THE
SAKAS IN INDIA
34880

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TO

The Rev. Ross Wilson, M.A.,
as
A Humble Token
of
Admiration For Both
The Man and The Scholar
Extracts from a letter dated November 23, 1946 to my father Pt. Bhagavad Datta from Professor Dr. Sten Konow, (formerly Government of India Epigraphist) Oslo, Norway.

I have read your son's work, (Śakas in India) and we will all be thankful for the great care he has taken in putting the whole Indian material at our disposal so clearly. I am convinced that the future of Indian research can only be safeguarded if Indian and European scholars will work, hand in hand and with mutual regard and understanding. We in Europe will always be happy to collaborate in this way, and it is a good omen that an excellent Indian scholar like your son will partake in the work. It is not, of course, to be expected that there will be a general agreement about the interpretation of all details, but it is essential that we should, on both sides, state our arguments and results as fully and clearly as possible.

Everybody who has tried to elucidate Indian chronology will know how many difficulties still remain to be cleared up, and in the last years a new and serious one has turned up through the discovery of a Parthian era of 245? B.C. It is a good thing that we have learnt that the Seleucid era was never used in India, but the Parthian has evidently played a greater role than we should have expected, and I am much obliged to your son in this connection for reminding me of the Girdharpur and Kankāli Tila inscriptions. With regard to the well-known Śaka era of 79 A.D. I quite agree with him that it was not introduced by Kaniṣka, but is considerably older than his accession, which can hardly be put earlier than about the middle of the second century A.D. I am still convinced that the ruler who first used it was Wima Kadphises.

Sd/- Sten Konow
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INTRODUCTION.

In my third year class I prepared a short bibliography of the lost Sanskrit dramas from stray references about them in Sanskrit literature. Soon after finishing my B.A. examination, I began to prepare a devanagari text of the inscriptions of the Western Kṣatrapas. On examination the number of these inscriptions was found to be much less than expected. However, I went on with this work, and my interest grew in the subject. I then tried to note and collect the necessary literature concerning it. Meanwhile I selected the present thesis for my M.A.

After securing and studying the available books and articles on the subject, I came to the conclusion that only a few scholars have done any pioneering work in this field of ancient Indian history. The names of Śrī Bhagvanlal Indraji, Prof. E. J. Rapson and Dr. Sten Konow will always be remembered with admiration by the future historians. 'The Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas etc.' by Prof. Rapson and the 'Kharosthi Inscriptions' by Dr. Sten Konow are monumental works. The patience, the energy, the labour, the keen insight and deep erudition displayed by them are admirable. With their works as the basis of my study I entered into this difficult and dry subject.

Another scholar who has worked in this field of research was Śrī K. P. Jayaswal. It was he who brought to light the war of Nahapāna with a Sātavāhana king from a Jain source. He showed that Bharukaccha was the capital of Nahapāna. The Yuga-purāṇa of the Gārgī Samhitā, an important source on this subject, only noticed by H. Kern, was edited for the first time by Šrī Jayaswal. It has proved very useful for a reconstruction of the history of the period.

Besides these works a large number of scholars have been contributing from time to time most important articles in various
research journals. I have used them in their proper places, acknowledging my debt.

Some recent works and articles have proved very useful. Dr. Sten Konow while revising the period has thrown a new light on the subject in his article, *Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology*. The *Date of Nahapāna* as discussed by V. R. Deoras in his article (Proceedings Indian History Congress, Lahore session) is worth study. The laborious work of Dr. K. Gopalachari, *The Early History of the Andhra Country*, supplies a summary of the different aspects of the reigns of Nahapāna, Caṇṭana and Rudradāman I.

The ancient Indian tradition is very useful in filling up some of the important details. Most of it so far lies unexplored. Twenty seven references from this source of Indian history have been collected here. Of all these the gāthās of Tiloya Pannyaṭi have been of most help. These gāthās were first printed by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his introduction to *The Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar* (1926). The attention of scholars was not attracted to this rare source for a long time. It was in the Hindi *History of Bharatavarṣa* by Pandit Bhagavad Datta that the gāthās were fully utilized and their importance was emphasized. According to R. B. Hira Lal and other scholars this work was composed in the latter part of the 5th century A.D. The duration of the reigns of Nahapāna and Caṇṭana and the family of Caṇṭana are all recorded in these gāthās. Important information from tradition has been made available in this thesis. Many of these references were unknown so far. Some of them are noted below, *e.g.*, (i) Presence of the Śakas in the Indus region at the time of Duryodhana referred to in *Majmal-ut-Tawārīkh*; (p. 2) (ii) The derivation of the word Śaka according to the Purāṇas; (p. 3f) (iii) Reference to the food of the Śakas in the *Caraka saṃhitā*; (p. 15) (iv) Mention of Śaka-wells (Śaka-andhu) by Pāṇini; (p. 16) (v) The word Romaka and its explanation. (vi) *The Śaka Era*. A lot of new material on this point has been presented in this thesis. Alberuni's statement that the Śaka era
was started at the death of a Śaka tyrant gave me the impetus to search for the source of his information. This information has been traced to be contained in astronomical works which go back from Alberuni’s time to 628 A.D.

Moreover both inscriptional and literary proofs have been given to substantiate the view put forward that there were two Śaka eras, one starting from the beginning of the Śaka rule and the other started by a Śakāri Vikrama at the expiry of the Śakas; (p. 35 ff)

(vii) A suitable explanation of the name ‘Kardamaka kings’ has been suggested; (p. 68)

(viii) The references to Śakāri Vikrama will be found useful in Chapter VII.

The history of the Western Kṣatrapas, after the rule of Rudradāman I is very obscure. I have only collected notes about them from the writings of Śri Bhagvanlal Indrajī, Prof. Rapson and others. With the scanty material available more than this was not possible.

In Chapter IX an attempt has been made to collect only new points about the various customs of the Śakas. Dr.K. Gopalachari and others have made attempts to throw light on this aspect of the history of the Śakas also. Anyhow the material presented here from Sanskrit sources is quite new.

Recently it has been felt that a text of all the inscriptions of the various dynasties should be published in one place. Realizing the importance of the need, a devanāgarī text of all the inscriptions of the Western kṣatrapas has been given in the appendix. Three inscriptions could not be included in this list as their text was not easy of access. Other appendices will also prove useful.

The thesis in its printed form is revised and enlarged. My sincere thanks are due to my respected teacher the Rev. Ross Wilson, the then Head of the Department of History, University of the Panjab, who has corrected me in so many places and has given me valuable suggestions ungrudgingly.

I am very thankful to Dr. A. L. Śrīvāstava, now Head of the Department of History, University of the Panjab, who has been and is always encouraging and guiding me in research work and Prof. R. R. Sethi, Panjab University Lecturer in History for some of his suggestions.
I acknowledge my sincere indebtedness to Pt. Vishvanath, my school-teacher in history, who has gone through the thesis and given many valuable suggestions and Pt. Bhagavad Datta, Director, Vedic Research Institute, who has given me the insight to find out material from ancient Indian literature to construct Indian history.

I offer my sincerest thanks to Miss C. L. H. Geary, Principal, Lahore College for Women for seeing the book through the press. Many of her suggestions were extremely valuable.

The fine get-up of the book in these hard days is due to the loving care of L. Khazanchi Ram Jain, Proprietor, Messrs Mehar Chand Lachman Das. The book would not have seen the light of day but for his ungrudging help in printing it.

Department of History,
University of the Panjrab, Lahore.
December 29, 1946.

SATYA SHRAVA
CHAPTER I

THE ŚAKAS

I. ANTIQUITY OF THE ŚAKA TRIBE

Śakas are known to have existed in history from a very early time. They are mentioned in the Behistun (Bistūn), Persepolis, Hamadan and Naqsh-i-Rustūm inscriptions of Darius or Dārayavahush.¹ This king is assigned to 526-486 B.C. His inscriptions are found in three versions. The Persian version has preserved the word Śaka exactly as it is found in Sanskrit. On the authority of Herodotus also we know that the Śakas are earlier than the time of Darius. Herodotus writes: 'the Scythians before the time of Darius conquered the Medes' and "became masters of Asia."² According to this same author the Śakas were known during the time of Sesostris, a king of Egypt, who also preceded Darius.³ Herodotus has another definite piece of information on this point. He writes:—'Scythians add that from the time of their first king to the invasion of their country by Darius. is a period of one thousand years, neither less nor more.'⁴

It may, therefore, be safely concluded that if the date which is proposed for Darius i.e. 526-486 B.C. be regarded as true, then the Sakas appeared in the history of nations from about 1500 B.C.

The source of this information of Herodotus may have been faulty, or it may have been that the first king of a particular tribe of the Sakas, whose family ruled without break for 1000 years, was installed at that date. The Sakas are placed centuries before this date by Sanskrit works. As will be seen in a later chapter, the mercenary Sakas fought on the side of Duryodhana in the battle of Mahabharata. If this statement be regarded as true, and there is no cogent reason to disbelieve it, then it should be remembered that the Sakas tribe existed before circa 2400 B.C., a date proposed for the Bharata battle on very good grounds.¹ Not this alone, but the Mahabharata also states that Pahlavas, Barbaras, Kiratas, Yavanas and Sakas lived in the delta (of Sindhu).²

The fact that Sakas or a sub-clan of this tribe existed in the Indus region at the time of Duryodhana is strengthened by an interesting piece of information from an entirely different source, Majmal-ut-Twarikh, a work in Persian (of circa the 12th Century A.D.), which is a translation of an Arabic work of circa 1026 A.D., which again was a translation of an ancient Sanskrit text and contains the following account:

"The Jats and Meds dwelt in Sind (on the banks) of the river which is called Bahar. These two tribes used to quarrel with each other very often, to enfeeble and to have ascendancy over the other. Once they both being advised

by a Jat chief approached the King Dayushe (Duryodhana) and begged him to nominate a person to rule over them."

The account proceeds further and it is stated that Duhšalā the sister of Duryodhana married to Jayadratha, the king of Sind, was appointed the ruler.

These Jats are no other than the Massagetæ (the great Getæ) mentioned in Diodorus as an off-spring of the ancient Śaka tribe. The Jats and Śakas belong to the same original Caspian type as is well known now. Colonel James Tod showed long ago the oneness of the Śakas with the later Getes, the Jotes, the Jits, the Goths and the Jetas.

These Jats and Medes living in Sind at such an early date must have had intercourse with some other western tribes now extinct. The excavations at Mohenjo-dāro have revealed the traces of four such ancient races: the Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian, and Alpine who lived in that city of Sind with other peoples at a period anterior to 2500 B.C.

The Śakas, therefore, have been known in Indian history from at least 2400 B.C., the period of the Mahābhārata war.

II. THE NAME ŚAKA AND ITS MEANING

Greek writers have thrown no light on the origin of this name. It is only through a study of the Purāṇas that we come across a plausible origin, but one which has still to be verified. Some Purāṇas state that this land had once

a network of some rivers and their tributaries had the shape of a Śaka or a teak tree. In India the word Sāgavāna a corruption of Sanskrit Śaka is used even up to this day for the teak tree. This may also mean that the delta of some rivers of this land had this shape. A Purāṇa says that there was a Śaka mountain in the Śakadvīpa, and hence the name of this land. This mountain may have been rich in the growth of Śaka trees. On the other hand in various Sanskrit dictionaries we can trace its meaning as a tree, an island, a kṣatriya, a country, a tribe, and a king.

III. THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE ŚAKAS

THE GREEK ACCOUNT

Herodotus gives a vivid description of Scythia:

"99. Before you come to Scythia, on the sea coast, lies Thrace. The land here makes a sweep, and then Scythia begins, the Ister ( Danube ) falling into the sea at this point with its mouth facing the east."

"100. Beyond this tract, we find the Scythians again in possession of the country above the Tauri and the parts bordering on the eastern sea, as also of the whole district lying west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis ( the sea of Azof ), as far as the river Tanais, which empties itself into that lake at its upper end. .......

"101. Scythia, then, which is square in shape and has two of its sides reaching down to the sea, extends inland to the same distance that it stretches along this coast, and is equal every way."

1 Vāyu Ch. 49, 88 and 89. 2 Matsya 123, 36. 3 Viśvaprakāśakoṣa p. 5, sl. 35. 4 Ibid; Nānārthaśabdakoṣa p. 3, sl. 36. Nānārthaśamgraha p. 87, sl. 86. Madras Ed. 5 Viśvaprakāśakoṣa p. 4, 25. 6 Nānārthaśabdakoṣa ( Jīvānanda Ed. ) p. 3, sl. 35. 7 Book IV.
Diodorus of Sicily¹ (circa 57 B.C.) informs us that the Scythians were already ‘inhabiting the country bordering upon India.’ “This people originally possessed little territory, but later, as they gradually increased in power, they seized much territory...... At first, then, they dwelt in the Araxes (The Aras) river, but since acquired territory in the mountains as far as the Caucasus, and in the steppes along the ocean and lake Mæotis (the sea of Azof) and in the rest of that country as far as the Tanais river.”

The latter part of the description of Diodorus is practically the same as that of Herodotus. But during his own time or a little before him the Śakas had already extended their territory towards the borders of India. This territory was named Seistān or Śakasthāna.

Strabo has a general remark to offer on this point. He says, “All the tribes east of the Caspian are called Scythic. The Dahē next the sea, the Massagetē (Great Getē) and Sacē more eastward....”²

THE SANSKRIT ACCOUNT

The Purāṇas³ present a vivid description of Śakadvipa. Their account appears to be older than the Greek one, because according to them this people was highly civilized. The Mahābhārata also describes the Śaka sub-continent. Nundo Lal De in his Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India⁴ has compared the names of some of the provinces, states or janapadas, rivers and mountains of the Śakadvipa as found in the Mahābhārata with the same as found in Ptolemy’s

¹ Book II. 48. ² Strabo XI, p. 264. ³ Matsya 122, 3-34; Vāyu 49, 74-99 ⁴ See the word Śakadvipa.
description of Scythia. A few of these may be mentioned here:

PROVINCES

Mahābhārata.  Ptolemy.
Kumuda.  Komedai.
Sukumāra.  Komaroii.
Jalada.  Golaktophagoi.
Jaladharā.  Salateroi or Zaratoi

STATES

Mṛga  Margiana.
Māsaka.  Messagetai
Mandaga  Makhaitegoi

RIVERS

Ikṣu, (Cakṣu or Vakṣu) Oxus

MOUNTAINS

Syāmagiri  Kaukasos (including Mustag mountain which means the black mountain)
Durga Śaila and (Kesari)
The El-Burz (Durga and Burz both mean a fort). Kesar or saffron is found there.

Saffron grows on Persian mountains even today.

All the ancient Sanskrit sources agree that the river Vakṣu or Oxus passed through the Śakadvipa. The Matsya Purāṇa states that Vakṣu or Cakṣu takes a westernly course. So also states the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki.

1 (i) साम्बाङसुपारायहम्मकायपद्वादरस्निकाय।
पुराणप्राप्तास्मात: स्वयम्भवितेऽगतोद्विग्नस्य।  Vāyu 47, 44 and
(ii) हपारान्नर्वाकायपद्वादरस्निकाय।
पुराणप्राप्तास्मात: स्वयम्भवितेऽगताः  Matsya 121, 45.
2 121, 40. 3 दुष्कुशादेव सीता च सिम्फुशादेव महानहः। Bālakṛṣṇa 49, 14.
The Mahābhārata states that the Kṣīroda sāgara or the Caspian sea was encircled in parts by the Śakadvīpa.

The Vāyu Purāṇa has a little different reading and says that the Kṣīroda encircled the Śakadvīpa. The Vāyu Purāṇa also adds that Śakadvīpa touched Dadhi (or Dahā of the Greeks) and Manḍodaka (or the Median?) Sea. The Matsya Purāṇa says that the Śakadvīpa encircled the Lavaṇa sea. The Mahābhārata also says that the Mṛgaś-a part of the Śakadvīpa-or the people of the Margiana, were brāhmaṇas and the Maṣakas or the Massagetæ were kṣatriyas or warriors. So also vaisyas and śūdras lived in other parts of the Śaka land. Compare with this the statement of Herodotus:—

“The intermediate space was occupied by the Husbandmen (Georgi) or agricultural Scythians.” This fact is corroborated by Vāyu Purāṇa, where it is said that the different kingdoms of the Śaka land contained people of the four castes. This account of the Mahābhārata depicts a very early phase in the life of this tribe.

These once civilized tribes of the Śakadvīpa became nomadic and uncultured long before the time of

1 Kṣīroda Sāgara was a name of the Caspian sea, because its later form Shirwan is used for the Caspian sea. See, Sir Henry Yule's "Marco Polo", Vol. I, p. 59.
2 Śakadvīpa च वक्ष्यायमि वधाबिद्ध पाणिवि।
3 ॥ बहिश्मा दर्शन ॥
4 ॥ वायु ॥ ॥
5 ॥ तेनाश्रेष्ठम् शमुद्र स्थिरमिश्रितं मिश्रितं ॥ वायु ॥ ॥
6 ॥ बहिश्मा ॥ ॥
7 ॥ तेनाश्रेष्ठम् शमुद्र स्थिरमिश्रितं मिश्रितं ॥ वायु ॥ ॥
8 History of Ancient Geography, by E. H. Bunbury, 1893, p. 185; Herodotus IV, 18.
9 तत्त्र पृष्ठ ॥ बहिश्माय जनयोपद्वायं सममिता: ॥ वायु ॥ ॥
10 तत्त्र पृष्ठ ॥ बहिश्माय जनयोपद्वायं सममिता: ॥ वायु ॥
Herodotus and even during the time of the Mahābhārata war, for it is recorded there that these once kṣatriya tribes became degraded for want of brāhmaṇa preachers.¹

IV. EXPANSION OF THE ŚAKA TRIBE

It has been shown above that a small band of the Śakas inhabited a portion of the Indus region at the time of Duryodhana.² In course of time more Śaka hordes came to these regions, and the whole region was then called by the name of Indo-Scythia or the region of Sindhu Śakas. To the Greeks this name was well-known. They speak of the Indo-Scythians and their country Indo-Scythia. According to Ptolemy,³ this territory of the Śakas extended on both sides of the Indus from the Kabul river to the Arabic sea. Arrian in his Indika writes:

"The Indus in like manner makes an Indian delta, which is not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue Pattala.""⁴

The commentator on these lines has not grasped the meaning of the word Pattala. He regards its Sanskrit equivalent Pātala as mere mythology.⁵

The Indus-delta was called Patalene (or Pātāla?), the country to the North and North East Abiria and the South-Eastern province Syrastiene i.e. Surāṣṭra. Ptolemy again remarks "and in the island formed by the river (Indus) are these towns, Patala, Barberi." Dionysius Periegeta,⁶ speaks about the Southern Scythians as settled on the Indus and his commentator Eustathius states that by the words Southern Scythians the Indo-Scythians are meant.

¹ Mahābhārata Anuśāsana Parva 68. 21. ² p. 3. ³ VII. I. 55, 62. ⁴ Ancient India Megasthenese and Arrian by McGrindle, Calcutta Ed. 1926 p. 167. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ V. 1088.
In the Periplus (assigned date 40 A.D.) Scythia i.e. Indo-Scythia is spoken of as being under Parthian rule. So it appears that at the time of that work i.e. in the 2nd half of the 1st century A.D., Indo-Scythia had come under the rule of the Parthians. The possible conclusion from the above statements is that the stronghold of the Scythians was in the Indus region, especially in the lower Indus region, and that the Śaka conquest had been effected long before the 2nd half of the 1st century A.D.

Śakasthāna doubtless included the district of Scythia, mentioned in the Periplus, from which flows the river Sinthus (Indus) the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythræan sea (Indian Ocean). The metropolis of Scythia in the time of the Periplus was Minnagar; and its market town was Barbaricum on the seashore.¹

The name of the capital of Scythia and of the kingdom of Mambarus (Nambanus?) in the time of the Periplus was Minnagar, and this was evidently derived from the city of Min in Śakasthāna mentioned by Isidor.² There is another fact which has been again recently supported. According to it, 'the region of Chakansur, just to the west of the Bolan Pass, has been reclaimed as one of the important centres of the ancient Śakasthāna.'³

A Śaka empire in the Indus country and even beyond it is known from other classical sources also. Ptolemy speaks of the extension of Śaka power to Kathiawar and the use of the imperial title King of Kings (Śāhānusāhī) among the Śakas is attested by coins.⁴

The Purāṇas' speak of Śaka kings as the successors of the Gardabhilla dynasty in Ujjain.

So a Śaka empire, with the emperor using the title 'King of Kings' (Ṣahānuṣāhī) existed in the Indus country some time before the establishment of the Vikrama Era or even long before it. Its centre of gravity seems to have been on the western shores of the lower Indus.

Dr. L. D. Barnett suggests the following gradual variations of the word Śakasthāna:

\[
\text{Saka-stāna} \\
\text{Sagastān} \\
\text{Sajastān or Sijistān} \quad \text{Saistān (Persian)} \\
\text{(in earlier Arabic)} \quad \text{Modern Sīstān}
\]

This Sīstān spread to the Indus river, and from their Indus abode the Śakas were taken to Kathiawar by the Jain Ācārya Kālaka. They settled in western India and there founded a kingdom of their own. From that place they penetrated into middle India as far as Mathurā, to Jabalpur, and up to the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Śrīparvata) territory in the eastern Deccan. After a rule of about three centuries they were subdued by the Guptas and in course of some more centuries they were fully absorbed by the Hindus.

---

1 सस गद्रिम्बका मूयो मोक्षस्तीमा वसुम्बरामस्।

CHAPTER II

THE ŚAKAS IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

It is unfortunate that almost all modern students of ancient Indian history have largely discarded the ancient tradition. Being ignorant of its immense value, they have not been able to give a connected account of India's past. When, on the other hand, we peep into the various branches of Sanskrit literature we find a vast and accurate store of information preserved therein. In this chapter, therefore, references to Śakas in Sanskrit, Jain, and Buddhist works have been collected. The works are quoted in their traditional chronological order, for, otherwise they would lose their real value. Recent researches have shown that with new finds the traditional chronology is being proved correct to a great extent. These references will help to fill in the gaps in the Śaka history.

1. *The Rāmāyana of Vālmiki* has many references to the Śakas. In it there are accounts of struggles between the ancient Āryans of India and the mixed hordes of Yavanas and Šakas. These struggles will be related at length under the heading Purāṇas. In the Kiśkindhā

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1 (i) भूय एवासुज्ज्वोरानु शकानु यवनमित्रतानु।
   तेरसीसंस्कृता भूमि: लक्ष्यविवाहमित्रते॥ Bālakāṇḍa, 54. 21. and

(ii) योनिदेशाश्रय यवना: शकेशाश्रयकालम्॥ 55, 2.
Kāṇḍa the Śakas are enumerated with the Kambojas, Yavanas and Bāhlikas.

2. Next in chronological order comes the Mahābhārata, the second great epic of India. The mention of Śakas at such an ancient period (circa 2400 B.C.) in the Mahābhārata is genuine as it is found in varied places in various parvas of this text. If the passages about the Śakas be regarded as interpolated then it should be borne in mind that interpolations could not have been so very systematic throughout the text, in all the manuscripts of so many and such widely separated places in India.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA DIFFERENTIATES BETWEEN THE ŚAKAS AND THE TUṢĀRAS

The second great epic of India clearly distinguishes between Śakas and Tuṣārās and mentions them along with Yavanas. Tuṣārās or the later Kuśānas are not mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa and they may, therefore, probably be of a later origin. Bhīṣma Parva shows that they fought in the great Bhārata war. Karṇa Parva also confirms this view. In the Bhārata war the Śakas sided with the Kurus. This differentiation between these two tribes is found throughout the Sanskrit literature.

KSATRIYA ŚAKAS BECOME A LOW-CASTE PEOPLE

The Mahābhārata further states that Śakas, Yavanas and Kambojas became vṛṣalas or low-class people by not
associating with brāhmaṇas. They are often classed with Barbaras and Mlechas and sometimes reckoned as Mlechas. The Indians of the time of Mahābhārata knew the Śakas closely because they had already settled on the banks of the Indus as stated in Chapter I on the authority of Majmal-ut-Tawārikh.

3. Śakas along with Yavanas, Pahlavas and Kambojas are also mentioned in the Bhṛgu Samhitā of Mānavā-Dharmasastra. According to this work they sank to the position of low caste people by the omission of kṣatriya rites and because they were neglected by the brāhmaṇas. This statement is similar to the statement of Mahābhārata noted above.

4. Purāṇas—Some of the Purāṇas refer to the Śakas along with other foreign tribes who had penetrated as far as Ayodhya and their defeat and humiliation by Sagara the son of Bāhu. The story in these Purāṇas is almost identical and runs thus: Bāhu was ill and the Haihayas, Tālajanghas and Śakas and other tribes uniting wrested his kingdom from him. His posthumous son Sagara determined to exterminate the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. When he was slaughtering them they fled to Vasiṣṭha for protection. The muni made a compact with them, stopped Sagara and saved them, but Sagara destroyed their laws of religion and changed their mode of dress. He made the Śakas shave half the head. He deprived them of the recitation of the

1 शका बचनकामोजालासा: क्षेत्र्याजातः।
बुधधवं परिसाता श्रायानानामविनाः॥ Anuśāsana Parva 68. 21.
2 बुधधवं सता कोऽके श्रायानादवैवन च॥
पौषपकःश्रीरुविष्टिम: काम्बोजो ययाता: शुका:।
पारदा: पञ्चवासीना: किशता दर्शा: खशा:॥ Manusmrītī X. 43, 44.
3 Brahmāṇḍa, Ch. 63. Vāyu, Ch. 88. Viṣṇu, Ch. 8 etc.
Veda and the exclamation 'Vaśaṭ.' These hordes of kṣatriya tribes seem to have remained and settled down in parts of India as a long interval passed between the defeat of Bāhu and their consequent defeat by Sagara. A remarkable feature in the narrative is that they are not spoken of as Mlechas or barbarians. Nor is there any suggestion that the Śakas and four other tribes were different in religion from the people of Ayodhyā, who professed the Vedic religion. Arguing cogently Pargiter has concluded that 'these five foreign tribes were Kṣatriyas and of much the same religion as Vasiṣṭha and Sagara.' They fell steadily in Indian estimation later on. By the time of the Bhārata battle they were classed as degraded tribes. Pargiter is of opinion that 'the story in this ballad could not have been composed in after time.' It is, therefore, considerably anterior to the Mahābhārata period.

WESTERN KṢATRAPAS IN THE PURĀNAS

The Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas mention eighteen Śaka kings who ruled after the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas in some province of India. But only sixteen are mentioned in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas.

1 अर्धं स्त्रानं शिरसो मुद्रयितम् व्यस्त्यंतं ।
व्यवनां शिरं सर्वं कंवोजानं तथावचं ॥
पारस्ता मुक्तेकोशां पहन्ता: इमालः चारिगः ।

विष्णुक्षणाय वो नकाराः: कृतांमि महारंगम् ॥

Vāyu 86. 140, 141. Compare it with Hariyavamśa as quoted in 'A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature' by Max Muller, Allahabad 1912. p. 28.

2 J. R. A. S. 1919, p. 359. (The above substance is mainly from Pargiter's account.)


4 सस्त्र गार्धिनिस्मरापि शकाश्रास्त्रसौऽमवः ।
Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 45.

5 दश गार्धिनिस्मे सूपः। सशा: पोढ़श सूपारः।
Ibid.
But the readings of Manjuśri-mūla-kalpa though mutilated certainly establish that eighteen Śakas were sufficiently powerful to be mentioned as kings out of thirty. The remaining twelve may have been some petty rulers during the periods of decline of the Śaka power. In Manjuśri-mūla-kalpa they are described as Madhyamas i.e. kings of the Madhyā country and are located in the North-midland.

There is some discrepancy in the accounts given by the various Purāṇas about the duration of the Śaka dynasty. The Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas assign to them 380 years. Pargiter takes 183 years to be the duration. But the duration of 300 years of ‘e’ ms. of Vāyu Purāṇa seems to be correct. It will be shown later that they actually reigned for about 300 years. The coins which range from 41 to 310 are the best proof of this.

5. Kāśyapa Samhitā and Parāśara Samhitā are two very ancient works on astronomy. Varāhamihira (505 A.D. ?) describes these books as the productions of munis, which means that they belong to the Mahābhārata period. Śakas are mentioned along with Yavanas and Kukuras in these works.

6. In the Caraka Samhitā, a medical work, we find mention of the diet of the Śakas. They used to take

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1 शष्कवंश तद्व विप्र वर्णजुक्ता निग्रागोपता ||६१३||

2 (i) सासांद्रिकाः सूक्ष्मो भोक्तान्तरो वसुम्भरायः

3 शतानि श्रीव्यासीति च शका झट्टाद्वैत तु माखया,

4 (i) मागः नम्माद्याय श्रेणाः: शवरमाणोः;

5 भग्ना बतहः क्षेत्राय वाणाः: शका: ||

6 कृष्णां वस्तु पवित्रविविधवर्गं। Quoted in Adhutah Sāgara

Also quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on Brhat Samhitā p. 218.
meat, wheat flour and mādhwika, an intoxicating drink.¹

7. Pāṇini, the great Sanskrit grammarian, (earlier than the 4th century B.C.) is the next author who mentions the Śakas. In his Gaṇapāṭha the name Śaka appears at many places,² and Kāśikā, a commentary on his Aṣṭādhyāyī (circa the 7th century A.D.) supports these readings.³

8. Kātyāyana (earlier than the 3rd century B.C.) is the next great author who mentions the Śakas. In his vārtika on the work of Pāṇini, he uses the expression 'Sakandhu'.⁴ This means that he not only knew the Śakas but also knew the wells (andhu) sunk by them. This word is traceable to the Gaṇapāṭha⁵ of Pāṇini also and the Kāśikā⁶ regards it as an integral part of the text of Gaṇapāṭha.

9. Patañjali, (earlier than the 2nd century B.C.) the author of the Mahābhāṣya has used the compound Śaka-Yavana,⁷ so it is clear that he knew the Śakas along with the Yavanas. "Professor Bhandarkar deduces from the instance of the dvandva compound that the Śakas, like the Yavanas, had already established their power in the north-west of India in the age of Patañjali, that is, between 184 and 148 B.C."⁸

10. In the Nātyaśāstra of Bharata-Muni Śakas are mentioned along with Āhīras and Cāndālas.⁹

According to Professor A.B. Keith "we cannot place

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¹ वांगीका: पहुँचकर्मीका: श्रोतोका चंतना: शका:।
मांसमधुमाध्यक्षकोमाध्यमानोचिता:: मिक्ता शीता च:।
² II. 1, 175; IV. 3, 92; V. 4, 88. ³ II. 1, 60; IV. I, 175., IV. 2, 120.
⁴ I. 1, 64. ⁵ IV. 1, 151. ⁶ IV. 1, 151. ⁷ II. 4, 10. ⁸ Quoted in Indian Culture, Vol. V., p. 116.
⁹ शक्रांकरेंचम्पार्थि: शब्दप्रमित्तान्ग्रं:।
हीना वेनेराण्य च विभाषा नाटके स्ट्रोता।। Ch. 17, 50.
it (Nāṭyaśāstra) before the 3rd century A.D." This view is, however, extremely conservative. Sāgaranandin’s work Nāṭaka-Lakṣaṇa-Ratna-Koṣa (12th century A.D.) published recently in Oxford mentions that king Harṣa-Vikrama and Mātrgupta both commented on this work. Again the Buddhist patriarch Rāhulaka (235 A.D.) also used the Nāṭyaśāstra. The date of Bharata’s work is much earlier; Kālidāsa also remembers him as a muni.

11. The Yuga Purāṇa of Gārgi Sanhitā has a good deal to say about the advent, depredations and end of the Śakas. A tyrant Śaka king Amlāṭa is described and the tyranny of Śakas in general is also related. After the Yavanas, hordes of Śakas invaded parts of India during the Śuṅga regime. According to K. P. Jayaswal this text belongs to the 1st century A. D.

12. There is a Prākrit work Paumacariya, of Vimalaśūri. Dr. H. Jacobi does not accept the date of its composition, given at the end of the work as 530 A. V. (after Vīra or Mahāvīra). But Dr. Winternitz accepts this date. Dr. Jacobi writes in his introduction to the Pariśiṣṭa Parvan:

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1 The Sanskrit Drama, p. 13.
2 श्रीहेमच्छबन्धनराधिपत्यागमावसंस्करिकमकुकुस्तकुकुकोक्क्तारामाय | एषां मल्लेन भरतस्य मतं विगाह छुड़े मया समस्तच्छल रक्षकोशम् II p. 134.
3 B. Bhattacharya, Foreword to the Tattvasaṅgraha, p. LXIX.
5 ततः: प्रमादचारित्र: खकः कुमारेवन्त: प्रजा: ;। कस्यपयणि चक्र (शका) षो [शा] ब्रह्मक्षेत्र इति स्मृत: ;। चतुर्भुजं दु: स्वर्गवासिनी भाग्यमाय | हरिष्यति शक्रा: पोशं (कोशं? तेषाँ?!) चतुर्भुजं खकं पुरं ;।
   ततः: प्रजायं देवप्रियं तथा राजस्य परिश्रयात् !।
"in it (Paumacariya) the Yavanas and Śakas are mentioned, not as newly settled in India but as living there since time immemorial." It is certain that the Jain author Vimalasūri regarded the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa as authentic texts and consequently believed in the antiquity of the Śakas in or near India as described in these works.

13. The Aṣṭāṅga Samgraha of Vāgabhaṭṭa, a native of Sindhu, states that the reddish cheeks of Śaka women, and Śaka lords were due to the use of palāndu or onion as an article of their diet.

14. In the drama Pādatāśātakam of mahākavi Śyāmilaka, a Śaka prince of Suraśṭra is mentioned along with a Gupta heir-apparent.

15. Some gāthās of the Tiloya Panṭatti, a Jain work of the 5th century A.D., throw a good deal of light on the chronology of Nahapāna and the Caṭṭanas or the Western Kṣatrapas. The Tiloya Panṭatti records that 461 years after the death of Mahāvīra the Śakas came into prominence....They (or Caṭṭana’s dynasty) ruled for 242 years. Gāthā No. 98 states that the Guptas succeeded the Caṭṭanas as rulers.

From these statements it appears that Nahapāna

1 p. XIX, 1932 ed.
2 रसोनान्तर वायोः पखाणुः परमोष्टस्य। वस्मादिव स्वतं वन्न शकाधिपतिजीवितस्य॥ यसोपयोगेन शकाखण्डनां भावण्यसारान्धिनिर्मितिमाताम्।
करोकाल्या हितजयस्तहस्तं गण्डरति निविदाय।॥ Utāra tantra, Ch. 49. 3 Caturabhāṣy pp. 7 and 39, Patna ed. 1922. 4 86-89; 93-99.
5 दौष्टिनास्य पाण्डवमण्णा गुणायर्य च चवसुस्वस्रवादाः।
वस्माद होतिसहस्स्य केलिपण्य पक्वति॥१५॥
मण्डल्लामण कालो दौष्टिन सखाइ हवंति बादुका।
तन्न गुणस्य वार्यां रक्षेत दौष्टिनय सयामिनि दुर्गितासा॥१६॥ Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit Manuscripts in the C. P. and Berar by Hiralal, p. XVI.
ascended the throne in 421 after Mahāvīra's death. The total of the reigns of Nahapāna and the Bhṛtya Caṣṭanas or the Śakas was 282 years. The author of this work, in the 5th century A.D., believed the Śakas to be Caṣṭanas and none else.

The late Dr. Hira Lal Sud commenting on these gāthās interprets Bhac-chatthanā (अच्छप्तानाः) as “probably Bhṛtya Āndhras or Āndhra-bhṛtyas.” Following his lead the editors of this work have also translated the word as Bhṛtya-Āndhras. But this Sanskrit rendering of the Prākrit form is altogether untenable. The Sanskrit form is Caṣṭana and they belonged to the Śaka race.

In the Jain Harivamśa Purāṇa (783 A.D.) a literal translation of these Prākrit gāthās into Sanskrit is found.¹ There the word for Bhṛtya Caṣṭanas is “Bhaṭṭatubāna.” This reading is sufficiently corrupt, but it certainly is not Bhṛtya-Āndhras.

16. According to the astronomical work Jyotirvidābharaṇa,² a Śakeśvara or a Śaka overlord of Rummadeśa was defeated by Vikramāditya. He was taken through the bazars of Ujjayini as a captive and later released. Not understanding the significance and meaning of the word ‘Ruma’ or ‘Romaka,’ Captain Wilford writes:³

“Vicrama is supposed to have waged war with the Romans, all the time that he lived: that is to say for 145 years: and to have taken one of their emperors prisoner,

¹ Chapter 63, verses 487, 488, and 552.
² यो सम्देशसाधिपति शकेशरं जितवा गूढीतवोजययों महायवे।
 अनीय संज्ञाय चुमोचयचतवो स विक्रमाक: समस्याविक्रम:। Ch. 22, 17.
whom he carried in triumph through the streets of Ujjayini.”

In the Purāṇas we find Romaka, a territory of the Sindhus. This word is found in the ganapāṭha of Pāṇini also. Alberuni also enumerates this Romaka or Ruma amongst the territories of the north-west on the authority of Matsya Purāṇa which reads Romaka. The reading of Alberuni, however, is mara. On the other hand, according to Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa’s commentary on Sarasvatīkāṅṭabhāranaṇa Romaka or Ruma denotes a ‘saltish land’. But the author of Kalpadrukoṣa translates the word as ‘salt’ only.

A variety of salt called romaka was known to Caraka and Suśruta. According to Cakrapāṇi, a commentator of Caraka, romaka means a salt prepared from the water of Rūmā river. Rūmā is a lake according to Dalhaṇa, a commentator of Suśruta. Ruma may be an earlier name of the Śākaṁbharī lake. Hemādri, while commenting on Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya, states that romaka was produced in the Śākaṁbharī territory. The very name Śākaṁbharī has some relation with the Śakas.

Some scholars have regarded the Jyotirvidābharaṇa as having been completed in the 13th century A.D. But whatever be the date of this work, the mention of Ruma and its king Śaka has an old tradition behind it.

1 सैन्यवाचिकसामान्यवाचक्यानभामिकरोमकान्।
व्याकरणवाचिकसामान्यवाचक्यानभामिकरोमकान्। Matsya 121. 47 and 48 respectively.
2 IV. 2, 80. and IV. 2, 110. 3 Alberuni’s India, Vol. I, Ch. 25, p. 261.
4 श्लोक = वरणमूल : II. 2, 243.
5 श्लोक = वरणमूल : प्रकाशित साहित्याचार मूलकार।
बझुसंघब च बझुसंघ घंसवर्ण रोमकं दुन: II 133। p. 153. Gaekwad’s Oriental Series ed. 6 III. 8, 141. 7 I. 46, 313. 8 I. 6, 148. 9 Gaṇḍaka Tārāṇāgiri, p. 45 gives the date of the author as 1164.
17. **Viśākhadatta** or Viśākhadeva, a contemporary of Chandragupta Vikrama, wrote a drama called Devi-Chandragupta. In this drama is described the heroic deed of Chandragupta’s assassinating a Śaka king. This Śaka king wanted to marry Dhruvadevi, the wife of Chandragupta’s elder brother. This historical fact is again alluded to by Bāṇa. The story of Rāwal and Barkarmis as narrated in Majmal-ut-Tawārikh is merely a translation of this drama into Arabic by Abul Hassan Ali (1026 A.D.). But who was this Śakapati bold enough to execute such a plan? Altekar believes him to be the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena II. But this cannot be reconciled with the evidence put forth by Majmal-ut-Tawārikh and Rājaśekhara. Both these authorities place the defeat of the Śaka in the north Punjab, and it is not yet known if Rudrasena II ever ruled in the north of the Punjab.

**Viśākhadatta** in his Muddrārākṣasa alludes to Śaka kings, who are described as brave.

**Viśākhadatta**, the author of this play (Devi Chandra-Gupta), is very likely the same as the author of Muddrārākṣasa.

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1. On the word Rāwal Abul Fazl writes:—"The chief of the state was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time past has been known as Rānā." Āl-i-Akbāri, Eng. Tr. Vol. II, p. 268. On the word Rāwal see also Indian Culture Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 131.


3. प्रस्थात्वां शुचयास्मवठाणामेवपरामि श्रमणः सेन्यकामांपैतकामां सयवत्वमिति: स्वेच्छिष्य: प्रयृवः श्रमणः: प्रयृवः श्रमणः सात्तनमुत्तमः श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम् श्रमणः मुगुराख्यानत्वम्. Canto V, verse 11.

18. In the Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa it is stated that Chandragupta disguised as a woman assassinated a Śaka king who desired the wife of another. Commenting on this passage of Bāṇa, Śankarārya writes that Chandragupta in the disguise of Dhruvadevi killed the Śaka king who coveted his brother’s (Rāmagupta’s) wife.

19. Brahmagupta, an astronomer of circa 620 A.D., mentions in his Brahma-sphuta-siddhānta the beginning of the current Śaka era at the death of a Śaka king. This reference has been fully dealt with in Chapter IV.

20. In the Rāma-carita of Abhinanda (end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century A.D.) it is asked, “after Vikrama, the enemy of the Śaka king, where do poets tell pious tales?” This enemy of the Śakas is Chandragupta Vikramāditya. Here it is again said that “by the foe of the Śaka, the works of Kālidāsa were brought to fame.”

21. Maṅjuśrī-mūla-kalpa is a Buddhist work. According to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal it was composed in circa the 9th century A.D. It contains an important verse which states that there were in all thirty kings of the Śakas. Of them only eighteen were monarchs of note.

22. Vardhamāna, the author of Gauraratna-mahodadhi (1140 A.D.), quotes the following verse from some earlier author, while commenting on the word Śaka:

चोखेकरणां तमापत्तनं विषृकय स: ।
शक मशकवेनेन काम्बोजमशवन्न: ॥ कारिका 20 ॥

1 असिपुरुः १ परकलकामुक्त कामिनिवेशधमुखः चन्द्रगृहः शकपतिसं अवशाशत्वदिति । Chapter 6, p. 696, Calcutta ed.
2 शकानामाशं । शकाचिपिति: चन्द्रगृहस्माराचारायो ध्रुवदेवी । प्रार्थयमानः । चन्द्रगृहे ध्रुवदेवोपयोगिका । कृत्यनसतिदेवन्य भः कार्यादिति । 3 I. 26. 4 Canto XXII. 5 Imperial History of India, Introduction. 6 611 later half, 612 first half.
23. Kalhana (1149 A.D.) in his Rājatrāṅgini writes about a king named Pratāpāditya of Kashmir, who was related to some Vikramāditya. According to Kalhana some writers confused this Vikramāditya with Śakāri-Vikramāditya, but he says that they were mistaken, as Śakāri-Vikramāditya was some one else. Kalhana further writes that there was in Ujjayini a Vikramāditya alias Harṣa, who in the beginning destroyed the Śakas.

24. In the Saduktī-Karnāmrta of Śrīdharādāsa (Śaka 1127=1205 A.D.), three ślokas of the celebrated poet Amarka are quoted. One of them describes the feats of a king “who took vow to make widows of Śaka women.”

Sanskrit anthologies have preserved ślokas of three authors Śakachella, Śakavarman and Śakavrddhi. They may have been some Śaka authors.

25. Prabhāvaka-carita of Prabhāchandra (1277 A.D.) contains a Kālakasūri-carita. This is almost identical with the Kālakācārya-Kathānaka, which has been so widely used and relied on by Dr. Sten Konow. This carita records that the Jain teacher Kālaka went to the Śaka country and brought with him a Śāhi (شاهی) or Śāhi (شاهی) king.

There are many versions of this Kālakācārya Kathānaka known amongst the Jainas, but the story about

1 शकारिविक्रमादिष्य इति स भ्रमानादिष्य: अन्यैत्रान्यथात्तंत्रि विसंवादित कदर्थिविद्। II. 6.
2 (i) तत्रात्मेवस्युपरिष्ठष्यं श्रीमान्यष्ठारांस्य:।
एक्षत्रवक्रवक्रां विक्रमादिल्य हस्यदुः॥
(ii) स्त्रेश्वरश्चेष्ठवाय वसुधां हरसतारिष्ठम:।
श्राम्यविनायक्ष्य चेनादौ कार्याराहो चधुः॥ III. 125, 128.
3 शकवचछैवविज्ञानवादीपुरो:। p. 297, Lahore ed. 4 Subhāṣītāvali of Vallabhādeva P. Peterson’s ed. 1886, Introduction, p. 125. 5 Carita IV.
the advent of the Śakas in western India is almost the same in all of them.

26. The Kumārapāla-carita of Jayasimhasūri gives the following information. There was a king Śrī Simha Vikrama in the Chālukya family. He possessed the power of turning base metals into gold. He started an era of his own after freeing all (subordinate) rulers of any debt. He had a son Hari Vikrama, the crest of the brave. Even the strong Śaka dynasties did not bear the heat of his glory. In his family was born Rāma. To him was born Sahajārāma who killed the king of the Śakas, the lord of three lakhs of horses. In his family was born Mūlarāja.

Now this Mūlarāja was ruling in circa 950 A.D. Long before him the king of the Śakas, the lord of three lakhs of horses, was killed by Sahajārāma who was born in the family of Simha Vikrama and Hari (= Vikrama). This family was certainly the family of Samudragupta and Chandragupta, as they bore the titles of Simha-Vikrama etc. But here this family is, by mistake, described as the Chālukya family.

27. A Śakāditya is mentioned in the Hara Gauri Saṁvāda.

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1 Canto I, verse 21. 2 Rasiklal C. Parikh translates in his Kavyānusāsana, (1938, Vol. II, pt. I, Intro. p. XXI) as "Among his descendant there was one Sahajarama who had a cavalry force of three lakhs of horses and who defeated the lord of Śakas on the battlefield". Mr. K. M. Munshi following, perhaps, Mr. Parikh has given a similar translation in his "The Glory that was Gurjaradesa", Part III, p. 72, i.e. "After him came Sahajarama who was the Lord of three lakhs of horses, who having destroyed the lord of the Sakas". I am afraid the interpretation of both of them is wrong. 3 I. H. Q., Vol. XVIII, p. 251.
CHAPTER III

THE ŚAKAS IN INSCRIPTIONS

In the previous chapter I have given detailed references to the Śakas from Indian literature, which I believe to be as good evidence as any other. But since some scholars do not attach any importance to references from literature, unless they are supported by inscriptive or numismatic evidence, and as ancient Indian history can only be compiled from all the three sources, literary, inscriptive and numismatic, I now proceed to set forth the available inscriptive evidence regarding the Śakas and their achievements.

Historians should remember that in India eminent classical writers were also the writers of inscriptions under their patron kings e.g. Hariśena under Samudragupta.

1. *Inscriptions of Nahapāna’s Time*. Eight important inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna are known to scholars.¹ These are inscribed on the caves of Nasik, Karle and Junar. The *Nasik Cave Inscriptions 11, 13 and 14 (a)* mention the matrimonial alliance between Śaka Uśavadāta and Dakṣamitra, the daughter of Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta. This and other inscriptions of Śaka Uśavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna are a helpful source for a study of the reign of Nahapāna. The dates in these

¹ See the appendix. ² E. I. Vol. VII, pp. 81, 85 and 86.
inscriptions range from the year 41 to 46 of an unspecified era. One of these eight inscriptions is the inscription of Ayama, the minister of Nahapana. It is dated in the year 46 of an unspecified era. As regards this date Sten Konow has recently pointed out that according to the latest reading of the symbol of the date sign by Rapson the figure should be 76 and not 46. In this inscription the title sāmi is used with the name Nahapana.

2. There are certain inscriptions on the Bheraghat Statues of the daughter of Bhûmaka which, however, are nearly illegible.

3. The Kârle Cave Inscription of Mitradevaṇaka. In this inscription is recorded the gift of a pillar. Mitradevaṇaka calls himself the son of Uśavadāta, who was the son-in-law of Nahapana. Senart is of opinion that Mitradevaṇaka is an Indian name. So he may have been the son of Uśavadāta by his Indian wife Dakṣamitrā.

4. The Nasik Cave Inscription No 15 tells about the Śakāṇi lay devotee Viṣnudatā, the daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka. It shows that the Śakas in India unlike the Romans in England used to perform certain religious ceremonies indigenous to their adopted country. Here we have reference to a Śaka lay devotee, who seems to have been a resident of some monastery on mount Trirasmi in Nasik. This inscription is dated in the 9th year of king Isvarasena, the Ābhira.

5. The Inscription of Vāsiṭṭhiputa Siri Pulumāyi in his 19th regnal year, describes the defeat of the Śakas

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along with the Yavanas and Pahlavas by his deceased father Siri Sātakaṇi Gotamiputa. It also states that Gotamiputa exterminated the Kṣaharāta dynasty. This inscription is very important as it independently records the above facts. However, Sten Konow regards the fact of the destruction of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas as a mere boast.¹

6. There are two inscriptions in one of the Nasik Caves which refer to the gift of two cisterns and a cave by a Śaka writer named Dāmachika Vudhika, son of Viṣṇudatta of Daśapura.²

7. Raychaudhuri, however, thinks that "the earliest Śaka kings mentioned in Indian inscriptions are perhaps Dāmijāda and Maues." This statement requires further investigation.

8. The Mathura Lion-Capital Inscription³ contains the line—Sarvasa Sakastanasā puyae. There has been a great deal of controversy over the interpretation of this line. Dr. Raychaudhuri has summed up the whole as follows⁴:

"Cunningham interpreted the passage as meaning "for the merit of the people of Śakasthāna." Dr. Fleet, however, maintained that "there are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of northern India above Kāthiawād and the western and southern parts of the territory now known as Mālwa." He took 'Sarva' to be a proper name and translated the

inscriptional passage as "a gift of 'Sarva' in honour of his home."

"Fleet's objection is not convincing. Chinese evidence clearly establishes the presence of Sakas in Kipin i.e. Kāpiśa-Gandhāra. As regards the presence of the tribe at Mathurā, the site of the inscription, we should note that the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa refers to a Śaka settlement in the Madhyadeśa. Dr. Thomas points out that there is no difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas' since we find in the Wardak, Suvīhār and other inscriptions even more comprehensive expressions, e.g., Sarva sattvanam, 'of all living creatures'. As regards Fleet's rendering "svaka and śakaṭṭhāna" as one's own place, Dr. Thomas says that it does not seem natural to inscribe on the stone honour to somebody's own home. A pūjā addressed to a country is unusual, but inscription G of the Lion-Capital contains a similar pūjā addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominions. 'It is, therefore, clear that 'Sarvasa sakastanasa' means the realm of all the Sakas and nothing else.

The Mathura Lion-Capital inscription contains the names of Mahākṣatrapa Rājula, Mahākṣatrapa Kusulukas Patika, Kṣatrapa Soḍāsa and Kṣatrapa Kharadaka. These names along with the title Kṣatrapa or Mahākṣatrapa indicate the expansion of the Sakas as far as Mathura.

9. Mathura (Kānkāli Tilā) Votive Tablet of the time of Soḍāsa. The title Mahākṣatrapa with the name of Soḍāsa is an indication of Śaka lineage. This inscription is dated samvatsara 70+2 or 40+2. According to the alphabet of the Western Kṣatrapa coins the first figure may be read as 40, but according to Kuśāna

inscriptions it is certainly 70. The reading 70 may be regarded as correct.¹

10. **Mathura Stone Inscription** of the time of Śoḍāsa mentions this king as Svāmi Mahākṣatrapa. Both these Mathura Brāhmaṇ inscriptions use the word Svāmi with Śoḍāsa. He was, therefore, no doubt a Śaka.

11. Another **Inscription from Kaṅkālī Tilā** also mentions the word Śaka, though the reading is ambiguous.⁵

12. **Giridharapur Jītalā Inscription.** This inscription is in a fragmentary state. Luders, however, draws the conclusion "that the donatrix was of Śaka descent." This inscription is dated in the year 270 of the era of some Mahārāja. The name of the Mahārāja is lost. It may be noted that another inscription⁷ from Kaṅkālī Tilā at Mathura is also dated in the era of some Mahārāja rājātirāja. The name in this inscription is also lost.

13. **Taxila Copper-plate Inscription of Patika** records the date saṅvatsara 78. This inscription contains a word Kṣahara, which according to some scholars is nothing else but Kṣaharāṭa.⁶ Some scholars have surmised that this Patika is the same as that mentioned in the Mathura Lion-Capital inscription.

14. **Mathura (Second Gāṇeśhrā Mound) Inscription of Kṣaharāṭa Ghaṭaka.** Dr. Vogel draws the attention of scholars to this fragmentary inscription.⁷ In the following two lines which have reached us the words Kṣaharāṭa and Ghaṭaka are quite legible:—

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(i) ..........................................................
(ii) ..........................................................

The presence of the Kṣaharātās in Mathura is evident.

15. Mathura Mora Well Inscription of the time of the son of Mahākṣatrapa Rajubula. Though the name of the son is illegible, his designation Svāmi is clear.

16. Andhau Stone Inscriptions of the time of Caṣṭaṇa and Rudradāman. These inscriptions are four in number and all bear the date varṣe 52. These mention Ysamatika, as the father of Caṣṭaṇa.

17. Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I. This is a very famous and important inscription and was written in varṣe 72. This is the first Śaka inscription which was written in Sanskrit of the Kāvyā style. It gives the history of the dam named Sudarśana. It also records the exploits of the great Rudradāman.

18. Gundā (North Kathiawar) Inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasimha I. This inscription gives the date varṣe 103. The language is Prākrit and the inscription was set up by an Ābhīra general, Rudrabhūtī by name. An inscription entered in para 25 may be read along with this inscription. Both the inscriptions may be of one and the same year. An Ābhīra is mentioned in each.

19. Kāṣhéri Lane Inscription. This inscription mentions that Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Sātakarṇi had a wife who was the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Ru (dradāman) of the family of Karddamaśka kings.

20. Junāgarh Stone Inscription of Jayadāman’s Grandson. The inscription is mutilated. The name of the king and the date of its writing are both lost. However, the names Caṭana, Jayadāman and Girinagara are legible. The inscription may be of Dāmaysada or Rudrasimha I.¹

21. Junāgarh Inscription of Jivadāmā. Only two lines have survived and even these are broken in places. The date is 100+ ...³

22. Mulvāsara (Gaekwar) Inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena. The date is varṣe 232 or 122. It records that the son of Vaṇṭjaka sacrificed his life for a friend.⁴ The year 122 appears to be the correct reading.⁴

23. Gaḍhā or Jasdan Lake (North Kathiawar) Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I. This inscription is dated varṣe 127 or 126. Rudrasena is entitled Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi.⁵

The genealogical table in this inscription is the longest that has so far come to light. It is as follows:—

(1) Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Bhadramukha Svāmi Caṭaṇa.

(2) Rājā Kṣatrapa Svāmi Jayadāman.

(3) Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Bha (dramukha) Svāmi Rudradāman.

(4) Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Bhadramukha Rudrasimha.

(5) Rājā Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena.

24. Kānākherā (near Sānchi) Stone Inscription of

Srīdharavarman. This inscription was discovered by Sir John Marshall. N. G. Majumdar read the date as 241. Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that “the reading of the date is doubtful,” and reads the date as 201. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Srīdharavarman was “originally an official of the Śaka house of Mālwā, but later assumed independence.”

25. Mevasā (Cutch) Stone Inscription of the time of a Mahākṣatrapa. D. B. Diskalkar discovered this inscription and published it in the Proceedings of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference. He interprets the date as 300, but it may be interpreted as 103 also. If the interpretation of Diskalkar is accepted, then this inscription should be associated with the great-grandson of Bhartṛdāman, who ruled up to circa 215 A.D. But from the materials known so far, it is certain that the line of Caṣṭana ended with the son of Bhartṛdāman. So the existence of his great-grandson is unintelligible at this stage of our knowledge. Now if the other interpretation 103 be proved correct then the Bhartṛdāman of this inscription will be a brother of Rudradāman I. It describes a gift of Ābhīra Vasuraka. The meaning of the inscription as a whole is not clear. As already pointed out this inscription should be read along with the Gundā inscription (vide para no. 18).

26. Junār Cave Inscription No. 13. This inscription mentions a Śaka, Aḍuthama.

27. Amrāvati Inscription. A Śaka-giri is mentioned in this inscription. Chandā reads the word

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as (Ś)akagiri, and F. W. Thomas as Pi(Si?)giri. But Saka-giri as suggested by K. Gopalachari seems to be the correct reading.¹

28. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Epigraph. A Śaka Moda and his sister Budhi are mentioned. This shows that individual Śakas had entered the Deccan at an early date. This is further proved by the fact that "among the sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress."²

29. Candrawalli Stone Inscription of Mayūrāśarman. This place is in Mysore. It is stated in this inscription that this king defeated the Ābhiras, the Pallavas and the Śakasthānas etc.³ These Śakasthānas appear to be those who inhabited the Kathiawar territory.

30. Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta⁴ states that the Daivaputra-śāhi-śāhānuśāhi Śaka-Muruṇḍas and many others bowed before Samudragupta. It should be noted that in this purely Sanskrit inscription the word śāhi (शाहि) is spelt with śa (ष).

31. Bargoon grant of Ratnapāla (circa 1050 A. D. or even earlier) gives the account that "he (Ratnapāla) was a strong cage for the sporting Śaka bird"⁵ i.e. he was powerful enough to be dreaded by the Śakas. On the other hand H.C. Ray very strangely translates it as "with a fence strong like that used for the game birds of the Śakas."

32. Six Saindhava Copper plate grants from Ghumli.⁶ The writer of the grant no. A of the time of

Agguka II and no. B of the time of Jaika is some Śaka named Kapila, son of Vikkaṭṭa, who was an ornament of the Śakas. The inscriptions are dated in the year 513 of an unknown saṃvat. It might possibly be the Valabhi era. This shows that some Śakas retained their individuality long after the Śaka rule had ended.

33. Shahdaur Inscription. This Kharoshṭhi inscription according to the reading of Sten Konow records a name Namijada and Śaka sabatsar.¹ The name, if read correctly, has some similarity with the Śaka name Damajada.

In the end it may be pointed out that though not directly connected with inscriptive information, some archaeological remains show the presence of Scythian or Śaka power near Indore also. Sardar M. V. Kibe writes, "about six miles to the south of Indore, on a plateau, there are the remains of a Scythian camp near Nagpur."²

¹ E. I. Vol. XIX, p. 199. ² "Blanks in Middle Indian History", article by Sardar M. V. Kibe, published in Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, p. 62, 1936 ed.
CHAPTER IV

THE ŚAKA ERA

Coins and inscriptions of the Śaka rulers of western India show that the Śaka kings used an era of their own. Almost all scholars are of opinion that the well known Śaka-Śālivāhana era, which is even now in vogue in southern India, is that same era. It will, however, be seen later on that such is not the case and in reality there was an earlier Śaka era, which was used by the Śaka kings and the Śaka-Śālivāhana era started at the end of Śaka rule.

DIFFERENT NAMES OF THE ŚAKA ERA

The Śaka era has been used in inscriptions and literature under the following different names:—

1. The era of the coronation of a Śaka king:—
   
   प्रवचचाणाराज्यसंवस्त्रे ्व्राह्देशे ्शकनुपतिराज्याभिषेकसंवस्त्रसंवस्त्रतिकामते० पञ्चमुष्म षतेदु०

2. The era of a Śaka king:—
   
   (i) ्शकनुपसंवस्त्रतें ्शरविमुनिमितु ्व्यत्तेतु०
   (ii) ्शकनुपतिसंवस्त्रतें ्चतुर्ग्राहि कष्टेतु० पञ्चस्वत्तेतु०

3. Śaka-Saṁvat or the Śaka era:—
   
   (i) ्शकसंवत ४३२ ्वैशाखाध्यु्सौरोपायस्या ्महायेषायाया०

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(ii) पकादशोतरपद्धतेतु शकवेंषवत्तीतेतु।
(iii) शककालंशब्दवसर।
(iv) शकबाद। ९६३।
(v) शकसमये ८६७।

4. Śaka or Śāka:—

(i) शक १५७ मन्मत्सवसरे।
(ii) शाके नव स [श] श्रैशुके श्रीस्वरचिके (९७२)।

The word Śāka requires elucidation. Abul Fazl informs us that the word Śākā was used for the era of Vikramādiṭya also. He says:—

"After the invasion of Sālavāhana, the era of Bikramājīt was changed from Śākā to Sanpat."

It is possible that the observation of Abul Fazl might be correct. The following lines3 from an inscription show the use of both the words Śākā and Saṁvat for the same era:—

सका सहवंक सते मध्य[त]े पद्द[ल]े रे श्रीस्वर याति काले
………………संवत् १५१६ फाष्यु छृदि २ छ[श]के

Again, one Kālidāsa, the author of Jyotirvidābharaṇa, uses the word Śāka with the Vikrama era in the following verse4:—

विक्रमाधविन्त १०२ विक्रममूलवेञ्चरे वाके……

In the Akalāṅkā-carita (15th or 16th century A.D.) we read the following:—

विक्रमाधवकालीयसम्बसरसम्बार्थि।

There is a fourth very clear case which confirms this

statement. Ananta wrote a work Kātyāyana-smārtamantrārtha-dīpikā. A manuscript of this work was copied in saṃvat 1721. It is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It ends with the colophon:—

शाके [बुध] वसुपदक्रियमार्यपरामिते १६८८।
प्रमोदग्निशिं: कायमवस्ताचार्यम्बीमत। ॥

Now, this is not a Śaka date, for, if it were, it will correspond with Vikrama year 1823. This date is one hundred and two years later than the date of this copy of the work. This riddle finds its solution in another work of the same author. Ananta writes at the end of his Kanva-Yaju-bhāṣya:—

निर्मलसंयत्र सप्तक मिले विषमसे शाके।
प्रभोदकावयमन्त्रे प्रश्नोऽसूम: ॥

This shows that by the word Śaka he meant the Vikrama era. These cases lend double proof to Abul Fazl’s statement. They necessitate a review of the Śaka dates in the inscriptions considered irregular so far.

The form Śaka is common with astronomical and Jain writers also. For example:—

(i) Lalla gives in the Uttarādhikāra of Grahaṇīta a date with the word Śaka:—

“शाके नवायक ४२० रहिते।

(ii) Brahmagupta writes in his Khaṇḍakādyaka (587 Śaka):—

शाकोगुणसुरसरोगुणक्रियान्त्रिकमार्यमार्यमसुष्कु:।
प्रश्नवर्गेन्निमित्त्व: पुरीसुसहितो ह्रव्य मकः। ॥

(iii) Śatānanda (circa 812 Śaka), the author of Bhāsvati, gives the date of his composition in Śaka:—

(iv) Bhaṭṭa-Utpala, commenting on Brhaṭṭa-Brhaṭṭa, gives the date of completing the work as 888 Śaka:

बैणमारुल्ल पद्मायं सितायं गृहवारे ।
वस्त्राद्वीपिते शाके कुले श्रवणिमयां ॥

(v) The date of Nyāyakandalī by Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara, as quoted at the end of the work is Śākābda 913:

स्मृतिकुदुःशृः कवार शाकाब्द ९१३ न्यायकान्तली राविल।
श्रीपाणाताम्बाविचक्ष्यार्यास्वाचिच्छाद्य ॥

(vi) Śripati (921 Śaka) also uses the word:

युगाध्ययत्वमिति ५२२ शाके पश्चिमभागनावासी कर्मः।

(vii) Vādirāja Sūri, a Jain author, in his Pārśva-nātha-carita writes:

शालकादेन नवगाधिस्तर्मगाने संवत्सरे योंयने
सासे कालिकानाथि बुद्धाहि द्वसे उत्सायव निने।

Besides these forms there is another way of naming this era. It is expressed as:

5. Śaka-nṛpa-kālātita-saṁvatsara or the era which marks the expiry of the time of the Śaka king or kings.

शाकनृपकाळातीतसंवत्सरस्तु समस्तकोननारिकालचिश्चिथेतु
वैवस्थिष्ठरमचन्द्रस्वामहम्ब्राह्मचारीस्वापिष्य (७३९ Śaka)

This fifth way of naming the era is used in a majority of copper plates and inscriptions of the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas and Western Chālukyas.

6. Śālivahana Śaka:

According to R. B. Gauri Shankar Hira Chand

1 I. 1, Benares ed. 2 Brhaṭṭa-Brhaṭṭa, p. 278. 3 Quoted in Gaṇapatarāngini, p. 25, Benares ed. 4 Siddhānta Śākhara, p. 12, introduction, Cal. ed. 5 Quoted in 'Jain Sāhiya Aura Itihāsa, p. 300. 6 Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State by A. S. Gadre, Vol. 1, p. 32.

See also, शर्करपकालतीत संवत्सरस्तु श्री (त्रिलिंग) दुलोचनेः, in E. I. Vol VII, Appendix, Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 2, No. 1.
Ojha¹ and many other historians the name Śālivāhana was connected with this era in Śaka 1276. But the association of the name Śālivāhana with this era goes back 295 years i.e. to 981 Śaka.² This establishes the fact that the name Śālivāhana was connected with this era much earlier. Ś Muniśvara states in his Siddhānta-Sārva-Bhauma³ that the king Śālivāhana of the Śaka era was the writer of the Prākrit work Saptaśati.

In the Somalapuram grant of Virūpākṣa of Śaka 1389 this era is described as:—

7. Śālivāhana-nirūita-Śaka-varṣa-kramāgata,⁴ i.e. in the course of the Śaka years determined by Śālivāhana. This expression indicates that according to the writer of this plate, Śālivāhana was regarded as one who simply decided something in connection with this era. What that thing was, we do not yet know.

8. Śakendra-kāla:—

Another form of naming Śaka era is Śakendra-kāla. Its first use is found in the following verses of Pañcasiddhāntikā and Brhatasamhitā by Varāhamihira:—

(i) हर्तमेशाश्च कस्मेववर्ष ब्रह्मभज्ज्वलयो श्रेष्टवर्षणास्म ।
     वृषभेषां नाधीसतिवास्य कृष्णादि गुणं तदुष्मन्युवायो ॥
(ii) गताणि वर्षाणि शकेन्द्रकालादहानि श्रीपुण्येवषातुभिः ।
     नवाघूङ्खात्र तथा च विभवेष्ठुत्वयुक्तावर्मामः ॥

Vāṭēśvara, an astronomer, follows Varāhamihira

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1 Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipī Mālā, p. 172.
2 Šaṅkaraśāstāvatṛkā śudrājñān योद्धः च विक्रममेशाः ।
3 Sanskrit 1171 नव सात एकाशीति सकल शामिलवाह च नैपर्वत साहित्य 981 ॥
5 Pañcasiddhāntikā, ed. by G. Thibaut and M. Sudhakara Drivedi, p. 31, al. 2, Motil Lal Benarsi Das (Lahore) ed.
6 Brhatasamhitā, VIII. 20.
and uses this form in expressing his own date in the following verse:

शकेन्त्रकालाला सुजयस्यमतांतरभुदश्चतेरसम अन्नसहायन: ७०२ । ॥
विकारे राजा चिन्त्यमानम्यो मया तिनायतिभुष्यदामुमुहाद २४ ॥

Of the above names of the Śaka era, how many denote the older Śaka era, is yet to be ascertained.

**PROF. RAPSON’S VIEW ABOUT THE CURRENT ŚAKA ERA**

On the general assumption that the Śaka kings used this Śaka era in their inscriptions, Prof. E. J. Rapson, while discussing the origin of the name of this era, writes:—

“The dates which appear on the coins and inscriptions, of its (Śaka) princes are all in the era which starts from the beginning of Kanishka’s reign in 78 A.D. They range from the year 41 to the year 310 (119-388 A.D.) and form the most continuous and complete chronological series found on the monuments of ancient India. It was in consequence of its long use by the Caka princes of Western India that the era became generally known in India as the Caka era.”

Prof. R a p s o n has expressed the following two important views in the above passage, *vis* :—

(a) The current Śaka era started with Kanishka’s reign.

(b) The current Śaka era was so named because it was used for a very long time by the Śaka princes of Western India.

**RAPSON’S VIEW CONTRADICTED**

Both these views are contradicted by the following statements of earlier authors:

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1 Aec. No. 3784, Catalogue of the Panjab University Sanskrit Mas.
1. Alberuni (1030 A.D.) writes in his Indika:—

"THE ŞAKA KĀLA."

"The epoch of the era of Śaka or Śakakāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Āryavarta, in the midst of this realm, his dwelling-place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas. Some maintain that he was a Śūdra from the city of Almanṣūra; others maintain that he was not a Hindu at all, and that he had come to India from the west. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karūr, between Multān and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers. They honour the conqueror by adding Śrī to his name, so as to say Śrī Vikramāditya. Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya (v. p. 5) and the killing of Śaka, we think that that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his."¹

Alberuni communicates to us the views of the Indian writers of the 11th century and of even earlier dates that the present Śaka era was started after the extermination of a Śaka tyrant.

2. Āmarāja (circa 1180 A. D.) the commentator of Khanda-khādyaka states that the Śaka era began when

¹ Alberuni's India, English edition by Sachau, 1910, Vol. II, Ch. XLIX.
Śaka kings were killed by Vikramāditya⁴. This fact in the same words is mentioned by Prthudakasvāmin (circa 864 A. D.) in his commentary on the same verse⁵.

3. Bhāskara, a famous astronomer, who preceded Utpala, and therefore Alberuni, writes in the Grahagaṇita chapter of his Siddhānta Śiromaṇi:

\[ \text{नन्दाजीन्दुग्रान्धा शकसुप्पलान्ते क्रेवंतरा} \]

i.e. 3179 years of the Kaliyuga were at an end at the death of a Śaka king.

4. Śrīpati, the author of Siddhānta Śekhara also says that 3179 years of Kaliyuga had passed by the end of the Śaka period, in the following verse:

\[ \text{वाता: कलोऽन्यन्यन्दुग्रान्धा} \]

But the case of Makkhibhāṭṭa (1377 A. D.),⁶ the commentator of Siddhānta Śekhara, is very strange. Not knowing the existence of two Śaka eras, he wrongly interprets the word Śakānte as ‘before the beginning of the Śaka era’⁷.

5. तकाम्बराङ्गमोक्तेभीमीतु शकाङ्गतः

This verse is found at the end of Lakṣaṇāvalī, a work on logic by Udayana (906 Śaka.) The author says

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1. Śaka named श्लेष्ठा राजानके वधिनू काले विक्रमादित्येन व्यापारिता: स

2. Śaka named श्लेष्ठा राजानके वधिनू काले विक्रमादित्येन व्यापारिता स
कालोऽवधेकः प्रिलिं। Khāṇḍakāhyaka, ed. by P. C. Sengupta, p. 8, Cal. ed., 1941.


4. I. 25.


6. Śakānte काला: शक्लंका प्राच्यमत् पूर्व कलेत:। Siddhānta Śekhara by Śrīpati, p. 16, commentary on sl. 25, Calcutta ed., 1932.

7. Another reading of this verse has been suggested in Ganganath Jha Research Institute Journal, Vol. II
that he completed the work when 906 years from the expiry of the Śakas had elapsed. His dating from the expiry of the Śakas shows that an era which began at the end of the Śakas was also in vogue in India. This reference is particularly important as Udayana was a logician and not an astronomer.

6. Bhaṭṭa-Utpala, commenting on verse VIII. 20 of Bṛhatśaṁhitā by Varāhamihira, states the same fact:—

शक नाम स्थलेष्ठतावे राजान स्थिताइति विक्रमदिनदेवेन
भ्यापादित। स कालो ठोळे शक हृति प्रसि:।

7. Vaṭeśvara (702 Saka) also says that 3179 years of Kaliyuga had passed at the conclusion of the Śakas:—

कथंविक्रमादिषुकुलं स्वाभिषेकाः।

8. Brahma Gupta (550 Śaka = 628 A. D.) writes in his Brahma-Sphuṭa-Siddhānta that at the end of the Śakas 3179 years of the Kaliyuga had passed. In the verse that follows, he again states that at the end of the Śaka king and from the beginning of the Kalpa so many years had passed.

9. Another Sanskrit work, Hara Gauri Samvāda, repeats the same view. This work comes from Assam and is of an unknown date. It may, however, be a resume of an ancient tradition. It records that “in the Kali year 3179 (= 78 A. D.) there was a king Subāhu, who was a bosom friend of Śakāditya. Vikrama after killing his elder brother and this Śaka incurred the enmity of Subāhu.” There are some controversial items.

1 p. 193, Benares ed. 2 Acc. No. 3784, sl. 10, Catalogue of the Panjab University Library Sanskrit Manuscripta.
3 शक्तूर्णम् पवादतां संस्कारसंवेदनते: पञ्चसिद्धविद्या:।
4 श्रीपण कृतार्थिनि कलेगांशेत्युक्तिं शकान्ते:। श्री। 26.
5 शक्नुपस्ते। I.27. 8 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol.XVIII, 1942, p. 251.
in the account that follows. The manuscript being quite unsatisfactory, as admitted by its editor, I have made no further use of it here. One fact is, however, quite clear, that in Kali year 3179 or 78 A.D. a Śaka was killed. Thus according to this authority also the current Śaka era started with the death of a Śaka king.

The tradition of Vikrama's killing his brother and a Śakāditya is recorded in a mutilated form, by Captain Wilford, in the following lines:

"It is the general opinion, that Vicramāditya put his brother Sūcāditya, or Bhārtrihari, to a most slow and cruel death, by severing his head, with a knife, both small and bad. His putting him to death is mentioned by Holwell, and Mr. Wilkins."

The above information given from the Vamśāvalis by Captain Wilford and the incident recorded in the Hara Gauri Samvāda are an echo of the story of Chandra Gupta Vikrama as found in Majmal-ut-Tawārikh and Devi Chandra Gupta. Wilford's mention of a knife tallies with the Persian account.

All the above authors are of opinion that the current Śaka era began with the death of a Śaka king or at the end of the Śakas. This tradition which was current even in 628 A.D. was not a creation of a single day. This view finds further support in another way.

MEANING OF ŚAKA-NRPA-KALĀTĪTA-SĀMVIDSARA.

It has been noted above under no. 5 that one of the names of the Śaka era was, Śaka-nṛpa-kalātīta-sāmvatsara, or the era at the expiry of the time of the Śaka king or kings. Some scholars have translated

this phrase as "the expired year of the time of the Śaka kings." But there are many clear cases, where this interpretation can not hold good.

1. The following inscription\(^1\) of 743 Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta year uses the words atīta and again atītesu:—

\[ \text{शक्तुपकालातित्रसंवस्तर-शतेषु सस्यु त्रिचलवारिशाविकेषु सतेषु वैज्ञान-पौर्णमासों।} \]

2. Somadeva Śūri, a Jain author, writing his Yāsas-Tilaka-Campū in Śaka 881, writes in the colophon of this work:—

\[ \text{शक्तुपकालातित्र-संवस्तर शतेषु वहवलकाशीधिकेषु गतेषु।} \]

i.e. in the year 881 expired of the Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta era.

3. Again in an inscription\(^2\) of Śaka 930 the date is expressed as:—

\[ \text{शक्तुपकालातित्र-संवस्तर-शतेषु बवशु त्रिचलवारिशाशिकेषु गतेषु ९३० प्रवर्षमान सौप्तसंवस्तरेः...} \]

In numbers 1, 2 and 3, if the first atīta means the expired year, as scholars would like to have it, the following atītesu or gateṣu will be quite redundant. Therefore, the word atīta should be joined with Śaka-nṛpa-kāla and not Samvatsara. It will mean Śaka-nṛpa-kālamatītya i.e. at the expiry of the time of the Śaka kings. The correctness of this interpretation of the above term is supported by Pāṇini also. According to him the word atīta here forms a compound with Śaka-nṛpa-kāla as under the sūtra II. 1, 24 the words kāntāram and atīta form the compound kāntārātīta.\(^3\) This indicates that the name of the era had the same significance behind it as expressed above by so many authors.

\(^1\) E. I. Vol. XXI, p. 144.  \(^2\) E. I. Vol. VII, Appendix, No. 150, p. 97.  \(^3\) See also Sarvasvati-kāṇṭhābhārata, III. 2, 34.
This idea is further supported by as late a work as Mitaksara (circa 1100 A.D.), a commentary on the law code of Yajnavalkya. Yajnavalkya writes that all grants of a king should have the time specified in them. On the word time or kāla, the Mitaksara explains' that it should be done in the following two ways, i.e. in the form of Śaka-nṛpa-atita and of Sāṁvatsara (60 years Jovian cycle). Prof. D. C. Sircar translates this passage as "the expired year of the Śaka kings and the (regnal) year." This translation is not warranted by the words of Mitaksara. The words can only convey the meaning 'at the expiry of the Śaka king or kings'. Dr. Sircar seems to have translated it according to the general impression.

There are cases, on the other hand, where the Vikrama era is also expressed in similar words and so these support the meaning of this term as expressed above. For example:

1. श्रीविक्रमादित्युपकालातित 1161
2. श्रीमद्विक्रमादित्यतिततुल्लकधावशास्त्रालंकारशास्त्रपाली संवत्सरे कालिके हि 1214
3. श्री विक्रम-कालालीत 1235
4. श्रीमद्विक्रमानुप-कालालीतसंवत्सर-शतेषु ह्वावशास्त्र-शतपञ्चविखिकेकु 1245
5. प्रतिवृद्ध नवपति श्रीविक्रमादित्यामात संवद विष्णुपद-दृश्ये (षु) जगतिः संरथे 1250
6. श्रीमन्नूप विक्रमादित्यसमयालीत संवत् 16

These dates, especially the fifth one, indicate that the Vikrama era was believed by many people to have begun with the demise of Vikramāditya. Many Jain works, from the 10th century onwards have preserved this view point."

1 I. 392.  2 Proc. Indian History Congress, Lahore Session, p. 53.  3 E.I. Vol. XIX, Appendix, No. 169.  4 E. I. Vol. XX, No. 383.  5 E. I. Vol. XX, No. 465.  6 Inscriptions of Kathiawad, New Indian Antiquary, June 1940, p. 112.  7 Quoted in Bharatiya-Praśna-Lipi-Mallas, p. 170.  8 Prof. Hira Lal has collected these references, in his article on the 'Date of Mahavira Nirvāna, Journal of the University of Nagpur, Dec. 1940, pp. 52-53.
This fact was known in India in 1809 A.D. Captain Wilford writes, "..........the Jains reckon from the death of Vicramaditya........."

Only in no. 1 a solitary example has been met with so far, where it is stated that perhaps the Śaka-Śālivāhana era was reckoned from the coronation of a Śaka king. It appears that the writer of this inscription of Śaka year 500 has confused the tradition of an earlier Śaka era to be mentioned hereafter, and has used the phrase, the era of the coronation of a Śaka king, with the year of the current Śaka era.

In the light of what is written above, it will be seen that a number of ancient authorities agree that the current Śaka era started with the extermination of the Sakas, and not with the advent of the Śakas in Western India. Therefore, the assumption of Prof. E. J. Rapson that the era started with the reign of Kaniśka cannot be accepted. Moreover, Kaniśka was decidedly a Tuṣāra, and the Tuṣāras and Śakas have been distinguished one from the other by Indian writers from the earliest times.

**FURTHER EVIDENCE AGAINST RAPSON’S VIEW**

There is another very conspicuous fact which goes against Prof. Rapson’s theory. All the inscriptions of the Śakas or the Western Kṣatrapas use the word *vārṣe* for era, while the inscriptions, copper plates, scrolls etc. of Kaniśka and his successors have the word *saṃvatsara* used for era. This clear distinction shows at once that the eras used by the rulers of these two dynasties are totally different. This distinction cannot be regarded as provincial only.

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1 Asiat. Researches Vol. IX, 1809, p. 157. 2 See above p. 35.
The opinion of Dr. M. Winternitz likewise goes against Prof. Rapson's theory. He writes, "The view, still maintained by a few scholars, that Kaniska is the founder of the Śaka era, which began in 78 A.D., is less likely to be correct."

Sten Konow also contradicts the theory of Prof. Rapson, though in another way. He writes, "Wim Kadphises was on the throne long after the beginning of the Śaka era, which cannot, accordingly, have been instituted by Kanishka, his successor."

THE ŚAKA ERA AND THE KĀLAKĀCĀRYA KATHĀNAKĀ

A clearer idea of the Śakas and the Śaka era, is available from certain Jain works which relate the advent of the Śakas in western India. Dr. Sten Konow has laid great stress on the Kālakācārya Kāthānaka, and he accepts the defeat of a Śaka ruler of Ujjain at the hands of a Vikramāditya in 57 B.C., as also the advent of the Śakas in Ujjain a little before 57 B.C.

Dr. Sten Konow is right in accepting the existence of a Vikramāditya in 57 B.C., but he has not been able to reconcile the different statements of Jain authors as regards the date of Vīra-Nīrvāṇa, nor the Vīra year which is connected with the Śaka or the Śakas.

The Jain tradition recorded in Tiloya Pāṇḍatī (circa the 5th century A.D.) gives as many as four dates of the appearance of a Śaka king in Vīra-Nīrvāṇa era:

1. 461 years after the salvation of Mahāvīra.
2. 9785 years 5 months after the salvation of Mahāvīra.
3. 14793 years after the salvation of Mahāvīra.
4. 605 years 5 months after the salvation of Mahāvīra.

The dates indicated in numbers 2 and 3 above are beyond our comprehension. The other two may be considered here. Between the years 461 and 605 there is a difference of 144 years. Indian tradition records the killing of two Śakas near about 57 B.C. and in 78 A.D. It appears, therefore, that later Jain authors changed the figure 461 into 470, thus reducing the difference to 135 years only, which is precisely the difference between the time of the start of the Vikrama era and the start of the current Śaka era. These later authors have, however, thrown no light on the cause of this adjustment.

But how is one to make use of the truth contained in the different Jain works? Dr. Sten Konow hits upon the truth when he connects the advent of the Šakas with Kālakācārya. Unfortunately, the confusion of Jain chronology has created two Kālakācāryas instead of one. But whatever may be the case the following pedigree of Jain teachers is borne out by all Jain writers.

1. Śrī Kālakācārya, who brought the Śaka ruler to take vengeance on the Gardabhilla ruler.
2. Ārya Nāga Hasti.
3. Pāda Liptaka.
4. Skandilācārya.
5. Mukunda Vṛddhavādi.
6. Siddhasena Divākara, a contemporary of Sāhasāṅka Vikrama.
Now, according to Jain tradition this Siddhasena Divākara was a contemporary of the Vikrama who started the Vikrama era. Norman Brown has stated in the Yuga pradhāna-Svarupa that Kālaka I died in Vīra era 376 or 171 B.C.\(^1\) Considering this statement as well as the previous pedigree constructed above, it is probably not far beyond the truth to suppose that Kālaka lived in circa 200-150 B.C. In the present confused state of Jain chronology, it is safe to go so far only.

**TWO ŚAKA ERAS**

It is now beyond doubt that there were in reality two Śaka eras. One was the era of 77-78 A.D. which was named the Śaka era some time after the era had come into use, and which started at the extermination of Śaka kings in India; the other was a still earlier and an actual Śaka era, which may have been so named because it was used by the Śaka rulers of Western India.

Dr. Sten Konow regards the initial year of the earlier Śaka era to be 83 B.C. K.P. Jayaswal\(^3\) and Rapson also have admitted the existence of an earlier Śaka era. Rapson says:—

"and it may not unreasonably be suggested that the Cakas, like other foreign invaders at all periods, may have brought with them into India their own system of reckoning and that this may be the era used in Seisṭān."

All these scholars, who have admitted the existence of two Śaka eras, have counted the dates found in Śaka inscriptions on the basis of the 77-78 A.D. era. This is,

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\(^1\) Norman Brown’s Kālakkārya Kathā, p. 7, as quoted in E. H. of the Andhra Country, by K. Gopalachari, p. 16.  
\(^3\) 145-100 B.C., J. B. O. R. Society, 1920, p. 21.  
perhaps, due to the fact that when only one Śaka era was known, it was easy to fix the whole chronology according to that era. But it is not safe to settle the matter summarily; it requires further investigation.

**INDIAN TRADITION RECORDS THE ACTUAL ŚAKA ERA**

The existence of an earlier Śaka era is supported by Indian tradition also. Sanskrit literature supplies the following two cases:—

Bhaṭṭa-Utpala¹, who wrote his *commentary* on Bṛhajjātaka, a work of Varāhamihira, in Śaka 888, quotes a verse from a work of Sphuji-dhvaja who was a Yavana king and astronomer. In this verse Śaka-kāla 1044 is recorded.² Utpala then remarks that Sphuji-dhvaja, the Yavana, was later than Śaka-kāla. This Śaka year 1044 must be earlier than Utpala who was writing in Śaka 888.

Prof. A.B. Keith quotes an interesting reference from a Nepalese manuscript of a Yavana Jātaka to the effect that king Sphūrjī-dhvaja brought out the work in the year 191 of an unspecified era.³ Further light may come if this Nepalese manuscript is edited and more carefully studied.

Another example of this type is found in the writings of Bhaṭskara. This Bhaṭskara, the author of Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, who is quoted by Utpala (Śaka 888 = 966 A.D.), gives his own birth-date at the end of his Siddhānta Śiromaṇi as Śaka 1036, and states that he wrote Siddhānta Śiromaṇi at the age of 36, *i.e.* in Śaka 1072.⁴ Now, if the

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¹ See *Indian Culture* Vol. XII. p. 81. ² Bṛhajjātaka, VII. 9. ³ History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 581. ⁴ सरस्वतिपुराणा हर्षपुरसमयेऽन्तममभवन्तमचित्ति:।
रसगुणं वर्णयति सिद्धांतश्लोकोऽभिध:। प्रासन्ध्यया, अल. ५८।
quotation from Bhāskara found in Utpala is not a later interpolation, this Śaka year 1072 cannot be of the current Śaka era, because it will fall in 1150 A.D. as Prof. A.B. Keith and others have admitted.\(^1\) This time is much later than Utpala. The fact can only be explained by supposing an earlier Śaka era, which was used even by a writer of a very late period like Bhāskara. There is, however, one difficulty as regards the date of Bhāskara. He writes:\(^2\)

\[\text{गतोड्दच्छिन्नन्दे १३४ मिते शाककालेतिहीने १११५ भृविन्दापवाक्ष्याशृंचन:}\]

Here, if this reading is correct, the year 974 Śaka having expired will show that Bhāskara was later than 974 Śaka. The difference between Śaka-kāla and Sama-Śaka-nṛpa-samaya has yet to be ascertained.

**BHĀSKARA’S DATE A PUZZLE TO A. WEBER**

Prof. Albrecht Weber although dealing with a wrong reading, long ago noticed this difficulty about Bhāskara’s date. In his History of Indian Literature he wrote\(^3\) :-

“Of these, the most eminent is Bhāskara, to the question of whose age, however, a peculiar difficulty attaches. According to his own account, he was born in Śake 1036 (A.D. 1114), and completed the Siddhānta-śiromani Śake 1072 (A.D. 1150)...........; and with this the modern astronomers agree, who assign to him the date Śake 1072 (A.D. 1150). But Albīrūnī, who wrote in A.D. 1031 (that is, 83 years before Bhāskara’s birth!), not merely mentions him, but places his work—here called Karaṇasāra—132 years earlier, namely in, A.D. 899; so that there is a discrepancy of 284 years between the two accounts. I confess my inability to solve the riddle.........”

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\(^1\) History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 523.  \(^2\) Siddhānta Śiromani, p. 35, Benares ed.  \(^3\) Popular edition, 1914, p. 261, 369.
The above was written in 1852 A. D. In the English translation of Alberuni's work, which appeared in 1910, however, the reading Bhāskara has been rejected and Viṭṭeśvara adopted instead.¹ This new reading accepted by Dr. Edward C. Sachau is really the correct one. Vaṭeśvara's work exists unnoticed in a single fragmentary manuscript deposited in the Panjab University Library.² There the author gives his date, Śakaḥra kāla 702 (780 A. D.)³ He also states that he was the son of Mahadatta. But even this correction does not help to solve Weber's riddle. It has just been stated that Utpala, who is often quoted by Alberuni, also cites Bhāskara. Therefore, Bhāskara cannot be placed in the year 1072 of the current Śaka era.

Some scholars have tried to advance the date of Utpala, which is only a case of helplessness, as Utpala is quoted by Alberuni.⁴ Others have tried to suppose two Bhāskaras, which is again ridiculous, because Utpala does not quote Bhāskara by name only, but quotes two verses from his work also, under the name Siddhānta Bhāskara.⁵ Fortunately, the verses are found in the Siddhānta Siromaṇi.

It is, therefore, quite clear that Bhāskara, the author of Siddhānta Siromaṇi, when giving his birth date was using the earlier Śake era. He, moreover, designedly distinguished the earlier Śaka era from the era which was called Śaka-kāla by the astronomers. He writes, Sama-Śaka-nṛpa-Samaya, which means "in the time of the Śaka king, which time was identical with the existence of the Śakas," and not with their extermination; or it may mean "the time of all the Śaka kings."

THE STARTING POINT OF THE EARLIER ŚAKA ERA

It is accepted by all scholars that Nāhapsāṇa preceded the Cašṭanas. Nahapāṇa’s date is, therefore, very important for a reconstruction of the forgotten chronology of the Śakas. Hence the date of Nahapāṇa is now discussed.

DATE OF NAHAPĀṆA

The date of Nahapāṇa is one of the most intricate but interesting problems of Indian history. Three main theories have so far been advocated. These are all contradictory and opposed to one another. It will be shown that all are wide of the mark and none is satisfactory.

Dubreuil, Bakhle, and Nilakantha refer the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa’s son-in-law to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., thus assigning Nahapāṇa some date about the end of the 1st century B.C. Cunningham also assigned the years in the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa’s son-in-law to the Vikrama era.

R.D. Banerji refers these dates to the regnal years of Nahapāṇa.

The advocates of the second theory, Rapson, Raychaudhuri, Bhandarkar, B.N. Puri and others, assign the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa’s son-in-law to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and place Nahapāṇa in the 2nd century A.D. Rapson accepts the view that the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa’s son-in-law are recorded in the years of the Śaka era, beginning in 78 A.D., and therefore, assigns Nahapāṇa to the period 119 to 124 A.D.

Raychaudhuri concurs to this view and says, "the theory of those who refer Nahapāna's dates to the Śaka era, is confirmed by the fact pointed out by Prof. Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar after him,.........."

Dr. V.A. Smith assigns him quite a different date. In his Early History of India, he writes ".........Nahapāna.... may be assigned approximately to the middle of the 1st century after Christ, or possibly earlier."

A few years ago Dr. Deoras propounded a new theory. According to him, "we must give up the theory that Nahapāna has to be placed in the second century A.D. .......... As the coinage of Wima Kadphises was prevalent in the empire of Nahapāna, we may assign Nahapāna to circa 37 to 85 A.D."

The Rev. H.R. Scott gives Nahapāna a place near the commencement of the Christian era.

Jayaswal takes the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law to be of the early Śaka era which he thinks to have begun in 123 B.C. He thus supposes Nahapāna to have ruled from 82 B.C. to 77 B.C. Sten Konow thinks the earlier Śaka era to have begun in 83 B.C. and assigns Nahapāna to about 57 B.C.

ANALYSIS OF THESE VIEWS

Of all these scholars, only K.P. Jayaswal and Sten Konow have tried to establish a part of the truth embodied in ancient Indian tradition. The tradition is that there was some Śaka king who was defeated by a Vikrama in 57 B.C. The Śakas must, therefore, have been in Gujarat

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and western India before that time. And as all Śaka coins are dated in a regular era, that era must have begun before 57 B.C.

THE STARTING POINT OF THE EARLIER ŚAKA ERA

The Śaka era began with the rule of Nahapāna and the Caśṭanas followed him immediately. There can hardly be two opinions on this point. The few scholars who dissent have been unable to bring together any convincing evidence.

Now, if in the light of the statements of Brahmagupta, Bhāskara and others we accept 77-78 A.D. as the end of the Śaka rule, we shall have to admit that the Śaka rule in western India started not later than 204 B.C. This is evident; since according to the Tiloya Paṇṇatti we have to allow a reign of 242 years to the Caśṭanas or Western Kṣatrapas and a reign of 40 years to Nahapāna. This gives us a total of 282 years, which means that the Śaka rule lasted from 204 B.C. to 78 A.D.

This result is in accordance with another Jain tradition. Kālakācārya according to a later Jain tradition, died in 376 A.V. or 171 B.C. He brought the Śakas to Gujarat. This may have happened about 30 to 40 years before his death. One or two ordinary rulers of the Kṣaharāta family had ruled and then Nahapāna appeared in Indian history. He may be placed in circa 204 B.C., the starting point of the earlier Śaka era.

Abul Fazl writes in the description of Subah of Gujarat:

“Nirvāhana (=Naravāhana or Nahapāna) began his rule in 680 B.C. and ruled for 100 years, and Gandharb (=Gardabhilla) began his rule in 91 B.C. and ruled for
35 years."

The source of Abul Fazl is extremely mutilated. Yet the main information clearly supports the view that Nahapâna and others ruled some time before the beginning of the Christian era.

Before finishing this chapter, it will not be out of place to note down here a new piece of information about the beginning of an era which is probably the Śaka-Śālivāhana era. The information is found in a Burmese Chronicle, Malla Linkara, translated by Bishop Bigandet and quoted by M. Raja Rao:—

"........King Thamug-dara (Samuddhara) of Prome, an eminent astronomer himself, reformed the calendar in the year of religion 625 (A.D. 81) dropping away 622 years and began the reformed computation with two, equating it to A.D. 79."

The theory set forth above is still tentative. New facts brought to light in this paper for the first time require careful consideration of historians. They may incidentally help those scholars who have begun to doubt the initial year of the Gupta era as proposed by Dr. Fleet. Both these questions are closely interrelated; and the material here presented will shed some light on these points.
CHAPTER V

THE KṢAHAṆĀṬAŚ

Very little is known so far of the relation of the Kṣaharāṭas with the Śakas. Historians think that the surname Kṣaharāṭa has some connection with "Karatai," a Śaka tribe, mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography. Dr. V.R. Deoras' disagrees with the opinion of Mr. Bakhle that "Kṣaharāṭa is a Sanskrit form of the word Kharaostoccurring in the Mathura lion-capital inscription." The paucity of material brings every conclusion within the range of possibility. But one thing is certain; that the Kṣaharāṭas are differentiated from the Śakas. It is probable that the Kṣaharāṭas are included in the eighteen Śakas figuring in the Purāṇas as the successors of the Sātavāhanas. In the Tiloya Paṇṇatti, Kṣaharāṭa Nāharpāna's reign is differentiated from that of the Bhṛtya Caṣṭanās (or Bhadra Caṣṭanās) who are later designated as Śakas. The word Bhṛtya Caṣṭanās if interpreted as such seems to indicate that the Caṣṭanās were servants either of the Āndhras or of Nāharpāna. Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, takes pride in calling himself a Śaka in his inscriptions. Kṣaharāṭas

1 Proceedings Indian History Congress, Lahore Session, 1940, p. 149.
2 J. B. B. R. A. S., 1927, p. 61. 3 Cf. Gāḍha Inscription of Rudrasena, where Caṣṭana and members of his family are termed as Bhadramukhas.
and Śakas are mentioned as separate dynasties even in Vāsīṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi’s inscription. Rapeon says, “it is possible...that the Kṣaharātas may have been Pahlavas and the family of Caśṭana Śakas.” The Taxila copper-plate of Pātika reveals that Liaka Kusūlaka and his son Pātika were members of the Chaharata (Kṣaharāta) family. Chaharada, Chaharata, Khaharata, Khakharata are all variants of the term Kṣaharāta. Mr. Y.R. Gupte points out that among the shepherds of the Deccan we have the surname Kharata which he considers to be a shortened form of Khakharata (Kṣaharāta). The form khaharata is reminiscent of the original kha hira ta or sāhirāta. In the prāṣasti of Samudragupta, Śāhānusāhi title is found. This s is often read as ‘kh’ even up to this day. Therefore, sāharāta is easily written as Khaharāta or in Sanskrit Kṣaharāta (compare Pashho and Pakhto, the language of the Pathans, as also manusya and the Panjabi word manukha). If this equation is correct, it is certain that these Śahis or Kharatas accompanied Kālakācārya from Sind. The suffix rāta may be the Sanskrit form, and the meaning may be the king of the Śāhis. But Dr. Sten Konow proposes another meaning for this word:

“It may contain Kṣahara, Pers. Shahr, and, as pointed out to me by Professor Morgenstiesne, a word corresponding to Avestan rada, caretaker.”

I BHŪMAKA, THE KṢAHARĀTA

In 1904 Prof. Rapson discovered the existence of an earlier member of the family of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna,

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Bhūmaka by name. So far no reference to him in Indian literature has been traced. He is known only from coins. Vincent Smith takes him to be a general of Gondophares.¹

Dr. Sten Konow has suggested that Bhūmaka and Ysamotika, the father of Caśṭana, are identical.² Prof. Sylvain Levi is also of this opinion.³ Both these scholars say that the word Ysam means earth and Bhūmaka is only a Sanskrit form of this word. If this is admitted, we will have to suppose that king Ysamotika did use a Sanskrit translation of his name on his coins. This is a supposition which should be supported by similar instances from coins of other foreign rulers. But this support is not forthcoming. Dr. Deoras thinks this suggestion to be untenable.⁴ Prof. Rapson also opposes the suggestion when he writes, "Considerations of the type and fabric of the coins, and of the nature of the coin-legends, leave no room for doubting that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna, but there is, no evidence to show the relationship between them."⁵ However, the forms of Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī letters on their coins make a long interval between them impossible. Raychaudhuri, likewise, is unwilling to accept the theory of Levi and Konow. He writes, "identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of persons."⁶ It should be further remembered that the coins of Bhūmaka tell us that he was a Kṣaharāta, whereas Caśṭana was not a Kṣaharāta; it follows, therefore, that they belonged to separate families and that they were different persons. Greek influence is traceable as inscriptions on Bhūmaka’s coins are in Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmī

and Greek alphabets.

Extent of his sway. As already pointed out, sufficient material is not available for constructing a history of Bhūmaka’s reign. The use of the title Kṣatrapa on his coins shows that he had to govern only a small kingdom. We have to depend mainly upon archaeological remains in order to determine the extent of his rule. Two statues, discovered at Bheraghat near Jabalpur in the Central Provinces, installed by his daughter, suffice to prove that the region around Jabalpur was in his possession.\(^1\) It is possible that the Sātavāhanas might have been his foes in those parts. His coins have been discovered in various parts. But as proof of the extension of his empire this is not as authentic a source as the places where statues or other archaeological remains have been found.

II NAHAPĀNA, THE KṢAHAṬA, AN IRANIAN NAME

Nahavana,\(^2\) Naravāha, Naravāhana, Nirvāhana,\(^3\) Nakhavān and Nahapāna (as in one manuscript of the Vāyu Purāṇa) are all variants of the one name Nahapāna. This name is not Indian. It is certainly an Iranian name; \(naha =\) people and \(pana =\) protector. Thus Nahapāna means a protector of people and corresponds better to the Indian word Naravāha than to Janapāla as Dr. V.R. Deoras thinks.\(^4\)

His titles. We know very little about the emergence and rule of Nahapāna in Indian history, except through the light thrown upon the matter by the inscriptions of

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his son-in-law Uṣavadāta and his minister Ayama. These inscriptions, which mention him as a kṣatrapa, throw light on the political, social, economic and religious conditions of those times. In the Junar inscription of his minister Ayama, of the Vatsa Gotra, he is mentioned as a Mahākṣatrapa and a Svāmi. On his coins Nahapāna is styled simply as rājan with the family designation Kṣaharāta. All the titles Kṣatrapa, Mahākṣatrapa, Svāmi and Rājan show that he must have been a powerful ruler.

Duration of his reign. Early Jain tradi tion as recorded in the Tiloya Paṇṇatti¹ and the Ādipurāṇa² assigns a reign of 40 years to Nahapāna, after the Gardabhillas and just before the Caṣṭanas, who are followed by the Guptas. The Purāṇas' place Nakhavāna in the period of the later Śuṅgas. This view, supported by the evidence of Yugapurāṇa of the Gārgi Samhita, clearly goes to establish an early date for Nahapāna.

Defeat and death. Nahapāna’s defeat is described in the Niryukti commentary by Bhadrabāhu Svāmi on Āvaśyakasūtra of the Śvetāmbara Jains. K.P. Jayaswal was the first scholar to draw the attention of historians to this work. Dr. Deoras has summarized the whole Jain account in the following lines. 'An old Jain Gāthā found in a commentary of the Āvaśyaka Sūtra states that Bharukaccha (Bharuyaccha) was famous for the religious teachers, Jinadeva and Kunala, Sātavāhana the king of Paithan (Paithāna) and Nahavana (Nahavāna). Two commentaries, one in Sanskrit and the other in Prākrit, explain this gāthā. According to the commentaries Nahavana had amassed great wealth and was staying at Bharukaccha, his capital. King Sātavāhana (Sālvāhana)

¹ IV. 1507. ² Ch. 60, verses 487 ff. ³ Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 49.
at Pratishṭhāna was famous for his powerful army. The latter invested Bharukaccha for two years, but was unable to capture it. He then retired to Paithan. After some time one of the ministers of Sātavāhana went to Nahapāna and said that he had been turned out by his ungrateful master. This was, of course, a clever ruse on the part of Sātavāhana. Nahapāna believing the minister took him in his service. The minister then advised Nahapāna to gain religious merit by spending his money on charities, and to secure a place of distinction for himself in the next world. Nahapāna spent a large amount from his treasury on religious benefactions. Next time when Sātavāhana besieged Nahapāna's capital, it fell owing to lack of funds, and Nahapāna himself died during the siege.\(^1\)

The historical value of the tradition mentioned in the Jain work is very great. We know from it that Nahapāna was defeated by a Sātavāhana king. Vāsiṣṭhiputra's inscription states that Gautamīputra, "uprooted the Khakharāta family and destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas."\(^2\) This is confirmed by the fact that Gautamīputra restruck two-thirds of the Jogalthembi hoard of the coins of Nahapāna with his own name.

**His coins.** Coins of Nahapāna furnish evidence about many useful facts. They show Graeco-Indian and Roman influences. They set a standard followed by the

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1. Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1940, p. 150. The Śrutāvatāra-kathā of Śrīdharma, in another Jain tradition, makes one Naravāhana a Jain mendicant. This Naravāhana, contrary to the above tradition, was the king of Vammideśa and Vasundharā town. He got a son by worshipping Padmāvatī. A Jain sanigha came to Vasundharā. The king of Magadha accompanied the sanigha as a mendicant. Naravāhana also became a Jain and was known as 'Bhūtabali.' He was the first to reduce to writing the Jain canon (quoted in 'Saraswati' Vol. XXIX, p. 748, 749)
later Western Kṣatrapas, the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas. Only one specimen of his copper coins has so far been discovered. The provenance of this coin is Ajmer. The Jogalthembhi (Nasik district) hoard of 1325 coins discovered in 1906 brought an immense store of his silver coins to light. These coins exhibit an extraordinary diversity not only in the apparent age but also in the facial features of Nahapāna. Some writers are of opinion that all these effigies could not have been portraits of any single individual. This is not reasonable as they might be showing various stages of his life.

His coins bear the insignia of the thunderbolt, arrow and discus, which connect him with the Pārthians and the northern Satraps, Hāgana and Hāgamash. The resemblance of his coins with those of king Rājubula is not surprising, as both belong to the Kṣaharāta dynasty. 

This shows that Nahapāna cannot be placed in the era which begins with 78 A.D. He must be of the period of Rājubula, whose accepted date also requires investigation.

Two-thirds of the Jogalthembhi hoard were restruck by Gautamiputra, the destroyer of the Khakharātas. As mentioned above, it is in keeping with insessional evidence that Gautamiputra defeated the Kṣaharātas. The coins of Nahapāna bear inscriptions in the Kharoṣṭhī, Brāhmi and Greek alphabets.

III UṢAVADĀTA, THE ŚAKA

His name and family. As regards Uṣavadāta’s name many writers think that Rṣabhadatta is the original Sanskrit form of Uṣavadāta. Rapson, for instance, in the Cambridge History of India writes, ‘To this class belongs the Śaka Uṣavadāta (Rṣabhadatta), the brother-in-law (sic)

1 J. B. A. S., 1926, p. 653.
of Nahapāna." This theory will not bear examination. The minds of the Śakas could not have been saturated with Indian influence at that early period. Uṣavadāta is a pure Śaka name. In his inscriptions, the only forms mentioned are Uṣavadāta and Usabhādāta. The Nasik cave inscription no. 10, which is mostly in Sanskrit, gives the name as Uṣavadāta and not Rṣabhādatta, its Sanskritized form. It is evident, therefore, that Rṣabhādatta is not the original form. This is the view of Dr. Deoras also. He thinks Uṣavadāta to be a genuine Śaka name. The Nasik inscription no. 14 distinctly says that he was a Śaka. His father Dinīka also bears a Śaka name. Dinīka may be derived from middle P e r s i a n Dynyk, which in its turn is derived from an old Iranian word Dainiyak. It may mean, 'faithful' or 'godly'.

Uṣavadāta's wife Dakṣamitrā, the daughter of Nahapāna, bears a purely Indian name. It is, therefore, probable that Dakṣamitrā was the daughter of Nahapāna by an Indian wife. The building of a small room by Dakṣamitrā for charitable purposes shows her generosity.

Uṣavadāta seems to have owed allegiance to some other king, as one Nasik cave inscription shows that he went to liberate Uttamabhadras from the Malayas, in order to execute the order of his overlord.

The name of his son, Mitradevanāka, seems also to be an Indian name. A small inscription shows that he also had his share in charitable works. He donated a pillar.

His generosity. Uṣavadāta was very generous in his benefactions. His activities in social welfare are

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1 p. 577. 2 Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1940, p. 149. 3 Ibid. 4 E.I., Vol. VIII, pp. 61 and 86. 5 E. I., Vol. VII, p. 56.
praiseworthy. His benefactions consisted of a large number of objects, from inns, wells, tanks etc., to immense sums of money. He gave lacs of cows in charity. He was called a dharmâtmâ, a religious man. He was impartial in these matters. Both the Buddhists and Brâhmaṇas were recipients of his charity. Moreover, a large number of place names associated with his gifts, viz., Govadhana-Vâtha, Cikhalapadra-grâma, Prabhâsa, Bharukaccha, Daśapura, Šorapârga, Ujjayini etc., show that these acts of charity were distributed over widely situated parts of India.

AYAMA

The Junâr cave inscription dated in the year 46 brought to light the existence of Ayama, a minister of Nahapâna. This solitary source of information about him shows that he was of the vatsa gotra. The name Ayama appears not to be Indian, but his gotra shows Āryan origin. In this inscription he made some benefactions.

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1 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 78, No. 10. 2 For the names see the inscriptions given in the appendix. 3 Archaeological Survey, Western India, Vol. IV, p. 109.
CHAPTER VI

THE CAŠTANA DYNASTY

The Tiloya Paṇṇatti is the oldest Indian work known at present which has preserved the name Caštana. The reading in the Ms. of R.B. Hiralal is Bhacchaṭhanāna (≡ मच्छढणाण).¹ The reading of the printed edition is Bhatthaṭhanāna (≡ मस्थष्ठणाण).² Of the two readings the reading of R.B. Hiralal is decidedly the better one. This reading is supported by the Kharoṣṭhi legend of the king’s name, Caṭhanasa, as read on his coins. The word Caštana here is in the plural and, therefore, stands for the dynasty, which will now be dealt with.

Indian tradition places Bhacchaṭhanas or Bhṛtya-Caštanas or Bhadrá-Caštanas just after Nahapāna, the Kṣaṭhara.³ Bhṛtya Caštanas are certainly Caštana and his successors and no others. It is known from inscriptions that Ysamotika was not an important figure in those times. He may have been an ordinary soldier in the service of Nahapāna or Gautamiputra. There is nothing to prove that he ever ruled any part of western India. The dynasty is not named after him. In India dynasties were generally named after great kings: as, for example, the Yādava dynasty, the Paurava dynasty, the

¹ Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit Ms. in the C. P. and Berar, p. XVI.
² Tiloya Pannatti, Ch. IV, gāthās 1507 and 1508.
Ikṣavāku dynasty, the Gupta dynasty and so on. So Caṣṭana must have gained power to be called the founder of a dynasty. Some time after the defeat of the Kṣaharātas at the hands of Gautamīputra, Caṣṭana may have raised his head and achieved importance.

**THE KARDAMAKA KINGS**

Rapson thinks the name of the dynasty to be Kardamaka. He refers to an inscription in the Kaṇhert caves where the daughter of a Śaka king Ru(drādāman?) boasts that she is descended from the family of the Kardamaka kings. Raychaudhuri does not agree with him and surmises that the word Kardamaka only denotes someone who lived on the banks of the Kardama, a river in Persia. Neither of these scholars have been able to guess the right meaning of this word. Kardama territory is modern Sidhapur. Here was the hermitage of the great sage Kardama; the territory surrounding this hermitage has derived its name from that sage. This part of Gujarāta, which is now in the Baroda state, was under the Śakas; and the boast of the daughter of Ru(drādāman) was right. Kardamaka, then, is not the name of the dynasty, but denotes the territory where Rudradāman's forefathers ruled. Caṣṭana may at first have been a petty chief of that locality. That Kardama was a territory in Gujarāta or somewhere near it, is further proved by the following statements.

1. A Kardama village is mentioned in the Nerur copper-plate of Śaka year 622.

2. A Kardama-bhūpāti, the ruler of Tribhuvana-giri is mentioned in the praśasti of Prabhāvaka Carita.

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1 P.H.A.I., 4th ed., p. 423. 2 History of Solankia by Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha, quoted in Jain Sāhitya aura Itihāsa, p. 88, note 1. 3 End, verse 5.
3. Another Kardama-rājā, author of many sūktis and son of a Rudra, the author of Trailokyā Sundari, is mentioned in the introductory verses of Tilakamañjari by Dharmapāla (A.D. 975) while eulogising ancient poets.¹

Now, the question arises whether this ‘Rudra’ belonged to the royal family of Caštanas or not? In the absence of more authoritative material it is difficult to surmise anything. Anyhow, Kardamarājā appears to be a title only.

The name Ysamotika is of the Śaka language and, therefore, the dynasty of Caštana may safely be regarded as a Śaka dynasty. Tiloyā Paṇḍatti also supports this conclusion by identifying the Caštanas with the Śakas. Bāna, the court poet of king Harsavardhana, relates the story of a Śaka king who was killed by Candragupta, the Gupta. This Śaka king must have been a descendant of Ysamotika. So the dynasty may be regarded as the Śaka dynasty.

**Duration of the dynasty.** The Purāṇas refer to this dynasty as having ruled for 380 years.² Pargiter translates this figure as 183,³ but this interpretation is not acceptable. According to unanimous Jain tradition Nahapāna ruled for 40 years, and the Caštanas for 242 years. This gives a total of 282 years. The Purāṇas do not mention Nahapāna separately. Therefore, the total of 282 years may be regarded as approximately correct. It is known that Śaka coins show a continuous rule of about 300 years. The figure 282 is near this

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¹ History of Sanskrit Literature, Krishnamachariar, p. 475. ² Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 46. ³ Ibid, p. 72 and intro., p. XXV.
total. Therefore, 183 cannot be the right translation. Moreover, ‘e’ Vāyu, which is the best of the Vāyu Purāṇa Manuscripts,¹ used by Pargiter, gives only 300 years for the eighteen Śakas. After this period the Śakas may have gone into the back ground.

I. MAHĀKṢATRAPA CAṢṬANA

Caṣṭana, the son of Ghsamotika, was the founder of a new dynasty. There are diverse views as to his relation to the Kṣaharātas. Rapson is right in concluding that they belonged to different families.² The use of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet and ‘the character of their names and titles’ prove their northern and foreign origin. Some scholars have tried to solve this problem. Binayatosh Bhaṭṭācārya read on the bottom of a statue, found in the Devakula or statue-temple at Mathura, where the statues of Kaniṣṭha, his son, and Wima Kadphises were found, the word Sastana."³ Ojha, Har Prasad Śāstri, Spooner and Jayaswal accepted this reading. Scholars take it to be the name of Caṣṭana and connect him with the Kuśānas. But Sastana cannot be connected with the word Caṣṭana. The inscriptions of the time of Kaniṣṭha are in Pṛākrit, and the Pṛākrit form of Caṣṭana is Cathana; but Sastana has only ‘i’ and not ‘th’. Therefore, the suggestion of these scholars is impossible. Moreover, the Kuśānas were Tuṣāras, and they had no relation with the Śakas. As already shown the two tribes were altogether different.

**Duration of reign.** The duration of Caṣṭana’s reign has greatly baffled scholars. Rapson writes in this connection:

> "All that is known as to the duration of Caṣṭana’s

reign, both as kṣatrapa and mahākṣatrapa, is that it must be included, together with the reign of his son Jayadāman as kṣatrapa, in the period limited by the years 46 and 72" of some era. One thing is certain, which is also fully established by Indian tradition, namely that no interval passed between Caṣṭana and Nahapāna. Nahapāna ruled for 40 years at least, or even perhaps for 46 years. Then from the year 46 to the year 52 Caṣṭana ruled. Whether he ruled after this time also is not certain.

The Andhau inscriptions of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman's time, which are in Prākrit mixed with Sanskrit, have given rise to considerable controversy. The inscriptions read:—

राज्य चाष्टनस वक्सामोतिक-पुत्रस राज्य रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षें ५२...

Scholars have interpreted these lines differently. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and R. C. Majumdar think that these inscriptions belong to the period of the joint rule of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman. R. D. Bannerji does not accept this suggestion. He says that there is no parallel case of this type in the history of India. It seems that the original of the inscription was written by a man who knew very little of the current mode of writing. He has, therefore, been unable to make himself clear.

His capital. If we rely on Ptolemy, then the capital of Caṣṭana or the Caṣṭanas (Tiastanes) was Ujjain (Ozene). Rapson shows the contemporaneity of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śrī Pulumāvi with Caṣṭana by referring to the mention by Ptolemy of Paithan as the capital of this Āndhra king.

1 Catalogue, p. CXII. 2 I. A. Vol. XLVII, p. 154, n. 26. 3 Cf. Ibid. 4 E. I., Vol. XVI, pp. 22-23. 5 VII, 1,63. 6 Catalogue, p. CXIII.
II. JAYADĀMAN

Jayadāman was the son of Caśṭana. He was only a Kṣatrapa. It has been assumed that during his reign the power of the dynasty suffered some diminution, probably through an Andhra conquest. This is also clear from the boast of Rudradāman that he had won and not inherited his title.

There is the addition of the title Svāmi on his coins besides the other two titles Rājā and Kṣatrapa. This title regularly appears in inscriptions of the early members of the dynasty and on the coins of the later princes from the time of Svāmi Rudradāman II onwards. With him the proper names assume an Indian form, and except the termination ghsada which soon changes into jada and the form dāman, there is nothing left in the names to denote their foreign origin.

His copper coins are square in form. The first variety has on the obverse the figure of a humped bull. The reverse has a caitya of 6 arches while the usual number is three. The copper coins of the second variety bear the figure of an Elephant, an Ujjain symbol. The inscription on these coins is incomplete. Rapson writes, “If it could be proved that this coin was struck by Jayadāman, the fact that it resembles the coins of Ujjain would connect it with the city which was probably the capital or one of the capitals of his kingdom.”

A Śaka prince of Surāṣṭra, Jayanandaka or Jayantaka by name is mentioned in the Bhāna Pādatāditaka of Śyāmilaka. Of the readings Nandaka and Antaka, the latter appears to be a corrupt one. If such is the case then Nandaka may be a Sanskrit rendering.

of Dāman. Dr. Sten Konow will not accept this equation. According to him the word dāma is Iranian. He compares it with the Avestan dāman, meaning place or creation. The question is, however, open for the present, and so far, there is no evidence to prove that the names Jayanandaka and Jayadāman are of the same person. Moreover, the Jayanandaka of this drama appears to be different from the Kṣatrapa Jayadāman.

THE RISE OF THE CAṬTANAS

III. MAHĀKṢATRAPA RUDRADĀMAN

Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman and grandson of Caṭhana, became an independent Mahākṣatrapa sometime between the years 52 and 72 of some era. His name shows that Śaiva influence had begun in the Śaka royal family. The only sources of information regarding his rule are the Andhau and Girnāra rock inscriptions and some coins. Even after discounting the poetic fancy of the writer, we get a lot of material for the reconstruction of the history of his reign from the Junāgarh inscription.

He won for himself the title of Mahākṣatrapa. According to Dr. Raychaudhuri “this probably indicates that the power of his house had been shaken by some enemy (possibly Gautamiputra), and he had to restore the supreme satrapal dignity by his own prowess.” Men of all classes, i.e., all his subjects, chose him as their protector. He seems to have adopted Indian modes of living. He was well versed in various sciences such as grammar (śadba), polity (artha), music (gandharva), logic (nyāya)

1 Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, p. 38.
2 स्वयमचिन्ता महाकष्ट्रपनामन्
4 सर्वाच्छादनियो रक्षणाये पतिवे बुत्तेन

...... ....
and many others. It was his knowledge of grammar which made him well versed in Sanskrit. His love for the Sanskrit language is apparent from the fact that while the inscriptions of many other Śaka rulers are in Prākrit mixed with Sanskrit, the famous inscription of Rudradāman is in a pure and elegant Sanskrit. He took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle. This shows how humane and civilized his rule was. He was well versed in the art of warfare, as the enumeration of his conquests prove. His rule does not seem to have been oppressive. The number of taxes levied does not seem to have been large. The Sudarśana lake was repaired "by spending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and the province by exacting taxes (kara), forced labour (viṣṭi), benevolences (pranaya) and the like." Moreover, he adopted the ancient Indian mode of government, by appointing Mati-Sacivas (counsellors) and Karma-Sacivas (executive officers) who were fully endowed with the qualifications of a minister.

THE DOMINIONS OF RUDRADĀMAN

The Girnāra inscription is an important source of information on this point. Rudradāman mentions in this inscription his sway over the following countries:

1. Pūrva-apara Ākara-Avanti, or East Mālwā and West Mālwā. The capital of East Mālwā was Vidiśā and the capital of West Mālwā was Ujjain. Rudradāman
must have made Ujjain his capital.

2. Anuṣpa, the modern Mahēśvara in Nimar district on the river Narbadā, lying south of Mālwā.

3. Nivrta; is, so far, unidentified.

4. Ānartta; the territory of North Kathiawar was known under the name Ānarta. Its ancient capital was Ānandapura, the modern Vadvnagar. The name Ānarta appears frequently in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.

5. Surāṣṭra. Surāṣṭra is South Kathiawar. Gīrā, the find-spot of this inscription, was in this land.

6. Svabhra, the territory of Sābaramati.

7. Maru-Kaccha. If Maru-kaccha be accepted as the correct reading then Maru means the desert part of Rājaputānā and Kaccha denotes the modern Cutch. But if Maru is a scribal mistake for Bharu, then Bharu-Kaccha will be one word, denoting Bharoch. It may be pointed out that in the inscription this name is not clearly legible.

8. Sindhu; is the lower Indus region, the original home of the Śakas, whence they came to Gujarāt and Kathiawar.

9. Sauvira. Multan was the ancient capital of this kingdom.

10. Kukura, a part of Rājaputānā, and the Kinche-lo of Hiuen Tsiang.1 Kukura Yādavas are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

11. Aparānta. According to the Purāṇas the western part of India had in it the famous ports of Sopārā and Bharu-Kaccha and territories like Nasik.

But as Kaccha or Bharu-Kaccha is already enumerated, therefore, Aparânta according to this inscription, must have been a small country only.

12. *Niśāda* was the country of the Western Vindhyas and Arâvalli.


This list makes it clear that the greatest Śaka king ruled as far north as Multan in the north and to Nasik and Sopârâ in the south-west. The region of Mathura, which was once under the Kṣatrapas had passed from the hands of the later Śakas. Some very powerful rulers must have established themselves in those parts, for even a king like Rudradâman could not subdue them.

Rudradâman twice defeated Sâtakarṇi, the lord of the *Dakśināpatha*, but did not destroy him. Sâtakarṇi had married the daughter of Rudradâman and hence he was not killed by the Mahâkṣatrapa. Rudrâdâman reinstated many deposed kings. Centuries after him, Samudragupta or Hariśeṇa, the writer of his *prasasti*, also took pride in making a similar statement. There is no doubt that the Gupta emperor took this idea from Rudradâman.

**FURTHER LIGHT THROWN BY THE INSCRIPTION ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF KÂTHIAWAR**

It has been noticed that the coins of Nahapâna and many other early Western Kṣatrapas had inscriptions in Greek letters also. The coins of Rudradâman have Greek letters, but the title Mahâkṣatrapa is not transliterated into Greek. It is apparent that the Greek
characters were slowly dying out. The Girnāra inscription points out the fact that as early as the time of Aśoka Maurya, a Greek Tuṣāspha was acting as governor of Aśoka in this territory. Other Greek officers must have followed him, and it is possible that the usage of the Greek characters in Kathiawar and Gujarāt was the result of the sojourn there of such Greeks. It is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa that a Yona priest Dhamma-rakhita was sent to Aparānta to further the cause of Buddhism, about 250 years after Buddha. Therefore, Greek letters were not used by Nahapāna for the first time, but were already in use by foreigners who lived in this part of India.

According to the observation of Rapson from the period of Rudradāman “onwards the inscription in Greek characters probably ceases to have any meaning. It becomes a mere ornament, and traces of it thus continue to appear on the coins until the end of the dynasty.”

IV. Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadasrī) I

This name is spelled as ghsada according to Rapson. Śrī is only a sign of kingly respect. But if ghsada may be read as ysada, as in Ghsamotika or Ysamotika, the ysa reading seems to be correct, then jada is a very easy change from ysada. The name again is purely Śaka. His mother may have been of Śaka descent. Dāmajadasrī I and Rudrasimha were the two sons of Rudradāman. Their coins bear testimony to this relation. The coins again tell us that Dāmajadasrī was a Kṣatrapa as well as a Mahākṣatrapa. He appears to have been the elder brother. The dated coins furnish evidence that after his death, there arose a quarrel for the throne between his

1 Mahāvamsa, Geiger’s ed., p. 82. 2 Catalogue, p. 78.
son Jivadāman and his brother Rudrasimha I. The latter appears to have won in this struggle.

He carried on the tradition of his father as regards the use of Sanskrit. The legend on the one known coin of his reign is in correct Sanskrit.1 His son Satyadāman also continued the use of Sanskrit.

So far, no inscriptions are extant of his reign. In the Gundā inscription of his brother Rudrasimha I and Gādā inscription of his nephew, Rudrasena I, Dāmaghsada finds no place in the genealogical table along with his sons Jivadāman and Satyadāman. Rapson has thrown light on the cause of this omission. He writes, "the dated coins clearly show that, after the reign of Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadaśri) I, there were two claimants for the succession, his son, Jivadāman, and his brother Rudrasimha I. The struggle was eventually decided in the favour of the latter; and.............the successful family omitted from its genealogical lists the names of rulers whom it must have regarded as usurpers."

V. MAHĀKṢATRAPA JIVADĀMAN

Jivadāman was the son of Dāmajadaśri I. The series of dated coins begins with this reign. The dates are given in Brāhmi numerals behind the head of the king.

Jivadāman bears the title of Mahākṣatrapa on his coins. He was in full power from the year 100 to 103 and from 110 to 113. During the intervening period it seems his uncle Rudrasimha had usurped authority. Again in the years 119 and 120 he rose in power. This

1 सदाराज: पुत्रस्य क्षत्रियस्य दाम[भा] Catalogue, p. CXXIV. 2 Ibid, p. CXXIII.
shows that all his reign must have been a period of continuous war amongst members of his own house.

In his Junāgarh inscription of varṣe 100+......, he is termed as svāmi. This inscription is very fragmentary and no further information can be extracted from it.

VI. MAHĀKṢATRAPA RUDRASIMHA I

Rudrasimha I was the younger son of the famous Rudradāman I. His is the first name in the line of the Śaka kings which is purely Indian. His mother may have been Indian. Rapson¹ has clearly summed up his reign in the following manner:—

(1) as Kṣatrapa, for the first time in the year 102-103;
(2) as Mahākṣatrapa, for the first time from 103-110;
(3) as Kṣatrapa for the second time from 110-112;
and (4) as Mahākṣatrapa, for the second time from 113-118 certainly, and possibly to 119.

As remarked in the case of Jīvadāman, so also the reign of Rudrasimha must have been a period of constant struggle.

The Gundā inscription tells us that an Āhīra Senāpati Rudrabhāti, son of Senāpati Bāpaka was in the military service of the Śakas. The Mevasā inscription also mentions an Āhīra Vasuraka. The Gundā inscription calls Rudrasimha a Mahākṣatrapa.

The use of Prākrit on inscriptions of his coins indicates Sātavāhana influence. Rapson observes that “the earliest coins of this prince bear a youthful head without moustache. The moustache, which is generally seen in portraits of the Western Kṣatrapas, appears first on the coins of Rudrasimha I in the year 103.”

¹ Ibid, p. CXXVI. ² Ibid, p. CXXVII.
VII. KṢATRAPA SATYADĀMAN

Satyadāman, son of Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadaśri) I, is known from a single coin only. The coin-legend is in perfect Sanskrit and says that Satyadāman was the son of Dāmajadaśri I. The date of the issue of the coin is not given. It is of the period when Satyadāman was a Kṣatrapa. Unless more coins of this king come to light, it is difficult to determine the period of his reign.

Rapson, however, writes, “the reign of Satyadāman as Kṣatrapa was concurrent either with that of his father as Kṣatrapa, or with the first reign of his brother Jivadāman, as mahākṣatrapa.”

VIII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA RUDRASENA I

In the Bhavanagar Sanskrit and Prākrit inscriptions the date of the Mulvasar (Dwarka) stone inscription o Rudrasena is read as varṣe 232. This date was corrected to 122 by Rapson and by Luders in his list.

Fortunately there is another inscription found at Gadhā of the year 127 or 126 which belongs to Rudrasena I. This inscription is very important as it gives the longest genealogical table of this dynasty where it is that we find the adjective Bhadramukha with the names of Caṣṭana, Rudradāman and Rudrasimha. The dynasty was perhaps called the Bhadra dynasty also, as is evident from the form Bhat-Castanas of Tiloya Paṇṇatti.

He calls himself the son of Rudrasimha on his coins. His coins show that he was a Kṣatrapa in the year 121. His reign as a Mahākṣatrapa may be fixed approximately between the years 122 and 144.

1 Ibid., p. CXXIX. 2 Above p. 23. 3 Catalogue, p. CXXIX. 4 E. I., Vol. X, No. 969. 5 See, ch. IX.
Mahādevi Prabhudāmā, a sister of Rudrasena, is mentioned in a seal found at Vaiśāli.¹

IX. KṢATRAPA PRTHRĪSENĀ

Prthrīsenā was the son of Rudrasena I. He was merely a Kṣatrapa and reigned in the year 144 only. Further information about him is wanting. His coins are very rare.

X. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SAṆGHADĀMAN

Saṅghadāman was the son of Rudrāsimha I. and uncle of Prthrīsenā. From his coins, which are very rare, we know that he ruled as a Mahākṣatrapa in the years 144 and 145. His brother, Rudrasena I, must have died in the beginning or middle of the year 144.

XI. MAHĀKṢATRAPA DĀMASENA

Dāmasena may possibly have been the youngest son of Rudrāsimha I. He reigned as Mahākṣatrapa between the years 145 and 158. After the year 158 there was a set back to the power of the Caṣṭanas when Mahākṣatrapa Iśvaradattāa usurped power.

XII. KṢATRAPA DĀMAJADĀṢRĪ II

Dāmajadāṣrī II was the son of Rudrasena I and brother of Prthrīsenā. His coins bear the dates 154 and 155. He was a Kṣatrapa under his uncle, Mahākṣatrapa Dāmasena.

XIII. KṢATRAPA VĪRADĀMAN

Viradāman was the son of Dāmasena and was a Kṣatrapa from the year 156 to 160. Some new coins of the Western Kṣatrapas have quite recently come to light.²

¹ राज्ये महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामी स्त्रिसिद्ध्व दुषिते राज्ये महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामी
There are two coins which are dated in the years 157 and 158. Mr. A. S. Gadre surmises that these coins belong to Viradāman. The obverse side is defaced in both these coins and hence the names are not to be found.

MAHĀKṢATRAPA ĪṢVARADATTA

During the Kṣatrapa period of Dāmajadāśrī and Viradāman, Dāmasena was ruling as a Mahākṣatrapa. His rule lasted up to the year 158. The next king Yaśodāman of the Caśtana line was also a Kṣatrapa. His coins are dated in the years 160 and 161. He assumed the title of a Mahākṣatrapa in 161. A question, therefore, arises as to who the Mahākṣatrapa was during the years 159 and 160 and even probably for parts of the years 158 and 161.

Prof. Rapson has catalogued coins of a Mahākṣatrapa Īṣvaradatta,¹ which fit in with the coins of this dynasty, and he, therefore, suggested that Mahākṣatrapa Īṣvaradatta was the overlord during these years. Īṣvaradatta did not belong to the Caśtana line. It is apparent from the fact that his coins, unlike those of the Śakas, are dated in his regnal years. Bhagavan Lal and Rapson are of the view that Īṣvaradatta belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty of Nasik.² The Nasik Cave inscriptions contain an inscription of an Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, the son of Śivadatta, who records his date in his regnal years. Therefore, the assumption of Bhagavan Lal and Rapson looks probable, though not quite certain. The truth can only be ascertained when more material on the subject is discovered. That Ābhīraka princes had names ending in 'datta' is further proved by the one-act play Pādatāḍitakam.³ Therein an Ābhīraka prince

Mayūradatta is mentioned. The Ābhīra names have a distinct similarity, viz., Śivadatta, Iśvaradatta and Mayūradatta. There are traces of Greek letters on the coins of the last named king also.

XIV. MAHĀKṢATRAPA YOŚODĀMAN I

Yaśodāman was the second son of Dāmasena, and was a Kṣatrapa in the year 161. He assumed the title Mahākṣatrapa in the year 161. He restored the lost supremacy of his family which had been usurped by Iśvaradatta, but reigned for a year or a year and a half only. The period must have witnessed almost continuous warfare and his death may have resulted therefrom.

XV. MAHĀKṢATRAPA VIJAYASENA

Vijayasena, the third son of Dāmasena, succeeded his brother Yaśodāman as Mahākṣatrapa. He was a Kṣatrapa in the year 160, and possibly in the year 161 also, along with his brothers Vīradāman and Yaśodāman. In the year 162 he became a Mahākṣatrapa. From this year he struck coins every succeeding year up to 172. The dates on the coins are regular and the coin-legends are very clear. Of all the coins of the kings of this dynasty, The coins of Vijayasena are in the best condition. Rapson writes, "The standard of the coins shows a slow degradation every year." It may be inferred from this that the king was gradually losing in power.

XVI. MAHĀKṢATRAPA DĀMAJADĀŚRĪ III

Dāmajadāśrī III was the fourth son of Dāmasena. He succeeded his brother Vijayasena as Mahākṣatrapa in the year 172 or 173 and ruled up to the year 176. The coins are badly struck and the degradation in the standard

1 Catalogue, p. CXXXVII.
continues during this reign also. The Śakas must have been fighting with some powerful enemy and the treasury consequently diminishing every year.

XVII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA RUDRASENA II

Rudrasena II was the son of Vīradāman and succeeded his three uncles as Mahākṣatrapa in about the year 179 and ruled up to the year 196.

XVIII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA VIṢVASIMHA

Viṣvasimha was the son of Rudrasena II. The coins being badly minted, the dates on them are not clear. Viṣvasimha was at first a Kṣatrapa for one or two years and then became a Mahākṣatrapa. His reign ended sometime in the year 210 or 211, as in the year 211 Bhartṛdāman was ruling as Mahākṣatrapa.

XIX. MAHĀKṢATRAPA BHARTRDĀMAN

Bhartṛdāman was the son of Rudrasena II and probably the younger brother of Viṣvasimha. He was a Kṣatrapa from the year 201 to 204. He became a Mahākṣatrapa in 211. His position from 205 to 210 is uncertain on account of the absence of coins. He certainly reigned up to the year 217. Was not this Bhartṛdāman the same as the Bhartrihari, who was killed by a Vikrama; and who is mentioned by Captain Wilford on the authority of the vanśāvalis.\(^1\)

XX. KṢATRAPA VIṢVASENA

Bhartṛdāman must have lost his supremacy and even his life in some great war. He was succeeded in the year 216 by his son Viṣvasena as Kṣatrapa. This prince was only a Kṣatrapa. His dated coins up to the year 226 are nearly illegible.

CHAPTER VII

DOWNFALL OF THE ČAṬANAS

As already pointed out the Purāṇas state that there were eighteen kings of the Śaka dynasty. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa enumerates only sixteen kings. Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa lists thirty Śaka lords, but only eighteen as bhūpatis or Mahākṣatrapas. On the authority of these works and the coins, the number eighteen seems to be approximately correct. Bhartṛdāman was the last of these eighteen Mahākṣatrapas of note. His reign extended up to the year 215. The Śakas ruled for about 100 years after this period also, but their power was very much reduced. They were at the mercy of another great power. Interruption in the continuity of the coins suggests the possibility of their being at the mercy of some other power. It is not yet fully certain which this power was. It may have been the conquest of Mayūraśarman which caused the humiliation of the Śakas; and the Śakas may have been Kṣatrapas or vassals under this king for some time. Again some time after Mayūraśarman the Guptas under Samudragupta came from the west to subdue the Śakas. The Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta, regarded by some scholars as a posthumous inscription,

clearly mentions that the Śaka lords bowed at the feet of the great Gupta emperor.

Samudragupta or Vyāghra parākrama, Candragupta or Simhavikrama and Mahendragupta or Simhavikrama are well known names from coins. The Tibetan historians give to the Gupta dynasty the name of Simha. The Simha dynasty was constantly at war with the Śakas. Samudragupta subdued but did not annihilate them. A Gupta minister and a Śaka prince are seen sitting in a house together in Sārvabhaumanaarendra-pura, a city in Surāṣṭra. It was Śakārī Vikrama or Candragupta Vikramāditya who destroyed the Śakas and ended their rule in India. To have a clear apprehension of these incidents it is necessary to gather together all the references to Śakārī Vikramāditya.

ŚAKĀRĪ VIKRAMĀDITYA

1. Three verses of the poet Amaru are preserved in the Saduktikarnāmṛta. The first verse states that Śakarpu (or the foe of the Śaka) gave ten provinces to a certain man. The third verse states that this king was the master who trained his disciples to make widows of the Śaka women. This is an ancient verse as is attested by the fact that it is quoted in the Śrṅgāraprakāśa of Śri Bhoja-rāja (11th century A.D.).

The verse also indicates that Amaru was a contemporary or even a court-poet of Śakarpu Candragupta.

2. The words ‘śakarpu’ and ‘śakarāti’ are found in the Rāmacarita of Abhinanda. The poet praises the foe

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1 A Tibetan Account of Bengal by Dr. S.C. Sarkar, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 and 226 f.
2 Pādatāpitarakam, p. 7, Caturbhaṇi, Patna ed.
3 Lahore ed., p. 297
4 Chapter XX.
of the Šakas who spread the works of Kālidāsa, and who was a great patron of talented poets.

3. Kṣirasvāmi (11th century A.D.), who wrote a commentary on the lexicon of Amara, quotes verses from an earlier lexicographer, in one of which it is said that 'Vikramāditya Sāhasānka and Šakāntaka (or the foe of the Šaka) are synonyms.' This Vikramāditya was Candragupta II. He was also called Sāhasānka. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV refer to the various deeds of Sāhasānka Candragupta.

4. The copper plate of Devapāladeva, of the year 33, states, that king Devapāladeva "once more cleared the way of self sacrifice and charity, which was blockaded by Kali at the death of Šakadviṭ or the foe of the Šakas." This shows that the 'foe of the Šakas' was a renowned giver of charities. He was no other than Candragupta Vikramāditya. This is gathered from the Cambay copper plate grant of Rāśtrakūṭa Govinda IV of Šaka 852,4 and from the Sanjana copper plates of Šaka 795.5 In the first grant the word tyāga is used as a qualification of Sāhasānka, and the second grant makes it clear that this giver of charities belonged to the Gupta dynasty. From the fragments of the drama, Devi-Candragupta, we know that this king was no other than Candragupta Vikramāditya.

5. Kalhana writes in his Rājatarāṅgini that Vikramāditya, a relative of Pratāpāditya, was not Šakāri-Vikramāditya and that Šakāri was another king.

From the above five references it is clear that

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Candragupta Vikramāditya or Candragupta Sāhasāṅka, the patron of a poet Kālidāsa, was the well known Śakāri of Indian history. It was he who finally brought the Śaka power to an end. The Mathura pillar inscription of Candragupta shows that during the fifth regnal year of this king, sixty-one years of the Gupta era had elapsed. If one year is allowed for the rule of king Rāmagupta, it can be calculated that Samudragupta ruled up to the year fifty-five. Samudragupta may have subdued the Śakas even thirty years before that time. Mayūrasarman who preceded the Guptas, had subdued the Śakas. It is, therefore, clear that before their final overthrow the Śakas were weakened to a great extent, and the end of the reign of Bhartṛdāman marks the weakness of the Śakas, and of the Caśṭana dynasty. By the end of the reign of Candragupta the Śakas were completely annihilated, as rulers.
CHAPTER VIII

THE LATER ŚAKAS

I. KṢATRAPA RUDRASĪMHA II

With the beginning of the reign of Rudrasisāma II, there is an interruption in the direct line of the Caṣṭanas. Rudrasisāma's father, Svāmi Jivādamana bears no such titles as were borne by the previous rulers. The continuity of the dates on coins, however, suggests a connection with the Caṣṭanas. Rapson writes, "His (Rudrasisāma's) title Svāmi, lord, and the form of his name with the characteristic, dāman, seem, however, to indicate near relationship to the family of Caṣṭana, one of whom, indeed, had borne precisely the same name." Buhler, on the other hand, suggests that he may have belonged to a younger branch of the royal family. Anyhow, it seems certain that he had some connection with the Śakas.

Rudrasisāma II became a Kṣatrapa in the year 227 and remained in office up to about the year 239. In his reign and that of his successor the office of Mahākṣatrapa seems to have been held in abeyance. So far, there is no material available to show whether any one occupied this office or not.

1 Catalogue, p. CXLII. 2 J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 66.
II. KṢATRAPA YAŚODĀMAN

After Rudrasimha his son Yaśodāman began to reign. His rule extends from the year 239 to 254. The incidents mentioned in the Kānākherā stone inscription of Śaka Śrīdhavarman are to be placed during this period, if the date of the inscription be regarded as 241. During this period there is again a gap of about sixteen years in the continuous rule of the Kṣatrapas. Coins and inscriptions do not help to fill the gap. This may be the approximate time of the conquest of Samudragupta.

III. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRADĀMAN II

With the beginning of this reign, the title svāmi is used for all subsequent kings. No material is, so far, available to construct a history of the reign. Svāmi Rudradāman II is known only from the coins of his son Svāmi Rudrasena III.

IV. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRASEN A III

Rudrasena's coins are divided into two groups. The first group ranges from the year 270 to 273; the second extends from the year 286 to 300. The disappearance of the coinage between the years 273 and 286 again indicates a political disturbance. After making a careful analysis of the Uparkot hoard of Svāmi Rudrasena III, the Rev. H. R. Scott wrote, "Many of these coins, especially those of the last years, are in mint condition, fresh and unworn. From these facts.........we may fairly conclude that the hoard was secreted at the end of the first period of Rudrasena's reign, and most probably it was because of the revolution which then took place, rendering life and property insecure, that the money was hidden."

V. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI SIMHASENA

Simhasena was the son of a sister of Svāmi Rudrasena III. It is evident that Rudrasena III either died young and left no heir, or that his family came to an end in wars with the Guptas. So his sister’s son was installed as Mahākṣatrapa. The only date on his coins which is certain is either 304 or 306. There is a peculiar variety of his coins, in which we find Mahārāja-Kṣatrapa-Svāmi-Rudrasena-svasriyasa written. The title Mahārāja Kṣatrapa for Mahākṣatrapa is not met with on any of the previous or later coins of this dynasty.

VI. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI [RUDRA]SENĀ IV

Regarding Rudrasena IV, the son of Svāmi Simhasena, nothing is known except his name. Only a single coin of this king is available.

VII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI SATYASIṀHA

Satyasiṃha is known only from the coins of his son. Rapson writes that "he may have been a brother of Svāmi Simhasena."

VIII. MAHĀKṢATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRAŚIṀHA III

With Rudrasimha III, the son of Svāmi Satyasiṃha, the line of the Śaka Kṣatrapas or Mahākṣatrapas ends. The date of his reign is circa 310. As no other dates of his reign are available, it is difficult to determine the duration of his reign.

We find that four Mahākṣatrapas reigned from the year 304 to the year 310. This leads to the possibility that it was a period of constant warfare. This was the period of Gupta conquest. Candragupta Vikramāditya must have killed one of the Mahākṣatrapas, most probably the last one, named Rudrasena, and was, hence, named Śakāri.
CHAPTER IX

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS OF THE ŚAKAS

I. ŚAKA POLITY

The country under the Śaka rule. The effects of the regime of the earlier Śaka kings on the Āryan society of India have been vividly described in Gārgi-samhītā. The whole description is, of course, in the future tense, i.e., in the style of most of the Purāṇas. It is written that "the Śakas will destroy one fourth of the total number of the inhabitants by the sword and one fourth will be carried by them to their own city. At the end of the Śaka regime the land of Āryāvarta will be void of men. The work of ploughing the fields will be carried on by the females."

Such was the disastrous condition to which this country, especially its north-west, was reduced during the earlier Śaka rule. Alberuni also alludes to the barbarism of the Śakas. Nahapāna and the dynasty of Caṣṭana were, however, better than the early m a r a u d e r s. Nahapāna endowed villages to the brāhmaṇas. Uśavadāta made arrangements for the livelihood of the Buddhist bhikṣus. Rudradāman adopted the Hindu ideal of the

1 Cf. Gārgi-samhītā, Yuga-purāṇa, verses, 54-64. 2 Above p. 41. 3 See appendix.
PROTECTION OF THE COW AND THE BRAHMAXA.

_The Law of Succession._ The coins of the Śakas clearly show that in the royal family the law of inheritance of the kingdom was not for the elder son only, but was for all the sons of a king. When there were four brothers, they often all inherited the throne in succession. When the younger brother of a deceased Mahākṣatrāpa did not get the kingdom he waged war against his brother's son, as is seen in the case of Rudrasimhā I and Jivadāman. Never throughout these centuries was there a queen on the throne, and no minor ever succeeded.

_The King._ The king, who was called a Mahākṣatrāpa, was the commander of the armies also. In great battles he himself took part. Rudradāman won his own victories. The king had Kṣatrapas or governors under him. The heir-apparent was always one of the Kṣatrapas.

_State officials._ Śakas had the same type of state officers as the Hindu kings of those days had. Rudradāman had under him Mati-saśivas and Karma-saśivas. The officials were often Śakas and Pahlavas. Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna, was a Śaka. Suviśākha, a minister of Rudradāman, was a Pahlava. Śaka Śrīdharavarman of the Kānākherā stone inscription was a Mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka.

_Svāmins._ A large number of Śaka rulers are called Svāmi in their epigraphical records, e.g., Svāmi Caṣṭana, Svāmi Rudradāman and so on. Long before them and in the region of Mathura, Mahākṣatrāpa Śoḍāsha was also called a Svāmi. The Nātyaśāstra of Bharata lays down that a Yuvarāja or an heir-apparent should be addressed as Svāmi or bhadrāmukha in the dramas.1 From this
use of the term svāmi in the Śaka inscriptions as well as in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, Prof. Levi argues that the Nāṭyaśāstra has borrowed this usage from the contemporary records of the Śakas. Professor Keith does not agree with Levi. There is no use going into the details of this controversy here, but one thing seems probable: svāmi in the Śaka records may mean an heir-apparent. The Śakas adopted this title from Hindu society. Hindu kings of that period used the title Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Pulumāvi uses sāmi for himself.

Soldiers. Śaka soldiers served under their own kings and also under Hindu kings. Just preceding Gautamiputra there was a king Śakasena in the Sātavāhana line. Among other views it is possible that he may have been given that name on account of employing a large number of Śaka soldiers in his army. Amongst the coins of the Sātavāhanas, those bearing the coin-legends, Śaka-sena have been found. The Śaka soldiers had penetrated as far south as Śriparvata. There are two sculptures at Nāgārjunikonḍa showing a warrior in Śaka dress.

II. ECONOMIC CUSTOMS

Treasury and currency. Nahapāna’s treasury is mentioned in the commentary of the Āvatsyaka-sūtra. Nahapāna gave gold in charity. In his Girmāra rock inscription Rudradāman records that his treasury was full of gold, silver and precious stones, such as vajra, vaidūrya and ratna. Silver coins of the Śakas have been found in different parts of western India. S.K. Chakraborty is

Nāṭyaśāstra, Gaekwad Series ed., p. 380, sloka, 76. The word bhadramukha and svāmi in the Śaka inscriptions may have been adopted from this usage.

1 The Sanskrit Drama by A. B. Keith, p. 66. 2 Select Inscriptions, p. 195.
3 Above p. 10.
of the opinion that the silver coin with copper tokens was the standard coin in the territories ruled by the Western Kṣatrapas. Lead coinage was also prevalent. But, so far, no gold coin has come to light.

III. RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

State religion. In the hoary past the Śakas professed the Vedic religion. Their society was divided into four classes. Sagara reduced them to the state of low caste people. It is not known what religion the Sindhu-Śakas adopted. We only know that from the time of Nahapāna onwards the Śakas were under Buddhist and Hindu influence. Nahapāna undertook the pilgrimage to Hindu holy places of Prabhāsa etc. in western India. Nahapāna’s daughter and son-in-law both performed pious deeds in accordance with Buddhist and Hindu customs. The introduction of Śaiva names, e.g., Rudradāman, Rudrasimha, and Rudrasena indicate Śaiva influence on the Śaka royal family. H. C. Roy Choudhry writes in ‘The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect’, that ‘the Śaka and Kushan kings who reigned from the 1st century B. C. to the third century A.D. were usually Śaivites or Buddhists, and were, with a few exceptions, not well disposed towards the religion of Vāsudeva.’

IV. SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Marriage. The Śakas married Indian ladies also. Nahapāna probably had an Indian wife and his daughter Dakṣamitrā was thus given an Indian name. Rudradāman gave his daughter to a Sātavāhana king. Similarly Rudradharā-Bhaṭṭārika, the daughter of a Mahārāja of Ujjain, was married to an Indian prince Vira Purusadatta,

the second king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of the Āndhra country. Prabhudāmā, a sister of Rudrasena I, was the chief queen of probably an Indian prince. The Bhaviśya Purāṇa refers to the intermarriage of the inhabitants of the Śakadvipa and the Yādava Indians.

Sati custom among the Scythians. Dr. A. S. Altekar has given the following information on this point:

"The Scythian influence further helped the spread of the custom (sati). A considerable portion of northern India was under the rule of Scythians from circa 150 B.C. to circa 250 A.D. and among them the custom of burning the wife along with the remains of a departed chief was quite common."

Physiognomy. It is clear from the coins that the Śakas wore long hair, which hung on the back down to the upper part of the neck. The head was covered with a cap. There is an ornament round the neck. The nose was long, and the Śaka princes had a moustache but did not grow beards.

The Śakas had red faces. In the Nātyaśāstra it is laid down that the Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Bāhlīkas are to be represented with reddish yellow faces. The fact that the Śaka women had red cheeks has been already pointed out.

Friendship. There existed a high type of friendship in certain Śaka circles. One solitary example has come down to us in an inscription, where the memory of a Śaka friend who sacrificed his own life for the sake of a friend, is kept alive.
Food and drink. The general food of the Śakas was wheat-flour, 1 meat 2 and onion. 3 Mādhvika, 4 an intoxicating drink, was used by them.

Language. The Śakas adopted Prākrit as their court language. This Prākrit was written in Brāhmī characters, an Indian alphabet. Greek letters were used on coins for some time, but later on fell into disuse. The Śakas came to Kathiawar from Sindh. They brought the Kharoṣṭhī script with them, which also fell into disuse later on. Sanskrit was also learnt by them. Rudradāman I boasts of his familiarity with so many śāstras. Authors like Śakavṛddhi and others were writing. On the authority of Mañjuśri-mūla-kalpa it can be stated that some Śaka learned men were connected with ancient Indian states. 5 They all show their love for Sanskrit.

Further light on the Śaka language has been thrown by Dr. Sten Konow. He writes:—

"The modern language of Wakhān is a Śaka dialect. In Shang-mi, the northern part of Chitrāl, the Chinese pilgrim Hüantsang was told that the king was of the Śākya race, and this Śākya is evidently a misunderstanding of Śāka. And in Laghman, which probably belonged to the Kuei-Shuang principality, traces of the Sakas seem to be indicated in a passage of Hemacandra's Abhidhmāncintāmaṇi: Lampākās tu murandāḥ syāh."

Luders supplies the following information on the Śaka language:—

"The spelling śi for si in śidhanā can be paralleled

1 Above p. 15, No. 6. 2 Above p. 18, No. 18, See also Bhāratavarṣa kā Itihāsa by Bhagavad Datta, 1940, p. 172.
3 मः: सम्प्रभूविशेष सिद्ध: नमस्त्राः।
   नरचः: शुद्धवेणस्तु शकजातास्मिनाप्रेः ॥१५४॥
4 Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology, p. 14."
by the transition of s into šš before palatal vowels in the Ṣaka language; cf. ššāra, ššāna, ššiya. The insertion of ř also which here appears in svarvachchhara is frequent in Ṣaka in Indian loan-words such as avaśīrśṭa = avaśīshṭa, Armāhāya = Amitāyu, etc."

Pronunciation. The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata attributes the Ṣakāra dialect to the Ṣakas. Some commentators of the work of Bharata are of opinion that those who use ša instead of sa in their speech are called Ṣakāras. It is clear from this that the Ṣaka dialect which was in use in Kathiawar, abounded in the use of ša instead of sa. Vindhyaketu (Malayaketu) uses such a dialect in the drama Pratijña-Cāṇakya of the poet Bhima.

Great pandits appear rarely to have been encouraged in the Ṣaka royal courts. The names of such pandits are not found in the inscriptions. The Prākrit of the inscriptions is often very faulty and this shows that the help of the Indian pandits was not utilized.

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APPENDICES

A. Śūdraκa Vιkrama, A HISTORICAL KING

Śūdraκa Vιkrama\(^1\) was a great historical king of western India. He was a brāhmaṇa by birth, a man of extraordinary valour, and trained in the śāstras. He wrote the dramas Mrochakatika and Padmaprabhṛtakam. Some western scholars have regarded him as a mythical personage. They were under a wrong impression. A Śūdraκa era was current for a long time in India. This era is mentioned in Skanda Purāṇa\(^2\) and Sūmatītāntra, a work of circa 576 A.D., according to K.P. Jayaswal.\(^3\) The following verses from the Jyotiṣa Darpaṇa of Yallayārṇa give some idea of the Śūdraκa era:

बाणाधिकुण्डक्षोणा २३४० बृहस्पती कलेचार्यात् ॥३३॥
गुणाधिकुण्डक्षोणा ३०४३ विष्माद्विगुणाधिकुण्डक्षोणा ॥३३॥

Śūdraκa was well known to the writers of ancient vaṃśāvalis. The following remarks of Captain Wilford will help to understand the position of Śūdraκa in some of these lists. He writes, "Śūdraκa is also styled Vicramāditya; and here is the most material difference, between the various copies of the Vaṃśavalī: for in those current in the west, instead of Śūdraκa, we read Vicramāditya whose predecessor was Bhartrī-Hari, or Śaṇwant and Samudrapāla his successor.............. From the first year of Śūdraκa to the first year of Vicramāditya..........., there are 343 years and only fifteen kings to fill up that place."\(^4\)

These remarks in the first few lines are mutilated. Śūdraκa Vikrama has been confounded with Chandragupta I. But the lines following do contain a portion of truth.

\(^1\) An informative article on Śūdraκa has been written by Pt. Bhagavad Datta in Śrī-Śvādhya, 1942, p. 65-78.
\(^2\) XL, 249-254.
\(^3\) J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXII, p. 191 f.
This Šudraka was the first destroyer of the Šakas in western India. After his victory over the Šakas, he started his era which is also called a Vikrama era.¹ This era is probably the well known Krta era.

B. ŠAKAHUSU AND ŠAKAHVARTHAM IN THE MAHĀBHĀSYA OF PATAŅJALI

The words Šakahusu and Šakahvartham are found in the work of Patañjali.² These have not been discussed so far. Bhoja, in his Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhaḥbharana, writes that 'one who invites the Šakas is called a Šakahū.'³ This shows that the Šakas were invited in India before the time of Patañjali. This does not appear to be their invitation by the Jain teacher Kālaka. It seems to relate to the invitation of the Šakas from the Šakadvipa to western India by Samba, a son of Śri Krṣṇa, the Yādava.⁴

This is another proof of the fact that the Šakas were in India from a very early period.

C. THE ANCIENT VANŚĀVALIS

Captain Wilford has preserved ancient vanśāvalis or genealogical lists in his essay on Vicramāditya and Šālivāhana.⁵ Abul Fazl has also given a similar vanśāvali while describing the princes of Mālwah.⁶ These are reproduced below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WILFORD</th>
<th>AIN-I-AKBARI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Šālivāhana,</td>
<td>1. Šālivāhana,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Naravāhana,</td>
<td>2. Nirvāhana,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vanśā-vālī, or Putrārājas</td>
<td>3. Putrāj, (Putra Rājās or Vansāvalīs without-offsring, 100 issue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that is to say the royal</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Kṛṣṇa-caritām of Mahārāja Samudrāgupta, Gopāl Kathiāwad ed., p. 5. Recently a biased criticism has been levelled against the authenticity of this work. The work is, however, genuine and will be discussed at some other place.² VI. 1. 91 and VI. 1. 108. ³ I. 4. 100. ⁴ Sāmāpurāṇa. ⁵ A. R., Vol. IX, p. 161. This list is from an appendix to a manuscript of the Agni Purāṇa. ⁶ Vol. II, p. 210.
4. Āditya, 55 4. Aditya Panwār 86
5. Brahmā-raja, 87 5. Brahmahraja 30
6. Ati-Brahmā, 31 6. Atibrahma 90
7. Sadāśva, 7. Sadhroshana 80
8. Harsha Megha, 80 8. Hemarth 100
or Rāsabha 9. Gandharb 35

Vieramādityya 437 Bikramajit

Bikramajit

No. 1 in both the lists is a Sātavāhana king. He is followed by Naravahana or Nahapāna. Next are placed the Putra-rājas or Putrājas of the Ain-i-Akbari, who are no other than the Kṣatrapas or the Caṣṭanas or the Śakas. Putra-rāja or rāja-putra is the same as bhadramukha or Svāmi.1 Āditya is Śādraka Vikramādityya, also called Viśvapati.2 All other names except Gandharba mentioned in the list of Ain-i-Akbari defy identification. Gandharba or Gardabhilla seems to have been given a much later place in order to bring him near Vikramādityya. The years assigned to various kings or dynasties, however, require careful scrutiny. In the list published in the Satyārthika-Praśāsa of Svāmi Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the Guptas follow Vikramādityya, e.g., Samudrapāla (or Samudragupta), Candrapāla (or Candragupta), Sahāyapāla, Devapāla (Devagupta or Skandagupta), Narasimhapāla (or Narasimhagupta), Sāmapāla, Raghupāla, Govindapāla.3 That the Guptas followed Vikramādityya is attested by the various copies of the vanśāvalī, used by Captain Wilford. He writes: "We read Vieramādityya whose predecessor was Bhartrihari or Sacwānt and Samudrapāla (Samudragupta) his successor."4

These ancient Vanśāvalīs, so far neglected, certainly contain a good deal of truth. If, they are scientifically edited, with the help of more material, better results might follow.

D. THE WORD RAUMAKA OR ROMAKA

In connection with the word romaka or raumaka, discussed already,5 it may be pointed out that the mountain range near about

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Pind Dadan Khan in the Punjab is called the Raumaka range, according to General Cunningham's map showing the Punjab at the time of the campaign of Alexander.¹ This range has salt mines. A place on this range is named Sakesar. It may be the headquarters of some ancient Śaka colony. A Śaka inscription, the Maira-well inscription, was found in this salt range near Jhelum.² Professor Franklin Edgerton constructs a reading in his edition of the Sabha-parva of the Mahābhārata:—

अन्ताशी चैव रोमां च यवनां च पुरं तथा ।

In his introduction he observes on this reading: “I have been so fortunate as to discover one datum of prime importance for its bearing on the date of this “original” text of the Mbh. In 2.28.49 occurs, in my opinion as a certain part of the original, the name of the city of Rome. It justifies the inference that our text cannot have been composed at any time before this city name came to the ears of the Indians;..............”³

Even if the construed text is correct it is open to question whether, Romā means the city of Rome in Italy or the Romaka or Raumaka town somewhere on the Raumaka range.

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E. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS

Bhūmaka
   Ghsamotika
   Naḥapāna
   Caṇṭana
   Dākṣamitrā = Rṣabhadatta
   Jayaḍāman
   Rudradāman I

   Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadaśrī) I
   Satyadāman
   Rudrasimha I
   Jīvadāman
   Saṅghadāman
   Prthivisena
   Dāmajadaśrī II

   Isvaradatta

   Vtradāman
   Yaśodāman I
   Vijayasena
   Dāmajadaśrī III

   Rudrasena II

   Viśvasimha
   Bhartṛdāman
   Svāmi-Jīvadāman
   Viśvasena

   Rudrasimha II

   Svāmi-Rudradāman II (no coins known)
   Yaśodāman II
   Svāmi-Rudasena III
   daughter

   Svāmi-Simhasena
   Svāmi-Satyasimha
   Svāmi-[Rudra]senā IV
   Svāmi-Rudrasimha III
F. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚAKAS

Nasik-Cave-Inscriptions of Nahapāna's Son-in-Law.

I

1. फिंच वसे ४० २ बेलास्मासे राजा चंद्ररत्न चवपस्य नापणस सामातरा दीनीकुण्डेन उपवदातेन संपस्य चार्दिस्स हसे लेख स्नायतीतः तत्त चानेन अब्ध निक्षि काहापण सहस्र-

2. नि निरनि ३००० संपस्य चार्दिस्स ये इस्मि लेने बसंतांन महावृति विविरक कुञ्जानाले च एते च काहापण प्रसुता गोवधन वाथवालु लेणिन्य कोलिकनिकाशे २००० वृक्ष विक्रियकता अपर कोलिक निका-

3. ये ३००० वधि पायुरपंडिक शत एते च काहापण अभिविद्यात्वा वव्हीमोजा एती विविरक वहाणाले ते २००० ये पवित्र तत्ते एती मान लेने बसुवाण भवुले वृत्तां एकीकर्ष विविरक वारसक या सहस्र प्रसुतां पायुर-पवित्रे तत्ते अति कुनान-

4. मूल कापु[घु]राहरे चे गामे चिक्कुफळे दत्तान मालिगिराण मुखसहसानत बहु १००० एत च सर्व लाभत निगमसभाय लिखत च फल्कवारे चारित्रतोती भूलो नेन दर वसे ४० १ कातिकनुषे पनरस पुजाक वसे ४० ५.

5. पनरस निवुत्त मनवते देवान् भाषागानः च कर्पणसहसानिः सातरी ५००० पंचति ['४] शक खुर्णे दता दिन खुर्णसहसान मुख्यं.

6. फल्कवारे चारित्रती


II

1. चिंद्र राजाः चंद्ररत्नश्च चवपस्य नापणस्य जामाता दीनीकुण्डेन उपवदातेन निग्रोशतसहस्रदन नवा वाणितायां सुवर्णादनतीथ्यकरेण देवताम्यः।

2. प्रमासे पुजनायं भाषणायः भवकार्यः दुष्पुर गोवधने शोपारे च चब्बाल्यावस्थाप्रतिमयः भारामला-उदपनकरेण इवा-पाराव-दर्मण-तापी-करेनाः(ण) द्राकुका-नावा पुजन्तसरेण एतां च नवीनो नमो तीर्य समा-

3. प्रसंगमुः पैदातिकावेचे गोवधने मुखसहस्ये शोपारे च रामतीय चरकप्रथमः। आने नायगोऽमुः द्राकुस्ताल्यागे-सुवर्णादन-रामसहस्ये बिरहिम्युः पक्षेतु धर्मांमुः देवे आने कारिं दमा च नीमियो भयधारा बंधालित च
III

1. दीर्घं राणो श्रवरातस चत्रपस नदपानस दीर्घि—
2. दीर्घं दीनीकुनस उपबद्धातस क्षुविनिय द्वामित्राय देयमधम शीरको

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IV

1. दीर्घं राणो श्रवरातस चत्रपस नदपानस—
2. दीर्घं दीनीकुनस उपबद्धातस—
3. क्षुविनिय द्वामित्राय देयमधम शीरको


V

1. टस्स क्षत्रपस नदपानस जामा—
2. शकस्स उपबद्धातस नेकियलुक—
3. बैविनेआ दाहुमकानक जेकाकुदे—
4. ए अनुगामित्वेल उलिनिय सारानात—
5. टस्स ब्राह्मणां मुन्ते सतसापि—
6. भगवत्र देवान्त ब्राह्मणां न दत्ता—
7. चेत्रहुने पनसं बहरा—
8. गवांं तस्रंदेन उप—
9. विहृजेव बणासया द—
10. त्रिम्बक शिव ने नयते तस्मि—
11. नस्यस्ते नस्यस्ते नस्यस्ते—
12. ...

VI
Karle-Cave-Inscriptions of Nahapāna's Son-in-Law

1. वेजुकाकटा उसभ्रद्व गुम्ब सितदे-
2. बणकस स्थो दानं


VII

1. सिरं रणी खहरातस खतपस नदयानस आ[म]तरा [饷]न[昨]क-परेन उसभ्रद्वलें नि-
2. गोसरहस (देण) नदिया बणासाया स[ड]बणासायेरे (देवतास) उपयान न कोह [व] गा-
3. म [दए]न पचासे पृथिवे उपयान अठभायाम[व] अ कल्यान दितु मतसहन भो-
4. जपित चलक्षेत्रेन लेणवासिनं पवित्रतां चावदिरस सघस
c. यापणाव गाधो [क] रजिको दतो धा''''न''''वासितां


VIII
Junār-Cave-Inscription of Nahapāna's Minister, Ayama

1. [रण] महकतपस सामि नदयानस
d. [आ] मलं कह-समोतस अय्मस
c. [व] वभम अ वभयो व पुनमय वसे ४० ६ कतो

IX
Andhau Stone Inscriptions of Caṣṭana and Rudraḍāmaṇ

1. [रण] [चि]नस ग्लामोतिकुनस राणो रुद्रासमा जय्यम दुर्ग
c. [श] हि [हित]विष बोफति सा बोताय कवस उवापित


X

1. राणो च [ि]नस र्त्सामोतिक-
2. [द्र]वर राणो र[ु]द्रासमा
2. जयद्राम पुजुलस वने दि-प[•]—
3. [चा] वे ५० २ फुफु बहुलस
4. द्वितियं व २ ज्यूपमेडेवस
5. सीहिंड-पुजुलस ओपवार्त-स-गोजुलस
6. भागा [१] मदनेन [सीहिंड] पुजुलस
7. लंधि उपयपित


XII

1. राजे चाद्यनस द्वस[१]मोतिलक-पुजुलस राजे श्वरामस जयद्राम-पुजुलस
   वर्ष दि-पंचक्रो तू २
2. फुफु बहुलस द्वितियं वा २ यशदत्ये सीहिंडति खिति श्वीनिक(श्वीनिक)-समोश्वत्रा
   खामणे रिये
3. मदनेन सीहिंड-पुजुलेन कुदुबिनिये [किं] उपयपित


XIII

Junāgadh Rook Inscription of Budradāman I.

1. सिरं [१*] द्वे लड़क खुट्यां गिरिनगरार[स] ।।।।। [स] [ति] कोपक-बिखाराया-
   श्रीचूड़ू-निति-सानिध-हद-हद-सय्यापायक्सपहार्वत-पा—
2. द-प्रयात्रिकित-खुट्यक[१]-[चन्च] ।।।।। [१] जातेनाक्षिमीगेन सेतुवप्योपपप्पणों द्वन्ति
   बिहिता-प्रणाली-प्रेमपराँ—
3. भीविथांच ब त्रिस्कत्थ[२] ।।।।। नागदभीरनु[२] महाक्षेत्रपे वर्तति [१*] तद्रं
   राजे महाक्षेत्रमुखुभी—
4. त-नामा: रामिच-चाद्यनस शौर्य[३] [राजा: कत्रपपयु खुड्यादंताना: शाम-जयद्राम]:
   शूक्षा राजे महाक्षेत्रमुखुभीरमयक्स-नामो ह[२] दामो वर्षे हुस्वतिभिमें] ५० २
5. मार्वशेर-बहुल-प्रति [पति] ।।।।। सदर्विना पर्यन्तेय एश्यवभूतिपयिव
प्राचीन शाकाः ।

1. प्राचीन शाकाः वै भारतीय साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं। एक नाम शहीदान और दूसरा शहीदी नाम है।

2. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

3. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

4. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

5. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

6. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

7. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

8. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

9. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

10. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

11. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

12. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

13. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

14. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।

15. शहीदान शाका का कहा जाता है कि इसका निरीक्षण शहीदान शाका में मिलता है। कोई आशा नहीं की है कि इसका साहित्यका में केवल दो नाम हैं।
[१६] प्रणामित्वभी: पौराणिक जन्मो स्वामीकोशा महता चन्द्रिकेन अनित्महता ज कालेन त्रिभुजिन्-हड्डिन्-विलासरामं सेनु बिधा[व-व]अब्त[देव]…………….दर्शन-तरं कारतिमिति[१५] अर्थावधे

[१७] [च] महा[द्] नग[स] मतिसाधिन-क्षेत्रियमार्मा-गुण-सम्मुक्तार्थिनि-महंतवान्द्रेन-स्वास्थ्यात्म मन्तिमिति[१] प्रमाणातिपरं[१]

[१८] पुि:सेतुवन-नैरावश्यादासामुतामु अजाद इंडानि नैरावश्यामु प्रणामविने महंतवान्द्रेन राज्यानानाधारम् प्रस्तुतविने क्रमानामानार्थ-सुराधारानां पाण्यानामनिधिवृत्तेन

[१९] प्रहेन कुलेन-पुष्पेनालवें वृक्षवाचेनु यथववचेः-थर्म-क्वयवहार-दृश्येनरुरागमनिति द्रवुर्ताने-दानंत्रापरमनालिनीसित्यमनानं वंशवंशयार्येचेन

[२०] खांडसत्त्वा थर्म-कोषिन्यं-स्वामी महत्रावित्तम्यवित्तम्यसादित्तिम्म[मिति]

XIV

Gundâ Inscription of Mahâkṣatrāpa Rudrasimha I.

1. विद्या[']] रशो महर्षि[पञ्च] खणि चायन नवः रशो चत्रापस्य खणि जयव्राम् चौडस्क


4. च-सुधरि आभेरं सेनानिति वायुक्षी युद्धेन सेनानिति-द्रव[भू] तिना प्रामे रशो

5. [प] द्रिये वा[षी] [क्षणि] [लो] [मह] अयनं सवे-सवे रसानं हित सुधारत्मिति


XV

Mevasâ Stone Inscription of the time of a Mahâkṣatrâpa.

1. सिद्ध[स] रशो महाधर[श]स्य स्वामी चरदिन

2. च्युत्युतुस्य रशो महाधर्मस्य महाधिम

3. च्युत्युतुस्य रशो महाधर्मस्य चरधार्य

4. च्युत्युतुस्य वायुक्षी महाधर्मस्य आभेरस्य

5. च्युत्युतुस्य चरधार्य महाधर्मस्य महाधिम
XVI

Junagadh Inscription of Jayadāman's Grandson.

1. लथाप्यातून-गणे [ण] [क्षमा] जग[च]धर्म[व]
3. [वेत] ध-गुप्तस्य दिवसे अन्तर्गमे ५ ह[ह] गिरिगरे देवावर नाम व [व] राहैः
4. यश [ु] रहिव[ु] केवली-स[ह]न-सं जरा मरणे [ण]


XVII

Junagadh Inscription of Jivadāman I.

1. [च]वर्षस्य स्व[ि]म जीवदास्य एताय पूर्वाय बर्ये ठूँटोब सु[व] १०० \n2. [च] ब्रदरस्य बालुन[सु] विकस्य बस्य [हु] शामक्रस्य रामक्रस्य ठुँटोब[सु]


XVIII

Mālavāsara Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I.

1. राज्यो महाकस्त्र[व] सा[व]मी रक्षस्तयस्य
2. वर्षे १२६ [२१२] बालकाः पुरुष विचिन्द्रयो
3. हृत् \[वागिन्नहर सुवेश]
4. प्रति जिविंत दात्त श[स] मित्रे[व] भव कितनि जस[स]...

Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar etc., p. 23.

XIX

Gaḍhā Inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I.

2. नक्षत्रम् स्वाम [वीण] चायमुखशपा पीतरस्य राज्यो क[च] पस
3. सामी जयद[व] मुण-पीतस्य राज्यो मह-क्षत्रस्य महवचस्य
5. उद्रसीण [उन] स्य राज्यो महवचस्य स्यानि रक्षस्तयस्य इहमू द्वारे
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The Sanchi (Kānākhera) Inscription of Svāmi Jīvadāman.

1. "संपुर्दोऽनुसारिण्य गण-सेनापतिरिजितोऽसमवेता वामिन् महाशेषेन महातेजे जीवितार्य..."

2. "चर्मचारिण्योऽसमवेता श्रीकप्तकविन्यासे शेषेन स्त्रीराजस्तर्गते सर्वंमाणे वयस्माने..."

3. "अयं-चक्रवर्ती दमसोत्तकमेतत्त्वं कर्त्तवाः भविष्यवंश-पृथिवीमध्यस्थं शरीरविवर्तेत्तदमानं...

4. "श्रीमानः श्रीमानः श्रीमानः कालितः..."

5. "सच्चिद: सच्चिदानिद्राय: सदा..."

6. "सत्याचारः गुणवाद ख्याताणमितो गुणवाद ख्याताणमितो गुणवाद ख्याताणमितो..."


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