invited the pious to be assembled.”4

Thus we can conclude that the existence of Jainism in Valabhi is an established fact, in spite of the absence of the epigraphical evidence. “It is here that the Jaina church marks the end of the dark period of Jainism in northern India5 and the canonical and other literature of the Jainas was put into writing during the reign of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena I, where Devardhi Gani stands like a lighthouse to end darkness of the unrecorded period.”

Sun-worship: The word Maitraka itself is supposed by various scholars to have been derived from Mitra, the Sun. However, in the absence of any definite proof the assumption cannot be accepted as absolute.6 On the other hand, out of about twenty Valabhi rulers only the fifth king Dharapattā, seems to have professed the faith of the Sun. As he was neither the founder of the Maitraka dynasty nor a great king of importance, his title Paramādītya-

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1 In India there is a belief that idols disappear from the place where danger is evident. The belief is also found in other countries. Forbes has noted from Aeneid, II, pp. 351-353, that whenever people saw some danger for the country before them they used to tie the idol with chains. We also know that the Phœnicians used to keep the idols of Melcorth tied fast. The same was practised by the Romans when their forts were about to be surrounded.

The idol of Chandraprabhava at Patana is identified by Mr. Sārabhai Navab in his Jainachitra Kalsadrum with the one which had been taken from Valabhi.

2 Ratnamandi, Bhadrababahucharita, Ch. IV, verse 133 ff.


4 Tod, Travels in Western India, p. 268.

5 According to the Digambara tradition Jaina Sidhanta was completely lost or forgotten immediately after the great famine in Magadha.

6 The legendary account about the solar origin of the Maitraka king and their following the Sun cult is given by Merutunga and Tod, but the epigraphical records clearly show that most of the Maitrakas were devotees of Śiva. These writers have mentioned the name of the Valabhi ruler as Śilādītya, while the copper-plate grants have described all the seven kings known by the same name as staunch Śaivites.
bhakta\textsuperscript{1} does not support this theory. At any rate, the adoption of this title, even by an unimportant ruler, shows the prevalence of the Sun-cult in the Valabhi kingdom.

The cult must have existed prior to the rise of Bhāgavatism, for the Chaṇḍogya Upaniṣad, one of the oldest Upaniṣads, refers to Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra as a disciple of Ghora Angirāsa, a worshipper of the Sun.\textsuperscript{2} With the rise of Vaiṣṇavism and the survival of Śaivism, Buddhism and Jainism during the reign of the Śakas and the Kuśānas the cult of the Sun did not perish, although it had no great influence or popularity.

The worship of the Sun ultimately merged in Vaiṣṇavism but preserved a certain individuality of its own. The Mandasor stone inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta\textsuperscript{3} and Indor copper-plate grant of Skanda Gupta show that the Sun-worship, which prevailed in central India in those days, was patronised by the guilds.\textsuperscript{4}

Dharapāṭṭa, the Maitraka king, whose predecessors and successors were Śaivites and whose brother Dhruvasena I, was a devotee of Viṣṇu, himself styled as paramādityabhakta.\textsuperscript{5} This shows that even Sun-worship was equally patronised as Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism by the Maitraka kings.

It is also known that the contemporary Hunas, Toramana and Mihirakūla, were both worshippers of the Sun and Fire respectively.\textsuperscript{6} And further, during the reign of king Jivita Gupta II, Solar-worship was current at Deo-Baranark.\textsuperscript{7} There is also evidence to show that the Puspadhūti rulers of Kanauj, who ruled in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. were devotees of the Sun.\textsuperscript{8}

The Brāhmaṇa donor of the endowment for the Sun-temple at Indrapura always recited “the hymns of the hōtra-sacrifices.”\textsuperscript{9} The mention of such hōtras, viz., Agnihōtra, bali, Caru, Vaiśvadeva, and atithi, in the Maitraka grants\textsuperscript{10} would show that the Brāhmaṇas who performed these hōtras may have been Sun-worshipping people.

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\textsuperscript{1} Diskalkar, “Bhadva Copper-plates of Dharasena II of v.s. 252,” A. B. O. R. I., IV, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{2} Chhandogya Upaniṣad, III, 17, 6; Kausitaka Brāhmaṇa, 30, 6.

\textsuperscript{3} Fleet, “Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman,” C. I. I., III (18) p. 85 ff.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., (16), p. 71.

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., p. 167.

\textsuperscript{6} Fleet, “Note by Fleet,” I. A., XV, p. 361; Rapson, Indian Coins, Pl. IV, Nos. 19-20.


\textsuperscript{8} Ibid. (52), p. 232; Bāṇa, op. cit., p. 104; Beal, op. cit., I, 352; Watters, op. cit., I, p. 223.

\textsuperscript{9} Fleet, Ibid., (16), p. 71.

\textsuperscript{10} Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
The reference to a Sun-temple in a copper-plate of king Śilāditya I further supports the existence of Sun-worship. The temple as described in the inscription, was a private one. And it throws a good deal of light on the practice of worshipping the Sun god in early mediaeval Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. No signs of existence of such a temple are found in the finds of Valabhi. However, a good number of Sun-temples, which have been discovered in western India from Multan down to Cutch and northern Gujarāt would show, according to Burgess, that there may have been some such temples in the Valabhi kingdom as well.

From the records of the Gurjara kings we know that king Daḍḍa I and Daḍḍa II were also devotees of the Sun during that period. The rulers, as their grants have proved, were in possession of the land round about Broach. This further supports the existence of the same cult in this part of Gujarāt, though confined to a small section of the people only.

2 Vide, Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 154.
3 Achārya, op. et loc. cit.
4 Ibid.
CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

(A) BUDDHIST SYSTEM

Valabhi was much celebrated as a seat of learning, and vied with the sister university of Nalanda in promoting Buddhist studies. It is pleasant to record that the institutions of the Buddhists were accorded the same patronage by the Maitraka kings, the rulers of Valabhi, as the institutions of other religions, and among the extant grants of these rulers a good number are those issued to the Buddhist Viharas.¹ According to Hiuen Tsiang, the first Chinese traveller to visit Valabhi, "It had about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6,000 Brethren adherents of the Hinayana Sammatiya school."² Hiuen Tsiang also refers to the famous monks Acharya Sthiramati and Gunamati who resided in the monastery outside the town.³ Both were pupils of Vasubandhu, the famous pandita from Nalanda; and a commentary on his work the Abhidharmakosā (an introduction to Mahayana), by Vasumitra, a disciple of Gunamati, translated into Chinese before Hiuen Tsiang visited India, was very popular in China.⁴ Hiuen Tsiang's statement about the existence of the Buddhist Viharas are now confirmed by the copper-plate records of the Maitraka kings. The Vihara mentioned by him as having been built by an arhat named Ochelo, has been identified with Bappapā diya Vihara of Bhikṣu Sthiramati.⁵ His reference to the monks from foreign countries and belonging to the Hinayana sect, is borne out by the expressions such as: "Nānadeśasamātāgaṭatīrtha bhikṣusasanghasya" and "Aṣṭādasaṇikāyābhyaṣantarāryabhikṣu saṅghasya" which occur in the copper-plate grants.⁶

It would appear from I-Tsing's account that like Nalanda, Valabhi too received alumni who resorted there from distant places. These were the two universities which students in I-Tsing's time generally attended to acquire the stamp of culture and refinement, after finishing the usual secondary education. As the same traveller observes, "Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others they pass two or three years, generally in the Nalanda monastery in central India, or in the country of Valabhi (Vaḷā) in western India."⁷ "These two places," he continues, "are like Chin-ma, Shih-Chu, Lungmen, and Chue-li in China, and these eminent and accomplished men

¹ Names of about fifteen Viharas may be gathered from the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings, which included separate viharas for women.
² Watters, op. cit., II, p. 246.
³ Beal, op. cit., II, pp. 266, 268.
⁴ Ibid. The author of the M. M. K. refers to another famous monk Pindacharika, who mentioned by the same writer flourished in the days of king Śiñḍitiya. Cf. Jayaswal, op. cit. (35 Patala) p. 43.
⁵ Bühler, "A Valabhi Copper-plate Grant, Sam. 310," I. A., VI, p. 9; Dikshit, "Valabhi the Ancient Buddhist University," Historical and Economic Studies, p. 59.
assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, become far-famed for their wisdom."

Unfortunately, however, save for this incidental mention of Valabhi by I-Tsing, there are hardly any means at our disposal to reconstruct the picture of this once famous seat of learning. Nevertheless, since it was a Buddhist institution we may probably take it for granted that making due allowances for local peculiarities, the general lines of its organisation were the same as at other Buddhist universities of the time. We may, therefore, suppose that as at Nālandā and Vikramaśilā opportunities to attend the university were available only to those who had received their primary and secondary education at these centres, and to such of the outsiders as were successful in the test held before the entrance. This test was very difficult, and it was taken by a dvāra-pandita (the keeper of the gates) who guarded the way to the higher university studies. The candidates were required to prove their skill in refuting doctrines, possible and impossible, and in the words of Hsuan Tsang, many had to go away ‘disappointed with downcast heads with their brains simmering and their hearts rankling with intellectual humiliation.’ The high standard of examination could be deduced from the observation of the same pilgrim that two or three candidates only were declared successful, out of every ten, and again, ‘one must have studied deeply both old and new (books) before getting admission’ at Nālandā. By the term ‘old’ and ‘new’ the pilgrim presumably means the works on Hinduism and Buddhism; and the apparent contradiction involved here on account of the fact recorded by Hwui Li, the

1 Takakusu, op. cit., p. 177.
2 The preceptors were so particular about the studies of their pupils that no one was ever given a new lesson unless the old one was thoroughly mastered.
3 This is clear from the use by Hsuan Tsang of the words ‘other quarters’ and ‘strangers’, Beal, op. cit., II, p. 171.
4 Ibid., Watters, op. et loc. cit.
5 Beal, op. cit., II, p. 171.
6 Ibid.
7 I regret I cannot agree with Dr. H. D. Sankalia, who attempts to reconcile the difference in the statements of Hsuan Tsang and of his biographer by supposing that in these subjects ‘only those scholars who come from other centres of learning had to undergo (this) strict test of their knowledge before they prosecute their studies at Nālandā,’ for the reason that for taking part in the learned discussions which went on at the university according to the pilgrim ‘from morning till night’ and for which ‘the day is not sufficient’ (Beal, op. cit., II, p. 170), knowledge of the old and the new texts was quite essential. As Santos Kumar Das has rightly observed with regard to the study of Nyāya and Tarka at the university, these subjects ‘required a student to have gone through the course of grammar, literature and lexicography.’ (Cf. Das, The Educational System of Ancient Hindus, p. 32.) Of course, as regards their own alumni, the university authorities were taking care to see that the minimum requirements were complied with (although they were not tested by the gate-keeper), while in the case of those coming from other centres, they had to satisfy themselves that the latter had the requisite knowledge before joining the courses at Nālandā. Consequently, the university could not have made any difference between these two types of scholars, as regards these minimum qualifications,
biographer of the traveller, that these studies were also prosecuted in the University, is resolved, if we suppose that the candidates seeking admission here were expected to know in a general way the contents of these books; while higher problems of exegesis were reserved for study in the university. Naturally enough, a high standard was demanded of the students in Sanskrit, be they Hindu or Buddhist. An idea of this standard may be obtained from I-Tsing, when he explains what we may term the pre-matriculation syllabus in this course. The child began at the age of six with the Sidda-composition, which took about six months to finish. This, according to I-Tsing, was a small book of learning; "There are forty-nine letters (of the alphabet) which are combined with one another and arranged in eighteen sections; the total number of syllables is more than 10,000, or more than 300 ślokas. Generally speaking, each śloka contains four feet (pādas), each foot consisting of eight syllables; each śloka has therefore thirty-two syllables. Again, there are long and short ślokas; of these it is impossible here to give a minute account." This was probably deemed a sufficient preparation to introduce the child to Pāṇini’s Sūtras, which according to the same writer constituted "the foundation of all grammatical science." If the children began to learn the sūtras when they were eight years old, they could 'repeat' the thousand ślokas that comprised the work, in eight months' time. This was probably followed when the child was in its ninth year, by a course in the book on dhātu, which consisted of another thousand verses treating of grammatical roots. At the age of ten began the study of the book on the Three Khilas, which was spread over a period of three years. In a long passage describing the nature of its contents, I-Tsing says, "It may be called a book on the three pieces of waste-land: (1) Aṣṭadhātu consists of 10,000 ślokas; (2) Wen-chās (Manda or Munda) also consists of 1,000 ślokas; (3) Unadi too consists of 1,000 ślokas." The Aṣṭadhātu or the first part of this book treated of the fundamentals of Sanskrit grammar such as the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs. In the second and the third parts of the book the formation of words by combining the roots and the suffixes was taught; and thus at the age of thirteen a boy completed the study of this important part of grammar. Thereafter at the age of fifteen the student was introduced to the Vṛtti-Sūtra, said to be one of the best commentaries on Pāṇini's work. "It cites the text of the Sūtra," writes I-Tsing, "and explains minutely its manifold meaning, consisting altogether of 18,000 ślokas. It exposes the laws of the universe, and the regula-

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1 If this work was the same as the one mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang under the title of Sidhavastu, and which he says was to be put into the hands of the students at the very same age, it consisted of twelve chapters (Beal, op. cit., 1, p. 78) to master Sanskrit, as would appear from the first chapter. This book on elementary Sanskrit grammar was possibly meant to encourage students in their efforts, as it appears from the name of its first chapter "success be there" (Takakasu, op. cit., p. 170).

2 Ibid., pp. 171-2.

3 Ibid., p. 172.

4 Ibid., pp. 172-5.
tions of gods and men. Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary, and understand it after five years." ¹ It would appear from this account that what the students had learnt by rote of Pāṇini's Sūtras at the age of eight, was not explained to them by means of this commentary—a process which took five years of intense study. With this grounding in Sanskrit, which was the medium of instruction in higher studies, the students were eligible to join the course in the University. As the same writer says: "If men of China go to India for study they have first of all to learn this (grammatical) work, (and) then other subjects--; if not, their labour will be thrown away." ² Presumably the Vṛtti-Sūtra was also one of the subjects included in the matriculation curricula, proficiency in which opened the gates to the university.

The other subjects taught in the secondary stage were Śilpavidyā (art), Abhidharmakośa (metaphysics), Cikitsāvidyā (medicine), Hetuvidyā (logic), and probably arithmetic. ³

In the university the study of these various subjects was continued. The students learnt "composition in prose and verse" ⁴ and devoted themselves to logic (Hetuvidyā), and metaphysics (abhidharmakośa). They sharpened their wits by the study of Nyāya-dvāratarka-Śāstra, a science which taught them to distinguish between valid and invalid inferences; while the training in the Jātakamālā augmented their powers of comprehension. An idea of the courses available at Nālandā may perhaps be obtained from what the biographer of Hiuen Tsiang says concerning the studies which the latter did at Nālandā. At this university, we are told Hiuen Tsiang heard the explanation of yogaśāstra, Nyāya-nu-sāra-śāstra, Prāṇyamula-śāstra, Śata-śāstra. ⁵ He studied the latter two śāstras particularly to overthrow the conclusions of the Saṅkhya philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas. And the fact that he was ultimately successful in overcoming the exponents of this school, ⁶ proves that the study of these subjects at the Buddhist centres must have been thorough. Hiuen Tsiang, we are told further, mastered from 'beginning to end' "the numerous productions of secular (outside) writers: the four Vedas, works on astronomy and geography, on the medical art, magic, and arithmetic." ⁷ Astronomy certainly formed an important subject at Nālandā, since lofty astronomical observatories are referred to by Hiuen Tsiang's biographer, who says "the observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning), and the upper rooms tower above the clouds"; and continuing, "From the windows one may see how the

¹ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 175.
² Ibid.
³ Beal (Hwui Li), Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 112, 153.
⁴ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 177.
⁵ Beal, op. cit., pp. 112 and 127. The object of Prāṇyamula-śāstra and Śata-śāstra, as Hwui Li says, was to refute the yoga. (Cf. Beal, op. cit., p. 157.)
⁶ Ibid., p. 164.
⁷ Ibid., p. 153.
winds and the clouds (produce new forms), and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and the moon (may be observed).”

It was natural that Buddhist theology and philosophy should have been accorded an eminent place at the Buddhist universities as can be made out from Hwui Li’s remark that “the priests, belonging to the convent, or strangers (residing therein), always reach to the number of 10,000 who all study the Great Vehicle, and also (the works belonging to) the eighteen sects.” It was probably during this period that the Mahāyāna branched off into two schools of thought, viz., śūnyavāda and vijnānavāda, which expressed respectively the philosophical and metaphysical aspects of this doctrine. The text book in philosophy was probably Santaraksita’s Tattvasaṅgīraha with the commentary of his pupil Kamalaśika.

Nor were secular studies neglected at these centres of learning. We know, for instance, that Hiuen-Tsiang “practised himself in the Śadbavidyā, a synopsis of which he drew up in the square and grass characters. . . . He also wrote (copied) some four hundred chapters of sūtras and Śāstras whilst at Nālandā.” The Śūtras and Śāstras mentioned here must have included the Vidyā-mantra-siddhi-śāstra, Mulabhidharma-śāstra, Sadharma-samparigrha-śāstra, Prasikasa-satya-śāstra (as received in the Sammatiya school), Mahāyānasa-parigraha, etc., as all these works are referred to either by Hiuen Tsiang or his biographer while narrating the courses of his studies.

Besides these subjects, advanced scholars (post-graduate) as we know from I-Tsiang’s account, studied the commentaries on different works. One such commentary of which we know was a commentary on the Vṛtti-Sūtras, entitled Curni, which contained 24,000 ślokas. About this work I-Tsiang has recorded that “It is a work of the learned Pāṇangali,” and it “cites the former Sūtras (Pāṇini), explaining the obscure points (lit. ‘piercing the skin’) and analysing the principles contained in it, and it illustrates the latter commentary (Vṛtti),

1 Beal, op. cit., (Hwui Li), p. 111. According to the Cullavagga (VIII, 6, 3) Bukkus had to learn the station (of the moon) in the constellations either in whole or in part and they were also supposed to know the directions of the sky. While on the other hand the low arts like that of divination, spells, omens, astrology, sacrifices to gods, witchcraft and quackery were forbidden to them both for learning and teaching (cf. Cullavagga, V, 33, 3).

2 Ibid., p. 112.
3 G. O. S., XXX.
4 Beal, op. cit., p. xxix.
5 Ibid., p. 139.
6 Ibid., p. 153.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., I, p. 78.
10 Takakusu, op. cit., p. 178.
clearing up many difficulties."1 The study of this work took three years of intense labour, and it is compared by I-Tsiang to that of learning the Chun-Chin and the Yi-king in China.

The Bhartṛhari-śāstra came next and was a commentary on the above commentary. It was written by the great scholar Bhartṛhari. The work, as I-Tsiing says, "contains 25,000 ślokas, and fully treats of the principles of human life as well as of grammatical science, and also relates the reasons of the rise and decline of many families. The author of this work being well acquainted with the doctrine of "sole knowledge" (Vidyāmātrā) has skilfully discussed about (sic) the Hētu and Udiḥarahana (the cause and example of logic)." This was followed by another work of the same scholar, the Vākyadiscourse containing 700 ślokas with its commentary portion of 7,000 ślokas more. The work was a "treatise on the Inference supported by the authority of the sacred teaching, and on Inductive arguments."3 After the completion of these books a third work of Bhartṛhari, the Pei-na (Bēda or Vēda) was taken up. The work contained about 3,000 ślokas with a commentary of a scholar named Dharmapāla, comprising 14,000 ślokas. According to I-Tsiing this book "fathoms the deep secrets of heaven and earth, and treats of the philosophy of man (lit. the essential beauty of the human principles)."4 The Buddhist priests studied this work alongside the Vinaya pitaka5 and the Vedas, to oppose the doctrines of the heretics.6 The Peina was a difficult treatise so that only a few in each generation could claim proficiency in it and have their claim recognized.7 And finally the alumni underwent training in what may be termed research, to use the phraseology of a later age, in all these branches of study. We know it for a fact that compilation of encyclopaedias of theology, philosophy, logic, grammar and so forth formed part of this training.

The method of teaching at Nālandā and Valabhi was tutorial as well as professorial. The former seems to have been used at the primary and secondary stages, while in the university the professorial system largely prevailed. An idea of the tutorial system may be gleaned from I-Tsiing's account wherein he says "He (student) goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last in the night. First the teacher bids him sit down comfortably, (selecting some passages) from the Tripiṭakas, he gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances, and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects his pupil's moral conduct, and warns him of defects and transgres-

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1 Takakusu, op. cit., p. 178.
2 Ibid., pp. 178-9.
3 Ibid., p. 180.
4 Ibid., p. 181.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., p. 177.
7 Ibid., p. 181.
sions. Whenever he finds his pupils faulty, he makes him seek remedies and repent.”¹ It is only under the tutorial system that such a personal contact between the teacher and the taught could have been maintained. “Rather be a butcher than be a priest,” says the Mulasarvastivadanikaṇja Vinaya Sangraha (XIII, II), “a priest who gives others full ordination and leaves them untaught.”² The Mahāvagga ordained that the āchārya should consider his pupil as his son while the pupil should look upon the teacher as his father.³ This cordiality between the two was sure to produce good results; the student receiving all assistance from his Upādhyāya.⁴ In fact, the preceptors were so particular about the studies of their pupils that no one was ever given a new lesson unless the old one was thoroughly mastered, and as there were no examinations at fixed intervals for a ‘mass promotion’ of students to a new class, the system could work well. It enabled the more intelligent to finish their studies earlier, while in the case of others, the teachers would go on repeating their instructions until they were satisfied about the perfect mastery of the subjects taught. Revision of old lessons went on alongside the new ones, which the students learned from day to day, as I-Tsing remarks, “He (student) acquires new knowledge day by day, and searches into old subjects month after month, without losing a minute.”⁵

But it was the professorial system that seems to have been specially suited to the conditions of the Buddhist universities. These universities were nothing else but large brotherhoods of monks, and hence by the very nature of their being, were compelled to go in for congregational education. If we are to believe the Dhamadattakaṭha, a student who went to Taxasilā to acquire knowledge of Śilpa had 500 fellow students taking the course with him.⁶ But happily it was not the primary or secondary education that was dispensed in these vihāras, the alumni there being advanced students and senior monks. Like the professors in our universities of the present day, the teachers at these Buddhist centres lectured to large groups. But the students were not left to themselves. The teachers took care to maintain personal contact with their disciples who were encouraged to approach them and have their difficulties solved. I-Tsing observes that he was benefited immensely from the intimate conversations he used to have with his teachers.⁷ This personal contact was also promoted by the discussions that were held in the seminars, which must

¹ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 120.
² Ibid.
⁴ “In all Sanskrit Sūtras and Vinaya texts the term Upādhyāya is used and it is translated as ‘teacher of personal instruction’”, this remark of the learned traveller I-Tsing also supports the existence of a tutorial system. Cf. Takakusu, op. cit., p. 118.
⁵ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 117.
⁷ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 184.
have benefited the students who took leading part in the debates as well as those that merely listened to them.¹

The obvious disadvantages inherent in the professorial system, were to a certain extent redressed by placing groups of younger scholars under senior fellows. This is hinted at both by Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing. For while the one says in connection with the studies at Nālandā that “the young and the old mutually help one another,”² the other observes that “instructed by their teachers and instructing others, they (the students) pass two or three years, generally in the Nālandā monastery in central India, or in the country of Valabhi (Walā) in western India.”³ An instance in point is the story mentioned in the Jātakas of the Kuru prince Sutasōma, who on having completed his studies earlier than his brother, the heir-apparent of Banaras, was required to help the latter.⁴ It may be observed that this system prevailed in India as late as the nineteenth century, and Andrew Bell who saw it actually working at Madras, had it introduced in England, and it became famous under the name of monitory system.⁵

The main feature of the training, both at the university and the schools, was the importance given to memory work. This was done by reciting different difficult works, the meaning of which the student learnt at a later stage of his study.⁶ This memory work was made easy by the use of rhyme, even in works like dictionaries and elementary works on grammar, which were generally composed in verse.⁷ A scholar who consulted notes or books in discourse was hardly respected.⁸ I-Tsing had occasion to observe this wonderful memory training at the university. According to him, after “a practice of ten days or a month, a student feels his thoughts rise like a fountain, and can commit to memory whatever he has once heard (not requiring to be told twice),” and he further says “this is far from being a myth, for I myself have met such men.”⁹ In those days of memory-training, we are told, the highest ambition of an author was that his book should be memorised by scholars and become “an ornament on their neck.”¹⁰

¹ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 177; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 170.
² Beal, op. cit., II, p. 70.
³ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 177.
⁴ Cf. Sutasoma Jātaka, No. 537.
⁵ Cf. Mujumdar, A History of Education in Ancient India, p. 68; Altekar, Education in Ancient India, p. 430.
⁷ Cf. Ibid.; “पुरुषस्तयायु या किष्किष्को परिसत् गत धनम्।
काव्यीभव कमःक्रमन सा किष्किष्को न तथामन।”

Subhasitam.

⁸ Ibid.
⁹ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 183.
¹⁰ Vikraman kande Vacharita, 18: 102.
University education was in sooth a distinct contribution of Buddhism to ancient Indian civilization. It would appear that in pre-Buddhist days the various studies were not co-ordinated one with another in a graduated series. The teaching in the āśramas seems to have been rather personal in that the instruction under one teacher did not at all depend upon the teaching of the others. A student, for instance, who having completed the courses available at a particular āśrama, wished to pursue a new subject, usually had to go to another āśrama for this purpose. With the establishment of the vihāras this difficulty was solved, and courses in the known sciences were imparted at one and the same centre.1

The Buddhist vihāras were built on the principle of the monastic brotherhood2 where the students lived a peaceful intellectual life. The main object of these vihāras being the spread of Buddhist doctrines, the students were provided with all facilities for their studies. The number of students at these vihāras like Valabhi, Nālandā, and others, was undoubtedly very great. We know from the account of Hiuen Tsiang that at Valabhi alone there were "about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6,000 Brethren adherents of the Hinayāna Sammatiya school."3 Each of these monasteries was like a separate college under an abbot where compulsory training was given both for spiritual practice, higher literature, and other sciences of the age.4 The courses must have taken at least a period of ten years of a student’s life.5 As regards the number of students and the preceptors at Nālandā, we are told that there were about 1,500 teachers at the disposal of 6,500 students who frequented these vihāras in search of Truth.6 This proportion of teachers to the students is undoubtedly a very large one compared to that of the colleges of our times, and it would suggest that in spite of the prevalence of the professorial system great care was taken to build up the career of the students in different walks of life. An arresting feature of their organisation was the equality of opportunities which were made available both to rich and poor to attend these institutions, as the students were not required to pay any fees. They were practically state-foundations which also received benefactions from the faithful.7 Speaking of

1 Ghosh, "University Education in Ancient India," Mahā Bodhi, p. 111.
3 Watters, op. cit., II, p. 246; Beal, op. cit., II, p. 266.
5 Ibid., Takakusu, op. cit., p. 103.
6 Mookerjee, op. cit., p. 22.
7 We have, for instance, epigraphical references to the Gohaka vihāra (probably built by a monk), the Abhayantarika vihāra built by the nun Mimma, the Ajīta and the Kakka vihāra built by traders, the Vimalagupta vihāra built by āchārya bhikṣu Vimalagupta, the Śhīramati vihāra, the Yakṣasūra vihāra, the Pūrṇna bhakta vihāra, the Yodhāvaka vihara built by Diviraputti Skanda bhāṣṭra and the Varmākata vihāra built by King Śīlāditya I himself; all these show that both the kings and the rich citizens made benefactions for the vihāras either from the time of the foundations of the vihāras or by supporting the vihāras built by the monks and named after them; cf. Beal, (Hwui Li), op. cit., p. 113.
such benefactions, Fa Hian, an early Chinese traveller, says that “the kings of the various countries and the heads of the Vaiṣyas built vihāras for the priests, and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens, and orchards, along with the resident populations and cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal, so that afterwards they were handed down from king to king,”¹ and again “people around supply the societies of these monks with an abundant sufficiency of what they require.”² Even food seems to have been provided for a section of the students. This section certainly included those students who were intending to take the tonsure (and become black-robed), and were called the manavas.³ But there were besides the students (Brahmacārin), who, as I-Tsing says, were making themselves useful to the Saṅgha, and who were therefore to be fed by the monastery according to their merit.⁴ They were possibly maintained from the donations made for this specific purpose, since the rules of the vihāra prohibited the students to be maintained from the permanent property of the Saṅgha.⁵

Thus with the regal and other donations which they constantly received, the original monasteries went on enlarging until in course of time they came to consist of a series of structures to which we may well apply the term university. An idea of these structures of which these monasteries consisted may be obtained from the account of Hiuen Tsiang’s biographer, who has given a beautiful pen picture of a vihāra as it actually existed at Nālandā in the seventh century. He says, “the whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other walls, standing in the middle (of the Saṅgharāma). The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like painted hill-tops, are congregated together.”⁶ He also refers to the observatories, whose lofty towers seemed lost in the clouds,⁷ and then goes on to speak of “the deep translucent ponds, (which) bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with Kie-ni (Kanaka) flower, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Amara groves (which) spread over all, their shade.”⁸ “All the outside courts,” the traveller continues, “in which are the priests’ chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured caves, the pear-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene. The saṅgharāmas of India are

¹ Legge, Fa Hien’s Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, p. 43.
² Ibid., p. 89.
³ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 150.
⁴ Ibid., p. 106.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Beal, (Hwui Li), Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 111-2.
⁷ Ibid.
⁸ Ibid.
counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height.”

This description of the Nālandā monastery may be supplemented by the general description of monasteries which Hiuen Tsiang has given: “The Buddhist monasteries are of most remarkable architecture. They have a tower at each of the four corners of the quadrangle and three high walls in a tier. The rafters and roofbeams are carved with strange figures, and the doors, windows, and walls are painted in various colours. The houses of the laity are sumptuous inside, and economical outside. The inner rooms and the central hall vary in their dimensions and there is no rule for form or construction for the tiers of the terraces or the rows of high rooms. The doors open to the east and the throne faces east.” The Cullavagga adds that the vihāras were full-fledged houses, where verandahs, covered terraces, overhanging caves, store rooms and service halls, gradually came to be built as the number of Bhikkhus went on increasing.

Another interesting feature of the vihāras was that the libraries were housed in buildings specially built for that purpose. We are told, for instance, that the library of the Nālandā monastery was situated in the Dharmagamaṅga (‘Piety Mart’), and consisted of three magnificent buildings named Ratnasagara, Ratnōdadhi and Ratnaraṅjaka. In the Ratnodadhi, which had nine stories, manuscripts of sacred books like the Prajñāparamitāsūtra, Tantric, and other works were preserved. The existence of a similar library at Valabhi may be inferred from the grants of the Maitrakas which record donations made for the collection of books.

The monastery had separate dining halls. They were dabbed with cow-dung and strewn with fresh leaves. At dinner the monks sat on rattan cane chairs seven inches high which were placed at a distance of one cubit from each other, while junior members took their meals, seating on blocks of wood. This practice was peculiar to the Buddhists, and differed from the usual Hindu custom of squatting at the time of meals.

1 Beal, (Hwui Li), Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 111-12.
2 The reference to the door opening to the east may probably show that the belief prevailed, as it still persists among some people, that the institution would go on prospering for ever.
3 Watters, op. cit., I, p. 147; Beal, op. cit., p. 74.
4 The Cullavagga, VI, 3, 5, 6.
6 This is a defence of the Mahāyānic philosophy by Nāgārjuna, whose main object appears to be the refutation of all the heretic systems, be they Buddhist or Brāhmānic.
9 Takakusu, op. cit., p. 23.
10 Ibid.
About the residential quarters of the monks, details are unhappily lacking in the accounts of the Chinese travellers. I-Tsing dismisses this matter with the casual remark that "the assembly assigned to venerable priests, if very learned, and also to those who thoroughly studied one of the three collections (of the scriptures) some of the best rooms (of the monastery) and servants." 1 The Cullavagga, however, supplies this deficiency, when it says that the vihāras were the full-fledged houses in which the living rooms of the priests were furnished with luxurious furniture, cushions, chairs, armchairs, sofas, bedsteads, and others. All these were provided out of the donations of the benefactors. 2 Further we are told that the walls of these monasteries were coloured red and white-washed while the floor was coloured black. 3 Thus the vihāras, in conformity with the spirit of Buddhism to which the puritan simplicity of the ancient rṣis is alien, were more commodious and comfortable with rich decorations than the dwellings of the Hindu sages of the period. 4

The constitution of the Buddhist Saṅgha was apparently inspired by the republican government 5 of the tribes of north-east India from whom the early Buddhist Bhikkus had been recruited. 6 Accordingly it was the Saṅgha as a corporate unit that was vested with legal personality, and all work was performed in its name. 7 The monks met in an assembly to deliberate on questions of importance 8 to the monastery under the presidency 9 of a virtuous monk, 10 and the decision of this body was deemed supreme in all matters. 11 The general will was ascertained by a majority of votes, 12 the minimum number of the members as fixed in the Vinaya texts being present, 13 though voting by proxy (khaṇḍa) was not disallowed. 14 All these conditions were necessary for making an act of the Saṅgha valid, and once its validity was accepted, the

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1 Takakusu, op. cit., p. 64.
2 Cullavagga, VI, 3, 5, 6.
3 Ibid., VI, 3, 1.
4 We are also told by I-Tsing that whilst going out, the senior monks were carried in sedan-chairs, while the juniors went on horseback; cf. Takakusu, op. cit., p. 68.
5 Dutt, Early Buddhist Monarchism, p. 137.
6 Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 2 (1903).
7 Rhys Davids, Psalms of Brethren, pp. 36, 168.
8 The questions taken up by an assembly were mostly relating to the Dharma, Vinaya, teachings, practices, and ordinances of the Tathāgata, besides those of the nature of ecclesiastical offences (cf. Cullavagga, VII, 5, 2). Other questions such as the character of an individual, or connected with constitutional matters of the Saṅgha, were also taken up by such assemblies. (Cf. Dutt, op. cit., pp. 154-155).
9 Ibid., p. 143.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid., p. 152.
12 Ibid., p. 159 ff.
13 Mahāvagga, IX, 4, 1. The minimum number of monks given in the above text constituted the quorums but not the committee.
14 Ibid., IX, 3, 9; Dutt, op. cit., p. 151.
act became *res judicata* and the question was taken to have been settled once and for all.\(^1\) The equality among members, was further safeguarded by the rule that no principal office was to be instituted in the assembly, and that when any business came up, it was to be settled by the assembly itself.\(^2\) This rule was so rigidly observed that, as I-Tsing remarks, "if any priest decided anything by himself alone, or treated the priest favourably or unfavourably, at his own pleasure, without regarding the will of the assembly, he was expelled (from the monastery) being called a *Kulapati* (i.e., he behaved like a householder)."\(^3\) The gradation of the Bhikkhus, moreover, was not based on the social ranks held by their respective families, as was the case in the *gurukulas* of the ṛṣis,\(^4\) but on their own spiritual progress and intellectual attainments.\(^5\) Thus one who knew the five Nikayas was called Pamicane-kayika,\(^6\) and he who had mastered the Piṭakas was called the Peṭāki;\(^7\) similarly one who could repeat the texts was styled Bhānaka\(^8\) and one who knew the Śūtras containing instructive discourses was called Sūttantika.\(^9\) Finally, a master of Abhiddhamma was styled Abhiddhammika\(^10\) and he who emerged triumphant from a public debate won the designation of Vādi.\(^11\)

Finally, the equality of membership was brought home to the Bhikkhus by the idea of community of property emphasized in the sacred texts: "So long as the Brethren shall divide without partiality, any share in common with the upright and the holy, all such thing as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the Order, down even to the mere contents of a begging-bowl, so long may the Brethren be expected, not to decline but to prosper."\(^12\) Naturally enough, everything in the Saṅgha including whatever was handed over to individual Bhikkhus was considered as communal property. "Whenever anything even a stalk of vegetable," writes I-Tsing, "was given

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Dutt, p. 152.} \\
\text{2 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 62.} \\
\text{3 *Ibid.*, p. 63.} \\
\text{4 *Gautama Dharma Śūtra*, I, Śūtra 29.} \\
\text{5 *Mahāvagga*, I, 53, 4.} \\
\text{6 Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 123.} \\
\text{7 The masters of Sutta-piṭaka and Vinaya Piṭaka were called the Sūttantika and Vinayika respectively, cf. Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 10.} \\
\text{8 Repeater of Jātaka was styled as Jātaka-bhānaka (cf. *Ibid.*, p. 10), that of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* was called the Dīgha-bhānaka; and the Majjhima-bhānaka, Samyutta-bhānaka and Anguttara-bhānaka were the repeaters of texts denoting their respective titles (cf. *Ibid.*). The essential duty of a Bhānaka consisted in recitation or rehearsal of the sacred texts with a view to preserving and handling them down by oral tradition.} \\
\text{9 *Ibid.*, p. 9.} \\
\text{10 *Ibid.*} \\
\text{11 *Ibid.*} \\
\end{align*}\]
(to the priests) by other persons, they made use of it through the assent of
the assembly."  

On joining a monastery the aspirant was shaved, bathed and was given a
\textit{patā} (simple garment). Thereafter he received the Upasampada ordination,\textsuperscript{2} which opened to him the portals of the \textit{Saṅgha} of which he became a regular
member. As such he could take part in all its proceedings except the training
of the novices. The stage he now entered upon is aptly described as ‘Nissāya’
from the fact that he had to be a dependent on an \textit{āchārya} (a senior monk)
appointed by the \textit{Saṅgha} and live under his spiritual tutelage.\textsuperscript{3} This period
extended over a term of ten years in the case of an average Bhikkhu, which
in that of an exceptionally learned monk was of only five years’ duration, while
an incapable Bhikkhu had to keep it even all his life.\textsuperscript{4} The result of this was
that though in theory a Bhikkhu even at the Nissāya stage was deemed to be
on a footing of equality in the monastery, in actual practice this equality
dwindled to the casting of votes merely at the meeting of the assembly. And
even this privilege was reduced to a formality, thanks to the pressure brought
to bear upon the younger members by the polling officer\textsuperscript{5} known as
Salakagahapaka.\textsuperscript{6} On completing this period of probation\textsuperscript{7} or ten summer
retreats as it was called, the Bhikkhu was given the position of a Sthavira
(elder) monk, which meant a ‘settled person’ of the monastery. It was only
this type of teachers who could become Upādhyāyas and teach at the
Vihāras.  

It was from among the Sthaviras that appointments were made to the
administration officers in the monastery by a \textit{Nātti} or a resolution taken in
the assembly.\textsuperscript{9} The qualifications required were an upright character made
up of qualities such as prudence, fortitude, charity and justice.\textsuperscript{10} The superior

\textsuperscript{1} The ceremony to be performed at the admittance of a monk into the Buddhist \textit{Saṅgha}
was called Upasampada. It might be sought by one who had previously been a Paribrahmaka
belonging to a different sect, or one who wanted straightway to pass into the Buddhist \textit{Saṅgha}
from household life. (Cf. Dutt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 177). In the early days of Buddhism, a person
desirous of monkhood had to request the Buddha for accepting him as a member of the
\textit{Saṅgha} and the Buddha accepted him with the simple utterance of ‘Ehi-Bhikkhu’, etc.
Later on with the spread of the creed the right was transferred to the other disciples also and
Upasampada became the regular practice of the entire \textit{Saṅgha}.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Mahāvagga}, I, 25, 5.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ibid.}, I, 32, 1; Takakusu, \textit{op. cit.}, Dutt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 180.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Mahāvagga}, I, 53, 4.

\textsuperscript{5} Dutt, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 159-161.

\textsuperscript{6} “The voting was done by means of the distribution of marked pieces of wood called
Salaka, which were subsequently counted and the majority ascertained thereby. The polling
officer was therefore called Salakagahapaka.” \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{7} I-Tsin speaks of yet another stage that of Cha-ga-na (i.e., Dahara, meaning a small

\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{9} Dutt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 187.

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Cullavagga}, VIII, 6, 1, IX. (\textit{Vinaya Texts}, III, 6, p. 25.)
of the vihāra was, as a rule, a venerable old monk selected for his exceptional learning besides the qualities deemed essential for holding any administrative post in the monastery.\(^1\) Next to him came the vihārasvāmi also styled vihārapāla and karmadāna, an officer to whom after the superior the "utmost deference" was paid.\(^2\) He regulated the religious life of the community and the internal management of the Vihāra.\(^3\) Next to the karmadāna was probably the Weina (Vena, i.e., the Sun) an habitual early riser, who acted as a sub-director of the vihāra.\(^4\) He assisted the Karmadāna in looking after the general management of the vihāra. Next came the treasurer, who kept an account of the property of the monastery, both in cash and kind,\(^5\) while the actual office work was done by the karnika,\(^6\) who as the name implies, did most of the clerical work. Other officers of the Buddhist vihāras that we know of were the polling officers, the gate-keepers, and the president of the Uposatha assembly. Although these officers were appointed temporarily, their status was not less esteemed. Great power was vested in the polling officer. He could refuse to accept a majority decision, if he felt that the same was not in consonance with the precepts of the Dhamma, and compel the assembly to go to the poll again, and yet again, till the right decision was reached.\(^7\) As we have already pointed out, the gate-keeper was an examiner charged with the duty of admitting only such of the candidates as had reached the standard expected of them by the University.\(^8\)

The internal management of the monastery was regulated in this way. The lodging of the monks was entrusted to two officials called Vinayādhara and Dharmādhara, while their seats in the assembly were assigned according to rank by the āsanapannapaka.\(^9\) The Bhandāgarika was in charge of stores;\(^10\) and the Bhatudesaka looked after the distribution of food.\(^11\) The officer in charge of the buildings and establishments of the vihāras was called nāvakamma.\(^12\) He was required to possess a thorough knowledge of engineering

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1 Beal, (Hwui Li) Life of Hiuen Tsing, p. xxxvii (Introduction). In the face of the direct reference of Hwui Li to a superior while describing the working of the Nālandā vihāra, the statement of Dutta that "the idea of a paramount authority of a person—a recognised head, a spiritual dictator, an abbot or a Gaṇadhara—was foreign to the republican constitution of an early Buddhist Sangha" (Dutt, op. cit., p. 145), seems but a conjecture not borne out by facts.

2 Beal, op. et loc. cit.

3 Takakusu, op. cit., p. 148.

4 Ibid.

5 Beal, (Hwui Li), op. cit., XXXVII.

6 Fleet op. cit., p. 242; Saleatore, op. cit., p. 596.

7 Dutt, op. cit., p. 161.


9 Cullavagga, XII, 2, 7; Bhagavat, op. cit., p. 153.

10 Cullavagga, VI, 21, 2.

11 Barhat Inscriptions, pp. 17, 123.

12 Ibid., p. 13 (Nos. 27), 123; Cullavagga, VI, 17, 2.
for the purpose of building and repairing the structures of the monasteries. And lastly, the ārāmikapāsaka looked after the ārāmikas or the parks.

It was only natural that a highly organised community, such as the Buddhist vihāra, should soon have acquired an autonomous status. I-Tsung reports about the vihāras of his own days that the priests there "submitted to their own laws, without ever giving any trouble to the public court"; and further that "once a monk had his name entered in the roll of the monastery, he ceased to have any concern with the register of the state."

The student-life in these vihāras was simple and systematic, we may almost say sublime. The students were subject to the same rules and regulations as were the priests, their preceptors, so long as they lived within the four walls of the vihāras—rules which were calculated to induce in them regularity and simple habits. "These laws," says Fa Hian, "regulating their demeanour in sitting, rising and entering when the others are assembled, are those which have been practised by all the saints since the Buddha was in the world." They rose at sunrise, and having finished their toilet and bath they took a walk round the temple and worshipped. This was followed by breakfast which consisted of rice-water. They then prepared their lessons for the day.

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1 Bhagavat, op. cit., p. 152.
2 Ibid. This officer was helped by a Parisandavārīka who looked after the groves of a monastery. Kern, Manual of Buddhism, p. 83; Bhagavat, op. cit., p. 153. There was also a ēvarapatīgahapaka (Cullavagga, VI, 21, 2) who was in charge of the wardrobe. He was an officer who received robes from layman on behalf of the Saṅgha for the monks residing in the vihāra. This officer was helped by a Satiyegahapaka, i.e., a distributor of undergarments and a Kathinavittihārika, i.e., one who distributed a Kathina (cf. Bhāgavat, op. cit., p. 152). This work of examining the water for the monks residing in the vihāra was done by a Saddhi-vihārika whose duty was to see that the water to be used at the vihāra was properly filtered (Mahāvagga I, 25, 15; Takakusa, op. cit., p. 62). He had also to wait at the Upādhyāya, and look to their requirements. This officer possibly looked after the judicial department of the monastery and took care to sentence a Upādhyāya to Parivasa discipline (cf. Mahāvagga, I, 25, 21). The Kappiyakaraks received gifts of money on behalf of the monastery and converted it into commodities required. He also ascertained what provision was allowable and what was not (Dutt, p. 187). The officers who helped the Bhāttudacakaka were a civabhajaka, i.e., distributor of congey, (Dutt, p. 187). Yagubhājakaka (distributor of rice-pulp (shidi)), a Khajja-bhājakaka (i.e., distributor of dry sweets), and Falabhājakaka, (i.e., distributor of fruits). Then again there was an officer called Patṭagahaka who was in charge of the store of bowls and their distribution among the monks (Cullavagga, VI, 21, 3), the Rupiyacchadaka who disposed of bullion (Vinaya text I, p. 24); and lastly there was another called the appamattaka vissājjaka who saw to the getting of small articles and distributing them like needles, pairs of scissors, sandsals, etc. (Cullavagga, VI, 21, 3).

3 Takakusa, op. cit., p. 63.
4 Ibid., p. 65.
5 Legge, op. cit., pp. 89-90.
7 Ibid., pp. 17, 116.
8 Ibid., p. 117.
9 The students also went to their preceptor at the last watch of the night when they learnt everything about the passage which they studied in the course of the day. Ibid., p. 120.
After which, presumably, their schools began. At midday they had a full meal\(^1\) at which cakes,\(^2\) rice, butter, curds, milk, fruits\(^3\) and at times meat\(^4\) were served. They were required to observe complete silence during the meal\(^5\) and were not to get up before it was finished.\(^6\) It is interesting to note that as at the present day, there prevailed the custom of chewing nut-megs mixed with cloves and bros-camphor after each meal,\(^7\) a practice intended to counteract bad odour in the mouth and aid digestion.

Uniformity prevailed in the matter of dress, and no distinction existed between the poor and the rich in this regard. They wore three robes as prescribed by the Vinaya texts.\(^8\) They wore a double waist-cloth (uttara-saṅga), a single upper robe (Saṅghati) and a single under-garment (antaravāsaka).\(^9\) The translator of the Mahāvagga describes the mode of wearing these robes as follows: “The waist-cloth (Saṅghati) was wrapped round the waist and back, and secured with a girdle. The under-garment (antaravāsaka) was wrapped round the loins and reached below the knee, being fastened round by an end of the cloth being tucked in these; and sometimes also by a girdle. The upper robe (uttarasamga) was wrapped round the legs from the loins to the ankles, and the end was then drawn, at the back, from the right hip, over the left shoulder, and either allowed to fall down in front or (as is still the custom in Burma, and in the Burmese sect in Ceylon) drawn back again over the right shoulder, allowed to fall down on the back.”\(^10\) These robes which were of yellow colour are characterised by I-Tsing as religious garments,\(^11\) but as students were required, to use them, they may as aptly be called academical. In winter the **alumni** were more sumptuously clad,\(^12\) but during summer they had to conform to the manner of dress prescribed in the Vinaya text.\(^13\)

The student community of the times, however, had few games and amusements to relieve the tedium of the daily round of duties. Many of the games which in our eyes are innocent, were forbidden to them no less than those

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4. *Ibid.*, pp. 43 and 58; Beal, (Hwui Li), *op. cit.*, p. 113. The bhikkhus were allowed to eat three kinds of meat without incurring any guilt.
7. Takakusu, *op. et. loc. cit.*
which were clearly immoral, if not immoral, such as gambling. Denouncing
the monks of a former age who indulged in these amusements, the Cullavagga
says: “They used to amuse themselves at games with eight pieces and ten
pieces, and with tossing up, hopping over diagrams formed on the ground,
and removing substances from a heap without shaking the remainder; and
with games at dice, and trap-ball; and with sketching rude figures, tossing
balls, blowing trumpets, having matches at ploughing with mimic ploughs,
tumbling, forming mimic wind-mills, guessing at measures, having chariot
races, and archery matches, shooting marbles with the fingers, guessing other
people’s thoughts, and mimicking other people’s acts;—and they used to
practise elephant riding, and horse riding,1 and carriage driving, and archery,
and swordsmanship;—and they used to run to and fro in front of elephants,
and in front of horses, and in front of carriages;—and they used to exhibit
signs of anger, and to wring their hands, and to wrestle, and to box with
their fists;—and spreading their robes out as a stage they used to invite dancing
girls, saying, “Here you may dance, sister!” and greet her with applause.2
This left the vihâras a very narrow choice indeed, which was limited to pastimes
like swimming,3 and taking walks.4 The ban on indoor games, however,
could not be rigorously enforced and these may have been indulged in by the
student community secretly and covertly. For curiously enough among the
finds at the Nâlandâ excavations are precisely gaming dice, from which
Mr. Page has remarked that “The Buddhist brethren here were not altogether
above the amusements of less austere humanity.”5

All the same, the rules of discipline were strictly observed at these
Buddhist seats of learning. As for the priests we have the testimony of Hiuen
Tsiang that the “rules of Nâlandâ were severe and the conduct of the priests
pure and blameless”6 (a verdict which may with equal propriety be applied
to Valabhi), and the same authority has it that “during 700 years since the
foundation of the establishment, there has been no single case of guilty rebellion
against the rules.”7 This is all the more remarkable inasmuch as corporal
punishment was unknown at these institutions, and the highest punishment
that was inflicted was expulsion therefrom, a punishment meted out only for
serious acts of immorality8 which were indeed rare occurrences.

1 In the seventh century I-Tsing observed that the junior members rode on horse-back,
while the senior went in sedan-chairs, Takakusu, op. et loc. cit.
2 Cullavagga, 13, 2.
4 Ibid., p. 144.
7 Beal, (Hwui Li), op. cit., pp. 112-113.
8 Patimokha, Saṅgha dyeasa Dhamma; Takakusu, op. et loc. cit; Watters, op. cit., I,
344; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 214.
Finally, the students closed their scholastic career with a public examination at which they were required to defend some thesis. Difficulties were proposed against it and their passing of the examination depended on solving them to the satisfaction of the learned audience. "And then," says I-Tsing, "their fame makes the five mountains (of India) vibrate, and their renown flows, as it were over the four borders. They receive grants of land, and are advanced to a high rank; their famous names are, as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can follow whatever occupation they like." ¹

(B) HINDU SYSTEM

The capital of a Hindu dynasty, it was but natural that Valabhi should have acquired renown as a seat of Hindu learning as well. Though the material at our disposal is too scanty to allow us to infer the existence of a Hindu university there, it is incredible that the capital should be without a Hindu institution of higher learning. The tradition of Valabhi as a centre of Hindu studies is probably preserved in the Kathāsaritsāgara, a work of the eleventh century, which narrates a story of Viṣṇudatta, a Brāhmaṇa youth from Antarvedi, who went up to Valabhi for prosecuting higher studies even though centres like Benaras and Taxilā were nearer to his home on the banks of the Ganges. ² So also a fourteenth century work relates how Mayuraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, finding that the local Brāhmaṇas had fallen from their station, went all the way to Valabhi to bring some who could presumably assist him at a sacrifice. ³ Though this story has been discredited, ⁴ epigraphical evidence is not lacking which goes to prove that Valabhi was a nursery of Brāhmaṇas, which supplied learned priests to different parts of India. ⁵ It is, however, strange that among the hundred or more Maitraka inscriptions that have so far been found, there is not even one which records a grant for purposes of education, a circumstance which rules out the possibility, for the present at least, of a Hindu university having existed at Valabhi. This, however, does not mean that the Hindus had no institution where they could receive instruction according to their own traditional methods. Or else, we shall not be able to explain the great literary activity that went on at the court as well as in the country throughout the Maitraka period. It is well known that Bhaṭṭibhatta, the author of the famous Bhaṭṭikāvya or the Rāvaṇavadha,

¹ Takakusu, op. cit., p. 178.
² Somadeva, Kathāsaritsāgara, tarāṅga 32,
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Cf. Fleet, "Baroda Grant of Karka I (Rāstrakuta)," I. A., XII, p. 160.
wrote under the patronage of the Maitraka king Dharasena. Then again the Maitraka copper-plates refer to various Brāhmaṇas as students of the different Vedic studies, for instance, a Brāhmaṇa named Rudragopa is described as a student of Atharva-Veda, while another is spoken of as a student of the Vajesaneyā Śākhā and the Kauthumi Śākhā of the Śāma Veda. Finally, the same records in describing the literary accomplishments of the Maitraka rulers, show that the Hindu learning was far from being neglected, and was actually at a premium in their realm. An idea of the state of this learning may perhaps be gauged from some of the titles assumed by these rulers. For example, the titles 'Sāmyag-upalaksitanka-sāstra' and 'Śakalasmitamārgga-paripālana-prajā-hṛdaya ranjanād-anvartha-rāja-sabdah' of king Dharasena II and his predecessor Guhasena show that great importance was attached to the Dharmasāstra literature. Similarly, the description of

This is known from the colophon of the poem:—

14 काम्पिरिद वितितं सया बलमय:—श्री भरसेनन्द्रार्पणाक्षितायाम्।
कौरत्तितरो भवार्ष्ण्य तस्य प्रेमकर िशिलिणो वलः प्रणामाम्।

The Bhattikāvya, p. 311. This poem is a grammatical work composed with the object of illustrating Pāṇini's Sītras, and was long regarded as an authority on questions of grammar. It is, as Mallinātha describes it, an Udāharana Kāvya or illustration-poem of the Sītras of Pāṇini (cf. Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 116). In the colophon the poet boasts that "This poem can be understood only with a commentary, it suffices that it is a happy enterprise for the clever, an account of my love of learning the stupid come to grief in it," (cf. The Bhattikāvya verse, 34, p. 310). The list of Alankaras given by Bhatti is to a certain degree original when compared with those of Daṇḍin and Bhamāha. Its source is still unknown (cf. Keith, op. cit., p. 118). It is said of this poem that "this work serves as a lamp to those who are well-versed in the figurative sense of the words (grammar), but like a mirror in the hands of the blind to those who are devoid of the knowledge of grammar." The Bhattikāvya, verse 33, p. 310.

"स्वरूपेन: द्रव्यवि प्रमलयुष्कशृङ्खलाम्।
इस्त्रामन्यविवाखार्यः भ्याकारणादेशः।"

The verses 14 to 22 of this māhā-kāvya are devoted to Lit (Perfect), Lun (Aorist), Ltt (Simple figure), Lan (imperfect), Lin (present), Ltn (potential), Ltt (imperative), Ltn (conditional), and Lut (perihrestic figure) respectively. This is merely a single literary remnant which is however, suggestive of a vast literary activity in those days. Further, we know that a good number of commentaries have been written on this Bhattachārya by different writers, of which the Jayamangala by Jayamangal is the oldest and the most popular of all. The other known commentaries are the Kalpadipika by Pundariksa; the Vaijayanti by Kandarpachakravarti; the Bhattachārtikā by Vidyāvinod; the Magadhahodha by Ramanand; the Mughalabodhi by Bharatmattika; the Subodhini by Kumudananda; the Bhattachārtaka by Naya-vidhyāvinod, the Subodhini by Rairchandraśasti; the Kalpadipika by Vidyāśāgara; the Bhavārti by Purushotam and the Survapathin by Mallinatha. All these show the importance of the work.

5 Gadre, "The Amreli Plates." Important Inscription from the Baroda State, p. 6 ff.
King Dhruvasena I as well-versed in philosophy, dhanurvidyā (i.e., science of archery),\(^1\) that of Dronaśimha as well-versed in the Smṛitis of Manu and others,\(^2\) of Dhruvasena II as having mastered Pāṇini’s grammar,\(^3\) of Śīlāditya I as a poet,\(^4\) and of Śīlāditya VII as ‘Jñāna-traya,’ i.e., one who possesses the knowledge of the three Vedas,\(^5\) all go to show that these were common subjects of study during the period. Finally, the description of Śīlāditya I as: "Sarvav- 
vidyā-para parama-bhagadhitgama-vimala-matiḥ,”\(^6\) reveals the religious emphasis which was put on the educational system, for while the ‘apara’ 
vidyā consisted in the study of the four Vedas and the six Vedāṅgas, the ‘para’ 
vidyā meant the search for the imperishable\(^7\) or vidyā as it was called, and 
in terms of which all other knowledge was to be estimated.\(^8\)

The Hindu educational system must have conformed, as in other parts 
of India, to the time honoured methods. Primary education was probably in 
the hands of the village school-masters, who taught in the Pathaśālās. The course of instruction given in these primary schools consisted of reading, 
writing and arithmetic.\(^9\) Along with these subjects the students were also 
taught the niti-sāstras (Moral precepts) with fables—the most important of 
which was probably the Pañcha-tantra.\(^10\) Before joining these village schools 
the “Vidyārambha Samśkāra” or as described by some authorities the 
“Akṣara svikaraṇam” Samśkāra was performed.\(^11\) This took place probably 
in the fifth year of a boy, because the period from birth to the fifth year was 
regarded as the time for play.\(^12\) As at present, under the system of education 
in those days also the teachers taught the letters of the alphabet in association 
with a word beginning with the letter.\(^13\)

\(^{1}\) Bühler, "Grant of Guhasena of Valabhi," I. A., IV, p. 174 ff.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., "manuadi pranita-vidhi-vidhana-dharma" ... etc.
\(^{5}\) Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
\(^{6}\) Ibid. (lines 11-12).
\(^{7}\) The Maṇḍaka-Upaniṣad, I, i, 1-5.
\(^{8}\) Ibid.
\(^{9}\) Arthaśāstra, pp. 10-11.
\(^{10}\) Cf. Majumdar, A History of Education in Ancient India, p. 67.
\(^{12}\) The Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Pt. I, XII, 18.

In a book on astrology (Muhurta-Mārtaṇḍa) auspicious days and hours are mentioned for 
the commencement of the teaching of the alphabet to children. (a) According to this book 
the age of a child for commencing education should be three years, (b) while according to 
Charaka it should be five, (c) the Viṣṇu Purāṇa considers first five years of the life of a child 
as time for play, (d) and finally, according to the Arthaśāstra, the same should commence 
after the Upanayana Samśkāra.

\(^{13}\) Lalita Vistāra, p. 184; cf. Majumdar, op. et loc. cit.
After finishing the course of study in these schools, students were sent to the Gurukulas, where the foundations were laid of their future careers. \(^1\) The Upanayana Sāṁskāra (i.e., taking near) \(^2\) was performed before the commencement of this stage of the student-life, a ceremony which was considered as a momentous event in a boy’s life, marking as it were the beginning of his spiritual life. \(^3\) The age for this ceremony in the case of the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya lads respectively was the eighth, eleventh and the twelfth year. \(^4\)

It was from this time that a period of strenuous study and rigorous exertions for mastering the sacred texts began. \(^5\) Yājñavalkya describes the life of a student after the Upanayana Sāṁskāra as very regular and methodical. The student rose before sun-rise, bathed daily after he got up, made his toilet, and then having sprinkled himself with water while saying āpohista-mantra—practised Prāṇāyāma (suppression of vital airs), and suryyōpasthamanam (worship the Sun), and then recited the Gāyatri. \(^6\) The muttering of the Gāyatri was to be performed both at dawn and twilight with fixed attention. \(^7\) He studied (when called upon to do so) and offered to his preceptor whatever he had gathered by begging. \(^8\) For developing active habits the teacher from the very beginning taught him cleanliness, rules of etiquette, the duty of attendance on the sacrificial fire and devotions like the Sandhyā. The study of the vedas was considered most important in ancient India, and particular care was taken for pronouncing correctly every syllable and accent. \(^9\) Thus the recital was not mechanical and great attention was given to the subject. The preceptors repeated their instructions until they were satisfied that the students had fully grasped the subjects taught. Hiuen Tsiang, who actually observed the Brāhmaṇa

\(^1\) Altekar, op. cit., p. 3.
\(^3\) The Upanayana ceremony of a student of the Ayurveda was to be performed in a special way before Agni by his preceptor. Cf. Mookerjee, J. U. P. H. S., XV, p. 24.
\(^4\) Manu Smriti, II, 36.
\(^6\) Yājñavalkya, I, 10-21, p. 3.
\(^7\) Manu, II, 69.
\(^8\) Yājñavalkya, I, 10-21, Manu, II, 65.
\(^9\) The vedic mantras were not permitted to Śūdras, for the Aryan theologians believed that if there was the slightest mistake in the accent or the pronunciation of the vedic mantra, it would bring about ruin and disaster:  

\[ \text{“सन्तोषीय: स्तवरोपयितोक्तायुग्मः पद्युतं न तत्त्वमाह।} \\
\text{वायव्यः ववमानं हिन्निकत् घण्ये।} \\
\text{स्तवोपकर्ष्यन्।} \]

Pāṇini Śikṣā, V. 52.

And possibly it was because of this that even after the invention of the art of writing, it was not utilised for preserving and transmitting the Vedic literature. Cf. Paniniya Sikse, 32; cf. Altekar, “Method of Teaching Students in Ancient India,” Gopala Krsnamāchārya Book of Commemoration, p. 425.

\[ \text{“गीती श्रीमते शिर: कृती तथा किरङ्कीपाठकः।} \\
\text{अन्यथेःस्य ण्वः कठ交接े पाठकामास:।} \]
teachers at work, thus describes their way of educating their pupils: "These teachers explain the general meaning (to their disciples) and teach them the minutiae; they rouse them to activity and skilfully win them to progress; they instruct the inert and sharpen the dull. When disciples, intelligent and acute, are addicted to idle shirking, the teachers, doggedly persevere repeating instructions until their training is finished. When the disciples are thirty years old, their minds being settled and their education finished, they go into office; and the first thing they do then is to reward the kindness of their teachers."

More details about the life of students in ancient India are known from various Hindu sources. It is said that they had to wear simple dress and avoid eating to excess. They avoided all sorts of luxurious food such as honey, meat, sweets, etc. They were further advised not to use scents, garlands, sweet or pungent drinks, and had to observe brahmacharya (celibacy). Further, they were required to refrain from smearing the body with oil, painting the eyes with collyrium, dancing, singing, gambling, petty quarrels, calumniating people, telling lies, looking wistfully at women and doing harm to others. The Hindu Dharmaśāstras also corroborate the same when they maintain that religion and morality are not "matters of intellect only—that they cannot be so much learnt as practised, and that the atmosphere or environment to which a child is accustomed in early years is the most powerful agent in shaping and forming his religious and moral life." They embraced the feet of their teacher at the beginning and at the end of a lecture, a fact which shows the veneration in which the guru was held in those days. The preceptors in turn were required to treat the students with great affection. They had to use sweet and mild words to them. Only in the case of a pupil, guilty of grave misdemeanour, was he beaten with a rope or a split bamboo on the back and never on a delicate part. A teacher who would strike a student otherwise was considered to have incurred the guilt of a thief. Thus it is clear that the rules laid down by Kautilya and Manu come very near to the principles advocated by modern educationalists.

(C) THE JAINA SYSTEM

The history of education in the Maitraka kingdom would indeed be incomplete, if a description of the Jaina system of instruction were omitted. Valabhi is the traditional home of Jainism. It was here that the Śvetambara

1 Watters, op. cit., I, p. 160.
2 Manu, II, 44, 51.
3 Ibid., 177.
4 Ibid., 180.
5 Cf. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 74-76.
6 The Pratisakhya of Rg Veda, XV; Majumdar, loc., cit.
7 Manu, II, 299-300.
8 Majumdar, op. et loc. cit.
canon was collected and published. Right from the beginning of the Maitraka rule, their capital city had become the scene of a great scriptural activity. Naturally, it came to be a rendezvous of the Jaina savants. One of these was Dhaneśvarasūri, the author of the famous Śatruñjaya-Mahātmya, who describes himself in this work as a tutor of king Śīlāditya. Here, too, we are told that Dhaneśvarasūri eulogized the colours of the Buddhists who were puffed up with pride on account of their knowledge, and the ground he took for defeating them was ‘Syād-vāda,’ i.e., ‘may be’ or the science of logic.

Other Jaina savants who flourished at Valabhi were Malla and his brothers. These were Jitayasas who wrote a Nyāsa or commentary on a grammatical work, known as Viśrānta-Viśyādharavara; and Yakṣa, who composed a Saṁhita known as Nimittaśānta-abodhini. Malla himself wrote his famous treatise on the Jaina philosophy called the Nayachakra. It is said that this Malla had a maternal uncle named Jīnānandasūri who was a svetāmbara Jaina monk. He was defeated in a public controversy at Bharukachchha by the Buddhist Buddhānanda, and in consequence had to leave the city. He settled at Valabhi where he taught his nephews. After finishing his studies Malla went to Bharukachchha and defeated his uncle’s opponent Buddhānanda in a public debate, held before the royal assembly, and won the title of Vādin as a result of his triumph.

These references to Jaina scholars would point to the existence of Jaina educational institutions in the kingdom, though actual epigraphical or literary evidence is so far not forthcoming. Education among the Jainas was dispensed

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1 The practice of transmitting learning from generation to generation orally was given up here, when it was realised that it was absolutely necessary to prepare MSS. of the Jaina canonical literature (cf. Chapter on “Religion”). This reduction into writing is technically known as ‘puṣṭakārōhaṇa’ of the Jaina Agamas; Kalpasūtra, p. 270; Munshi, Gujarat and its Literature, p. 31.
2 Shatrūjaya-Mahātmya, p. 769.
3 Ibid., Prabhāvakacharita (Introduction).
4 Ibid., p. 16.
5 Ibid.
6 This work is referred to by Hemachandra in his grammar the Siddha-Hema. Vāmana is said to be the author of Viśrāntavidiyādharavara: cf. Purattata, IV, p. 91.
7 A book named Nayachakra, by Devasenaśuri consisting of 87 gathas has come down to us. It describes Mallavādin, as a great logician. We find it mentioned there that the author has taken his material from the Ekānta Jaya Paṭaka by Haribhadra. However, we do not know whether this Nayachakra is the same as that of Mallavādin.
8 Two other stories are told of this Mallavādin in the Prabandha-chintāmani and in the Prabandha-khāsa. They also give an account of this controversy between the Buddhist and the Jaina scholars and the ultimate triumph of the Jaina. Cf. Chapter on “Religion.” One more reference to the importance given to the Svetambara scholars of Valabhi is gathered from the Bhadrabahucharita of Ratnanandi (Ch. IV, verse 133) where we are told that king Bhumāla of Karahāṭa invited the Svetāmbara monks of Valabhi, probably for performing some religious practice. This was done by him at the request of his queen Nīkuladevi, cf. Luders, “Kadamba Plates of Prabhutavarṣa,” E. I., IV, p. 338 ff.
by two different agencies, the art-schools and the monasteries. The former were the regularly organised institutions where education was imparted to all irrespective of caste, creed or sex\textsuperscript{1} unlike the Brāhmaṇical schools. The instruction given in the art-schools was religious as well as secular and was calculated to fit the needs of the students in different walks of life, and to turn them into better citizens.\textsuperscript{2} The schools were probably run with the help of state subsidies,\textsuperscript{3} which were thus one of their chief financial resources. The students assisted their teachers with their household work\textsuperscript{4} while they remained under them and paid an honorarium to them on completion of their studies.\textsuperscript{5} According to the Rāyapasenīyasūtta these teachers fell into three categories: the kalāyaria or teachers of arts such as writing, sippayāriya or teachers of handicrafts such as pottery, and so forth, and the Dhammayāria or teachers of divinity.\textsuperscript{6}

The art-schools were generally patronized at the primary and secondary stages, before the children entered the Brāhmaṇical or the monastic schools. Starting at the age of seven they continued here for about a further seven years.\textsuperscript{7} The subjects taught during this period were of fundamental importance; and fell into four groups, viz., the three R’s, fine arts, military training and academic and scientific studies. The study of the three R’s was meant to equip the child with the rudiments of knowledge;\textsuperscript{8} the fine arts comprised singing, painting, music, dancing, drawing and cognate subjects.\textsuperscript{9} Military training was given together with the allied courses of hunting, riding and archery;\textsuperscript{10} while the academic and scientific branches of study were so planned as to afford the students both intellectual pleasure and economic gain, including as they did the study of vernacular languages, composition, ballad-making, public-speaking, and a knowledge of the Vedas, the Vedāṅgas, astronomy, astrology, medicine, and mineralogy.\textsuperscript{11} Thus the courses in these schools were well adapted to the physical, mental, and emotional needs of the scholars from their boyhood to early adolescence.

The method of teaching was based on sound educational psychology. Education was never forced upon an unwilling mind.\textsuperscript{12} The classes were held

\textsuperscript{1} Das Gupta, \textit{Jaina System of Education}, pp. 2, 12, 13, 16, 53.
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., p. 4.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., p. 15. It must, however, be observed that no grants in money or kind to the Jaina institutions, made by the Maitrakas, have come down to us.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{6} Rāyapasenīyasūtta, s. 77, para 33 of Pāsimehāniya in Vaidya, pp. 101-120.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., pp. 69-70.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., pp. 67-68.
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{10} Ibid., p. 68.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{12} Das Gupta, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 82.
from sunrise to sunset with a recess for lunch only. Instructions were imparted to the students either in groups or individually, according to the nature of the subject.\(^1\) For example, military training and other cognate arts were taught in groups as at present for economising time both of the teacher and the taught. No new subject was begun unless the one in hand had been thoroughly mastered.

Thus the students passed about seven years of their life in the art-schools where they lived a decent, happy and vigorous life.\(^2\)

After finishing their studies in the art-schools the students joined the monasteries. These monasteries were the prototype of the Buddhist vihāras.\(^3\) They were situated in the suburbs of cities, away from the din and bustle of the work-a-day world and probably formed independent units by themselves. The principle observed in founding these institutions was to select a site easy of access to the faithful and suitable to "learned leisure."\(^4\)

Each monastery was managed by a hierarchy of officers,\(^5\) chosen from among the monks according to the qualifications required for their offices.\(^6\) These officers apparently constituted the executive council which looked after the general administration of the institution. At the head of this body was the Siddha who controlled the policy of the institution with the assistance of the Arhat. Next in rank came the Āchāryas, learned monks who together with the Upādhyayas were entrusted with the actual teaching work. Lastly, came the Sādhus. And all five constituted what was known as the Paśca-Parameśthi of a Jaina monastery.\(^7\) Other officers were the Pravajyādāyakas and the Niryāpakas who discharged respectively the functions of initiating novices into the ascetic fold and rehabilitating erring members of the order. The Śramaṇas were the common monks who also must have taught in the monastery.\(^8\)

The Āchāryas were the most important among these teachers. Their qualifications may be deduced from the rule followed in Jaina monasteries that the Sūtras should be taught by an Upādhyaya (sub-preceptor), whereas their meaning should be propounded by an Āchārya (preceptor).\(^9\) Hence, we

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1. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26. The Jaina sources mention two types of preceptors, viz., the dikṣā-guru and the vidyā-guru. This was probably because the one and the same preceptor could not be expected to be conversant with all sciences. Nay, instances are not lacking of persons who had more than one vidyā-guru, cf. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 203. But as a general rule a vidyā guru was also a dikṣā-guru.
may agree with Mr. Kapadia, when he observes that it was considered necessary that an Āchārya should know various languages in order that his pupils might be taught through the medium of their own mother tongue.\(^1\) Accordingly, the preceptor was expected to broaden his outlook by travel, thus coming into contact with diverse peoples and customs.\(^2\) Speaking of these itinerant teachers, Hsiuenn Tsiang observes that they "count not, 1,000 li a long journey," and that "forgetting fatigue they expatriate in the arts and sciences."\(^3\) He alone was the perfect teacher who could answer all the questions and difficulties of his students. Others were unfit to teach. Nor was a student to accept blindly whatever he was taught, but had to weigh the worth of every word.\(^4\)

The courses of studies in these monasteries were so planned as to make the student frugal and independent. As respects the monks, a fivefold aim was always kept in view. Their training was calculated to impart to them the right knowledge, add stability to their faith, strengthen their character, eradicate false pre-possessions and prejudices and assist them in discerning objects and their proper perspective.\(^5\) All this was designed to turn the students' mind increasingly towards religion.

The curricula were wide in scope.\(^6\) For they included instructions in religion, literature, arts, physical culture and other like subjects, and thus met the needs of all types of students in the different grades of life.\(^7\) The religious instructions included the Hindu, the Buddhist and the Jaina courses of studies.\(^8\) Out of these subjects the Brāhmaṇical works together with the arts-course were taken up in the first group; the second group included the whole range of Buddhist studies; while in the third and final group knowledge of the important works of the Jainas like Aṅgas was imparted to the students. All these subjects possibly made up the course for graduation, while the postgraduate course included a study of subjects like the Vedas, Vedaṅgas, history, philosophy, higher mathematics, grammar, prosody, astronomy, literature,

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1. Kapadia, loc. cit.
3. Watters, op. et loc. cit.
5. Ibid., pp. 210, 220.
6. The Jainas look upon Lord Rṣabha as the first Tirthankara of the present Hunda avasarpini period. In cons kalpas or cycle, there are two eras mentioned, viz., the avasarpini and utsarpini. The avasarpini or the descending era is one in which "piety and truth go on decreasing until in the end chaos and confusion reign over the earth; and the utsarpini or ascending era is one in which there is ever-growing evolution of piety and truth." Cf. Jaini, Outline of Jainism, p. xxvi, as the originator of teaching (cf. Kapadia, op. cit., p. 199). We learn from Bhadrabāhusāmin’s Pañjisanakappa (also known as Kalpasūtra) that Lord Rṣabha taught 72 arts of males which included the art of writing and arithmetic also. Cf. Kapadia, op. cit., p. 201.
7. Das Gupta, op. cit., pp. 2, 6; Rayaśekharasuri, Prabandhakośa, I, p. 28.
8. Ibid., p. 27.
lexicography, poetics, politics, together with sacred texts of the Brāhmaṇas. Special attention was paid to astrology and there were several scholars who attained great proficiency in this science. This is inferred from the fact that the Chinese traveller who visited India in the seventh century was so greatly impressed by the knowledge of astrology possessed by the Jaina, that he actually had his horoscope cast for him by a Nirgrantha named Vajra. It is interesting to note that science was cultivated not as a means of livelihood but for its own sake, and because it was believed that it could be of use in case the Jaina church was threatened by some persecution. The Jaina scholars also wrote theses on subjects like medicine and the grammar of Pāṇini. Obviously this research work was also included in the programme of postgraduate studies.

The method of study pursued in the Jaina monasteries was both comprehensive and rational. In learning a given passage from the texts the student had to observe five different steps. The first of these was rehearsal; next came repetition and then followed interrogation, concentration and discussion in successive order. After this his knowledge was pronounced perfect. The teacher too in his work of explanation had to observe similar and corresponding steps, like Bhāṣā or ordinary explanation, Vibhāṣā or giving of synonyms and Vattiya or giving an explanation of the explanation. These steps, we find, compared to the several stages in the blossoming of the lotus flower, the bud, the half-opened flower and the full-blown lotus in the Jaina work Viṣeṣa. The Jaina monks, like the Buddhist and the Hindu teachers, stressed the value of repetition in the task of imparting instruction to students, and they were very particular and careful that the lessons they taught were thoroughly mastered by the pupils. Besides, a three hours' compulsory study of the Jaina scriptures was strictly enjoined upon these monks every day, and a violation of this obligation was looked upon with grave concern.

Jaina students wishing to be trained according to the Jaina ritual resided in the monasteries in the company of their teachers. Life in these monasteries was simple. The earliest age at which students could join a monastery was

1 Rayāsekharasuri, Prabhanda kośa, I, p. 112.
2 Ibid., p. 71.
4 Kapadia, op. cit., p. 254.
5 Sharma, Jainism in Karmataka Country, p. 72.
6 Das Gupta, op. cit., p. 31.
7 Ibid., Yogindra Āchārya, Paramātmā Prakasa, pp. 59, 341.
8 Kapadia, op. cit., p. 222.
9 Ibid.
10 Yogindra Āchārya, Paramātmā Prakasa, p. 59; Das Gupta, op. cit., p. 31.
11 Das Gupta, op. cit., p. 3; The Unasagadasa, p. 51.
12 Das Gupta, op. cit., pp. 3, 118.
13 Ibid., p. 211.
probably seven or eight years after taking the dikṣā. Some students, however, joined even at a later stage after finishing their studies in the art-schools. On joining a monastery a student was expected to pay respect to his preceptor. He was to ask him his difficulties in a humble way, and quietly hear his answers and grasp their meaning. His duty then was to reflect on what he had been told and to make himself sure that what his guru taught him was correct. Finally, after he had convinced himself of it, he had to try to retain it. A Jaina student was supposed to practise the anuṣṭhāna rite as enjoined in the scriptures throughout the period of his student life.

As in the art-schools, no fees were charged for the instruction imparted in the monasteries. In cases of necessity even lay scholars were provided with free boarding. Relations between the teacher and the taught were cordial, and the students showed special regard for their preceptors, senior monks and even for the guests of their monasteries. This was manifested in various ways, like standing up on their arrival, following them whenever they went out without expressing signs of fatigue and so forth. All these actions they appropriately accompanied by salutations and adorations.

Though in the study of scriptures the Jaina monks and nuns had for the most part common ground to cover, there was no room for co-education in the Jaina system. The Sādhavis (nuns) were taught by senior Sādhavis. But as the Samayari says, a nun could approach a monk for the solution of her doubts, provided, of course, she was accompanied by another nun. On such occasions the monk himself was attended by another Sādhu. It is interesting to note that like the Buddhists, Jainas also had organised hermitages intended exclusively for women. Here the Jaina nuns led a community life similar to that of the monks and their students in the vihāras. Further, in the Jaina system of education, women were debarred from studying some of the religious works, e.g., Diṭṭhīvāya, the 12th aṅga and the sātisāya ajjayanas such as Uṣṭhānasuya, Samuṣṭhānasuya, Mahāparināṇa, Aruṇovavāya, and the like. This is confirmed by a verse quoted in the Ācāradinakara by Vardhamāna Śūri while in his

1 Kapadia, op. cit., p. 198.
2 Ibid., p. 211.
3 Ibid., pp. 210-211; Das Gupta, The Jaina System of Education, pp. 32, 118.
4 Ibid., pp. 32, 118.
5 Kapadia, op. cit., p. 209.
6 Ibid., p. 208.
7 Cf. Kundakudacca Pravacanasarva, p. 32, v. 47, as quoted by Das Gupta, op. cit., p. 32.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., p. 8; Kapadia, op. cit., p. 217.
10 Ibid.
11 Several examples of the Buddhist vihāras for women are given in the Valabhi records.
12 Mayer, Hindu Tales, p. 44.
13 Kapadia, op. cit., p. 238.
14 Ibid., pp. 102-103.
Tattvanirnayaprasāda, Vijayānanda Sūri tells us that the scriptural works Kāliya and Ukkāliya from which Dittivāya was carefully excluded were composed in Prākṛt for the use of women and novices. It follows from this that the general idea was that the meaning of these texts was too deep and difficult to be grasped by the feminine mind whose capabilities were rated inferior to those of the male. This idea finds a parallel in the theory current in the Smṛti period when women were considered unfit for the study of the Vedas. Apart, however, from some exceptions, women were permitted to acquire complete knowledge of Philosophy and Theology, as may safely be inferred from the instances of Jaina-Sādhavis challenging in debate Buddhist monks and nuns, found in the writings of the time.

It is an established fact that in ancient India education was imparted only in Sanskṛt and Prākṛt. The Jainas were the first to make use of vernacular languages as media for instruction. Their pedagogues believed that one's mother tongue was the best instrument for imparting knowledge and that education through one's own language was bound to be thorough and productive of better results than through a language that is foreign to the student. This view had been propounded by Maladharin Hemachandra Sūri in his commentary on the Viṣeṣa. We also have the earlier evidence of Śilāṅka Sūri who had preceded him by about three hundred years. Both express the same views as to the ideal medium for instruction. This successful attempt of the Jaina teachers to break new ground in their methods of teaching gave the much needed impetus to the vernacular languages which had continued so far in an embryonic stage of development, and now came to have literatures of their own. In southern India in particular, from the early centuries of the Christian era the Jaina ascetics who established the Dīghambara sect of Jainism in Tāmild land, Andhra and the Kannātaka enriched the three vernacular languages of these countries. Unlike the Buddhists, they did not use the modulated Prākṛt forms but used Sanskṛt words as in their original in vernacular writing and thus embellished the Tēlagu, Tāmil and Kannarese literatures. Moreover, to the Jainas belongs the credit of having first started the elementary vernacular schools in these lands. Indeed, though the Jainas have long ceased to exist in great numbers in the Andhra, Tāmil and Kannātaka provinces, the salutation with which the children commenced their studies

1 Vijayānanda Suri, Tattvanirnayaprasāda, pp. 412-413.
2 A similar idea is expressed in Pūrṇakālaśa Guni's commentary on Hemachandra Suri’s Kamārapālacharita, also known as Prakṛta Dvyaśraya.
3 Manu, op. et loc. cit.
4 Rhys Davids, Psalms of Early Sisters, p. 57.
5 Das, op. cit., p. 44.
6 Hemachandra Suri's Commentary on Viṣeṣa, v. 7, p. 10.
7 Śilāṅka Sūri’s Commentary on Viṣeṣa, v. 7, p. 8.
8 Das, op. cit., p. 144.
9 Ibid.
in the Jaina schools, the varṇamālā, is still current in the form in which it had been first introduced by them.\footnote{1}

The duration of studies, as it appears from Maladhārin Hemacandra Sūri's commentary on Viśeṣa,\footnote{2} filled up the major part of the student's active life. During the first half which took up twelve precious years of his life, he was disciplined in what was termed grahaṇa-śikṣā, or memorising the sūtras without attempting to understand their meaning. This was followed by a further period of twelve years during which the meaning of what he had learnt by rote was explained to him, a period which was technically described as that of āsēvanā-śikṣā. An instance of the existence of a similar method in China may be gathered from a description of the Chinese primary schools in the early period when students were compelled to memorise texts beyond their power of comprehension that were explained to them only after the process of learning by heart had been completed and their minds had been stored up with an array of literary masterpieces.\footnote{3} It is no wonder that under this obviously faulty system of education it required seventeen years of unremitting study to become a Savant or Śrūta-kevalin. What was worse still, this study commenced only after the expiry of three years from the acceptance of the dīkṣā, i.e., at the age of ten years at the earliest, so that a Jaina scholar might be said to have completed his education only when he reached middle age. As for the laity, there was a prescribed limit to their acquisition of scriptural knowledge. The Cumi on Āvassava sutta distinctly says that the range of knowledge of a Śrāvaka extended from eight pravacanamātrtrs to the study of Chajjivaniya, the fourth ajjhayana of Dasaveyaliyasūṭta.\footnote{4}

On the completion of studies, academic honours in different grades such as the diplomas of Paṇḍita and Bahuśruta and the Doctorate were conferred on the successful candidates according to merit. No mention of the Master's Degree given to Buddhist students is made in Jaina literature. References to the Doctorate are, however, frequent; and it appears that for obtaining this degree the student had to have research work to his credit.

The examination invariably took the form of a debate in which the knowledge of the student was tested. Those students who came out successful from these contests were awarded titles, conveying an idea of the extent of their learning. A student who had mastered the entire scriptural lore, including the fourteen Pūrvas, was called Śrūtakevalin. If he had mastered only the fourteen Pūrvas he was given the title of Chaturdasapurvin and so on in a descending series down to the man who had learnt a single Pūrva only and received

\footnotetext{1}{Das, op. cit., p. 144.}
\footnotetext{2}{Maladhārin Hemacandra Sūri's Commentary on Viśeṣa, p. 9 (v. 7).}
\footnotetext{3}{Latourette, The Chinese, their History and Culture, p. 318.}
\footnotetext{4}{Kapadia, op. cit., p. 241.}
the title of Ekapūrvadharā. In like manner the mastery of the different Āṅgas was designated by means of titles, ekādaśāṅgrid being the title of a student who knew eleven Āṅgas and so on. Besides these, there were other titles such as Śrutaśthavīra, Śrutakalpita, Arthakalpita, Kalikālasa, Avadhīnanius, Manadparyayājānanius, Vādin, which had probably been in vogue almost from the beginning of Jainism.

The Jaina schools were closed only in abnormal times so that in comparison with the inmates of the Hindu and the Buddhist institutions Jaina scholars enjoyed fewer holidays. These were occasioned either by unusually oppressive weather or by some out-of-the-way occurrence such as pollution of the atmosphere by the slaughter of animals, by a hostile incursion or by a civil war. These holidays were called Asvadhyāya.

Finally, Jaina literature bears ample testimony to the fact that scholarship in ancient India received due encouragement from the state. Thus, we read in the Cunni on Avassaya Sutta, that one Āryarakṣita who had gone to Pātañliputra to prosecute his studies there, was welcomed by his king with great honours on his return to his native city after the completion of his studies.

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1 Kapadia, op. cit., p. 248.
2 A person who studies Thāna and Samavāya was designated as Srutasthvīra.
3 One who studies from Avasayya uppto Ayara was called Sūtakalpita.
4 Arthakalpita was the title given to one who studies from Avasayya uppto Suyagada.
5 Rajaśekhara, Prabandhakeśa, p. 50.
6 Cf. Pajjosaṅkappa, s. 138-142.
7 Kapadia, op. cit., p. 248.
8 Ibid.
9 Even after finishing of the studies the Jaina scholar had to be ready at a moment's notice for the Śāstra or literary affray (Altekar, op. cit., p. 158), a circumstance which would suggest that he had to keep himself always abreast of the knowledge of his subjects. These Śāstras were very often presided over by the king himself who acted as a judge and apportioned victory and defeat. At one such controversy between Mallavaḍīn and Buddhānanda king Śilādiya of Valabhi is said to have presided. Similarly, Belasri of Antaraṇjika gave the award in the discussion between Gupta Sūri and his pupil Rohagupta also known as Saduluka. It was also at one such contest that Malla, as we have already noted, won the title of Vādin. Other titles bestowed on these occasions included the appellations of Kevala, i.e., one who was conversant with the past, present and future, Sarvajña, trikāladārsin, avojña, etc. They invariably conveyed the idea of omniscience (cf. Kapadia, op. cit., p. 246).
CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Agriculture appears to have been the chief occupation of the people under the Maitraka kings. Nevertheless, there were in the country besides the agriculturists who formed the bulk of the population, rich classes of traders and industrialists. Surāśtra was ranked among the most important provinces. Its importance lay mainly in the circumstance that it possessed splendid harbours to which flocked people from all quarters of the globe with their merchandise.

As to the importance of Valabhi as a prosperous centre of trade and commerce, we have sufficient evidence. Hiuen Tsiang, while describing the kingdom, says: "The population is very dense, the establishments rich. There are some hundred houses (families) or so, who possess a hundred lakhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities," and proceeding further, "The soil is rich and fertile, and produces abundant harvests. Shrubs and trees are numerous and flourishing. Flowers and fruits are met with in great quantities. The soil is suitable in an especial manner for winter wheat. They mostly eat biscuits and (or, made of) parched corn flour." Literary evidence also bears testimony to this. For example, in the Dasakumāracharita of Daṇḍin we find this reference; "there is a city named Valabhi in Surāśtra. In it there is an owner of ships (Nāvikapati) named Gṛhagupta who can vie with Kubera in riches. He had a daughter named Ratnamati. A merchant-prince named Balabhadra from Madhumati (Mahuva) comes to Valabhi and marries her . . . etc." It is clear from this that even private individuals possessed ships of their own. The story, moreover, associates Keṭaka with Valabhi. A similar reference to a rich merchant of Valabhi is found in the Kathāsarita-sāgara. Here, the author Somadeva speaks of one Vidhyādhara, who was born in the family of a merchant of Valabhi named Vasudatta. This Vidhyādhara was ordered by his father to go to another country where he had some business interests. In the same work, again, a merchant named Devasena of Pāṭaliputra is shown as going to Valabhi on business and leaving his wife Kirtisenā to the tender mercies of his mother.

1 Beal, op. cit., II, p. 266.
2 Ibid., p. 260.
3 The book was written before A.D. 700—a work almost contemporaneous with the Maitraka dynasty.
4 Daṇḍin, Dasakumāracharita, p. 225.
5 Somadeva, Kathāsarita-sāgara, p. 85.

�टिरिभें भारतोऽसं मृत्तेष्वेष्यिष्यति कुसः।
मगवः वल्लिमायं विकाष्यस्य शुद्ध:॥

Taraṅga 22.

6 Ibid., taranga 29, p. 130.
We also know that a poor Mārwādi from Pāli called Kākurañka came to Valabhi to try his fortune there. Within a short period he prospered and, it is narrated by the bards, once dissatisfied with the king, he invited the Mlechchhas to destroy the city and assisted them with money.¹

Finally, it seems to be frequent in the ancient folk-lore of the country to associate the Suvarṇa-puruṣa and Kalpa-vrksa (a tree whose mysterious powers enabled one to attain one's desired object) with Valabhi.² Such legends tend to show that people could with little effort prosper in the city, and suggest the general natural wealth of the country.

Among the industries that flourished in the Maitraka dominions during the early days of the Valabhi kingdom, polishing of carnelians may easily be said to have ranked in the first place.³ Other industries that may be mentioned are spinning and weaving, masonry and carpentry, iron smelting, jewellery, brassware and potteries.⁴ The gold and silver vessels of the period were outstanding for their exquisite workmanship,⁵ while the arts of printing and painting, colouring and dyeing, especially tye-dyeing or 'bāndhani,' very popular in this part of the country,⁶ were also patronised. Other articles produced there included incense, mirrors and toilet requisites such as cosmetics, scents and collyrium.⁷

According to the Valabhi copper-plate inscriptions the people had a taste for ornamentation—a taste which is usually born of prosperity. Evidence of this is seen in the descriptions of the city itself, laid out, it is said, to resemble the human ear.⁸ This was a fortified place surrounded by a wall, as may easily be seen from the ruins. A moat ran round this wall which was pierced by a number of gates and at each of these gates there was a wooden bridge to cross the moat.⁹ A reference to the city's gates is also found in some Valabhi grants.¹⁰ There was ample open space outside the ramparts, where the army could be encamped and fairs held. Some places were even reserved for gardens¹¹ and orchards which answered to the need both of recreation and religion.

¹ Merutunga, Prabandha Chintāmanī, p. 127 ff; Jinarjaya%i, Puratana Prabandha, p. 37 ff; Sachhau, Alberuni's India, I, p. 192 ff.
² Ibid.
⁴ Watters, op. cit., I, p. 178; Beal, op. cit., I, p. 89.
⁵ Bāna, op. cit., p. 124 (text 142); Beal, op. cit., I, p. 77.
⁶ Motichandra, op. et loc. cit.
⁷ Ibid.
⁸ I owe this information to Prof. Nadvi of Ahmedabad.
⁹ Ibid.
References to the maritime activities of the people of Valabhi are given in the Buddhist work Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa. It says that the people of Valabhi reached Sūra by crossing the sea which probably refers to their trade ventures to, and regular commerce with, Assyria. This information of the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa is further corroborated by Daṇḍin who, in his Daṣakumāracharita, says that there lived in the city of Valabhi a ship’s captain (Nāvikapati), who seems to have been as rich as the god of wealth himself.

Thus we see that peace and prosperity of the country assisted in promoting inter-provincial as well as foreign trade, bringing in an era of great prosperity. An instance in point of the foreign trade of Valabhi is furnished by the fact recorded by McCrindle, that China silk formed part of the export trade of Barygazes (Broach) with Rome. It is probable that other commodities like rice, wheat, sugarcane, jute and precious stones may have also formed part of the same trade. Inland trade was mostly carried on by cart or beasts of burden.

The regulation of trade and industries, was probably managed by guilds. No information is yielded by the inscriptions about the origin of this guild system. Hence, we are not in a position to say whether it was an indigenous organisation or imported from elsewhere. The Valabhi copper-plate grants tell us that it prevailed there from the very beginning. We are also told that the army of Bhatārka, the founder of the dynasty, consisted of various elements including guilds (śreṇi). This along with the mention of corporate activity among traders and craftsmen in the ancient literature of northern India and their organisation into guilds with the śreṣṭhi at the head, seems to suggest that the system in its organised form was probably introduced into the Valabhi kingdom from the early days of the Maïtrakā rule, and gradually developed to perfection. The guilds thus served the purpose of protecting the interests of the indigenous trades and craftsmen against foreign competitors. And we know from the evidence cited above that there were many foreign traders at Valabhi.

The state interfered whenever a guild became involved in a dispute. Thus, "If a man," says Manu, "belonging to a corporation, inhabiting a village or a district, after swearing to an agreement, breaks it through avarice, the

1 Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 25.
2 Ibid.
5 Das, The Economic History of Ancient India.
6 Majumdar and Altekar, op. cit., p. 357.
8 (Jaruda pana Jātaka) Cowell, Jātakas, p. 182.
king shall banish him from his realm.”¹ Yājñavālka⁴ goes a step further and says that “if a man steals the property of a guild or any other corporation or breaks agreement... he shall be banished from the realm and his property confiscated.”²

The epigraphical records do not explain the constitution and working of these guilds. However, it is possible that the most important of their functions was the regulation of the economic life of the town. In directing the trade and industries, it is natural that the special interests of the members were always kept in view. It is evident from the state of affairs in the neighbouring countries that the guilds also served as local banks and treasury offices. We are told in the Lākṣmeshvar inscription of Vikramāditya of the Western Chāḷukya family of Baḷāmi that the guild of braziers was authorised to collect taxes from all classes of people at the time fixed by the king for payment.³ We also learn from the same records that the guilds were the centre of all activity in the city. They celebrated the feasts⁴ and other religious ceremonies and probably made provision for plays and pageants for the entertainment of the citizens.

In the Deccan, specially in Karnātaka,⁵ guilds may be classed under two broad divisions, the merchant guilds and the craft guilds. The merchants organised themselves after the commodities they sold. Thus, for instance, there was a guild of the fruit merchants,⁶ another of cloth merchants,⁷ and so on. Similarly also, the craftsmen may have organised their guilds according to their craft.

The guilds having spread themselves all over the country, rendered valuable service to the people by ministering to all their wants, economic, social and religious.

In this period, too, as in all other periods of ancient Indian history, prices of market commodities were controlled by the state and consequently the effects of their rise and fall were carefully observed. As Yājñavālka says, “Sale and purchase shall be conducted daily according to the value fixed by the king; and the surplus on the fixed value is to be recognised as the first value of the trade.”⁸ This state control of prices naturally affected the general standard of living in the country, which appears to have been very inexpensive.

¹ Manu, VIII, 219, (p. 293).
² Yājñavālka, II, 187-97; Brhaspati, XVII, 13, p. 348.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Moraes, The Kadamba Kula, p. 285.
⁷ Ibid.
⁸ Yājñavālka, II, 254 (p. 106).
This is corroborated by the Saṅchi stone inscription according to which "twelve dinaras (one dinara was worth approximately three-quarters of a tola of gold) are given, (as) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great Vihāra of Kakanadabota. With the interest that accrues from these dinaras, day by day, one Bhikshu, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed."¹ If we suppose that the people followed the recommendations made in the Smṛtis and endowments fetched interest at rates varying from twelve to twenty-four per cent. a year,² it would follow that the yearly expenses of feeding a person amounted to one dinara. The cost of living being thus very low, it is easy to believe, the cowries were used as media of exchange³ in the day-to-day transactions, while the system of barter was very popular, specially in the countryside.

The prosperity of Valabhi was in short manifested in its lofty structures, beautiful vihāras, gardens (upavana), libraries, bazaars, tanks of clear water,⁴ collections of the rarities from far and wide,⁵ and its organised system of trade and commerce. It is equally manifest in the description of the people who were "of gentle disposition and for the most part very intelligent, of refined speech and with a liberal education."⁶

¹ Fleet, op. cit., III, p. 262.
² According to Manu (VIII, 140-141) and Yājñavalkya, the normal rate of interest should be 15 per cent. per annum, or one-eightieth part of the actual capital per mensem, cf. Yājñavalkya, II, 37; Kautilya recommends the same rate of interest, cf. Arthaśāstra, p. 178.
³ Beal, op. cit., II, p. 207; Fa Hien, op. cit., p. 43.
⁴ Bhandarkar, op. cit., I, p. 45.
⁵ Watters, op. cit., II, p. 242.
⁶ Ibid. This description is given for the people of Mālavā, but people of Valabhi are said to be resembling them.
CHAPTER V

COINAGE

The foundation of the Gujarāt-Kāthiāwāḍ coinage was probably laid by the Greeks\(^1\) on which foundation, as Dr. Sankalia maintains, "the superstructure was built by the succeeding rulers."\(^2\) When we examine the early coins of this part of the country, we find that the indigenous coins of the pre-Greek period are very small silver coins weighing about five to seven grains and having as symbols a Swastika, a Trisūla and a Chakra. Another smaller variety of about four grains has also been found. These coins have a mis-shapen elephant on the obverse and something resembling a circle on the reverse.\(^3\) The Bactrian Greeks issued many varieties of silver and copper coins in Gujarāt, both round and square. The legend on these was in the Bactro-Pāli character.\(^4\) Unfortunately, none of them is dated.

The Kṣatrapas were the successors of the Greeks in Gujarāt. They discarded many of the Greek features and issued new varieties of copper-coins. The legend was in Kharoshti and Brāhmi and in some cases in both. The symbol on most of these coins was a crescent surmounting chaitya having a wavy line beneath. This symbol reveals the early Āndhra contact.\(^5\) On the obverse was the head of the king facing towards the right, with locks of hair. Above the figure there was the Greek version of the legend, which was preceded by the date in Brāhmi numerals. The form of the legend on the Kṣatrapa coins was "Rajñīo Kṣhtrapasa Viradāmapuhasa Rajña Mahākṣhtrapasa Rudrasena." These coins were about five to six times heavier than the Greek coins.\(^6\)

The only coin of Lucius Verus found in this part of the country\(^7\) may be a very slender argument in favour of Roman influence during the first century of the Christian era. Otherwise the connection between the Mediterranean ports and Broach is known to have been established about this time.\(^8\) The Romans, it is believed, used to pay for their goods in silver denarii and gold aureii\(^9\) and not in kind. The reason why very few of their coins have come down to us seems to be, asWarmington has suggested, that they were melted down by the Śakas, and hence became rare in Gujarāt and practically left no influence on the coinage of the country.\(^10\)

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3. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 17. These small local coins were found in Hālār Gōndal.
10. Warmington, *Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 290.
When the Guptas conquered Gujar̄āt, the Gujar̄āt currency was influenced by the Gangetic (or Magadhyadesi). The symbols on such Gupta coins are a Garuda, or a cluster of dots, a wavy line beneath a border of dots, and at times even a bull couchant to the right and altar with fire on it or a peacock. Thus the new features introduced by the Guptas in the coinage of Gujar̄āt consisted of all these symbols and a purely Sanskrit legend in the nominative. The practice of putting the date was retained, but the Gupta era was introduced. The legend on the Gupta coins was “Parama Bhāgavata Mahārājadhirāja Śrī Kumāragupta Mahendrādityah.” As regards the fabric and the weight of their coins, the Gupta kings followed their predecessors. Most of their coins were of silver or silver-coated copper fabric. They did not give a gold currency to Gujar̄āt, as they gave to other parts of their empire. Moreover, the fullness, variety and the artistic skill found on their coins elsewhere is not traced here. The two religious symbols, the Garuḍa and the Bull, were new to this country.

As regards the currency of the Traiḳūṭakas, we know that they issued round silver coins having a head on the obverse and the so-called chaitya on the reverse. The legend, however, was similar partly to that on the Gupta coins, and partly to that on the Kṣatrapa coins.

The Maitraka kings of Valabhī who were the political successors of the Guptas in Surāśṭra and the neighbouring country struck their own coins on the model of their predecessors. A series of silver and copper coins are attributed to them. Of these coins we generally come across two distinct types. The first, which was perhaps the earlier type, is 6" in diameter and has a weight of about 29 grains. A comparative study seems to show that the former were modelled on the Kṣatrapa coins, to which they bear a close resemblance, and that the latter are similar to the Gupta coins in shape, size as well as the type of their legend. The Valabhī coins like the later Gupta coins are found to be silver-coated and not pure silver. The head on the obverse resembles that of the Kṣatrapa kings and faces towards the right with vague traces of headdress, locks and moustaches. The Greek legend on the Kṣatrapa coins is altogether omitted. Nor is the date traceable on the obverse. The reverse carries a new device, a trident, an emblem of Śaivism to which on some coins, probably those of the later type, an axe (parṣu) is also added. The significance of this addition is not easy to explain. Mr. G. V. Acharya suggests this to be an emblem of Paraśurāma and consequently a symbol of Vaiṣṇavism, denoting the spread

1 Sankalia, op. cit., p. 188.
3 Such coins of the Maitraka kings are said to have been very plentiful in Gujar̄āt and Kāthiāwād, perhaps more plentiful than those of the western Kṣatrapas and the Guptas put together (cf. Newton, J. B. B. R. A. S., VII, p. 33).
4 The Valabhi coins were first brought to notice by Mr. James Prinsep in J. A. S. B., IV, (1835), p. 687, pl. XLIX, Nos. 6-9. Subsequently Thomas (J. R. A. S., XII, p. 63) and Newton (J. B. B. R. A. S., VII, p. 13) made further efforts to decipher them.
of that faith. However, the argument may be advanced in favour of Śaivism also, as Parśurāma happened to be a great devotee of Lord Śiva, as narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The device in either case is surrounded by a legend inscribed in debased characters of the Brāhmi alphabet. Several attempts¹ have been made to decipher the corrupt legend on these coins, but no definite result is arrived at. Anyhow, the word 'Bhaṭṭārka' in this legend is quite clearly read by all the scholars who have attempted to read these coins. That these coins were issued by the kings of Valabhi is also corroborated by evidence of their provenance, inasmuch as a large number of them have been found round about the site of Valabhi. Also the device of the trident is the emblem of Śaivism, the royal religion of the Valabhi kingdom.

As regards the legend itself we know that it is not fully deciphered as yet. However, different readings have been suggested by various scholars without any definite conclusion. According to Dr. Cunningham the legends read thus²:

(i) “Mahā-Rājīṇo Mahākshatrapa Paramasāmantā mahā Śrī Bhaṭṭārāsa,
(ii) Rājīṇo Mahā Kshatrapa Paramāḍitya Rājīṇo Sāmanta Mahā Śrī Bhaṭṭārāka.
(iii) Mahā Rājīṇo Mahā Kshatrapa Sāmanta mahēśa.

Paramāḍitya Dharasena.”

But, Mr. Acharya has read the legends on palæographic grounds as³:

“(i) Raṣṭra sara Kshatrapasa ku samara
Sara śrīh Bhaṭṭārakasa” and also as
“(ii) Rājīṇo Mahākāshatrapa . . . (Dhara) nu
Dhyata (ku) samara saha Śrī Sarvva Bhaṭṭārakasa.”

In an article, appearing in a recent number of the Journal of the Numismatic Society, Prof. Mirashi has tried to give a third reading of the legend as:

"Rājīṇo Mahākshatrapa—(pa) ramāḍitya-
bhakta—Mahāsāmantā—Śrī Sarvva-
Bhaṭṭārakasa,” i.e. (This is a coin) of the king,
Mahākshatrapa and Mahāsāmantā, the illustrious lord Sarva
who is a fervent devotee of the Sun.⁴

He attributes these coins to a king named Sarva who according to him flourished not long after the western Kṣatrapas and owed allegiance to the Guptas or to the Traikuṭakas.⁵ But since no ruler of this name is known to have ruled over this country his theory falls to the ground. On the other hand,

² Cunningham, A. S. I. R., IX, p. 28 ff.
⁴ Mirashi, “The Legend on Valabhi Coins,” J. N. S. of India, VI, pp. 16-17.
⁵ Ibid.
the very fact that a large number of such coins are found among the ruins of the old city of Valā bearing the Śaivite emblem together with the name of Bhaṭṭāraka makes us believe that they were issued by the Maitrakas themselves. Their debased nature makes difficult a proper reading of the legend in which, as Cunningham remarks, "at least one-half of the symbols are mere upright strokes with a knob at the top like a common pin."¹ These coins are no aid in determining any history.

On a minute examination, however, conducted both by Mr. H. G. Shastri and myself at the Prince of Wales Museum, where about 19 of such coins are available, the legend which is inscribed in two varieties of Brāhmi is found to read as follows:—

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The first two letters in both the types are undoubtedly 'Rājño' and resemble those on the coins of the western Kshatrapas.² The fifth and the sixth letters can also be clearly read as 'Ksha-tra.' This indicates that the next word should be Kṣa-tra-pa preceded by ma-hā. The fourth letter in the first type is distinctly 'ha' rather than 'ra'. The word should be then completed as 'Mahā-Kṣatrapasa', to be combined with 'Rājño'. Thus the seventh and the eighth letters are 'pa-sa.' Such a form of 'sa' resembling 'pra' is not quite uncommon in legends on coins. The seventh letter in the second type appears to consist of three vertical parallel strokes with one horizontal stroke below. The corresponding character in the first type may perhaps be read as 'pa-ra', but it has to be taken as 'pa' only, inasmuch as it is the only letter to be inserted between 'tra' and 'sa'. The eighth letter in the second type is followed by three vertical strokes, which are again followed by 'ku'. In the first variety there are found three distinct letters between 'sa' and 'ku'. This shows that the three vertical strokes, in fact, stand for three different letters. 'Ku'

¹ Cunningham, A. S. I. R., IX, p. 29.
² Cf. Rapson, Coins of the Andhras, p. 80.
in both types is followed by ‘sa’ and the letters from nine to thirteen appear to form the third word of the legend. Hence it can tentatively be read as ‘Bha-ṭā-ra-ka-sa’, as they mostly resemble the last five letters of the legend, which are distinctly read as such. The stroke below ‘ka’ cannot be explained.

The fourteenth letter is clearly read as ‘ma’ in the second type. The next letter may be ‘ra’ or ‘ha’. The sixteenth and the seventeenth letters are ‘sa-ra’. As the eighteenth letter represents ‘śṛi’ or ‘śṛiḥ’, it follows that the fourth word of the legend ends with the seventeenth letter. Thus the next word consists of four letters, the first of which is ‘ma’ and the last two ‘sa-ra’. Hence it may be read as ‘mahesar’, the Prakṛt form of ‘Maheśvara’. As this word does not end in ‘sa’, it has to be taken as compounded with the next word. As regards the eighteenth letter, the visarga following it bears no doubt, that the letter should be read as ‘Śṛi’. Grammatically, the visarga in the second variety should be omitted.

Now remains the last word ending in ‘sa’. The last three letters preceding ‘sa’ are ‘ṭara-ka’ or ‘ṭṭa-ra-ka’. This portion makes it quite clear that the letter preceding it must be ‘Bha’, the whole word standing for ‘Bhaṭṭārakasa’. The two strokes following ‘Śṛi’ in the first variety apparently resemble ‘ta-ra’, but can be constructed as ‘Bha’ connectively. The corresponding letter in the second type which though it is difficult to be deciphered may be read as ‘Sarvva’. If the following vertical stroke alone represents ‘Bha’ we can hardly make out anything out of this composite letter. It should be, however, noted that this letter has no parallel in the first variety, except the left-hand stroke of ‘Bha’. Then the complete legend will be read as:

‘Rājñī Mahākshatrapasa Bhāṭārakasa Mahēsara—
Śṛī Bhaṭṭārakasa’ or
‘Rājñī, Mahakshatrapasa Bhatarakasa Mahesara
Śṛī Sarvva1 Bhaṭṭārakasa.’

This reading would appear to be preferable to the preceding one. According to it the legend may be translated thus: “(This is the coin) of the illustrious the Śaivite, Bhaṭṭāraka, the king, the great Kshatrapa, the Lord, and the devotee of Mahēśvara.”

The legend on the Valabhi seal is “Śṛī Bhaṭakka” and the device is that of a Bull, the sacred vehicle of Śiva. Similarly, the trident on the coins represents another emblem of Śaivism. The legend contains the name of Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhi kingdom. It is very curious that the Valabhi coins do not give the year of issue.

1 The word Sarvva may be taken to mean Śaivite, and it stands as an adjective before Bhaṭṭārakasa.
As regards the titles of Bhaṭṭārka, the grants represent him as a Paramamaheśvara and Senāpati. On the seal, his name is preceded only by a 'Śri'. The legend on the coins as read above represents Bhaṭṭāraka as Rāja, Mahākshatrapa, Bhaṭṭāraka and Maheśvara. The first two titles were obviously inserted by imitation from the coinage of the Kṣatrapas. All the great Kṣatrapa kings bore the titles of Rājā and Mahākṣatrapa. The religious title Maheśvara is found in the copper-plate grants. As for the title Bhaṭṭāraka we know that this was the proper name of the founder of the Maitraka line, as well as the royal title of its kings—and at times even of religious heads. The later Maitraka kings bore the title of Paramabhaṭṭāraka in their grants. In the case of the early kings of Valabhi, such as Dhruvasena I, this very title meant their suzerainty. It may also be possible that Bhaṭṭāraka was originally the specific title of the founder and later on it came into use as the name of the hero.
CHAPTER VI
ADMINISTRATION

"An idea of the various aspects of the system of administration under the Maitraka kings in Surāṣṭra (i.e., about the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D.) may be obtained from some of their copper-plate grants that have come to light together with the records of their predecessors and successors. However, as rightly observed by Dr. Beni Prasad, all "the literary, epigraphical and numismatic evidence on Ancient Indian History does not suffice to give an idea of the details of the system of administration at a given epoch."¹

"According to the Hindus the ancient Indian state was made up of several elements with which we are familiar to-day.² They are the king, the amātya or the officials, the janapāda or rāṣṭrapāda or the territory, the dūrga or the fort, the kośa or the treasury, the judiciary, the danda (bala) or the army and the mitra or the allies.³ These elements were called by the technical name of the Prakṛtis of the rāja.⁴

The system of government was as a rule unitary, although under the Mauryas the structure of the state appears to have acquired what might be called a federal character in modern parlance.⁵ The Mauryan polity, indeed, might be classified as a loose confederation of several states established by the express consent of the constituent units.⁶ But beneath this semblance of a federation the Mauryan system retained the main characteristics of a unitary regime controlled from the centre.

The administrative machinery itself was reared about the seven prakṛtis of the rāja.⁷ The first and the most important of these, the Śvāmin or the king, is invariably shown in the records as the supreme lord enjoying unlimited powers in his dominions. But this may perhaps have been so only in theory.⁸ True, the sovereign enjoyed a great amount of power and was surrounded by the great pomp with which oriental sovereignty is proverbially associated.

2 Arthaśāstra, VI, I, p. 257; Yājñavalkya, I, 353; Manu, IX, 249; Visnuudharmasutra, III, 33; Gautama Sutra, quoted in Śarasvati Vilasa, p. 45; Śāntiparva, 64-69; Matsya Purāṇa, 225, 11, 239; Agni Pūrāṇa, 233, 12; Kane, op. cit., III, p. 17.
3 Yājñavalkya, I, 353; Manu, IX, 294; Kane, op. cit., III, pp. 6, 104; Arthaśāstra, VI, 1.
5 Dikshitar, The Mauryan Polity, p. 79.
6 Ibid.
7 Yājñavalkya, I, 353; Manu, IX, 294; Arthaśāstra, VI, 1.
8 A king who after assuring of protection does not stick to his words may be killed, cf. Manu, VII, 27-28.
He occupied the first place in the kingdom by exercising the supreme authority not only in political but in religious matters as well. Yet, as Dr. Balkrishna has aptly remarked, "the Hindu political science does not recognise an irresponsible, unerring, unpunishable and unjust king. It takes him to be endowed with divine functions rather than with divine rights." The tendency to despotic rule was checked by customs and conventions which made it necessary for the king to seek counsel from the ministers and the religious heads in the land. Further, he had to submit to the same moral code as any ordinary citizen, notwithstanding the attributes of his elevated office. Thus the trend of Hindu jurisprudence was towards the observance of duties rather than the exercise of rights. A king in ancient India seems to have been acutely conscious of his duties as laid down in the Rājadharmā. He always aimed at earning the epithet of Rājarśī or a saintly king. Hence, as Dr. Shamasastri has truly written, the religious, ethical and political restraints which morality placed on the rulers of ancient India were more successful in practice as compared with the constitutional checks of modern parliamentarianism. Neither in ancient nor in mediæval India was there any possibility of a despotic form of government.

Yājñavālkatya tells us that a ruler must conform to certain ideals of kingship. The ideal king is one who possesses unbounded energy in the discharge of duty; he is generous in his bounty and free in the recognition of services, obligations, and injuries received (Kṛtajñātā); he is austere in outlook, devoted to the elders and possesses the faculty correctly to divine the object of things. Above all, he must be intelligent and cultivate a love for truth. To this ideal the Maitraka rulers appear to have conformed successfully. Their inscriptions describe them throughout as scrupulously following the rules laid down in the Smṛtis. We are told, for instance, that king Dhruvasena II was "like Manu himself, resorted to by his subjects, whose minds were full of affection on account of his high virtues." A similar instance found in the same records is that of king Dronasimha who is also recorded as having "acted according to the duties prescribed for kings by Manu and other law-givers and was consequently a Dharmarāja who had made provision for education (vinaya) and systematic government (vyavasthā paddhati) of his people."

From a very early age the king performed religiously all legislative, executive, military and judicial functions in the empire. He made all laws

5 Ibid., p. 90.
in the country, and supervised their execution.\footnote{1} He was the commander-in-chief of all the armies and every military chief owed him obedience. Yājñāvalkya says that he had to “divest (himself) of anger and avarice and to administer justice along with learned Brāhmaṇas in conformity with the principles of legal science.\footnote{2} Although the Smṛtis transformed his office into a godhead,\footnote{3} his powers were not unrestricted, as we have shown above. The Manu Smṛti further tells us that he should be honest in acquisition of wealth and discerning in his munificence, and condemns unjust taxation as detrimental to the welfare of the state.\footnote{4} In the words of Yājñāvalkya again, “a king who multiplied his treasury by unfair (taxation) from his kingdom was in no time shorn of his prosperity and met with destruction along with his own people.”\footnote{5} Moreover, in accordance with the rules of ancient political economy, wealth must be well protected and well spent, and the surplus distributed among worthy persons. Thus a large portion of the royal wealth must be spent on donations to the Brāhmaṇas and on the protection and welfare of his subjects. For as Yājñāvalkya, again, says, “there was no higher religion for kings” than this. The material prosperity of the state was deemed to depend upon the measure of protection and happiness which the king could confer upon all the people in his dominions.

The king, being the sovereign lord of the state, and all land being vested in him as state property, could make gifts of it to whomsoever he desired.\footnote{6} He could issue orders to build temples and monasteries and to construct dams,\footnote{7} he could command officers and cultivators regarding grants,\footnote{8} and appoint and promote officers even though their offices were hereditary.\footnote{9} He could give shelter to foreigners who came to settle down in his lands, and impose, recover and remit taxes. This is also clear from the Maitraka copperplates which reveal how king Dharasena IV “intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes,”\footnote{10} while Dhruvasena III levied “according to proper custom taxes from his enemies’ lands.”\footnote{11}

In the work of government the king was assisted by his officials who were collectively known as the amāṭya.\footnote{12} The Smṛtis tell us that it was the king’s

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\textit{\footnote{1} Kane, \textit{op. cit.}, III, p. 104.} \\
\textit{\footnote{2} Yājñāvalkya, II, p. 631 (“Krōdha-lōbha-vivarjītah”, etc.).} \\
\textit{\footnote{3} Manu, VII, 12-13 (pp. 216-217); Yājñāvalkya, (I, 312-313) requires the king to consult his ministers, then a Brāhmaṇa and finally decide all the secular and religious matters himself; cf. Kane, \textit{op. cit.}, III, p. 110; Mitākṣara recommends the same policy; \textit{Narada}, XVIII, 20-23, p. 217.} \\
\textit{\footnote{4} Manu, VII, p. 237.} \\
\textit{\footnote{5} Yājñāvalkya, II, p. 631.} \\
\textit{\footnote{6} Ibid., III, p. 401.} \\
\textit{\footnote{7} Fleet, \textit{op. cit.}, III, pp. 45, 56, 64.} \\
\textit{\footnote{8} Ibid., pp. 52, 169, 199.} \\
\textit{\footnote{9} Ibid., pp. 35, 63.} \\
\textit{\footnote{10} Ibid., p. 183.} \\
\textit{\footnote{11} Ibid.} \\
\textit{\footnote{12} Arthaśāstra, X, I, p. 6.}}
\end{flushright}
duty to select these officials. In doing so, he was enjoined to have a particular eye for their ability, wisdom and the family from which they came. In the work of keeping accounts, specially, the king should "appoint devoted, clever and honest men in posts suited to them and energetic men in the work of collection and disbursement." These departmental heads should be conversant with the law and imbued with a love for truth and should bear themselves impartially towards friends and foes alike. This is borne out by Sōmeśvara who also tells us that they were selected by the king himself according to their merit. They should be well versed in the Nitiśāstras and possess all the qualities calculated to win the affection of the people for their sovereign and to lead him along the path of righteousness by their timely advice. They should be natives of the land (svadesajātah), possessed of full information about the country and the times, and their offices were hereditary. Such doubtless were the ministers that attended on the Maitraka rulers, as amply shown by their grants.

The list of officers mentioned in the records of the Maitrakas and their contemporaries is fairly large and comprehensive enough to give us an idea of their administrative machinery. They seem to have been listed in order of their importance in the official cadres. Among the most important are the rājaputra (the prince), the rājamātya (king's counsellor), the dūtaka (who, in most cases, was also the heir-apparent), the rājasthāniya, the mahāsandhivigrāhika (minister for war and peace), the mahākṣapātalika (the chief keeper of records), the mahāsāmanta (the chief feudatory), the mahasenāpati (the commander-in-chief), the divira or divirapati (an officer entrusted with working out of accounts), the viniyuktaka, the ayuktaka, the mahāpratihāra (the head chamberlain or door-keeper), the mahādanāḍasadhanīka (the chief

1 Yājñavalkya, II, 312; Arthasastra, p. 15.
2 Ibid., p. 53. Appointments of officers were made after Upadha, i.e., after testing their minds as regards dharma, artha, kāma and bhaya by various devices employed by secret agents; Nitiśāstra, 14, p. 111, and Kāmacchanda IV, 277, as quoted by Kane, op. cit., p. 105. And the Matsya Purāṇa (215, 2) prescribes "the king, while his head is still wet with water of coronation, if he wants to supervise his state, should choose his helpers, as in the latter the kingdom secures stability," also cf. Maṇu, VII, 55; Kane, op. cit., III, p. 104.
4 Sōmeśvara, Monasollosa, vv, 52-59, pp. 33-34.
5 The word dūtaka, which generally means a messenger, was an officer employed in connection with formal grants.
6 In the Valabhi grants, the designation divirapati is always used as a title for the official who drew up the Śāsanas, as prescribed by the Smṛtis (cf. Maṇu, VIII, 63-65).
7 The functions of the ayuktaka and those of the Viniyuktakas do not seem to be clear. However, the former designation is very ancient, reference to it has been found even in Pāṇini (cf. II, 3, 40). Very probably the word denotes a person appointed to discharge some special duty having religious or charitable purpose. The office of ayukta-puruṣa of the Allahabād pillar inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet, op. et loc. cit., line 26) may have some similarity to this office. As for Viniyuktaka we may presume from Kalidas' Rāghuvamśa (V, 29, p. 103) (Kośagrahe niyuktaka) that he was appointed to administer the treasury.
door-keeper or superintendent of villages),¹ the mahādaṇḍanāyaka (the chief judge whose duties also included those of the head police officer and magistrate), and the mahākumāramātiya (the chief counsellor to the prince or the heir-apparent). This hierarchy of officers was in all probability taken by the Maitrakas with very few modifications from their predecessors the Guptas.

These high officials fell into two groups. The ministers who were very often princes of the blood royal constituted by themselves the Pariṣad or the council of ministers. Their functions included a discussion of all state matters, legislation on civil and military affairs, planning of the foreign policy and administration of justice and finance.² In short, the council of ministers carried the burden of the country’s administration. On occasion, however, the king could veto their decisions if he saw fit to employ such a check on their action.³ The Pariṣad along with the royal princes and the feudatories of the empire constituted the sabha or the king’s council.⁴ The most important functions of this body of elders seems to have been the declaration of war and peace, the appointment of a successor to the throne and the summoning of periodic religious councils.⁵ Scarcely any evidence worth the name is forthcoming from the Maitraka records on these matters, and for an idea of the working of these bodies we have to fall back on the inscriptions and literary evidence left by other contemporary rulers.⁶ All the same, a conclusion would not be justified that the Maitrakas developed a system of their own.

Assisted by the council of ministers the king in those days carried on the administration of the empire. The purely executive functions of the government were discharged by a number of other officials who constituted the several departments of the state, such as the civil secretariat, the revenue department, the police department, the war-office, the judiciary and so forth.

In the provinces the work of administration was carried on by the respective officials at the head of territorial divisions assisted by other subordinate officials. These territorial sub-divisions which were administrative units under the Maitraka regime, as recorded in the inscriptions were the aharani,⁷ the sthali,⁸ the pathaka,⁹ the āhāra,¹⁰ the pēṭhā,¹¹ the viṣaya,¹² the paṭṭa,¹³

³ Ibid.
⁵ Mookerjee, op. et loc. cit.
⁶ Salotore, op. et loc. cit.
⁷ Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 45; E. I., III, p. 319.
⁸ Keilhorn, op. cit., XIV, p. 328.
⁹ Gadre, op. cit., III, p. 83.
¹⁰ Sukthankar, op. cit., XV, p. 257; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 22.
¹² Bühler, op. cit., VI, p. 9; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 45.
¹³ Sten Konow, op. cit., XI, p. 112.
the bhūmi, the bhūkti, the draṅga, the grāma, the padraka, and the palli. Of these the Viṣaya and the bhukti were synonymous as evident from the copper-plate records, which refer to Mālavaka in one case as a bhūkti and in another as a viṣaya, leaving no difficulty for identifying the two administrative units. The āhāra and the āhāraṇi were also synonymous as indicated by two different records of the Maitraka kings, of which one refers to Hastavapra as āhāraṇi, while the other designates it as āhāra only.

Then again in a grant of Dharasena II of the year 270 the expression Khetaka-āhāra-viṣaya shows that the term āhāra and viṣaya were sometimes, but not generally, used synonymously. As the Hastavapra-āhāra, the Kaundinya-pura viṣaya and the Vardhamāṇa bhūkti formed the main divisions of Surāśṭra the unit āhāra also seems to be synonymous with the viṣaya and the bhūkti. It is thus clear that even if the designations given to these units are not the same, very little difference existed between them. This difference may be explained from the Kāvi grant dated 486 of the Gurjara kings, where the viṣaya appears to have been taken as a larger administrative area than a rāstrā (or āhāra); for the Kāvi grant of Jayabhaṭṭa first mentions the Viṣayapati, then the rāstrapati and last of all the grāma-mahāttara. The paṭṭa and bhūmi are mentioned as sub-divisions of the viṣaya in two different records. The pathaka is represented as a sub-division of the āhāra, while the unit peṭha was included in a śṭhali. However, there is no direct reference to the exact position of the sthali in relation to the āhāra and the pathaka. For, like the pathaka in Surāśṭra the śṭhali is also mentioned without any reference to the next large division to which it belonged. But two different references to Jambuvānara in two grants imply that a sthali must have been included in a pathaka, for one refers to it as a sthali, while another mentions it simply

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1 Bühler, op. cit., VII, p. 179.
3 Gadre, op. cit., III, p. 87.
4 Acharya, op. cit.; J. B. B. R. A. S., (N. S.), I, p. 73.
5 Bühler, op. cit., VII, pp. 70-77.
6 Bühler, op. cit., XV, p. 339; Dr. Sankalia has taken the words prāvesya, bheda and bhūmi occurring in the Maitraka records as units of administration, but from the context they do not appear to be so, as we have explained elsewhere.
7 Hultzsch, op. cit., VIII, p. 188; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 68.
8 Gadre, op. et loc. cit.; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 69.
14 Acharya, op. cit., (N. S.) I, p. 20; Bühler, op. cit., VII, p. 73.
15 Fleet, op. cit., XV, p. 87.
as a village in the Kālapaka pathaka. The Draṅga was one of the smaller units, but it is not specified to which larger unit it belonged. However, the location of the villages of this draṅga suggests that these places must have been situated in the same sthali in which Lusā and Daṇḍāsa were situated. Thus it appears that the draṅga was a sub-division of the sthali. The grāma was the smallest unit. Inter-relations between these various units may be summed up as:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Āhāra (āhāraṇi)} & = & \text{Viṣaya} & = & \text{Bhūkti} \\
\text{Pethaka} & & \text{Pāttā} & & \text{Viṣaya} \\
\text{Sthali} & & \text{Bhūmi} & & \text{Visaya} \\
\text{Draṅga} & & \text{Grāma} & & \text{Grāma} \\
\text{Petha} & & \text{Grāma} & & \text{Grāma} \\
\text{Grāma} & & \text{Grāma} & & \text{Grāma}
\end{array}
\]

It is thus plain that the largest administrative sub-division in the system adopted by the Maitrakas was the Viṣaya. It was well known in the Gupta, Pāla and other systems of government and appears to have been the equivalent of a Pradēśa mentioned in the Erān inscription of Samudragupta, governed by a Viṣayapati. Under the Guptas, however, whose territories were far greater in extent and included the dominions of the Maitrakas as one of their provinces, the Viṣaya was not the largest administrative unit and ranked after rāṣṭra or deśa.

The Viṣayapati or the governor of the Viṣaya who represented the king, away in the capital of the empire, was, like him in all probability, the head of the provincial government. Possibly, he too, had his own advisory council. This was really the case under the Gupta system. For example, the inscription of Vetravarman, the governor of the Kotivarśa Viṣaya, states that he was assisted by an advisory board, consisting of the nagarśreṣṭhin or the guild president, the sārthavaha or the chief caravan leader, the prathama-kulika or the chief merchant and artisan, and the Jyeṣṭha-Kāyastha or the chief scribe. Such district officers had their headquarters (adhiṣṭhāna) in the principal town where they maintained their officers, courts and establishments of clerks according to their respective positions. The Dhanaṇḍaha copper-plate grant of Kumāragupta dated A.D. 432-33 clearly states that the intending purchasers

1 Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
2 Ibid., p. 169.
4 Ibid.
of land had to approach the householders (Kutumbinah) of officers in charge of the eight families (grámasthakuládhikarana) and the elders of the village (mahámättara) before any transaction could be completed.

The old designations continued to be applied, albeit to units very much diminished in size. For Surástra which together with a part of Gujarát and Málavá formed the bulk of the Maitraka dominions, was itself a little larger than a Višaya in the sense familiar to the Guptas. Under the Mauryas the whole Gujarát-Káthiáwád had gone under the designation of janapada and its divisions rásţra, višaya, pradesa, áhára and gráma, were somewhat similar to those mentioned in the Aśokan Inscriptions and the Arthaśástra of Kautilya. After the possessions of the Mauryas had come under Greek influence, it is believed to have become a Greek province on the model of the Seleucid eparchies, and that a full Satrapy was established there with a governor responsible only to the king. During the early rule of the Sákas Káthiáwád became an outlying province of their dominions. It continued to be so after their conquest of Gujarát when for a brief period this country became a part of the Ándhra empire. Its status seems to have improved considerably when the Ksatrapa king Rudradáman established himself in Málavá more or less as an independent ruler of western India. The entire province was then governed by his amátyas. During the domination of the Guptas its condition appears to have remained much the same, and it was from the latter that the Maitrakas took their administrative system.

When a sub-division was termed an áhára, the officer at its head was generally called rásţrapati, but sometimes he was also called an amátya. The former office corresponded to that of rásśrika of the Mauryas which was of hoary and unknown antiquity through the Scythian to the Maitraka times. But we find no mention made of a ' rásţra ' as an administrative unit under the Maitrakas although the rásţrapati is mentioned frequently enough. The reason for this would appear to be that the rásţra was just another name for the áhára as under the Scythians, as, for instance, the Sátaváhani rattha or rásţra is referred to as Sátaváhani-hára (áhára).

The word áhára, which till about the sixth century of the Christian era was used in Surástra in the form áhára, probably denoted a collectorate. It is a derivation from the root hr with ā, meaning to bring or to fetch. We have also a key to its meaning in the Mauryan term ' Samahárta ' (collector), which is derived from the same root as ' sam ' added to ' ā '.

1 Dikshitar, The Mauryan Polity, p. 70.
2 Arthaśástra, II, i, 46.
3 e.g., the Goverdha-áhára (present Násik) was governed by Amátya Viśnupáliita and Mamala-áhára by Amátya Gupta.
4 Raychaudhari, op. cit., p. 328.
5 Dikshitar, op. et loc. cit.
At the āhāra headquarters may have been stationed among others the following officers: the adhikāranika, the daṇḍapāśika and the sthānādhikarana. The daṇḍapāśika was a prominent officer in the Gupta period, while the other two are known to have existed before the advent of the Maitraka rule. The daṇḍapāśika was apparently a head police officer under whom chaurodharānikas, the vartamāpalas, the pratisārakas and other subordinate police officials exercised their functions. The Sthānādhikaranaśas, to all appearances, corresponded to the present-day thānādars, and were entrusted with magisterial as with police functions. Even now in Kāthiāwād and in the Rājputāna states these functions are found to have been conducted by the same officer. The adhikāranika was the chief judicial magistrate of the āhāra or rāṣṭra.

The pathakas, the next administrative divisions, were to be found not only in Surāśṭra but also in Ānarta. The grants of the Gurjara kings of Nándod and of the Rāṣṭrakūtas show that they were to be found in Lāṭadeśa as well. The village Patanaka, we are told, lay at a distance of about 38 miles from the Kālāpaka headquarters of the Pathaka. This appears to correspond with the distance between their modern representatives, Padana and Kālāwād, and if our surmise is correct, it follows that the pathaka extended over a large area of at least 400 square miles. In all, we find three pathakas recorded as being in Surāśṭra and seven in the Khetāka-āhāra. The term pathaka itself appears to have been uncommon in Surāśṭra, where we find the sthali mentioned more frequently. It was possibly first used to denote a region through which a big road (path) passed.

The bhūmi is mentioned only in one grant, which refers to the village Pangulapallika in the Ghṛṭālayabhūmi in the Śivabhāgapura viśaya. It is not mentioned in the records of any other dynasty. However, the Maitraka records refer to it as a main sub-division of the viśaya like the pathaka and possibly it may have been equivalent to the latter.

The Bāntia grant refers to a village in the Uttarapaṭṭa of the Kauṇḍinya-pura viśaya, and a second Maitraka grant mentions a village in the Daksīṇa paṭṭa of the Śivabhāgapura-violaya. Clearly, therefore, the paṭṭa was a main sub-division of the viśaya and was to be found in Surāśṭra and Ānarta as well. The Khoh grant of king Hastin shows that it was to be found also in

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2 Cf. Chapter on Geography, Part III.
3 Bühler, op. cit., VII, p. 76.
4 Cf. Chapter on Geography, Part III.
5 Kielhorn, op. et loc. cit.; Acharya, op. et loc. cit.
6 Diskalkar, op. cit., (N. S.) III, p. 184; E. I., XXI, p. 179.
7 Hultzsch, op. cit., I, p. 86.
central India. From the context of these grants it appears that a viṣaya was generally divided into northern and the southern Paṭṭas like a province in our own days. The word ‘paṭṭa’ itself seems to have a close affinity with ‘paṭṭi’ or ‘paṭṭika’ meaning ‘a strip of land’. Paṭṭa may also be connected with ‘paṭaka’ which usually means a splitter or divider. The term ‘paṭṭa’ may, therefore, be interpreted to mean a sub-division of a viṣaya. The names and designations of officers who were placed in charge of the pathaka, the bhūmi and the paṭṭa have not come down to us.

Coming now to the sthali, a comparative study of the grants shows that the term was used in Surāṣṭra only. In all, names of about eighteen sthalis are found to have been recorded in Surāṣṭradeśa. A Maitraka grant of v.s. 290 also makes it evident that the thalisi mentioned in it were not far distant from each other. The headquarters Bilvakhāta, Jhari and Vaṭapallikā lay at a distance of about forty miles from each other. Accordingly sthalisi included in this region may have covered an area of about 100 square miles. As the word sthali means a natural spot of ground, it must have been originally used to designate a natural division. It may probably have been under the direct jurisdiction of the sthānādhikāranika, as a ‘sthali’ and ‘sthāna’ bear a close similarity in sense and sound to each other.

[Next, we come to the draṅga or town. This was one of the more important smaller units of administration as suggested by the office of draṅgīka in whose charge it was placed. It also included a number of villages in its jurisdiction; for we see three grants of the Maitraka kings refer to villages belonging to the Maṇḍali-draṅga. Generally a draṅga was styled pura, puri, paṭṭana, nagara and so forth. The office of Draṅgīka is peculiar to the Maitraka regime and is not to be found either under the Guptas or the remoter predecessors of the Maitrakas.]

The term peṭha has so far been found occurring in one grant only, which refers to Vaṭāgrāma in the Dipānaka petta in the Bilvakhāta sthali. The conclusion is that a peṭha was large than a grāma but smaller than a sthali. Peṭhas were also to be found in central India as it is evident from the Khoh grant of king Saṃkṣobha and the Khoh grant of Sarvanātha. As suggested

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2 Cf. Chapter on Geography, Part IV.
5 Fleet, op. cit., XV, p. 187.
6 Fleet, op. cit., XX, No. 25.
7 Ibid., No. 31.
before, the word may "be traced to the root of Karnāṭaka influence, for even now in Kannada, the word pethe means a market town, a place of sale, or long street of shops in a town." ¹

The grāma or the village was the smallest administrative unit of the Maitrakas of Valabhi.² It provided an excellent example of local self-government in ancient India, which has persisted down to our own times in the village panchayat. It was known, however, even in the Vedic age.³ Kautūlya refers to several villages repeatedly as grāmas.⁴ Other names for this unit were grāmaka,⁵ palli,⁶ etc.

The grāma was in charge of the grāmakūta. We find this officer mentioned frequently in the grants.⁷ In the Gupta records he is known as the grāmika and in the Scythian records⁸ as the grāmanī,⁹ grāmika¹⁰ or grāmabhojaka.¹¹ A somewhat similar officer is also found in the Kalachuri records,¹² viz., the rāṣṭra-grāma-mahāttara-adhikārika. The contemporary Gurjara records also mention a grāmakūta, while in the later records of the western Chālukyas this officer is known as the grāmabhōgika. According to Dr. Kane, the word gavunda for a village headman in Canarese districts is derived from grāmakūta.¹³

The grāmakūta or head of the village was assisted by a mahāttara who was acknowledged by the people and the government as the most experienced and able person in that area. This is inferred from the Valabhī records where the mahāttara is mentioned along with the policemen and soldiers. The mahāttara is mentioned very late in the Maitraka list of officers. In the mediæval period he was regarded no more than a village elder.¹⁴ In the Maitraka records

² That the Palitāna grant of king Dhruvasena I refers to the Yjeṣṭhānaka grāma belonging to the Aksaśārakaprāvesya in the Hastavaprahāraṇī, shows that grāma was the smallest unit of administration, cf. E. I., XVII, pp. 107-8.
³ Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index and Names of Subjects, I, verse 5, p. 96.
⁴ Arthaśāstra, III, Ch. I, p. 46.
⁵ Fleet, op. cit., III, (22), p. 103.
⁷ Paithinasi quoted by Aparārka (p. 239) states that "food of a grāmakūta could not be partaken by a Brāhmaṇa," cf. Kane, op. cit., III, p. 154.
¹⁰ Ibid., p. 10.
¹¹ Ibid., p. 139.
¹² Cf. Sānkală, op. cit., p. 197.
¹³ Kane, op. cit., III, p. 154.
¹⁴ Whether such a person as the mahāttara was one of the members of the pañca-manḍali, the assembly of five persons, it is not possible to infer. The assembly of five persons must have existed as mentioned by the Sānchi stone-inscription of Chandragupta (Fleet, op. cit., p. 32) and Bana's Harṣacharita, p. 225.
also the designation seems to have been used to denote probably the senior\nmost\nman in a village, who was acknowledged, both by the people and the govern\nment, as the most experienced and able person in the place. The Gupta records\ntoo make mention of an official bearing the same designation. Besides him, it is possible that there was an assembly called sabhā to assist in the work of\nadministration. The duties of this assembly were to look after the sale and\npurchase of land, the control of the local taxation, the organisation of fairs, etc. Members of the sabhā also acted as trustees of the village property. This\nposition of trust was due to the fact that whenever a grant was made, the donor\entrusted it to these men.

Then there were the Chauroddhāranika\nwho corresponded to our own\npolice officer and whose duty was to apprehend thieves; while the Chāṭa\nand the Bhaṭa possibly protected the particular area entrusted to them by in\nvestigation of crime. The āgrahāra or the officer in charge of the āgrahāra,\nthough not found in the Maitraka records, is mentioned by Bāna.\nThe village had also their record-keeper, the dhruva or grāmakṣapaṭalika.\nAccording to Fleet this was the same as the aksapaṭalikā, aṣapaṭalādhikṛta\nwhose literal meaning is an officer appointed to the duty of depositing legal\ndocuments.\n
Another village official who probably assisted the Grāmakūṭa in his\nduties was the Vartamapāla who was the road watchman. This officer was\noften mounted on horseback and was stationed in thanas or small roadside\nsheds.\nThe pratisāraka was a guard and his duties comprised watching the fields\nand villages at night time.\nThe office of Chāṭa seems to have been a peculiar one. Yājñavālkiya speaks\nof him in the company of thieves, etc., "as men who are likely to be injurious\nto the public." Again, in the Mṛchchhakāṭika a friend of the hero says that\neven dogs won't go to a place where the Chāṭas, courtesans, etc., reside." Dr.\nBhadkhamkar has suggested that the similarity in sound of the word

2 Bāna, op. cit., p. 208.
3 Ibid., p. 198.
5 Ibid.
7 Ibid. This officer perhaps connotes a secret police. Literally it means "one who goes\nagain."
8 Yājñavālkiya, I, 413.
Chāta with chatu 'flattery' is so great that one is tempted to translate it as 'a flatterer.' Hence, we may presume that the Chāta may have been a sort of policeman whose duty was to guard against flatterers.

But beyond a cursory knowledge that is confined to these facts, it is difficult for us to reconstruct a complete picture of village under the Maitrakas owing to lack of details. Their records, which are our main inspiration, are almost bare, being merely gift deeds.

The Manu Smṛti tells us that it is the duty of the king 'to appoint a lord over (each) village, as well as lords of ten villages, lords of twenty, lords of a hundred and lords of a thousand villages.' The lords of single villages were expected to report to the lords of ten villages, their immediate superiors, the crimes committed in their respective villages, and in their turn, these heads of ten villages were expected to report to their superiors, the heads of twenty. Each of the officials was to administer the region under him with the assistance of his immediate superior, and at the head of the entire structure was the king. Each received a salary according to his status. If he was in charge of a group of ten he could get one kula, that is, as much land as would suffice to maintain one family; if he was at the head of a group of twenty he could get five times as much; while the superintendent of a group of hundred, and of a group of a thousand villages could get the entire revenue of a village and a town respectively, as remuneration. Further, each town had its own superintendent of affairs. His work was to visit by turns all the officials under him, and to superintend their work in the districts through his agents. The Maitraka system in all probability conformed to this model.

Several scholars have referred to some more administrative units of the Valabhid kings such as the prāvesya, the prāpa, the bheda and the maṇḍali. Dr. Sukthankar derives the words pravesya and prāpiya from prāvesa and prāpa respectively, and he tries to interpret them as territorial divisions. But Dr. Sten Konow has taken both these words as synonymous and interpreted them in the ordinary sense as meaning that "which is entered from,"

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1 Bhadkhambkar, op. cit., XI, pp. 175-177. The offices of Chāta and bhāta were considered to be one, for a long time, but Dr. Bhadkhambkar has now rightly separated them and has mentioned their respective duties.
2 Manu, p. 234.
3 Ibid., VII, 116-117.
4 Ibid., p. 235.
5 Ibid., p. 135.
6 The term maṇḍali is traced to the expression 'sopokedraka-maṇḍalyām' in a Maitraka grant (Diskalkar, op. cit., N. S. I, p. 17 ff.); however, it is found to be a wrong reading for the expression 'sodakena kamanḍałuna' which also occurs in another grant of the same dynasty (Bühler, op. cit., VII, p. 67 ff.).
i.e., which borders on.\(^1\) Another grant refers to Pippalaruñkhari as lying on
the western border of Anumañji,\(^2\) while another still refers to Samipadravātaka\(^3\)
as Pippalarukhari-prāvesya and to pippalaruñkhari as Anumañji-prāvesya.
From this it is clear that the term prāvesya does not denote an administrative
unit, but has got the same sense as implied in the word ‘ante’, i.e., ‘on the
border of.’ Similarly, the word ‘ prapiya ’ which is generally construed with
‘ sthali ’ must be interpreted to convey the ordinary sense ‘ to be arrived at
from’, i.e., ‘lying in the vicinity of’, as the roots ‘ viś ’ with ‘ pra ’ and ‘ ap’
with ‘ pra ’ have only a very minute difference in their meanings. Hence both
the words must be taken to mean ‘ on the border of ’, just as samipa,\(^4\) and
pratyāśanna,\(^5\) which mean, ‘ in the vicinity of ’. Further, the word ‘ bheda ’
occurs only in one grant which refers to a place named Bhaṭārkabheda as
marking the southern boundary of a plot of land.\(^6\) Its exact meaning cannot
be made out from the context which, however, makes it clear that the word
denotes some small spot and not a territorial division. Thus it may be concluded
that the Valabhi kingdom comprised the units mentioned above to which may
be added rāṣṭra and deśa which were used to designate the entire province of
Surāṣṭra.

A word may now be said about the fiscal administration of the Maitrakas.
It is well known that in ancient times when religion held complete sway over
the minds of men, every item of taxation which the king might levy was fixed
by divine dispensation as revealed through the Smṛtis. The copper-plate grants
of the Maitraka kings furnish us with several interesting details of their fiscal
administration. As most of these grants record gifts of land, we are in a position
to study the various proprietary rights allowed to the donees, the various
systems of land tenure in vogue at the time, and the amount of revenue assessed
on these lands. Agriculture being the main avocation of the people, revenue
from land holdings must have been one of the most important sources of
income to the state. The chief of these land taxes as we find them mentioned
in the Valabhi records were the udraṅga,\(^7\) the uparikara,\(^8\) the dhānaya,\(^9\) the
bhōga,\(^10\) the bhāga,\(^11\) the hiraṅya,\(^12\) and the viṣṭi (forced labour).\(^13\)

\(^1\) Sten Konow, op. cit., XI, p. 110 ff.
\(^2\) Bühler, op. cit., IV, p. 105.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 174; Barnett, op. cit., XIII, p. 234.
\(^4\) Acharya, op. cit. (N. S.), I, p. 67; Mandlik, op. cit., XI, p. 335 ff.
\(^5\) Gadre, op. cit., III, p. 82; Acharya, op. cit., p. 135.
\(^6\) Fleet, op. cit., XV, p. 187.
\(^7\) Ibid., III, p. 166 ff.
\(^8\) Ibid.
\(^9\) Ibid.
\(^10\) Ibid.
\(^11\) Ibid.
\(^12\) Ibid.
\(^13\) Ibid., p. 170.
The terms 'udraṅga' and 'uparikara' are explained in various ways. Right to collections from both these taxes were assigned to the recipients of the religious gifts. The term udraṅga has been equated by Dr. Bühler to the Marāṭhi word udhar (in the gross). 1 This suggestion is supported by the Sāsvatakōśa in which the words udraṅga and udhar are mentioned as being equivalents. 2 Udranga may then be taken to denote the revenue imposed on the permanent tenants, who had to pay the total revenue of the village in gross. 3 It must probably have been levied on those who were granted land with a permanent proprietary right to it. The 'uparika' tax, on the other hand, seems to have been levied on cultivators who had no proprietary rights in the soil, as may be gathered from Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the term. 4 It is also interpreted to mean a tax (kara) imposed on those who are above the right of proprietorship. 5 Evidently it was a tax contrary to the udraṅga. Thus the land tax paid by the proprietors was known as udraṅga, while that paid by the tenants of the soil was known as uparikara.

The tax levied on the produce of the land, whether paid by the proprietors or by the tenants, was commonly known as the bhāga. The word denotes the fixed royal share of land produce and generally this share was one-sixth of the total. 6 The Maitraka rulers who were described as having been true followers of the Smṛtis 7 must have been very careful regarding the collection of this tax, for the Manusmṛti lays down one-sixth of the total as the maximum that may be collected, while one-eighth and even one-twelfth are recommended to the king. 8 We know from the Maitraka records that king Dharasena IV claims to have reduced the usual rate of tenure, 9 but unfortunately, the inscriptions do not give us any figures. The bhāga was a due (ādeya), and it was taken either in cash or kind. The term dhānyādeya (literally meaning corn) found in the inscriptions, denotes dues paid in kind, while hiraṇyādeya (meaning gold) denotes dues paid in cash. Bhōga 10 seems to have been a petty tax payable in form of daily presents in kind, such as fruits, flowers, vegetables, grass, etc. 11 An officer called the Bhūgadhārāṇika or bōgika was in charge of the

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1 Bühler, op. cit., XII, p. 189.
2 Sāsvatakōśa, XXIX, p. 260.
4 Fleet, op. cit., p. 96, n. 6.
5 SAletore, op. cit., p. 348.
6 Dikshitar, Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 163.
7 Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
8 Manu, VII, 130; the Arthaśāstra advocates 25 per cent. of the total revenue as a bhāga to be collected by the state, cf. V, Ch. 2.
9 Ibid.
10 Fleet, (op. cit., III, p. 254, n. 1) has this term as an ordinary word meaning enjoyment (of tax), but as given in the Manu Smṛti and the Arthaśāstra, it must have been used as a fiscal term. Cf. Manu, VII, 5; Arthaśāstra, II, VI, p. 58.
11 Cf. Nārāyaṇa's Commentary on Manu Smṛti, VIII, 5.
collection of this tax. We may, therefore, conclude that the term bhāga and bhoga covered all kinds of land revenue.

Another tax called the viṣṭi or forced labour has been referred to in most of the records of the period. It was the tax for the poor. For the Hindu polity had laid down the proposition that every citizen ought to pay something by way of taxation to the state in return for the protection that he gets, however poor he may be. Taxation whether in cash or kind was both impractical and cruel in case of the poor class. It was, therefore, that the state was allowed to levy a tax in form of labour from such people like artisans, labourers, etc., who were made to work for one or two days in a month for the state. It was not possible for the state to collect this tax in central treasury, and therefore it was realised partly during the tour of the king and the officers of the central government, and partly through routine work like cleaning the villages, and government granary.¹

Another important source of state revenue was the sulka or the tolls. The existence of this tax is inferred from the name of the officer śulkika who must have been in charge of its collection.² The rate at which these tolls were collected is not mentioned in any of the records. The Maitraka records allude to two more similar taxes, viz., the bhūta and vāṭa. Although the significance of these terms cannot be precisely explained, it is possible that the term bhūta meant ‘what was produced in the land’,³ and that ‘vāṭa’ denoted ‘what was procured from outside’.⁴ Further, we find the term ‘prātyaya’ in the expression ‘sabhūta-vāṭa-pratyaṇya’⁵ which may be explained on the analogy of ‘ādeya’ found in the expression ‘sa-dhānya-hiraṇya-dēya’⁶ to mean ‘dues’. The vāṭa possibly consisted of octroi duties levied on articles imported into the country. But it is not clear on what products the bhūta tax was levied. It does not appear to have been mentioned as a tax on the produce of the soil, which came under the bhāga. Probably it was a tax levied on all products other than those yielded from the soil. The vartam, of which the vartamānapāla of the Valabhī records,⁷ seems to have been in charge was another tax of a similar nature. The term ‘vartam’ itself is found in the Arthaśāstra where it is referred to as a kind of road cess.⁸

Lastly, we have one more source of state revenue, as gathered from the records, known as the daṇḍa or the fine.⁹ The officer Dasaparāradhika was

¹ Kane, op. et loc. cit.
² Fleet, op. cit., p. 52; Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
³ Altekar, Rāṣṭrakūtās and their Times, p. 229.
⁴ The term ‘va’ means to invite, to procure, etc.
⁵ Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 93.
⁶ Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 93.
⁷ Ibid.
⁸ Arthaśāstra, II, 21.
⁹ Kane, op. cit., II, pp. 837-88.
appointed to collect the fines imposed on persons found guilty of any of the ten offences. These ten offences, as Dr. Fleet has suggested, were probably the ten sins named in the Dharmaśāstras. Of these (i) there are three of the body, hiṃsa, steya and the paradāropasevā, (ii) four are of speech, anṛta, paruṣa, asambaddha-prelpa, (iii) and the last three according to the same work, are of the mind, paradravyēṣu-abhidāna, anīṣṭa-chintana and vitathabhimves.

There might, of course, have been other miscellaneous sources of income for the state such as the spoils of war, emergency taxation, tributes from feudatories and so on. For, though they are not mentioned anywhere in the records of the Maitraka kings, they may easily be inferred from eulogies of the kings. There are also the names of a few fiscal officials mentioned in the grants who must have been concerned in such additional items of taxation. There was the anutapannadānasāṃgrahaka who was in charge of collecting from farmers the long due share of the state, i.e., the collection of arrears of the state revenue. There was the dhrīva or dhruvadhikarpa whose business was to superintend the collection of the grain produce and to make sure that the collectors do not collect more than the proper share of the state.

The land revenue must have implied an elaborate system of land tenure with precise measurements of plots over which the state levied the tax. We know that the grants give the exact extent of the plots of land with their four boundaries (aghatanani) specifically mentioned. For instance, in the Valā grant of Dhruvasena II a plot of land is described as “the (third) plot lies on the north boundary and measures ten pādavartas of land; to its east (lies) the field tilled by Ādityadatta; to the south, the field tilled by Saṅgamaḍinna, to the west, the field tilled by Dāsaka, and to the north the field tilled by Dāsaka.” Thus the precise description of the plot or well was given, as in our own times. In every case a plot of land must have been described in the records by their limits bounded by another plot of land, a well, a road, a border of a particular village, a river, a pond, a tree and so forth, thus showing that the Valabhi kingdom possessed an elaborate and efficient system of land survey and measurement. In the measurement of land some kind of unit must have been used. The standard unit of the Maitrakas as seen from their records, was the pādavarta. As to the extent of this unit the copper-plate grants tell us that a plot of land given in gift measured from ten to seven hundred

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1 The Daṇḍa must have included Rajasevakānam Vasatidāṇḍa, Prayanaṇḍa, chatubhaṣṭa praśeva daṇḍa, etc. Kane, op. et loc. cit.
2 Ibid.
3 Kiellhorn, op. et loc. cit.; Diskalkar, op. et loc. cit.
4 Acharya, op. cit., No. 93; Bühler, op. cit., XI, p. 335.
5 Acharya, op. cit. (N. S.), I, p. 72; Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
pādāvartas; whereas a vāpi or a step-well measured from twelve to fifty-five pādāvartas. This shows that the pādāvarta cannot be as small a unit as a square foot, as explained in Monier Williams’ dictionary. For, according to this author, a plot of ten pādāvartas measures only about ten square feet in all, which would be too small an area to be recorded as a gift on a copper-plate grant. On the other hand, Dr. Fleet’s suggestion seems to be nearer the mark. According to him, a plot of one hundred pādāvartas may measure a hundred feet each way, in other words, ten thousand square feet.

The pādāvarta seems to have been the standard unit of measurement. However, there were others in different parts of the country. One such unit was the bhakti. It must have been the standard in Mālavā; for we find among the Majṭraka records two known grants of land in Mālavā measured in bhaktis. In the absence of proper evidence the extent of a bhakti cannot be ascertained. It seems, however, that it may not have been much larger or smaller than a square foot. We next find a unit known as vrihi-pitakas (baskets of vrihi). This unit was probably used for measuring land in the Kheta district. From the term Vrihi-pitaka it is evident that one unit represented a plot of land on which one standard sized basketful of corn could be sown. The plots recorded to have been gifted measured one, two or even four vrihi-pitakas. That the vrihi-pitaka was in use in Kheta is further indicated by the expression ‘Kheta-kāmānena’. In the Bharukachcha district also the unit of land measurement was vrihi-pitaka, which, however, was probably not the same as the Kheta standard; but as we find no specific reference given of the Bharukachcha vrihi-pitaka, it must have been of the general standard in use elsewhere among the neighbouring districts. Thus the exact extent of one vrihi-pitaka plot of land cannot be made out from the extant evidence.

1 Acharya, op. et loc. cit.; Sukthankar, op. cit., XV, p. 256.
2 Ibid.
3 Bhandarkar, P. R. A. S. W. C., 1915-16, p. 55; Diskalkar, op. cit. (N. S.), I, p. 59.
5 Gadre, op. et loc. cit.
6 Sukthankar, op. et loc. cit.; Acharya, op. et loc. cit.
7 Bühler, op. et loc. cit.
CHAPTER VII

EPIGRAPHY

The chief epigraphical sources for the history of the Maitrakas of Valabhi are their copper-plate grants. These grants are records of their donations made to the Brahmanas and to the Vihāras. The donations usually consist of villages, fields, vāpis, kūpas and vāpikas. In one case, however, it is a rūpaka¹ or a silver-coin to be given daily from the state treasury, a gift which may be termed a nibandha.²

The grants are inscribed on the copper-plates, as prescribed by the Dharmaśāstras.³ For Yājñavālka recommends that a gift should be recorded "on a piece of cloth, or a copper-plate⁴ marked on the top with his (donor’s) seal; having written (the names of) his own ancestors, as well as of himself, the lord of the earth should cause to be recorded a fixed edict containing the extent of the corroy and the description of the gift (of land with its) boundary, bearing his autograph and date."⁵

In his celebrated commentary on Yājñavālka’s institutes called the Mitakṣara, Vijnāneśvara explains these points and further adds that the piece of cloth should be of cotton and if copper be preferred copper-plates or tablets of copper should be utilized for the purpose. The ancestors of the donor, at least his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, should be mentioned along with their good qualities such as bravery and learning. Similarly, the donor’s own virtues and achievements should be described. The name of the donee should be mentioned along with extent of the corroy and the description of the boundary of the gift. In case of a gift of a field the area of the same should also be given. The grant should bear the autograph of the sovereign to show that it is approved by him. It should be dated and the royal seal should be marked on the top of the grant itself. The significance of this process was that the future kings on seeing the document should protect and respect (the holder of) the gift. This royal edict, according to the same work, is to be written by the officer in charge of peace and war, i.e., Saṅdhī-vigraha-kāri.⁶

Aparārka, another commentator on Yājñavālka, adds to the above details, a number of imprecatory verses from Bṛhaspati and Vyāsa.⁷ According

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¹ Jackson, op. cit., p. 8; Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 67.
² Kane, op. cit., II, p. 860.
³ Ibid.
⁴ The fact that copper was selected of all the metals was possibly due to its durability. It has also been recommended by the Skanda Purāṇa, III, 34, 67.
⁵ Yājñavālka, I, 319-320, p. 401.
⁶ Mitakṣara on Yājñavālka Smṛti, I, pp. 401-2.
⁷ About 43 verses are quoted by Dr. Kane (cf. History of Dharmaśāstra, II, pp. 1271-1277) from the original works like the Purāṇas, Smṛtis and others.
to him, the edict should be addressed (after mentioning the place, country, town and the ancestors of the donor), to all Brāhmaṇas and other gentry and officials, the kinsmen of the donor, as well as Kāyasthas, ambassadors, physicians, Mahātrās, Medas down to Chaṇḍālas.¹

A further improvement on the model is found in Bṛhaspati, who adds to the above prescriptions the formula that the grant should last till "the Sun and Moon endure," and that it was not to be resumed or taken back and was to be made free from all future taxes to heirs of the grantee from generation to generation, and that it should state that heaven is to be the reward of the donor for his benefaction, and that the result of the resumption of the gift would be hell for 60,000 years to the resumer.²

The technical term used for the copper-plate grants was 'tāmra-śāsana' or 'Dāna-patra',³ terms which are actually used in the Maitrakā records. Thus the former indicates the material used for inscribing a grant, while the latter indicates that it is a plate of grant. With the single exception of the earliest known grant of the Valabhi kings which consists of only one plate,⁴ all the other Valabhi grants are written on two plates linked by two rings. These plates are incised on one side only. The edges of these plates are slightly raised in the form of a rim so that the incised side may not be damaged by contact with the other plate.

Of the two rings which are used to fasten the plates, one is plain and circular in shape with its ends either riveted or joined into a knot. It is about 1½ inches in diameter and the wire used for the ring measures ½ inch to ¾ inch in thickness. It is approximately 5 inches in length. The other ring consists of a longer piece and it forms an elliptical loop. The wire used for this ring is of the same thickness as the plain ring; but it is about 8 inches in length. The size of the elliptical loops varies from 2 inches to 2½ inches in height. Its ends are joined to the socket of the royal seal which is generally made of bronze. This metal was preferred to copper probably because on it a better effect of the seal could be discerned. The seal has the device of a seated bull with the legend "Śri Bhaṭṭākah" inscribed below it. The total weight of the two rings together with the seal varied from 7½ ozs. to 12½ ozs. in the earlier grants which increased upto 1½ lbs. in the later ones.⁵

¹ Aparārka, pp. 579-580 as quoted by the translator of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, pp. 402-403; Kane, op. cit., II, p. 861.
² Ibid.
³ Acharya, op. cit., I, Nos. 16, 58.
⁴ Ibid., No. 16; Barnett, op. cit. In this grant the usual passage of the genealogy of the donor is not recorded.
⁵ Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 73; Bühler, op. cit., XV, p. 335.
The number of lines written on the copper-plates varies from 24 to 78 and the size of the letters also differs from time to time. The average size of a letter is about \( \frac{1}{4} \) inch.

A marked variation may be noted in the size of the plates of these grants issued not only by different rulers, but also by one and the same ruler. This variation was the result of description (large in case of a field than that of a village) of the property donated. The earlier rulers utilised smaller plates than the later to incise the rather lengthy description of many more predecessors. The different sizes that have come down to us vary from \( 10 \times 6 \) inches to about \( 18 \times 12 \) inches. In the case of earlier records, i.e., from that of the Valabhi Saṁvat 200 to 300, the average size is \( 12 \times 8 \) inches. For the next forty years, i.e., from Valabhi Saṁvat 300 onwards, it is about \( 13 \times 10 \) inches. After that period larger plates of about \( 16 \times 12 \) inches are used by the rulers down to the last known record. The weight of these plates differs according to their size and generally it is found between two to four pounds.

The inscription itself in these Valabhi records begins with the auspicious formula 'Svasti',\(^1\) which is preceded by the symbol 'ōm' in some cases.\(^2\) Then the name of the place of issue is recorded with the name of the dynasty of the donor, viz., the Maitraka. Next comes the names of kings (donor's ancestors) with the description of their virtues and achievements. It begins with the founder Bhaṭārka and goes down to the donor himself. In later grants, however, i.e., from that of the eighth king Śilāditya I, to be precise, the genealogy is curtailed by dropping the four sons of the founder Bhaṭārka, and the next ruler Guhasena is mentioned immediately after Bhaṭārka. This omission was presumably made to save space on the copper-plates. These later kings who had to include the descriptions of many more predecessors naturally used larger plates, and the size of the letters was comparatively smaller than that of the earlier grants.

The body of the grant contains the announcement to the officers concerned,\(^3\) that the main object of the grant is to secure religious merit for the donor and his ancestors. The gift is then described,\(^4\) and the right of

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1 Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, Nos. 71, 77.
3 In the earlier grants of the Maitrakas down to the period of king Śilāditya I designations of the officers concerned such as ayuktaka, vinayuktaka, draṅgika, mahātara, bhōgika, choroddhāraṇika, rajāṭhāyaṇa, kumāra-amāṇya, chāta, bhata and others are recorded; while in the grants from the time of king Śilāditya I onward these officers are mentioned in a general way such as ‘Sarvaneva Samagnapayastasyaś’ (cf. Acharya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 73, line 40; 80, line 46), i.e., Be it known to you all. This change also was presumably made to save space in the plates.
4 In case of gifts of villages, names of the same are given along with the territorial division to which they belonged, while fields are expressly recorded with their area and boundaries.
taxation, etc., are reserved along with the exemption from duties.¹ A description of the donee follows and in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, the details, such as his place of residence, gōtra, the vedic branch and so forth, are given along with his full name. The purpose of the grant, for example, performing Yajñas, etc., is recorded thereafter. The grant is proclaimed with libation of water and according to the rules of the Bhūmichchhidra. After this the type of gift (whether it is a dharmādeya, devādeya or brahmādeya) is declared.

Then comes the appeal of the king to his successors and officers to the effect that they should preserve and maintain the donee’s rights as specified in the record till the Sun and the Moon endure, i.e., for ever. This appeal is supplemented by some well-known imprecatory and benedictory verses which specify the sin which they would incur, if the grants were confiscated and the merit that would accrue for the grantor.

The final details are the names of the dūtaka, i.e., the executive officer, and of the lekhaka, i.e., the writer of the grant. The year, month, fortnight and the day (tithi) are recorded, and the charter ends with the king’s autograph which is expressed as ‘Svahastomama’ in some grants, while in others the king’s name and titles are also included, e.g., ‘Svahasto mama Mahārājaśri Dharasenasasye.’²

From the foregoing description of the Maitraka records it will be realised that these inscriptions embody all the prescriptions of the Mitakṣara with regard to the drafting of the gift deeds. Now the Mitakṣara was a work written some time between A.D. 1100 and 1200³ while the Maitraka records were compiled during the period A.D. 525⁴ to 766. It would follow from this that Vijñāneśvara, in giving his model in the Mitakṣara, only codified the existing practice. It may here be observed that the drafts of the gift deeds in the inscriptions of the neighbouring contemporaries of the Maitrakas like the Gurjaras, the Kalachuris and the Puśpabhūtis are nearly identical in form while those of the Chālukyas differ only in the order of arrangement and with regards to the curse.

Comparing the formula of the gift deeds in the Maitraka records with those of the earlier dynasties, two stages may be traced in the evolution of the former, represented respectively by the Traikuṭaka and the Vākātaka records. The Traikuṭaka records contain the donor’s name, the extent of the corromdy

¹ The rights reserved and the exemption from the duties enumerated in the grants are discussed at length in the chapter on Administration.
² Flect, op. cit., p. 167, line 36.
³ Kane, op. cit., I, p. 238.
⁴ In the earliest known Maitraka grant of the Val. Sam. 183 (i.e., A.D. 502) some items like the rights reserved for the donee and description of virtues of the donor’s ancestors are omitted. Cf. Acharya, op. cit., I, No. 16.
and description of the land donated together with its boundaries, date and place of issue and the permanent character of the grant; but fail to mention the ancestor of the donors, the purpose of the grant, its announcement with libation of water, the type of donation as to whether it was a dharmādeya or devādeya and the king’s signature. Moreover, they are addressed to the people of the place only and not to the officers, and differ as to the rights reserved. In the arrangement of the details, however, there is perfect agreement between the records of the Traikūṭakas on the one hand and those of the Maitrakas and of the Vākāṭakas on the other. The Vākāṭaka records contain all the details found in the Maitraka inscriptions, albeit in a slightly varied form to suit the purposes of a different dynasty, except the autograph of the monarch and the name of the executive officer. The Guptas, however, while giving the details included in the Maitraka grants, follow a totally different arrangement, and in this the Chālukyas are closer to the Maitraka model than to the Gupta.

The writers of the Valabha records were indeed learned scholars, as would appear from the beauty of their style in describing the merits and achievements of different rulers of the Maitraka dynasty. The grand imagery of the writers is expressed in high-flown Sanskrit, and at times ideas are borrowed from Kālidāsa’s works, as, for instance, it is stated that the “word rājan was literally true in the case of Guhasena in as much as he pleased the hearts of his subjects.” It will be seen that the expression is borrowed from the Raghuvamśa where Kālidāsa uses the same expression with reference to Rāghu. The Maitraka records are excellent specimens of the Gāndā-styłe—abounding in vigour. The very first expression of these records ‘Prasabha-prañamatirāṇāṃ Maitrakāṇāṃ,’4 (The Maitrakas whose enemies were forcibly bowed down) is a good example of aesthetic ecstasy. Then again we come across the frequent use of long compounds, of about ten to fifteen words, at times, e.g., “pratapopanta-dāna-mān-arijav-oparijīt-anurāgādanurakta-maula-bhṛ tah-mitra-sreni-balaavapta-rajya-sriyali.”5 (Who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and had acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness attached (to him) by affection.”)6 The next characteristic of the language is the recurring charm of

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1 Fleet, op. cit., No. 55, p. 236.
2 In the light of what has been mentioned above, it will be agreed that the statement of Dr. P. V. Kane that “the thousands of copper-plate grants and inscriptions on stone published so far show that these directions contained in Yāj., Br. and Vyāsa have been followed to the letter from at least the fifth century onwards,” (cf. History of Dharmasasstra Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 861) is not strictly accurate.
3 Fleet, op. cit., p. 166, line 12.
5 Acharya, op. cit., 1, p. 53; line 3; Fleet, op. cit., p. 165, 1, 2.
6 Fleet, op. cit., p. 180, line 2.
the assonance, as may be seen in the above expression. Alliterations like 'kalā-kalāpah-kāntiman'\(^1\) and 'sakala Kali Kālaṅkah'\(^2\) are very often found in these records. We also come across puns on words like Laxmi (used as wealth, and wife of lord Visnu), Sudarśana (used in the sense of 'good to look at') and the well-known Sudarśana of Viṣṇu). Figures of speech like simile (upamā), metaphor (rūpaka), and poetical fancy (utprekṣā) are of common occurrence. Kings are compared to deities like Viṣṇu, Krṣṇa, Dharmarāja, Kārtikeya, and others. Besides these similes, Manu, Agastyā, Kalpātaru and lion are also employed. The expression "Khadgā dvitiya-bahūr"\(^3\) (whose sword was verily a second arm to him) is a striking example of metaphor. Then again an example of personification and epigram is well illustrated in the expression 'prakṛtivī kramopi-Karunāmṛduḥrdayah'\(^4\) (who by nature was valour personified but had a heart which was soft and full of compassion). Imagery is well displayed in phrases like 'tat—pāda—nakha—mayukha—samtāna—nirvaritta—jāhnavi—jalangha—prakshalit āsēsha—kalmsah' (whose sins were all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhnavi spread out by the diffusion (of the rays) of the nails of his feet).\(^5\)

A few Maitraka epigraphs are also inscribed on stone and clay-die. But these are in a fragmentary condition. One of the stone inscriptions is at Bamkodi in the present Valā state,\(^6\) and measures 7 inches × 18 inches. It is on a polished surface of a slab, and is neatly engraved in straight lines, like other stone inscriptions from Valā.\(^7\) Unfortunately, no information could be gathered from this or the ten other finds from Valā, the inscriptions yielding disjointed words like 'Tathāgata' or names of persons. Among the clay seals and dice that have been discovered some bear the well-known Buddhist formula:

"Ye Dhamma hetu Pra
bhava hetum teṣām tathā
Gatō hṛvadateṣām cha
Yo nirvadha yeve vādi
mahāsramapaḥ."

These seals are obviously religious signets of the Buddhists. They are circular and tablet-like in shape, and are about the size of an eight-anna piece. Besides, a specimen of a non-sectarian seal has also been found. It is of black clay measuring 4 × 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches. It contains five incomplete lines written in Sanskrit,

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the meaning of which is unintelligible. There is, lastly, a clay die bearing the
name ‘Śri Śilāditya’ found at the Gōhilwād timbo near Amreli. It is ½ inch
in size and is incised in reverse letters.

It would, indeed, have been interesting to trace the evolution of the
script of the Maitraka inscriptions from its prototype, if material for all the
intervening stages of its development was available. As it is, however, we are
in possession of material which provides only four stages in this evolution. At
Girnar, where on the same rock inscriptions of Aśoka, Rudradaman and
Skandagupta are inscribed, we have an indication of the development which
this script underwent, the form this script took, in the Maurya, Śaka and
Gupta ages, while the fourth stage is that which we come across in the
inscriptions of the Traikūṭakas. Now it is a fact that the Aśokan edicts while
they were expressed in the language spoken at Pātaliputra, the capital, were
in the different parts of the empire actually inscribed in the local varieties
of the Brāhmi alphabet.¹ It would follow from this (until, of course, a script
anterior to that of the edicts is discovered) that the Maitraka alphabet is a
lineal descendent of the western variety of the Maurya alphabet.

The four stages of its development down to the Maitraka times are shown
in the attached chart:²

In the following analytical list of the Maitraka records will be found
some useful details which have not been included elsewhere.

¹ E.g., the form of alphabet of the Siddhapura edicts has been termed Drāvīḍi by Bühler
on account of its certain peculiarities (cf. Bühler, Indian Paleography, (I. A., XXXIII) p. 34).
Bühler, however, classes the Girnār script together with that of the Siddhapura edicts, which
as Dr. Sāṅkalia has pointed out, is a mistake. "On comparing the chief characteristics, in
which the Girnār alphabet differs from that of the northern variety, with those of the recently
found edict at Maski and Brahmagiri, it appears that, barring a few points in which the
Siddhapura and Girnār show close resemblance, the Girnār script forms a class by itself,
say a sub-group of the southern variety." (Sāṅkalia, op. cit., p. 171.)

² According to Ojha’s Bharatiya Prāchina Lipi Mala, Pls. Nos. I, II, VIII, XVI, XVII,
XXXVII, XXXIX; Mookerjee, Aśoka, p. 246, Pl. XV.
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From Valabhi inscriptions showing the stages in the development of the Brahmi script.
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<td>W. Mus. 1301 Râjkot.</td>
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- P.W.M. (Bombay).
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1 If denotes a piece of field; S well a step well.
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<td>Homba outside the Temple of Siva gate of Valabhi.</td>
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* "Bahu 5" should be read as "Ba 15."
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S-well = step-well; pād = pādavarta and F = field.

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<td>100 pd.</td>
<td>S. Bhāṭṭarka Bhēda.</td>
<td>Vilvakhaṇḍha (N.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) S-well</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 pd.</td>
<td>W. Ant-hill.¹</td>
<td>Vilvakhaṇḍha (8th direction possibly N.E.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) F</td>
<td></td>
<td>160 pd.</td>
<td>E. Amarilikā Road.</td>
<td>In Vellapadakra grāma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>(a) Village</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pēṭavata.</td>
<td>N. Main Road.</td>
<td>In Jharisthalī (E.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W. F of Jhanjhaka.</td>
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<td>(c) S-well</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E. Dadhikupaka sima.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S. F of Khaṇḍaka.²</td>
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<td>Page</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>(e) F</td>
<td>25 pād.</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>(a) Village_         Isikana.</td>
<td>Village of Isikana.</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>(a) F</td>
<td>180 pād.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(b) F</td>
<td>120 pād.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) S-well_       Nimbavapi.</td>
<td>S. Nimbavapi.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) F</td>
<td>130 pād.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(e) F</td>
<td>100 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(f) A S-well_      Avatara.</td>
<td>A Swell of Avatara.</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) F</td>
<td>15 pād.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) F</td>
<td>120 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) F</td>
<td>100 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e) F</td>
<td>90 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(g) F</td>
<td>100 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(h) A S-well</td>
<td>Top of the village.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i) F</td>
<td>28 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(f) S-well_</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(i) F</td>
<td>100 pād.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(j) F</td>
<td>100 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>(a) F</td>
<td>200 pād.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(b) S-well_</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) F</td>
<td>220 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) F</td>
<td>35 pād.</td>
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</table>

1. Valmika.
2. Residence of Bramara Kulya grāma.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Nature</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Boundaries</th>
<th>Situation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>(a) F</td>
<td></td>
<td>50 pād.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mādāsaras (S.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) F</td>
<td></td>
<td>60 pād.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vīruputra (N.).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(c) F</td>
<td></td>
<td>50 pād.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pṛthūpūtra (W.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) F</td>
<td></td>
<td>80 pād.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>(a) F</td>
<td></td>
<td>60 pād.</td>
<td></td>
<td>In Damaripāṭaka in Vaṭapalika sthali (E.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>(a) Village</td>
<td>Bhaṭṭakapadra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In North Paṭṭa, in Kaundinyapura Viṣaya.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Village</td>
<td>Mahēśvaradaseṇpaka.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In H.V.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Do.</td>
<td>Devabhadrīpaliṇī.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In Dharakhēta sthali.</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>(a) Do.</td>
<td>Asilapaliṇī.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In Bandariṇidri paṭhaka in Khetaka āhāra-viṣaya.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Do.</td>
<td>Thānaka.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In Thānaka Sthala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>(a) F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rākṣrpaṭutra (?), Palatirolahna.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Udrapadraṇa.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) S-well</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uchhapadraṇa in Puṇyānaka Sthali.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) S-well</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e) F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kakkiṭāja.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(f) 4 gardens along with wells.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>(a) Village</td>
<td>Bhonḍānaka.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indrāṇipadraṇa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>(a) Do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Valabhi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>(a) F</td>
<td></td>
<td>120 pād.</td>
<td>E. F of Pippala2 and F of Karakaka.</td>
<td>In—Ka1 pathaka.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S. F of Misrana.</td>
<td>In Ghāsarak pathaka.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>N. F3 of Ku Vatsa.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Distance</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>(b) S-well ........................... Mochanika.</td>
<td>16 pād.</td>
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<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>(a) Village .......................... Amādāsaputra.</td>
<td>..........................</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>(a) S-well ............................ Yamalavāpi.</td>
<td>25 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(b) F ................................</td>
<td>150 pād.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) F ................................</td>
<td>120 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>(a) Village .......................... Danturaputra.</td>
<td>..........................</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>(a) ..................................</td>
<td>..........................</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>(a) F ................................</td>
<td>100 pād.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Two bhaikṣaka. ...............</td>
<td>..........................</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>(a) Vāpi ............................ Chinchanaka.</td>
<td>12 pād.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Kālasāmaka (N.W.).
Near Vātālara in Ghāsarkapathaka.
Vaṭāpadra (N.).

Do.  (W.).
Vaṭāpadra (S.).

In Mandalidraṅga.
In Baravanasthali.

W. of Prabhandaṭa's F.
N. of Rudra's F.
S. of Baruṭikā daṇḍaka (?).
E. Boundary of Gopara-vatāka.

W. Road to Bhogāditya Chinchanaka.
N. Luṣa,
E. Ganchhaka.
S. Do.

1 Probably Ghāsarakā.
2 Pippala was residing at Puṣyamitra grāma.
3 This field was situated at Chotjiyānakā.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Nature</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Boundaries</th>
<th>Situation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>(b) F</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>38 pād.</td>
<td>W. F of Bhāṭṭi. &lt;br&gt; S. of Madhāṇīva's F. &lt;br&gt; E. Rāhuvaṇaka's F. &lt;br&gt; N. Lūśa.</td>
<td>In Anumaṇḍījī sthali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>(a) Vāpi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>E. Yamalavapi. &lt;br&gt; S. Śrāvaka-vāpi. &lt;br&gt; W. of Dūsa-vāpi. &lt;br&gt; N. Bhadra-vāpi.</td>
<td>In Dambhara Padraka in Anumaṇḍījī sthali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>(a) F</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>100 pād.</td>
<td>S. Road to Grāmagosara. &lt;br&gt; E. Pasana-sthaliṇikamastaka. &lt;br&gt; W. Chutikagrāma sīhā. &lt;br&gt; N. A field of Ku. Charabhāṭṭaka and Chandrāvaka.</td>
<td>Amākārakupā in H.V.A. in Suraṣṭra (N.E.).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) F</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>N. of Rohidakamala.</td>
<td>In Dabhaka in Kālapaka (N.W.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) F</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>E. A field of Kapardiyaka. &lt;br&gt; S. A field of Khudūka. &lt;br&gt; W. A field of Naṇḍuvaka. &lt;br&gt; N. Bhadāsaka.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d) S-well</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>18 pād.</td>
<td>E. of Khajuri-vāpi-prachiha. &lt;br&gt; S. Road to the field of Šossaka. &lt;br&gt; W. Khēlpati (Playground). &lt;br&gt; N. Road to Purāṇakagrāma.</td>
<td>Do. (S.E.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e) F</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>W. Sauviraka Sima. &lt;br&gt; N. Siridraka-vāpi prachiha. &lt;br&gt; E. Temple of Śāṅkārika. &lt;br&gt; S. A field of Khachch haya.</td>
<td>Hastihrdakagrāma in Siravatakat Sthali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>(a) Village</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>In Kālāpathaka in Suraṣṭra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
47 (a) F Sarsakēdār. 4 Vṛihippi-ṭaka¹

E. Rice field of Ankoli and the old road.
S. The road to a ling to Malivāpi and to Bhartris-varatataka.
W. Rice field of Mātanga and Malivāpi and a road to Viravarmatātaka.
N. Viravarmatātaka, Adityabhata’s Bhrāsti, Indravarma’s bhrasti.

48 (a) F 100 pād.

E. Amragartta.

S. Do.
W. A field of Saṅgha.
N. F of Dēvi.

(i) Piece of F  (i) E. Amragartta.

S. Amragartta.
W. A field of Saṅgha.
N. F of Dēvi.

(ii) Piece  (ii) S. The boundary of Gōrakāsasa.

W. The boundary of Gōrakesa.
N. F of Buṭṭaka.

(iii) Piece  (iii) E. Gorakṣita F.

S. F of Sthāvīraka,
W. F of Sasthisūra.
N. F of Ku. Karunḍaka.

(b) F 100 pād.

(i) Piece  (i) E. F of Br. Bhava.

S. F of the Saṅgha,
W. F of Sthāvīra.
N. F of Ku. Khundaka.

Hastikapallikā in Konakapathaka in Khetakāhara viśaya (N.W.).

Bahumula grāma in Vaṭapallika sthali in Sūrāṣṭra (to the S.W.).

¹ In Kaim system of measuring was not by pād but by basket.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Nature</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Boundaries</th>
<th>Situation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S. F of Kumārabhōga.</td>
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<td>W. F of Naqqa.</td>
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<td>N. F of Sasthisūra.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(iii) F</td>
<td>Piece</td>
<td></td>
<td>(iii) E. F of Saṅgha.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S. The boundary of Gorakāśa.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W. Do.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N. F of Kumārabhōga.</td>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>Village</td>
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<td>In Rohaṇaka pathaka in Surāṣṭra, Trisāṅgamaka.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Nāgāḍīṇaṇaṇaka.</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>Guda</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Rupaka</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1 bhakti (^1)</td>
<td>In Navagrāmakā in Uchhamaṇa-bhukti in Mālavākā — (E.).</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E. Varāhotarugrama.</td>
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<td>S. River.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>W. Paṭṭika of Laxmaṇa.</td>
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<td>N. Kulindaṇaṇaka grāmakā.</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1 bhakti (^1)</td>
<td>In Chandraputtrakagrāma in Uchhamaṇa viṣayam Mālavākā (S.).</td>
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<td>E. Dhammaṇa haḍḍika grāmakānkata.</td>
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<td>S. Dēvakulapatāka grāmakānkata.</td>
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<td>W. F of the Mahattara of Viratara Maṇḍali.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>N. W. Nirguṇḍi pond.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>N. Viratara maṇḍali.</td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Village</td>
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<td></td>
<td>In H.V.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>pād.</td>
<td>(a) In Sarkarajadraka (near Kikka-taputral, in Kalāpake pathaka in Surāṣṭra— (S.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E. S-well of Vinhala.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S. F of Vattaka.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W. F of Ku, Vinhala.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N. F of Br. Sastrībhaun.</td>
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\(^1\) Unit of measuring land in Mālavā.
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>S.-well</th>
<th>F. of Chandra</th>
<th>Mahatta Daska</th>
<th>S.-well</th>
<th>F. of Chandra</th>
<th>Mahatta Daska</th>
<th>S.-well</th>
<th>F. of Chandra</th>
<th>Mahatta Daska</th>
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<th>F. of Chandra</th>
<th>Mahatta Daska</th>
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1. Resident of Aśvini putra.
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Boundaries</th>
<th>Situation</th>
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<tr>
<td>57</td>
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<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>A village</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>In the Dakṣiṇā paṭṭa of the Sivabhāgapura viśaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>A village</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>In the Ghrīṭālaya bhūmi in the Sivabhāgapura viśaya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>A village</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>In Bhavasanka (?) Sthali in Surāṣṭra.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
62  (i) F (a)          . . . . . . 20 pād.  E. F tilled by Ku. Sarmudra.  
S. F tilled by Damara.  
W. F tilled by Mahēśvara.  
N. Śrīṣa s-well.  
(b)                  . . . . . . 20 pād.  E. River.  
S. River.  
W. Bhatikā grāma.  
N. River.  
(c)                  . . . . . . 10 pād.  E. F tilled by Ādityadatta.  
S. F tilled by Sangamadinna.  
W. F tilled by Dasaka.  
N. F tilled by Dasaka.  
(ii) S-well          . . Śrīṣa.    25 pād.  E. F tilled by Saundar.  
S. F tilled by Guhaka.  
W. F tilled by Mahēśvara.  
N. F tilled by Sangāmasinna.  
S. Tank.  
W. F of Dattulika.  
N. Raja-veta.  
63  (i) F (a)          . . . . . . 20 pād.  E. Road to Rataniyya grāma.  
S. Dodhvaka lake.  
W. Kavitthavaka ganduka road.  
N. F of Danturā pechaka.  
(b)                  . . . . . . 20 pād.  E. Karilvjavaka Gahanā road.  
S. Rohiniya-grāma-sima.  
W. Tapasapallika grama sima.  
N. F of Ravikonā.  
S. Bhṭat Vāpi.  
W. F tilled by Labhedarillaka.  
N. F tilled by Br. Svamika.  
In Dachchāṇaka in H.V.A. in Surāṣṭra (W.).  
Do.  
(N.).  
(W.).  
In Vatanumaka in Mapudhacheka (W.).  
In Deyapālli in Nagaraka Pathaka in Khēṭaka āhāra (S.W.).  
In Jambuvāṇara in Kalākṣyōdaka in Surāṣṭra (E.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Nature</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Boundaries</th>
<th>Situation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 63  | (iii)  | Field | 49 pād. | E. Field of Divyakaṭa.  
 |      | (a)   |       |      | S. F of Ġgaṭara.  
 |      |       |       |      | W. F of Bhimā.  
 |      | (b)   |       | 34 pād. | N. Rāmašaṭika Vāpi.  
 |      |       |       |      | E. F of Ādityadāsa.  
 |      |       |       |      | S. Loharapadaka-grāma-sima.  
 |      |       |       |      | W. F of Br. Ranpyarasman.  
 |      |       |       |      | N. Field of Ġgaṭa.  |
| 64  | (i) F  |       | 100 pād. | E. F of Upādhēya.  
 |      | (a)   |       | (73 pād.) | S. Prachchina of three royal sunas.  
 |      |       |       |      | W. F of Bhāsiya.  
 |      | (b)   | Bappuḍa. | 12 pād. | N. Dasarikā river.  
 |      |       |       |      | E. F of Br. Ghanḍhaka.  
 |      | (c)   | Lusānika. | 15 pād. | S. F of Tatta.  
 |      |       |       |      | W. F of Bhāṭṭa.  
 |      |       |       |      | N. Rivulet.  
 |      |       |       |      | E. Kannasomaka-grāma-sima.  
 |      |       |       |      | S. Prachchitra of Siradandaka vāpi.  
 |      |       |       |      | W. Prachchitra of Dhorika vāpi.  
 |      |       |       |      | N. Rivulet.  
 |      |       |       |      | E. Ausanika field.  
 |      |       |       |      | S. Prachchitra of Siradandaka vāpi.  
 |      |       |       |      | W. Prachchitā of Pippala vāpi.  
 |      |       |       |      | N. Top of village.  
| (ii) S-well |       | 25 pād. |      | E. Road to Pinchhakupika.  
 |      |       |       |      | S. F of Br. Bava and Mulla pond.  
| 65  | (i) S.W. |       | 55 pād. | W. W. of Grama-nipada.  
 |      |       |       |      | N. Mulavarmnaptaka.  
|      |       |       |      | In Desanaka at the entrance of Madhumali in Surāṣṭra (E.).  |
65 (ii) F .. .. .... 70 pād.
   E. Visalapataka.
   S. Sivatrataijja.
   W. Visalapataka.
   N. Do.
   (S.E.).

(iii) F .. .. Uchcha.
   90 pād.
   E. Visalapataka.
   S. Do.
   W. Road to Pinchhakūpika.
   N. F of Theraka.
   Do.

(iv) F .. .. .... 20 pād.
   E. Manaijka river.
   S. F tilled by Bappaka.
   W. F of Br. Skanda.
   N. Do.
   (W.).

66 (i) F .. .. .... 150 pād.
   In Dhusā grāma in gosalyāsasthali in Surāstra.
   (S.).

(ii) F .. .. .... 120 pād.
   In —mandali Sthali in Surastra.
   E. F of Dēvasarman.
   S. Dandasa grāma.
   W. F of Jaijyallaka.
   N. Do.
   In Madasara in Madasarasthali in Surastra (N.E.).

67 Village .. Kasaka.

68 (i) S.W. .. .. .... 25 pād.
   E. F of Pāṇḍava.
   S. Prechilla of Datta.
   W. Sisagara field.
   N. F of Ku. Savgilaraka.
   In Madasara in Madasarasthali in Surastra (N.E.).

(ii) F .. .. .... 104 pād.
   (a) .. .. .... 16 pād.
   E. F of Br. Anahaka.
   S. F of Ku. Chachcha and Matrea.
   W. Madhavanaka F road to Karata padraka and Sagar field.
   N. Durea field.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Nature</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Boundaries</th>
<th>Situation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>43 pād.</td>
<td>E. Road to Suptavasadhi. S. F of Brātaṅgaka. W. F of Pattinaka and Matrsthāna F. N. Suptavasadhi grāma sima.</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>10 pād.</td>
<td>E. Royal road. S. Top of village. W. Prachchiha of Kalaputra Varuna. N. F of Karkaka.</td>
<td>..</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>5 pād.</td>
<td>E. F of Bra. Chamasara. S. ’Dasanaka’ F. W. Royal road. N. F of Bra. Sankara.</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>(i) F</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1 vṛhhipi-ṭaka</td>
<td>In Antika in Bharukachchha visaya. (E.).</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
<td>E. Śrāddhikā sima. S. Road to Amalakataka. W. Tagara F of Bra. Karkka. N. Pond and F of Lamba-svāmin.</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>..</td>
<td></td>
<td>E. F of Bra. Toṇḍaka. S. Do. W. Bhadranaka—grāmasima and Balapallika grāma sima. N. F of Bra. Ksarmā-svāmin.</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
69 (ii) Bhṛsti

70 Village
71 Do.
72
73
74
75 Village
76 Do.
77 Do.
78 Do.
79 Do.
80
81
82
83
84
85
86 2 villages
87
88
89
90
91

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E. Śrāddhikā-sima.
S. Royal road.
W. Balapallikā-sima.
N. Balapallikā-grāma and Bhṛstilave of Āditya dasa.

(N.).
Near Khodasthalika in Loṇāpadraka Sthali.
In Antaratrā in Surāṣṭra.
Near Dinnaputra in Surāṣṭra.
Near Uasingha in Surāṣṭra.
On the bank of Vappoika in Suryāpura viśaya.
In Uppalaheta pathaka in Khēṭaka āhāra.
In H.V.A.
In Hariyāṇa (S.E.).
In —sarakā Pathaka.
In Kala (?)—
Situation

In Saurashtra...
In Kamalagrama
In Ghajrawa viṣayā.
In Aksarasaka Mandala (S.W.) in H.V.A.

Boundaries

E. Girvili grāma.
S. Madavī river.
W. Sea.
N. Devathali grāma.
E. Tabha grāma.
S. Hiraka grāma.
W. Delavadra grāma.
N. Nerachha river.

Area

100 pāḍ. 12 pāḍ.

Name

Nandaraka...  Vihisī...

Nature

Village
Do.
(i) Field
(ii) S-well

No.
92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos. of the App. A.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father's name</th>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>Vedic branch of study</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Came from</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kumāraśarmman and Jārbhajya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Śañḍilya</td>
<td>Chhandoga (Sam. Veda)</td>
<td>Sankarvātaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rotghamitra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vrajagaṇa</td>
<td>Chhandoga</td>
<td>Simhapura</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sachitiśarmman</td>
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<td>Dropāyanā</td>
<td>Vajisānēya</td>
<td>Hastakavapra</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Mādhava</td>
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<td>Suṇaka</td>
<td>Chhandoga</td>
<td>Jeśṭhānaka</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>Darbha</td>
<td>Chhandoga</td>
<td>Hariyākaka</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Nanna</td>
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<td>Māṇava</td>
<td>Vajisānēyi</td>
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<td>Viśṇuśarmman</td>
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<td>Jābālā</td>
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<td>Śantiśarmman and Dēvaśarmman</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Bhaṭṭi and Guhabhāṭṭi</td>
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<td>Bhārgava</td>
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<td>Nāgaraka</td>
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<td>Bahvraja</td>
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<td>Bhāradvajya</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>(i) Ludra</td>
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<td>Śañḍilya</td>
<td>Chhandoga</td>
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<td>Viśākha and Bappa</td>
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<tr>
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<th>Residence</th>
<th>Came from</th>
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<td>30 Anurādhaśāman</td>
<td>Bṛhadāśāman</td>
<td>Gahumājana.</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Sangupuri.</td>
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<td>Gahumājana.</td>
<td>Hrṣiṣṇa</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>Sangupuri.</td>
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<td>Dattasvamin</td>
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<td>58 Bhatṭhabāti</td>
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<td>64 Sāgada</td>
<td>65 Bhau and his brother Šēvāna</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>68 Dākṣiṇa (Sāgada)</td>
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<td>70 Bhūtaśāman</td>
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<td>Vasudēvabhūti</td>
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<td>Bharadvaja.</td>
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<td>—nagara.</td>
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<td>98 (d) Gōma</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Built by</td>
<td>Mandala</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Dudha</td>
<td>Acarya Bhadana</td>
<td>(Valabhi)</td>
<td>Valabhi</td>
<td>Near Bhataraka vihara</td>
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<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>In the Dudha vihara</td>
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<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>(Of Bhukum F)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Abdhamahabha vihara</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Mahayana.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Abdhamahabha vihara</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>(Of Bhukum Sira vihara).</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Abhantika</td>
<td>Baprapadiya</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Yudhavaka (in Hastavapura).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Abhantika</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>(Valabhi).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Addha</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Valabhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Addha</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Vanakara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Adha</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Valabhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Yakashikara</td>
<td>Addha</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Yudhavaka  (in Hastavapura).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Yakashikara</td>
<td>Addha</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>(Valabhi).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Raksasa.</td>
<td>Yudhavaka</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Valabhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Raksasa.</td>
<td>Yudhavaka</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Vanakara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Raksasa.</td>
<td>Yudhavaka</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Valabhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Raksasa.</td>
<td>Yudhavaka</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Vanakara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Raksasa.</td>
<td>Yudhavaka</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Valabhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Raksasa.</td>
<td>Yudhavaka</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Vanakara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Raksasa.</td>
<td>Yudhavaka</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Valabhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Raksasa.</td>
<td>Yudhavaka</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Vanakara.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### (III) Brahmanical-temples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Built by</th>
<th>Situated at</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pāṇḍurāja</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hastavapa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aharaṇi</td>
<td>Goddess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>probably in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trisangamaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Mahādeva</td>
<td>Harinatha</td>
<td>Vatapadra</td>
<td>Śiva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Ādityadeva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bhadrēniyakā</td>
<td>Sun God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Kottāmmabika</td>
<td></td>
<td>Trisaṅgamaka</td>
<td>Goddess</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (IV) Deities Unknown

Nos. 41, 57, 72, 74, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96.
FIND SPOTS AND PLACES IN THE WEST OF THE VALABHI KINGDOM AS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS
GEOGRAPHY

Valabhi, the celebrated capital of the Maitrakas, roughly corresponds to the town of Valā, the present capital of a small state of the same name in Kāthiāwād. It lies roughly eighteen miles to the north-west of Bhāvanagar. To the local population Valā is known as Valeh which represents the Prākṛt form of Valabhi.¹

Though it is now a few miles away from the Bhāvanagar creek, Valabhīpura was in ancient days an important port in the Gulf of Cambay. Its present position is due to the natural physical changes which in course of time have silted up the western portion of the creek. The excavations at Valā have disclosed the old ruins of Valabhi under its layers.

The Maitraka kingdom at the height of its power included the Surāśṭra, on its western boundary; in the east, as attested by both the epigraphical records and the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa, it extended as far as Ujjaini.³ The northern boundary may be traced to Anandapura⁴ the present Vadānagara, while the southern limit of the kingdom stretched at least upto Bharukachchha.⁵ It is further clear from these records that the region between the Sahya and the Vindhyā was included in the Maitraka kingdom.⁶ This fact bears testimony to the spread of the Maitraka sway in the south-east to the region beyond the Narmadā and Sātpūḍa as far as the Sahyādris. In the north-west Cutch may be included within its boundaries inasmuch as Hiuen Tsiang described it as an appanage of Mālavā,⁷ which was governed by the Maitraka kings. This is further supported by the fact that some coins of the Maitrakas have been discovered in Cutch, though this is not a conclusive evidence for proving the spread of the Maitraka sway over the region. Thus the Valabhi kingdom from

¹ By an ukase recently issued by the state authorities have reverted to the original name, so the capital is once more called Valabhīpura (from 25th May 1945), while the state itself will continue to be known as the Valā state (Cf. "Vala nu Valabhīpura," Janma bhūmi, Monday, 23rd July, 1945).

Valabhi is described in Sanskrit literature, whether Brāhmaṇical, Jaina or Buddhist, as the capital of Surāśṭra. This has been supported by the epigraphical records of the Maitrakas who ruled over this country for about three centuries from the last quarter of the fifth century down to the eighth century A.D. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang in narrating his account of this country in the seventh century mentions it as a territory under the sway of king Dhruvapaṭa (cf. Watters, op. cit., II, p. 246; Beal, op. cit., II, p. 266), who is correctly identified with the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna II.

² Gadre, op. cit., p. 659.
⁴ Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
⁵ This is indicated not only by the military camp of Dharasēna IV at the place, but king Śilāditya III had actually made a grant of a village in Bharukachchha.
⁶ Fleet, op. et loc. cit.
Mount Æбу in the north to the river Tápti in the south covered a length of about 280 miles, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to its eastern boundary at Avanti measured 480 miles.¹

It was divided into several administrative units. The largest of these was Viṣayās of which eight are mentioned in the sources now at our command: (1) Surāśṭra, ²(2) Khēṭaka, ³(3) Mālavaka, (4) Śivabhāgapura, (5) Bharuka-chchha, (6) Suryāpura, (7) Ghorās, and (8) Ānandapura.

Each of these Viṣayās was divided into Āhāras or Āhārapis, and the Āharās into Paṭhakas, and these again into Bhūkti, Bhūmi, Pētha, Maṇḍali, Sthali, Draṅga and Grāmas. In the following pages is a list of geographical names that we find in the copper-plate grants.

¹ The Valabhi kingdom may roughly be taken to have spread over from 24°.45 N. at the southern and again from 75°.45 E. at the eastern to 69° E. at the western boundaries. This comes to the length of about 400 miles from east to west and a breadth of more than 200 miles from north to south.

² The usual term used by the Kṣatrapas, the Guptas and the Maitrakas is Suraśṭra (plural) and not Saurāśṭra.

³ Khēṭaka Āhāra extended over an area of 50 miles from north to south as well as from west to east.
FIND SPOTS AND PLACES IN THE CENTRE OF THE VALABHI KINGDOM
AS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS
N.B.—These numerals refer to the numerical order in which the inscriptions are mentioned in the previous chapter on epigraphy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the place</th>
<th>Territorial division</th>
<th>Identification and remarks</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aguṣṭika</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was in the vicinity of Āyavaka. May be identified with Āgōsthi, four miles north of Nōgāva.</td>
<td>51, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akōṭaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>Present Akadia near Dhasa, twenty miles to the west of Valā.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akkoṭaka</td>
<td>Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>Donee’s residence, identified with Akādia near Dhasā, two miles to the west of Valā.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akrolaka</td>
<td>—in Surāṣṭra</td>
<td>Donee’s residence. It may be Aklera which is at a distance of about twenty miles from Pāliṭāṇa, the findspot of the grant.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akṣasāraka</td>
<td></td>
<td>Near Jyēṣṭhānaka, Hariyāṇaka and Vasukiya.</td>
<td>5, 6, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akṣarasaka</td>
<td>Akṣaraκa in Hastavapaḥāra in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>It was situated in the vicinity of Vājadraha.</td>
<td>4, 6, 7, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amadāśputra</td>
<td>Ghāsaraκa Paṭhaka in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>Identified with Amol, near Jambhusara.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amākāraκupa</td>
<td>Hastavapra āhāra in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>The grant refers to a pathaka leading to Amrdika. It may be the same as Amreli of the present day.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalakaṭaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>Identified with the present Vaḍ, nagar.</td>
<td>21, 24, 30, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambarēnu</td>
<td>Āśikāṇaka in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>Anandapura is the present Vaḍanagara near Sidhapura.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrēlika</td>
<td></td>
<td>The donee’s residence, identified with Āiyāna, ten miles north of Nōgāva.</td>
<td>51-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anandapura</td>
<td></td>
<td>(It was the northeast part of the kingdom.)</td>
<td>15, 16, 30, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anandapura-Viṣaya.</td>
<td>Anandapura is the present Vaḍanagara near Sidhapura.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annata</td>
<td>Antaratra in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>Donee resided in this village, probably near Div Uṇa ata, distance of fifty miles from Maliya.</td>
<td>23, 21, 37, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antarapalliaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>This village was granted together with another village named Kandhajā to the same donee who resided at Liptikhanḍa. The present Antroli is probably the village the name of which may be a derivation of Antarapalliṅkā. But as there is no village bearing a name resembling Dinnaputrā near it, confirmation relating to its identification is not possible.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antarātra</td>
<td>Surāṣṭra</td>
<td>It may possibly be taken as a natural region as indicated by its name which means a region between two rivers. It may have been near Maliya, the findspot of the grant.</td>
<td>23, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antika</td>
<td></td>
<td>It has been identified with Anti, two miles south-east of the flag-station Bhoj between Barodā and Jambusara.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ānumaṇji</td>
<td>Anumaṇji Sthali</td>
<td>This may have been modern Amreli.</td>
<td>18, 52, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It has been identified with Aśmal near Ahmedabad. It is also known as Aśapallī which represents the site of the old Karpāvati, the city built by the Sōlaṅki king Karapaṇa, who reigned in the eleventh century (A.D. 1064-94). It is at a distance of ten miles from Baryāḍi.</td>
<td>35, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asilapalliṅkā</td>
<td>Bandarijidri-Paṭhaka in Khēṭakāṅ in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśvaniputra</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaṅkā in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atiniśaka</td>
<td>Hastaparva āhāra in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayavāka</td>
<td></td>
<td>In the vicinity of Agustikā, may be identified with Aigon, ten miles north of Nōgāva.</td>
<td>51, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāhumūla</td>
<td>Vaṭapalli in Saurāṣṭra</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>19, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandarijidri</td>
<td>Bandarijidri-Pathaka in Khēṭaka-āhāra</td>
<td>This Paṭhaka was in the northern part of Khēṭaka. The headquarters Bandarijidri have been identified with Barijadi, a station between Ahmedabad and Memadabad on the B.B. &amp; C.I. Ry. line. It is ten miles away to the north of Khēṭaka.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baṭapalli ka</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>Lay to the west of Antikā.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadasaka</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra</td>
<td>A chain of hills dandaka, called Baratikā, is recorded in the grant as situated at the north of Bhadrēṇika.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrāṇuka</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>Was in the vicinity of upleṭa near Dhāṅk. Bhadrēṇaka cannot be identified.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadraputtana</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>Four grants were issued from 26, 28, 30, the military camp at this place, which was near Mahuvā and Talājā. It may be identified with Bhābod, four miles north-east of Mahuvā and twenty miles from Talājā.</td>
<td>31, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadraraka</td>
<td>........</td>
<td>To the south-west of Antika. It is identified with Bhadara, a village two miles towards the south-west of Anti.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrēṇika</td>
<td>Hastaparva āhāra in Surāṣṭra</td>
<td>In the neighbourhood of a 11, 12, 15 village called Šamihāmbara.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrēṇika</td>
<td>Bāravaṇa Sthali in Surāṣṭra</td>
<td>There was a Sun-temple in this village as recorded in Dhaṅk plate of king Śilāditya I's grant.</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhallara</td>
<td>Hastaparva āhāra in Surāṣṭra</td>
<td>It may be identified with Bhalar, four miles south-west of Talājā about eighteen miles from Hāthhab and only one mile to north of Vilāpadar.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.......</td>
<td>Bharukachhha Visaya</td>
<td>This was one of the three Viṣayas of southern Gujarāt, the others being Akrurēṣuara Viṣaya and Saṅgrāma-Kheṭaka Viṣaya. The present name of Bharukachhha is Broach.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhasant</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Identified with Bhesāṇa, sixteen miles east of Junāgaḍha.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatharanaka</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>It lay to the south-west of Pahmavatīkā.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhattakapadra</td>
<td>Kaundinyapura in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>It is likely that Bhāntia itself may have been the ancient site of Bhattaka, as seems to be suggested by the philological affinity between the two names.</td>
<td>27, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaṭṭāṇaka</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>It may be the same as the village Bhoṭāḍ, the only village near Udāvi.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaṭṭika</td>
<td>Hastavapra āhāra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>May be the same as present Bhāndi, a village at a distance of about eight miles to the west of Hāṭhab, and fourteen miles from Śihōr where the donee resided.</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhogāditya</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>It was to the east of Chinchapadanaka near Luṣā.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhoṇḍanaka</td>
<td>Vaṭanagara.</td>
<td>Near Vēlapadraka of the grants. It may be identified with Bhamar, one mile north-west of Uipadi, a station on the side of Mahuvā along Bhāvanagar State Railway line.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhramarakulya</td>
<td>Jharisthali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Modern Goraksa was to the south-west of Mahuvā.</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhūmida</td>
<td>Vatapaili in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Probably near the Jharisthali, as it is mentioned along with it. It may be the place called Bilvakha, thirty-two miles west of Jhar.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilvakhakha</td>
<td>Valvakhabha in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>This place lay far from Vajjadi near Doṅgar.</td>
<td>20, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramhapara</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>To the east of Vēlapadra.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramilanaka</td>
<td>....</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrajutaka</td>
<td>Malavaka</td>
<td>The donee resided near Nogāva. The place has been identified with Chandōdia, two miles</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>south of Nogāva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhādakapadra</td>
<td></td>
<td>It lies nine miles away from the Śādēvādar, which may have been the same as Chhēdaka-</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>padra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhēdaka-Padraka</td>
<td>Hastavapra āhāra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinchaṇaka</td>
<td>Mandali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Situated to the south of Lustua which is identified with Lusdi near Mandal. It is</td>
<td>31, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>possible that this village was the same as the present Chinjhka which is two miles to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the south of Lusdi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrakasthalya</td>
<td>Kadamabpadra Sthali in</td>
<td></td>
<td>22, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chossari</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be identified with Chosar, three miles from Barijadi.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chotīṇaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be identified with Chōṭikā, the terminus of the Thaw-Chōṭikā branch.</td>
<td>37, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūṭika-grāma</td>
<td>Arīṣṭhiṣṭika Sthali in</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabbaka</td>
<td>Kālāpakapathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dachchaṇaka</td>
<td>Hastavapra āhāra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadhikripaka</td>
<td>Jharisthali Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakṣanapathaka</td>
<td>Sivabhāgapura Viṣaya.</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>This stands for the southern district of the Śivabhagapura visaya. It appears that the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>region south of Pāvāgaḍha upto the northern boundary of Saṅgrāma Khēṭaka viṣaya was</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>included in it.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damaripatka</td>
<td>Vaṭapalli in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dambhara</td>
<td>Anumañji Sthali</td>
<td>May be identified with Dabhala, a place twenty-four miles away from the findspot of the grant, viz., Amreli. It is seven miles south-east of Dhāri.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandasā</td>
<td>Vaṭapalli in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>Lay to the south of Luṣā and to the west of Mahuvā, the present village bearing the same name.</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daṇḍuraputra</td>
<td>Manḍali in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>This village may be identified with Danteradi at a distance of six miles from Manḍal.</td>
<td>40, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasañaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>On the delta of the Madhumati river.</td>
<td>65, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dāsapura</td>
<td>Mālavaka</td>
<td>It was an important town in this region, and is identified with Mandasör, a place to the west of Ujjain.</td>
<td>41, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasara</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be a village thirty miles away from Kāsara.</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēsuraksitiṭṭya</td>
<td>Samhapallia in Kheṭaka in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>May be identified with Dēsar, eight miles south-east of Thāsara and seventeen miles from Alimā, the find-spot of the grant.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvabhadripallika</td>
<td>Dharakhēṭaka Sthali.</td>
<td>The Sthali including this village have been near Hastavapra as two villages from both these divisions were donated to a vihāra at Valabhi simultaneously. It may be the same as Dēvalī, six miles from Valā.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvakula</td>
<td>Kalapahpathaka in Saurāṣṭra.</td>
<td>It lay to the west of Pahmavā-tikā, and may be identified with Dēvalī which is a common name for a number of villages in Kāṭhiāwād. This particular place was probably the present Dēvalī, fourteen miles to the east of Dhōlī and eight miles to the west of Tankara.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvakulopaṭaka</td>
<td>Mālavaka</td>
<td>It has been identified with Dēvatkhadi lying in the vicinity of Chāndodā (another suggestion for the identification of the place as Diland, four miles south-west of Dhāmer, is not correct as it is further away from Nogāva, Ajeṣṭhi and Ayana than Dēvatkhadi.</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvalavadra</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be Mēlōndaderoha.</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvarakṣita</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēvarakṣita</td>
<td>Nimbakupasthali in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēyapalli</td>
<td>Nagavaka, in Khetaka in Surastra.</td>
<td>May be identified with Dēvālaj, a place which is situated to the west of Sōjitā, a railway station about two to three miles north of Rōhāṇaj.</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēyathaligrāma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhammanā - Mālavaka haddika</td>
<td>Identified with Dhammoḍ (another suggestion for the identification of this place as Dhamnar, eleven miles south-east of Mandasor, does not seem to be correct.)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhananda</td>
<td></td>
<td>It may be identified with Dhānōḍā which is about four miles north-east of Kārjan.</td>
<td>69, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharakhēṭaka</td>
<td>Dharakhēṭaka Sthali.</td>
<td>Its headquarters may be identified with Dhiṇukā, a village six miles north-west of Sonagāth, a station on the Bhāvana-nagar State Railway line.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinakka</td>
<td></td>
<td>In the vicinity of Upleṣṭa near Dhānak. It may probably be the same as the present Daduka, eleven miles south-east of Uplet.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinnaputra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Near a village Antarapullikā.</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dipaṭaka</td>
<td>Pēthi in Surāṣṭra</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dombhirāma</td>
<td>Antarātra in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>This may be the same as a village called Dābhodar, three miles north-east of Verāval.</td>
<td>23, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drōgapadraka</td>
<td>Puñyänakasthali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>To its east lay Guddapall, while yet another village, Jainnapalli, lay to the south. This place may be identified with Dēhēra.</td>
<td>33, 64, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubuduhu</td>
<td>Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The donee migrated from the place and settled near Mahuvā. It is the same as Diu, an island in the south of Kāthiawād which is in the possession of the Portuguese. Traditionally it was known to be a peninsula but at present it has turned into an island as a result of a sudden inundation.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvipa</td>
<td></td>
<td>It belonged to Jambuvānara.</td>
<td>22, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekalika</td>
<td>Jambuvānara in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Four Brāhmaṇas are mentioned as emigrants from this place.</td>
<td>51, 52, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekalika</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>To be identified with Gaḍa, a village near Dēvālaj.</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gahvara</td>
<td></td>
<td>The headquarters of this Pathaka Ghāsarakā may be identified with Ghāsari, five miles south-west of Kēśād.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaṇḍuka</td>
<td>Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>It lay nine miles to the north-west of Mahuvā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghāsarakā</td>
<td>Ghāsarakā Pathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The place may be identified with modern Ghutti on the Sutlu river and eight miles to the north-east of Jambughoḍā.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghōrās</td>
<td>Valapalli in Surāśṭra</td>
<td>The name of this ancient city is traceable in Girnar, the name of the hill near Junāgadh is Sōrath. From the Mauryan (322 B.C.) period down to the Gupta rule in Surāśṭra (A.D. 468) the place was the metropolis of the province of Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>55, 71, 72, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghṛṭālaya</td>
<td>Ghṛṭālaya Bhūmi. (It formed the eastern division of the Viṣaya.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giriviligrāma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godrahaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>A place of encampment. May be Gödhrā, the capital of Panchamahāl district. The suffix 'ka' is dropped. From the name of the place it appears that there was a 'Lake for Cows' near it. Even in the present Gödhrā a large tank exists.</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goffaraṇaṭaka</td>
<td>Bāravaṇa in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gōmutrika</td>
<td></td>
<td>The donde emigrated from this place and settled at Valabhl.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopparavaṭaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guddapalli</td>
<td>Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The same as Guḍāli. It is about two and a half miles north-west of Dēhēra, and the village Juni is about three miles to the south of the latter.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hariyāṇaka</td>
<td>Akṣasāraka in Hastavapra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>7, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td>Hastavapra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>It has been identified with Hāthab in the Kōliyāt tāluka of Bhāvanagar territory. It is about fifteen miles south-east of Bhāvanagar, six miles to the south of Ghōghā, two miles to the south of Kōliyak. It is situated at 72° 16'E. and 70° 36'N. on the eastern coast of the Peninsula.</td>
<td>4, 5, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastihradaka</td>
<td>Siravaṭaka Sthali</td>
<td>It was the headquarters of this sthalī.</td>
<td>45, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastikapallika</td>
<td>Koṇaka-pathaka in Khēṭaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Probably the same as a place named Hathnoli which is four miles to the north of Kūṇa.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indraṇipadraka</td>
<td>Punyāṇaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>33, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tśikārāṇaka</td>
<td>Ambarēṇu Sthali</td>
<td>Dr. Diskalkar has suggested that the name 'Ambaruṇā' philologically resembles 'Amraṇa' which is twenty miles to the north-east of Dhrōl. However, it is more likely to have been the same as another place called Ambardi on the Phophal river which is about fourteen miles north-west of Virpura (Gōndal) being nearer to the findspot of the grant.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambusara</td>
<td></td>
<td>At present this place is known by the same name, the headquarters of Jambusara tāluκa of the Broach district.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambuvānara</td>
<td></td>
<td>It seems to be different from the village of Jambuvānara mentioned in the grant No. 26. At a distance of about two miles from Pālitāṇa, the findspot of the grant, is situated a place named Jāmbvālia which may be identified with this village.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambuvānara</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>May be identified with Jambuvānara, nine miles north-east of Navānagar, and at a distance of less than four miles from Jambura river.</td>
<td>22, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhār</td>
<td>Jharisthali in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>The headquarters of the Jharisthali may have been Jhār which is also the findspot of the grant.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiruka</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be identified with the village Jiyava-Dvivēdi.</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinnāpalli</td>
<td>Nagarska in Khetaka in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>May be identified with Juni.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jo...salyasa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyeṣṭaṇaka</td>
<td>Aksasāraka in Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>Probably the same as the present Jōdiā near Jāmkhambhāliā.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadambapadra</td>
<td>Kadambapadra Sthali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>It was the headquarters of the sthali.</td>
<td>22, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakkapadra</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakkinjā</td>
<td>Puṇyānaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>33, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālahatāka</td>
<td>Akṣasāraka in Ḥasta-vapra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Identified with Kāliyak near Ḥāthab. Its local variant form is Kōliyāt or Kōliyad which is similar to the name Kālahatāka.</td>
<td>10, 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālapaka</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The headquarters of this pathaka have been identified with Kāṭawāḍ, a village with a population of 2,500. It is twenty-six miles south-east of Navānagar.</td>
<td>22, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālapakapathaka</td>
<td>Kadambapadra Sthali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The headquarters of this pathaka have been identified with Kālawāḍ, a village with a population of 2,500. It is twenty-six miles south-east of Navānagar.</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālasamako</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be the place now known as Kāṭasara.</td>
<td>37, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanakasomaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was near Vasukiya river.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāntārapuragrāma.</td>
<td>Śoḍaśaviṣaya</td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnasomagrama</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was near Vansālika river.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasakagrāma</td>
<td>Sopakendra Mandali-sthali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>67, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasatrad or Kasa-</td>
<td>Kasatrada Pathaka in Khēṭaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>It is on the Sābarmati river, approximately twelve miles away from Ahmadabad, and fifteen miles from Khēḍa.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>draba.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaundinyapura</td>
<td>Surāśṭra. (It was a large unit which was required to be divided into uttara-pañthaka and Dakṣinā-pathaka.)</td>
<td>It is identified with Kuṇḍinapura, the place of residence of king Bhīṣmaka, father of Rukmini. It is about a mile to the west of modern Kuliana, thirty-two miles west of Junagadh and twenty-five miles to the east of Porbandar. It is on the bank of the river Bhaderā.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavitthavika</td>
<td>Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>To be identified with Katāvi, a village near Dēvālaj.</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandhajja</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>It may be identified with Kundhaj, ten miles south-east of Dhank and six miles south-west of Uplet.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khēṭaka</td>
<td>Khēṭaka-Viṣaya in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The headquarters of the Visaya, it is identified with Khēḍa, the headquarters of the Kaira district.</td>
<td>30, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khēṭaka Padraka</td>
<td>Hastavapra ....</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khōdasthalaka</td>
<td>Luṇāpadraka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>69, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khuddavediya</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>It must have been in the vicinity of Anumaṇījari near Amreli.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīkataṇputra</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>May be identified with Kotariya, which is at a distance of less than eight miles to the north of Padana.</td>
<td>5, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koṇakapathaka</td>
<td>Khēṭaka in Surāśṭra ....</td>
<td>The headquarters of this pathaka may have been Kuṇa which lies six miles to the north-east of Ahmadabad and two miles to the south of Ghoḍasara. It is fifteen miles north-east of Khēḍa.</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konatepadraka</td>
<td>Madasarahasthalī in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>In the vicinity of Madsar.</td>
<td>67, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koraṭapadraka</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>This was near Madasara on the coastal line, and be identified with a place named Koṭāda which is thirteen miles to the east of Mahuvā.</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukkaṭa</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td>Identified with Kukad near Tansa in Gogha taluka, about nine miles south-west of Hathab.</td>
<td>5, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukkurāṇaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>A vihāra was situated at this place. It was near Valā (Dudgāvihāra) and may be identified with Karkōliā, about two miles to the south-west of Sīhōr, and thirteen miles from Valā.</td>
<td>69, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesrudka</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be Lusada, a station on Jāmanagar State Railway line.</td>
<td>4, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liptikhaṇḍa</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was situated near Dhāṅk. The phonetic resemblance of Lipti with this place name itself suggests the identity.</td>
<td>85, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loharapadraka</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>To the south of Jambuvānara.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludha</td>
<td>Vaṭapalli in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The name of the Sthali cannot be deciphered properly, but the situation of the villages as described in the grant shows that what was tentatively read as 'Jo... satyas' must be Vaṭapallikā, to the west of Mahuvā. It may be the same village now known as Luḍhā.</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luṇāpadraka</td>
<td>Luṇāpadraka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Present Luṇāvāda.</td>
<td>69, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madkarna</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td>Its identification with the present village Makharid near Talajā is suggested on phonetical grounds.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahēśvaradasēṇaka</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>It has been identified with Mahādevapur, six miles south of Talajā, and about twenty-five miles south-west of Hathab. This place is forty-three miles away from Valā where the recipient Vihāra (of the grant) was situated. Hence another Mahādevapura which is near Sīhōr may be taken for this place. It is fourteen miles from Valā and about twenty-one miles from Hathab.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahīchhaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>It lay near Kapadavanj.</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahiśābali</td>
<td>Uppalāhēta Pathaka in Khēṭaka āhāra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The correct reading seems to be Mahiśābali and not Mahiḷābali. The place may be identified with the present Mahiśā, three miles north of Alińā, the findspot of the grant.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manḍali</td>
<td>Mandalidraṅga in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Drāṅga division was possibly a large town or a city including its suburbs. About three miles to the west of the village Lusdi there is a place named Manḍal which possibly represents Manḍali, the headquarters of the sthali.</td>
<td>20, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēghavaṇa</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was near Luśā and Madasa. It may be Mēghāvēdar, three miles south-west of Sihōr.</td>
<td>66, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moraṇiśija</td>
<td>Antarātra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Probably modern Moruka, eight miles north-east of Talājā, a railway station on Verāval side.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mularamapataka</td>
<td></td>
<td>To the north-east of Desāṅaka.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naddiyā</td>
<td>——pathaka in Khēṭaka.</td>
<td>May be identified with Nāndēj, half a mile distance from Bārjadi.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgadinnaka</td>
<td>Rōhāṇaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgāraka</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td>Donee’s residence.</td>
<td>10, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāgaraka</td>
<td>Nāgarakapathaka in Khēṭaka.</td>
<td>The headquarters of the Nāgaraka pathaka, have been identified with Nagara, a place which is at a distance of two miles to the north of Cambay. It is twenty-five miles away from Khēḍā. The pathaka seems to be the southernmost pathaka of Khēṭaka āhāra.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandiaragrāma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāṭakaputra</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td></td>
<td>11, 12, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natyoṭaka</td>
<td>Jambuvāṇara in Surāśṭra</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nātyoṭaka</td>
<td>Kalapakapathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>It belonged to Jambuvāṇara.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navagrahma</td>
<td>Malavaka</td>
<td>Identified with Nogava.</td>
<td>54, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neradehha</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be identified with Neroli.</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigudaka</td>
<td>Ghasaraka Pathaka in Surastra</td>
<td>It may be identified with a village called Nagadi which is ten miles north-east of Kiśod.</td>
<td>36, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niguda</td>
<td>Vatapalli in Surastra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahamavatika</td>
<td>Kalapakapathaka in Surastra</td>
<td>It is mentioned that it was situated in Kātakṣayataka which seems to be a wrong reading for Kalapakapathaka. It may be modern Bamagandi which is in the vicinity of Dēvāli.</td>
<td>61, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṅgulajallika</td>
<td>Ghitālaya Bhūmi (it formed the eastern division of the Viśaya).</td>
<td>The identification of this place with Paṭia the in Thāsara taluka does not seem to be correct. It may be more correctly identified with a village Pālia in the Śivarājapura Viśaya bearing close affinity to the name.</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭapaḍra</td>
<td>Śivabhāgapura Viṣaya.</td>
<td>Probably the same as Padēri, a village eight miles south of Śivabhāgapur</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paṭṭanaka</td>
<td>Kālapakapathaka in Surastra</td>
<td>It lay to the north-west of Sarkarapadraka of the grant</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pichhipalli</td>
<td></td>
<td>Near Valabhī. It may be identified with Pachhēgam, a place three miles to the north-west of Vajā.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pippalarunkhali</td>
<td></td>
<td>On the western border of Anumaṇji-sthali. It is possible that this place was the same as Pipalia, about fourteen miles south-west of Amreli.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pippalarunkhari</td>
<td>Anumaṇji Sthali</td>
<td>It was to the north of Navagrama. Identified with Palduna, two miles north-west of Baroda.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulindaka</td>
<td>Malavaka</td>
<td>Not very far from Khētaka and Śivabhāgapura. It may be identified with Pandu, seven miles north-west of Kālad.</td>
<td>59, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purānaka</td>
<td>Kalapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra</td>
<td>Two grants were issued from 71, 73, 81 this place.</td>
<td>63, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnikala</td>
<td></td>
<td>Probably in the vicinity of Chōtilā.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puśamitra</td>
<td></td>
<td>The donee emigrated from this place and settled at Valabhi.</td>
<td>64, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puṣyasambapura</td>
<td></td>
<td>It may be identified either with Rōhāṇi, twenty-one miles south of Dhōjkā, and eleven miles north-west of Cambay or with the village Rohiṣālā, which is sixteen miles south-east of Bōṭāl and less than ten miles from Valā. However, as the grant was made to the Vihāra in Valabhi itself the latter identification appears to be more appropriate as it was nearer to the donee’s place.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rōhāṇaka</td>
<td>Rōhāṇaka Pathaka in Surāṣṭra</td>
<td>It is to the south of Dēyapalli and may be identified with the above mentioned Rōhāṇi, two miles away from Nara—a station of the Pēilad-Cambay Railway line.</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohiṇiyarja.</td>
<td>Nāgarakapathaka in Khēṭaka.</td>
<td>It may be identified with Radhu, a village seven miles south-west of Khēḍā, and fourteen miles from Kasaundra.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rokṣasaka</td>
<td>Kasadraha in Khēṭaka.</td>
<td>This seems to have been the easternmost pathaka of Khēṭaka and probably adjoins the Suryāpura visaya. Sihōdas, which is five miles away to the south of Dēsar, possibly represented Simhapallikā.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Near findspot of the plate Aiavej 11, 12, 15 at a distance of ten miles there is a village named Samadhila which may be identified with Samihambara.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samapadravatāka.</td>
<td>Anumaṇiji Sthali</td>
<td>In the vicinity of Pippalaruṅkhari.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samihambara</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampadravīṭaka.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saṅgamaṇaṅka</td>
<td>Manḍali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>18, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaṅkaravatāka</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td>Donee's residence.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śankaravatāka</td>
<td></td>
<td>It lay not far from present-day Madkaṇa (incidental reference is made to this place in the Valabhi grants).</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santaputra</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td>It lay to the north of Madsar.</td>
<td>69, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saptavasadi</td>
<td>Madasarasthali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The village is mentioned along with another village Samihambara.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saraswatīvāṭika</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was near Navalakhi (near Vanthali).</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargapuri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarkarapadraka</td>
<td>Kalapakapathaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>The grant was issued from a military camp at this place. It may be identified with Śavalkot, a place near the findspot of the grant. It is nine miles to the north of Kāmlēj.</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savaṇadika</td>
<td></td>
<td>Identified with Sihuni.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sihaśuniija</td>
<td>Kolamba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sihaṇaka</td>
<td>Bāravaṇa in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Donee's residence. Modern Sihōr, a junction of the Bhāvana-nagar State Railway, fourteen miles south-east of Valabhi and twenty-one miles north-west of Hastavapra.</td>
<td>3, 9, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīrṣhapura</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td>Identified with Sihōr, twelve miles from Vāḷā. It was the original capital of the Ghōhi-lōts before Bhāvana-nagar was founded.</td>
<td>3, 8, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīrṣhapura</td>
<td></td>
<td>It lay near Kapadvaṇja.</td>
<td>52, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirisiśhiniṅka</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Viśaya lay to the north-east of the Bharukachchha viṣaya. The headquarters Śivabhāgapura have been identified with Śivarāja-pura, sixteen miles south-east of Hālol.</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śivabhāgapura</td>
<td>Śivabhāgapura Viṣaya.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śiva Kapadraka</td>
<td>Antarātra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sivatratiyagama</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be the same as modern Visali near Lusdi which is seven miles to the north-east of Port Albert Victor.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sradhika</td>
<td></td>
<td>At a distance of one mile to the east of Anti there is a village named Sadhi which may be identified with Srādhikā. It is seven and a half miles away from the findspot of the plate Anāstū.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suryadēsa</td>
<td></td>
<td>May be identified with Surjiālī (which may have been another name for Sūrya-pallī). The place is at a distance of two miles to Timbāḍi, the findspot.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suryapura</td>
<td>Suryapura Viṣaya. (It included Gōthara and Luṇāvāḍa state.)</td>
<td>It was the headquarters of the Viṣaya. It can be identified with Surdi, a village four miles to the east of Shalēra, a station between Godra and Luṇāvāḍa. It is eleven miles away from Godra and Luṇāvāḍa.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabhagrama</td>
<td></td>
<td>Identified with Timbā.</td>
<td>Dvi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapasa Pallika</td>
<td>Nāgarakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.</td>
<td>The headquarters of the Nāgaraka pathaka have been identified with Nāgarā, a place which is at a distance of two miles to the north of Cambay. It is twenty-five miles away from Kheda. The pathaka seems to be the southernmost pathaka of Khētaka shāhāra.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāpasiya</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td>This place was on the Paprimati river and has been identified with Thān, a station on the Mörbi Railway.</td>
<td>31, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thāṇaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>Near Anumaṇḍi in Amreli. It may be the same as Trāvada, ten miles south-west of Amreli.</td>
<td>52, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trāmaḍia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Donee’s residence.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tranonadi</td>
<td>Anumaṇḍi Sthali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trisanghamaka</td>
<td>Hastavapra</td>
<td>It has been identified with Tarsamia, three miles south-east of Bhavanagar and about four miles north-east of Hathab. According to information gathered by Jackson, a temple of Kotjarā Dēvi stood at this place.</td>
<td>1, 50, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uchchhapadraja</td>
<td>Pumyānaka in Surāstra</td>
<td></td>
<td>33, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udrapadraja</td>
<td></td>
<td>Four brāhmaṇas are mentioned as emigrants from this place.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udumbara</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was near the village Kundhaj.</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uisiṅgha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Capital of Malavaka.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ujjaini</td>
<td>Malavā (was to the east of Valabhi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnatta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Near Vērāval in the vicinity of Dēmbhigrāma or Maliya. It may be identified with Unā near Dūḷāndar.</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uppalāheta</td>
<td>Uppalāheta Pathaka</td>
<td>It was the headquarters of the Pathaka and may be identified with Upilēta in the Thāsara taluka. The village is five miles to the south-east of Thāsara, thirty-five miles from Kheda and thirteen miles from Alinā, the findspot of the grant. The Uppalāheta pathaka was situated in the west of the abovementioned Samipalikā pathaka.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttapalaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was near Bhaṭṭānaka, and it may be identified with Udāvi, near Kamlej, which is seven miles from Bhavanagar and thirteen miles from Valā.</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vadelasomalika</td>
<td></td>
<td>It lay to the west of Shihamuhija which is identified with Sihunj or Sunj, a place seven miles to the east of Ahmedabad. Vaddasomalikā has been identified with Vantāvali, The dorne of the grant resided very near this village.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Name of the place | Territorial division | Identification and remarks | Reference
--- | --- | --- | ---
Vahuvatika | Suryapura Vishaya | On the bank of the river Vappoikā. It is tentatively identified with Bhalīawād in the Dōhad taluka. It is also possible that the place is now called Vaulā, a village one and a quarter miles to the west of Luṇāvādā. The Veri river flows by its side. | 87
Valabhi | Surāśṭra | Capital of the Maitraka king's 13, 14, 35, modern Vala. | 40
Valapadra | | Near Chhadukapadraka in the Hastavapraḥāra. It may be identified with Valavad, two miles west of Śīhōr. | 39
Valaprajoyaka | | This village was, as the grant records, near a well-known place the name of which cannot be deciphered. | 14
Valapullika | Vaṭapalli in Surāśṭra. | This sthali comprised the triangular tract between Goras, Lusdi and Katpur in the Mahuvā district of the Bhāvanagār state. This is indicated by the identity of some village in this sthali. The place may be identified with Vadla, at a distance of two miles to north-east. | 19, 39
Vamsakatta | Hastavapra | Donee's residence. | 71, 86
Vamsakatta | | Probably it was situated next to Talajā, the site of Vamsakatta. | 35, 71, 86
Vanditapalli | | It was a place from where a grant was made and it may have been near Nōgāva. | 52, 60
Varahammanika | Kalapakapathaka in Surāśṭra. | The phrase "Surāśtrakaṣṭa Kālakṣvyoḍaka praboddha" seems to be a wrong reading for "Surāśtrēsur Kālapaka Pathaka." | 67
Varddhamana | | The donee migrated from this place which is the same as Vaḍhavāna. It was the capital of the Chāpoṭakas under Dhāranīvarāhā. The town is named after Varaddhamana Sūri, the last of the Jain Tirthāṅkaras. Mūrutungā, the famous Jaina writer, resided at this place. | 85, 86
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the place</th>
<th>Territorial division</th>
<th>Identification and remarks</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vardhamana</td>
<td>Vardhamana bhūkti in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Identified with Vadhavāna.</td>
<td>75, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varohaṭaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>It was to the east of Navagrāma.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsukiya</td>
<td>Akṣasarakṣa in Hastavapra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaṭadraka</td>
<td>Ghāsarakṣa Paṭhaka in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Probably the same as the place called Vaḍīdar, three miles north-east of Kiśōd.</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaṭagrāma</td>
<td>Surāśṭra</td>
<td></td>
<td>14, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaṭagrāma</td>
<td>Dipaṭaka Paṭhaka in Valva Khaṃbha Sthali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaṭanagara</td>
<td>Vaṭanagara Sthali</td>
<td>Probably to be identified with modern Vadādar, ten miles to the north of Vanthali.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaṭanumaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>It must have been near Śibor and Hāthab, as it is mentioned along with another village in Hāthab while the former place was the donee’s residence.</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaṭapadraka</td>
<td></td>
<td>The findspot of the plate mentioning this village is Dhāṅk, and the grant was made to a temple which may have been in the present Vedalā near Dhāṅk.</td>
<td>9, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velapadra</td>
<td>Akṣasarakṣa in Hastavapra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>Donee’s residence. This may be the present Vēḷāmēdār, a village at a distance of two miles from Talājā and about twenty miles south-west of Hāthab.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velapadraka</td>
<td>Jharisthali in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td>May be the same as Vēḷivaḍār 20, 24, 48 in Kāṭhiawād. It was to the west of Dadhikūpaka as recorded by the grant.</td>
<td>20, 24, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijragrāma</td>
<td>Antarātra in Surāśṭra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikilliśa</td>
<td>Ghorasa Viṣaya</td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viraputra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Near Madsar.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of the place</td>
<td>Territorial division</td>
<td>Identification and remarks</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visalapataka</td>
<td></td>
<td>To the west of Dašānaka.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visvapalli</td>
<td>Kolamba</td>
<td>It was in the south of Vadda somalikā and may be identified with Vansōl, three miles south-east of Vantāvalī.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vītapadra</td>
<td>Aksasarakā in Hastavapra in Surāśtra.</td>
<td>Donee's residence. This may be the present Vēlāmēdar, a village at a distance of two miles from Talājā and about twenty miles south-west of Hathab.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāghrādinānaka</td>
<td>Ghāsarakā Pāṭhaka in Surāśtra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yodhavaka</td>
<td>Aksasarakā in Hastavapra in Surāśtra.</td>
<td>A Buddhist Vihāra was built at this place by Skanda-bhaṭṭa.</td>
<td>53</td>
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GAZETTEERS


ABBREVIATIONS

Ant. Rev. = Antique Review.
As. Res. = Asiatic Researches.
As. Rev. = Asiatic Review.
B.I.S.M.Q. = Bharat Itihasa Sarvadharma Mandal Quarterly.
B.S.O.S. = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
C.H.I. = Cambridge History of India.
C.S.H.I. = Cambridge Shorter History of India.
E.C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.
E.I. = Epigraphia Indica.
I.A. = Indian Antiquary.
I.A.L. = Indian Art and Letters.
I.C. = Indian Culture.
I.H.Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.
Is. Cul. = Islamic Culture.
J.I.H. = Journal of Indian History.
J.M.S. = Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
J.N.S.I. = Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J.U.B. = Journal of the University of Bombay.
N.I.A. = New Indian Antiquary.
P.O. = Poona Orientalist.
P.I.H.C. = Proceeding of the Indian History Congress.
S.B.E. = Sacred Books of the East.
V.C. = Vienna Oriental Congress Report.
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