This contains the handwriting of V. A. Smith.

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THE CONQUESTS OF
SAMUDRA GUPTA.

BY
VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S.,
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

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ART. XXIX.—The Conquests of Samudra Gupta

By Vincent A. Smith, M.R.A.S., Indian Civil Service.

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Prefatory Note.

The following dissertation is the second in my series of "Prolegomena to Ancient Indian History," of which the first was the essay entitled "The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihrauli) and the Emperor Candras (Chandra)" published in this Journal in January, 1897. The article entitled "Samudra Gupta," published in the same number of the Journal, gives in narrative form the history of the Emperor Samudra Gupta. The present paper is devoted to the detailed technical discussion of the authorities for the statements of that narrative. I may perhaps be pardoned for inviting attention to the proposed identification of King Acyuta; the justification of the reading Mahendragiri as a king's name; the probable identification of the kings Visṇugopa and Hastivarman; the certain identification of the kingdom of Pālakka; the suggested identifications of the kingdoms of Devarāṭra and Kushtalapura; the probable identification of King Candravarman; the location of the Abhira tribe; and the attempted identification and differentiation of the Śāhi, Śāhānuṣāhi, and Daivaputra kings.

V. A. Smith,

August 23, 1897.

Gorakhpur.
SECTION I.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Candra Gupta I (A.D. 318 to circa A.D. 345), father and predecessor of Samudra Gupta, assumed the rank of emperor (mahārājādhirāja), and established the Gupta Era to commemorate his assumption of supreme power in Northern India. His capital was Pāṭaliputra (Patna), the ancient seat of the Maurya Empire, and his dominions appear to have included the whole of Bihār, both north and south of the Ganges, the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces, and the whole, or the greater part, of Oudh. In other words, his territory extended from Bhāgalkpur (Campā) on the east, along the valley of the Ganges, to Allahabad (Prayāga) and Lucknow (Sāketa) on the east.¹

Our knowledge of the conquests of Samudra Gupta rests mainly on the inscription of the Allahabād Pillar, recorded in or about A.D. 350 by order of his son—successor—Candra Gupta II. Other inscriptions and coins supply a few additional details.

¹ It is, I hope, hardly necessary now to repeat the proof that Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the first and second Gupta emperors. The subject has been fully discussed in my various publications on the Gupta coinage. J.A.S.B., vol. lll, part 1, 1884, pp. 156-163; J.R.A.S. 1889, pp. 55, 56; J.R.A.S. 1893, p. 86. See also Bühler, "On the Gupta and Valabhi Era," p. 13.) The limits of the dominions of Candra Gupta I are deduced from the details of the conquests effected by his successors, and the language of the Purāṇas, which state that the Gupta territory extended from Magadha (Bihār) along the Ganges to Prayāga, and included Sāketa (Wilson’s "Vaiṣṇu Purāṇa," 4th edition, p. 479). The Purāṇic definition is altogether inapplicable to the extended empire of Samudra Gupta, and to the still vaster dominions of his son and successor, Candra Gupta II. It can only be applied to the reign of Candra Gupta I, the earliest emperor, and to the beginning of the reign of his successor. The eastern limit of Magadha seems to have lain in the neighbourhood of Campā (Bhāgalkpur).

The site of Sāketa has not been satisfactorily determined. The confident identification by Cunningham ("Report," vol. i, p. 317) of Sāketa with Ayodhya, the ancient Hindu city near Fyzabad, is demonstrably erroneous, and has been justly critized by Ferguson ("Archaeology in India," appendix B. Trübner & Co., London, 1884). Dr. Führer’s identification with Sāfesbānkot (Sujātkot, Rāmkot) in the Unak District of Oudh is not proved, though not, perhaps, impossible ("Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," p. 270). Ferguson was convinced that Lucknow itself is the true representative of Sāketa, and I agree with him that the site of Sāketa must be looked for at or near Lucknow. A full explanation of the reasons for this opinion would require a long dissertation. The general course of the argument is indicated by Ferguson.
The first passage in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, which deals with the conquests, is unfortunately mutilated. It is, however, so far legible as to plainly record that the emperor, with extraneous assistance, uprooted princes named Aeyuta and Nágasena, and effected the capture of a member of the family, or clan, of the Kotas. An allusion is made to the capital city Pāṭaliputra, under the well-known synonym of Pushpapura.¹

Dr. Fleet's hesitation to identify "the city called Pushpa" with Pāṭaliputra appears to me quite unwarranted, and I have no doubt that the phrase "taking his pleasure at Pushpapura" refers to the fact that the royal city of Pāṭaliputra was the conqueror's residence and capital. The enumeration of the more distant conquests does not begin till line 19. The mention of the subjugation of Aeyuta, Nágasena, and the Kota prince in an earlier verse, and in a metrical passage completely detached from the general prose list of conquests, and coupled with the allusion to the victor's capital city, may reasonably be interpreted as implying that the victories mentioned in the earlier passage were gained in regions not very remote from the capital. The further inference that the first-mentioned conquests were the first accomplished likewise seems to be justified.

The name Aeyuta ("unfallen, firm, imperishable") is of frequent occurrence. I have noted the following examples: (1) an epithet of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa (Dowson, "Classical Dictionary," Benfey, "Dictionary"); (2) the name Aeyutappa in an inscription from Tranquebar in the Tanjore District, probably dated A.D. 1627 (Ind. Ant., xxii, 116); (3) Aeyutarāya, a king of Vijayanagara (ibid., xx, 306); (4) Aeyuta Vijaya Rāghava Naikar, a king of

¹ Fleet's translation of this passage is as follows:—"(l. 13)—By whom,—having unassisted, with the force of the prowess of (his) arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds, uprooted Aeyuta and Nágasena . . . .—(by sebham), causing him who was born in the family of the Kotas to be captured by (his) armies, (and) taking his pleasure at (the city) that had the name of Pushpa, while the sun . . . . the banks . . . . ;"—"(Gupta Inscriptions," p. 12).
Tanjore (ibid., vii, 25); (5) Acyutadanti, or Acyutanti—a warrior tribe (Pāñ., v, 3, 116); (6) Acyutasthala—a place in the Pañjāb (Mahābh., viii, 2, 062). The last two references are given by Burgess in his valuable, though too brief, article on "The Identification of Places in the Sanskrit Geography of India" (Ind. Ant., xiv, 322).

The quotations show that the name was in use both in Northern and Southern India. Certain curious and little-known coins have suggested to me the notion that the Acyuta, conquered by Samudra Gupta, may have been a king of Abichatra (Rāmnagar, near Āonlā in Bareli District of North-Western Provinces), the ancient capital of Pañchāla. These coins, of which all the known specimens were obtained at Rāmnagar, may be described as follows:

Type 1. *Obverse.* The legend अयु, Acyu, in bold characters, occupying the field, in dotted circle.

*Reverse.* An eight-rayed wheel or sun.

Type 2. *Obverse.* Portrait bust of king to right; the letter आ, A, behind king's head, and the letters अयु, cyu, in front.

*Reverse.* As in type 1.

The coins are of copper, about 6 of an inch in diameter. Weight of type No. 1, 12 to 25.5 grains. These coins were first described by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Carlileyle (J.A.S.B., vol. xlix, part 1, 1880, p. 87, pl. vii, 2 A and B). The form of the characters on the B coin differs from that of the characters on A. Type 2 is known only from an unique specimen in the possession of Mr. C. S. Delmerick, who also obtained two specimens of the A variety of type 1, one of which he presented to me. This coin in my possession appears to be cast, and I have no doubt that the coin is of early date, and it may well be contemporary with Samudra Gupta.

The legend can be read only as Acyu, and nothing else, and the completion of the word to Acyuta seems inevitable.
The characters closely resemble those of the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahabad Pillar (Bühler, "Ind. Paläographie," Tafel iv).

Rāmnagar is distant about 430 miles in a direct line from Patna, and about 150 miles from Lucknow. Ahichatra, therefore, cannot have been very far from the frontier of the dominions of Candra Gupta I, which included Lucknow.

I am inclined to believe that the rare coins above described are those of Acyuta, a king of Ahichatra, conquered by Samudra Gupta early in the reign of that monarch, about A.D. 345–350.

These coins are not mentioned by Cunningham in his work on the "Coins of Ancient India." Ten specimens of this type are in the Indian Museum (Cat., iii, 36); the highest weight is 25½ grains, the lowest weight of a complete coin being 12 grains. Three specimens weigh 16 grains each.

I have failed to discover any clue to the identity of Nāgasena. The family, or clan (kula), named Kota is equally unknown. The late Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī sought to identify the Kota clan with the tribe named Koḍa, mentioned in an inscription found near Sopāra in the Thāna District, Bombay, and with the Kāda of the Kādāsa coins found near Sahāranpur in the North-Western Provinces ("Sopāra and Padaṇa," pamph., p. 18). But these identifications are obviously not convincing. The Kādāsa coin obtained by Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī had a legend in characters of about the Aśoka period. A specimen of the same "snake type" is described by Cunningham, and associated with the coins of Taxila ("Coins of Ancient India," p. 62, pl. ii, 21). Another type of Kādāsa coins characterized by a "bodhi-tree" device appears to be of the same early age, and is grouped by Cunningham with the Kuniuda coins of the region near Sahāranpur (ibid., p. 71, pl. v, 6). A Kota tribe still exists in the Nilgiris in the South of India (Ind. Ant., iii, 36, 96, 205).

The principal historical passage of the inscription is contained in lines 19–23, and is in prose.
The enumeration of the emperor's victories begins with a list of "the kings of the region of the south," whom he "captured and then liberated," a phrase which is clearly meant to express the fact of temporary subjugation, as contrasted with permanent conquest.

The list of the kings of the south is as follows:—

SECTION II.—THE KINGS OF THE SOUTH.

I proceed to discuss in the order of the text the names in this list of the kings of the south.

1. Mahendra of Kosala.

The above list of twelve countries and their kings is concerned solely with "the region of the south," as distinguished from Āryavarta, or Hindūstān. In other words, the countries enumerated all lay to the south of the Narmadā (Nerbudda) river. Consequently, the country Kosala must be the southern Kosala, and not the northern Kosala, which corresponds roughly with Oudh.

The name Kosala is sometimes spelled with the dental s (कोशल), and sometimes with the palatal i (कौशल). Dr. Fleet considers the dental form more correct.

The Brhat Samhitā places the Kauśalaka (in text Koś) people in the eastern division of India, and the country Kosala in the eastern division, stating that diamonds are found there.¹

¹ Indian Antiquary, xxii, pp. 181, 182.
Southern, Daksîa-, or "Mahâ-Kosala" comprised the whole of the upper valley of the Mahânâdi and its tributaries, from the source of the Narmâda at Amarkantak on the north, to the source of the Mahânâdi itself near Kâner on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Gângâ on the west to the Hasda and Joûk rivers on the east.

But these limits have often been extended, so as to embrace the hilly districts of Mandala and Bâlâghat on the west up to the banks of the Wen-Gângâ, and the middle valley of the Mahânâdi on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonpur. Under some of the earlier rulers the supremacy of the king of Mahâ-Kosala was acknowledged by the Râjas of Orissa. Thus Yayâti Kesari . . . speaks of Śiva Gupta of Mahâkosalas as the sovereign lord of the whole country.1

Within its narrowest limits the province was 200 miles in length from north to south, by 125 miles in breadth from east to west. At its greatest extent, excluding the tributary province of Orissa, it formed a square of about 200 miles on each side. At the time of Hiuên-Tsiang's visit in A.D. 639, he describes the kingdom as 6,000 li, or 1,000 miles, in circuit, an extent which could have been attained by the inclusion of . . . the present districts of Chândâ, Nâgpur, and Seoni.2

The province, therefore, comprised the southern and eastern districts of the Central Provinces, of which the capital is now Nâgpur. The ancient capital was Śrîpura (Sirpur) on the

1 Cunningham gives the erroneous date of A.D. 481 for Yayâtikesarin, which I have omitted in my quotation with reference to Dr. Fleet's observation that "the date of Yayâtikesarin, derived from the Orissan records, is altogether unreliable, and is too early by at least about four centuries" ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 294).

2 Cunningham, "Archaeological Reports," xvii, p. 68. The words which I have omitted are "the great district of Vâkâtaka on the west, comprising—." Cunningham supposed that the country Vâkâtaka is represented by the modern Bârâda in the Chândâ district, but Dr. Fleet shows that this identification is a philological impossibility. He further shows that the adjective name Vâkâtaka (derived from Vâkâta) is properly the name of a people or tribe, and could only be used secondarily as the name of a country. The passages in which the name has been supposed to denote a country do not bear the construction put on them ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 234).
Mahānadi in the Rāipur District. From this place Tisara-
dēva, "supreme lord of Kosala," issued a grant in or about
the year A.D. 800.¹

In order to attack Kosala, Samudra Gupta must have
marched from Prayūga (Allahabad) across the hills and
jungles of Riwā. The direct distance from Allahabad to
Śirpur is about 280 miles. Nothing more is known about
King Mahendra of Kosala, who was "captured and liberated."

2. Vyāghraraṇa of Mahākāntāra.

The name Mahākāntāra means "great forest or wilderness,"
and well describes the wilder parts of the Central Provinces,
the modern districts of Baitūl, Cindwāra, etc., which are
probably the region designated by the inscription, bordering
on the west the kingdom of Kosala.

The name is equivalent to the term mahāṭaṇḍi used in the
Bṛhat Samhītā to designate a country in the southern division
of India.

The "kings of all the forest countries" (sarrāṭavikaraṇa),
who are alleged in the next line (l. 21) of the inscription to
have "become servants" of Samudra Gupta, must evidently
be distinguished from King Vyāghraraṇa of Mahākāntāra,
who was "captured and then liberated."

These "kings of all the forest countries" may be identified
with the rulers of the "eighteen forest kingdoms" (aṭṭada-
ṣiḍhaṇḍikaraṇa) who were subject in A.D. 527 to the Mahāraṇa
Saṅkṣōba of Dabāla, or Dāhala, the modern Bundelkhand and
Riwa. This region, which was adjacent to the home
provinces of the empire, would naturally be permanently
annexed, as indicated by the terms of the inscription, while

¹ "So far as I have been able to follow up the enquiry, all evidence seems
to point to Śirpur (or Śīrapura), on the Mahānadi, as the ancient capital of the
country. It is situated on the largest river in the province; it possesses the
oldest inscriptions now existing in the country; it is said by the people to have
been the capital of Bahlurvāhan, one of the earliest known kings of Chedi;
while its extensive ruins prove that it must at one time have been a large city."
(Cunningham, op. cit., p. 76; Tivaradāva's grant is No. 81 of Fleet, p. 236.)
the emperor was content with the temporary subjugation of the more southern kingdom of Mahâkântâra.

No other mention of King Vyâghrarâja is known. The early coin of Vyâghra ("Coins Med. I.," pl. ii, 22) appears to come from Northern India. Cunningham described it with the coins of the Nâgas of Narwur, but, as Mr. Rodger has pointed out, it seems more closely related to the coins of Sunet in the Lâdiâna District of the Pañjâb. (See "Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum," part iii, 130, for a coin of Vyâghra Sena from Sunet.)

3. MANÂRÂJA OF KERALA.

The next name, Keralâ, is a surprise, and its mention involves the assertion that the temporary conquests of Samudra Gupta extended to the extremity of the Indian Peninsula.

Keralâ, which is placed by the Brhat Samhitâ in the southern division of India, is the country now known as the Malabar Coast, the narrow strip of fertile land between the sea and the Western Ghâts. In its widest signification the name Kerala was applied to the whole territory extending from the Kangarote river, near Goa in North Kanara, to Cape Comorin (Kumârin). In its more restricted signification the name applied to the southern portion of the coast, now comprised in the Malabar District, and in the Cochin and Travancore States. Very little is known of the history of the country, and no connected story has come down to us. No other mention of Manârâja has been discovered.

1 Ind. Ant., xxii, pp. 180-1.

The inscriptions actually and unmistakably reads Kaurâlaka-Manârâja, but Dr. Fleet is probably right in emending Kaurâlaka to Kaimâlaka in order to make sense. The mistake seems a purely clerical one ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 7, note 1). Kerala is said to mean the land of cocoanuts. The rare southern ʃ is used in the inscription. The word Kaurâlaka, if correct, would imply the existence of a country named Kurâla, and none such is known. It is, however, just possible that some region was named Kurâla fifteen centuries ago.
4. MAHENDRAGIRI OF PIṢṬAPURA.

The identification of Piṣṭapura presents no difficulty. The kingdom of that name is certainly represented by the large zamindārī, or chiefainship, of Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvarī District of the Madras Presidency. The chief town of the same name is still the residence of a Rāja, and is marked as Pittapooram on sheet 94 of the "Indian Atlas," in lat. 17° 6', long. 82° 18'. The town is "very old, with abundance of sculptured buildings and other objects of interest. How old it may be is not as yet known, but an ancient inscription of a.d. 584 of the reign of Satyāṣraya, the elder brother of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, who established the Eastern Chālukyan sovereignty, states that in that reign 'the fortress of Piṣṭapura was easily taken'" (Ind. Ant., v, 67). A Buddhist stūpa has been discovered at Timavaram within the limits of the zamindārī (Ind. Ant., xii, 34). Valuable inscriptions regarding grants made in the Śaka years 1108, 1117, and 1124 (A.D. 1186, 1195, and 1202), and giving genealogies of the Eastern Chālukya and Viṃgī kings, have been found on a pillar at Piṭhāpuram, but no trace of King Mahendragiri has been found.

The construing of the passage in question has been the subject of some discussion, and I venture to adopt a rendering different from Dr. Fleet's. The words are—

Paiṣṭapuraka Mahendragirī;
Kauṭṭaraka Śrāmīdatta, etc."

The above division of the words, which, of course, are written in the original without division or punctuation, is unquestionably the natural one, and in accordance with the balance of the composition.

But Dr. Fleet feels a difficulty about the name Mahendra-girī (modern Mahendragirī), because names of that form

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appear to be nowadays restricted to Gosain, and it is improbable that a ruling chief would be a Gosain. Dr. Fleet, therefore, prefers to do violence to the obvious construction of the text, and to link the word girı with the following Kauṭṭāraka, and to translate the passage thus:

"Manṭarūja of Kerala;
Mahendra of Piṣṭapura;
Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill."

I submit that this construction cannot be right. The compound Koṭṭūragiri would be normal, but the compound Girikoṭṭāra, though not perhaps absolutely impossible, would be most unusual, and almost unprecedented. The derivative compound Girikaūṭṭāraka is even more awkward as an adjective than the substantive Girikoṭṭāra is.

The difficulty raised by Dr. Fleet about accepting the compound Mahendraagiri as the name of a king or ruling chief is in reality unsubstantial. In the first place, we are not entitled to assume that names ending in girı were already in the fourth century A.D. restricted to Gosain; and in the second place, even if such names were then so restricted, a Gosain may be a secular chieftain. One of the most famous personages in Bundelkhand in the eighteenth century was the Gosain, Raja Himmat Bahādur. "Raja Himmat Bahādur, who at this time begins to play a conspicuous part in the history of Bundelkhand, was a Gosain, who commanded a body of troops in the pay of Shujā-ud-daulah at the battle of Baksar in 1763. On the flight of the Vazir, Imamat Bahādur entered Bundelkhand, and during the troubles that arose attained to considerable power." The treaty of Shāhpur, concluded on the 4th September, 1803, gave Raja Himmat Bahādur an extensive territory with a revenue estimated at twenty-two lakhs of rupees.¹

Nor was Himmat Bahādur the only powerful Gosain chief of his time. Colonel Broughton, writing in 1809, relates

¹ "Bundelkhand Gazetteer" (Allahabad, 1874), pp. 30, 31.
that Sindhia's "army has received a considerable reinforce-
ment . . . by the arrival of a body of Gosaens under
Kumpta [Kūṁţā] Gir. This chief succeeded to the command
of the corps, which consists of nearly 1,500 men, chiefly
horse, upon the death of Ram Gir, who died about a month
ago. They were both Chelas, or disciples, of Kunchun Gir,
the Chela of Himmut Bahadoor, a celebrated Gosaen in the
service of Shumsheer Badur, one of the chiefs of Boondel-
khund. The Gosaens are a religious order of Hindoo
mendicants who attach themselves to the service of particular
chiefs, and frequently, as in the case of Himmut Bahadoor,
amass great wealth, and raise themselves into consequence.
. . . When they become numerous and wealthy, and
enrol themselves as a military band in the service of some
prince, their leader is termed Muhunt; they then retain but
little of their original manner and appearance, distinguishing
themselves alone by the jutta, or long matted hair folded
like a turban on the head, and having some portion of their
dress dyed of a kind of orange colour, called geroo, peculiar
to their sect. As soldiers, they are accounted brave and
faithful."¹

The Nāga and Kanphaṭi Jogī ascetic warriors of Rāja-
sthān, described by Tod and other writers, are well known.
No difficulty, therefore, need be felt in believing that
Samudra Gupta found a Gosaín chief in possession of the
fortress of Piṣṭapura.

5. Svāmidatta of Kotṭūra.

Kotṭūra being, as Dr. Fleet observes, a very common
Dravidian name, any Kotṭūr of note might be accepted
as the representative of the principality conquered by
Samudra Gupta. Places with this name are found in the
Tanjore, Malabar, and Belgām Districts,² and probably
elsewhere also.

¹ "Letters from a Mahratta Camp," Constable's edition, p. 95.
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The commercial importance of the Coimbatore District in the early centuries of the Christian era, when the beryl mines of Padiyūr attracted the attention of Roman merchants, leads me to accept as most probable the suggestion of Dr. Fleet that the place referred to in the inscription is the Koṭṭūr in the Coimbatore District, marked in "Indian Atlas," sheet 61, lat. 10° 32' N. and long. 77° 2' E. Some ancient remains exist at this place, which is eight miles south by west of Pollācī, where Roman coins of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius have been found. Beryls to the value of £1,200 sterling were obtained at Padiyūr in 1819-20.¹ No record of Svāmidatta has yet been discovered.

6. DAMANA OF ERĀṆḍAPALLA.

Neither Erāṇḍapalla nor its sovereign has yet been identified.

A place called Edāpūḍi, with an old Śaiva temple, exists in the Salem District, which adjoins Coimbatore. Many places with names beginning with Era- or Eda- occur in the Salem and Malabar Districts.²

7. VIṢṆUṆṆĀPA OF KĀṆŚI.

Kāṇśi is undoubtedly identical with the town well known under the modern corrupt name of Conjeeveram, which is situated in the Chingleput District, 43 miles south-west of Madras, and 20 miles west-north-west of Chingleput. It is one of the most ancient and sacred cities in India, and was the capital of the Pallava dynasty until the overthrow of that power by the Cholas in the eleventh century A.D.³ The kingdom is called Drāviḍa by Hiuen-Tsiang, who visited it, and gives a favourable account of its inhabitants.⁴

² Sewell, "List," i, 202, and Index.
³ Sewell, "List," i, 176; ii, 264.
⁴ Beal, "Buddhist Records of the Western World," ii, 223.
Visṇugopa is, no doubt, one of the early Pallava kings, and is probably identical with the Pallava king Visṇugopa, or Visṇugopavarmā, who was one of the remote ancestors of Nandivarmā. Visṇugopa may possibly be identical with Visṇuvarmā, who is mentioned in an inscription dating probably from the fifth century A.D. as having been killed by a Kadamba king.


I am not able to offer even a conjecture as to the position of Avamukta. The word in Sanskrit means “unyoked, taken off.”


The position of the small kingdom of Veṇgi is known beyond doubt. The kingdom ordinarily extended for about 120 miles along the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the Kṛṣṇa (Kistna) and Godāvari rivers, and corresponded to the modern Godāvari (Machlipatnam) District with part of the Rājamahendri District. It is believed that the Veṇgi territory did not extend very far inland. The capital was situated five or six miles NNW. from Ellore (Elūr), a short distance from the Kolar (Colsir) lake, and is now represented by the villages Pedda (or Greater) Vegi and Chinna (or Lesser) Vegi, where there are evidences of extensive ancient buildings.

The ruling dynasty appears to have been a branch of the great Pallava family or clan which also ruled at Kānci. At the time of Samudra Gupta’s incursion the Veṇgi kingdom was apparently independent, but about a century later it seems to have been a dependency of the more considerable Kānci State. The ruling families both of Kānci and Veṇgi commonly used names ending in Varmā.

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1 Ind. Ant., v, 59; "South-Indian Inscriptions," ii, 543.
2 Ind. Ant., vi, 22, 30, note.
or Varman, and were probably connected by blood. The Hasavarnā of Samudra Gupta’s inscriptions may well be identical, as Dr. Hultzsch suggests, with Attivarna, of the family of King Kandara, who made an early copperplate grant, and was evidently a Pallava. Atti is the Tamil equivalent of Hastin. The inscription of Attivarma was obtained at Goraṇṭa in the Guṇṭūr District south of the Kṛṣṇa river. From the same neighbourhood was obtained a still earlier grant made in the reign of Vijayakhandavarma (Vijayaskandavarma), who probably belonged to the same dynasty. A grant made by King Vijayanandivarma, son of King Candavarma, of the Śūlaṅkañyana family, expressly purports to have been issued from the victorious city of Vēṅgī. This grant is supposed to date from the fourth century. Hastivarma was probably grandfather, or great-grandfather, of Vijayanandivarma. The kingdom of Vēṅgī seems at times to have extended to south of the Kṛṣṇa river.1

10. UGRASENA OF PĀLAKKA.

Though the identity of the kingdom of Pālakka has not previously been recognized, there can be no doubt that the ancient kingdom is now represented by the division of Pālghāt, in the south of the Malabar District, the name of which is more accurately spelled Pālakkāṭu. It was also called Nodum-Purāiyur-nāḍu, or, more shortly, Purai.2

The chief town of the division, Pālghāṭcherry, is situated in lat. 10° 45’ 49” N. and long. 76° 41’ 48” E., at a height of 800 feet above the sea, in the only gap in the line of mountains between the Tāptī river and Cape Comorin. The Pālghāṭ Ghāts extend southward a distance of about 170 miles almost to the Cape.3

The identification of Pālakka is of interest as confirming the other statements in the inscription concerning the southern extent of Samudra Gupta’s temporary conquests.

1 Ind. Ant., v. 175 ; ix. 99-103.
3 Balfour, “Cyclopaedia,” s.v. ‘Pālghāṭcherry.”

J.R.A.S. 1897.
11. **Kuvera of Devarāṣtra.**

The kingdom of Devarāṣtra has not yet been identified. Perhaps the name may be an equivalent for Deogiri, the famous fortress known to Muhammadan historians as Daulatābād (lat. 19° 57' N. and long. 75° 18' E.), which, by reason of its commanding position and natural strength, had been from time immemorial the principal stronghold of the Rājas of Mahāraṣṭra. It is possible, indeed, that Devarāṣtra may be a synonym for Mahāraṣṭra—the "kingdom of the gods," for the "great kingdom."

Deogiri is situated in the Nizam's dominions, about twelve miles from Aurangābād, and nearly thirty miles north of the Godāvarī river.

12. **Dhanamājaya of Kusthalapura.**

The position of Kusthalapura is not certainly known unless the suggestion may be accepted that this name is an abbreviation, either accidental or intentional, of Kuśasthalapura, a name of the holy city Dwārikā, at the extremity of the Gujarāt peninsula, in lat. 22° 14' 20" N. and long. 69° 5' E.

"Ānarta is known from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. It corresponds to modern Kūṭhiāvūḍ. Its capital was Kuśasthali, the modern Dwārikā." ¹

The foregoing detailed examination of the southern conquests of Samudra Gupta leaves on my mind no doubt that the emperor really effected the temporary subjugation of all the leading chiefs and kings of the peninsula, inland and along both coasts, as far as Cape Comorin (Kumārin).

His southern victorious march finds an exact parallel in the expeditions of Malik Kāfūr, the adventurous general of

¹ Bhagvānegī Jindrajit, "The Inscription of Rudradēman at Jumagājā" (Ind. Ant., viii, 259). Benfey ("Dictionary"), referring to Mahābhārata 2, 614, notes that the name occurs both in the neuter and feminine forms.

For the omission of the syllable, compare "Kuraghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kurarghara... Kurarghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuraghara a corruption by a kind of haplography, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names." (Bühler, "Inscriptions of Sanchi Stūpa," Epigraphia Indica, ii, 96.)
Alā-ud-dīn, in A.D. 1309–10, who took the fort of Warangal, marched by Deogiri, crossed the Godāvari at Paithan, and penetrated, after a great battle, to Dvāra Samudra, the capital of Karnāta, which he captured. He reduced the whole of the eastern side of the peninsula, including Ma'ābar, on the sea-coast, as far south as Rāmesvār, or Adam's Bridge, opposite Ceylon, where he built a mosque, which was still standing when Farīghta wrote. He then returned with vast golden treasures to Delhi.¹ Like Samudra Gupta, he might have boasted that he had “captured and then liberated” the kings of the south.

SECTION III.—THE KINGS OF THE NORTH.

Having completed his enumeration of the temporary conquests in the south, our chronicler returns to the subject of the more permanent conquests in Northern India, which had already been briefly touched upon in the poetical introduction to the inscription.

In line 21 the writer records that the emperor “abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating

Rudradeva,
Matila,
Nāgadatta,
Candravarman,
Gaṇapati Nāga,
Nāgasena,
Acyuta,
Nandin,
Balavarman,

and many other kings of the land of Āryāvarta.”

The name Āryāvarta is well known to be the equivalent of the modern Hindūstān, or India north of the Narmadā river. The language of the record plainly indicates that

¹ Elphinstone, 5th edition, p. 396.
in this vast region the kings named were thoroughly vanquished, and that their dominions were included in the conqueror's empire.

Unfortunately, the historical documents for the early history of Northern India are so few and meagre that it is at present impossible to identify most of the kings named in the inscription. The names of their kingdoms are not stated.

Acyuta was probably, for the reasons given above (ante, p. 862), a king of Ahichatra in Pañchāla, the modern Rohilkhand. Nāgasena is mentioned along with Acyuta in the early part of the inscription, and the two princes may be supposed to have been neighbours. Nāgasena may perhaps have been a member of the same dynasty as Virasena of earlier date, whose coins are tolerably common in the North-Western Provinces and the Pañjāb. Nāgasena may belong to the same dynasty as Rāmadatta and Purusadatta, whose coins are obscurely connected with those of the Northern Satraps.

Candravarman is probably the Mahāraja of that name whose fame is preserved by a brief inscription on the rock at Susunia in the Bānkur District of Bengal, seventeen miles SSW. from the Rānīgaṇj railway station.

Concerning the identity of Rudradeva, Matila, Nandin, and Balavarman, I am at present unable to offer even a conjecture.

The only name among the nine names in the list which can be identified with certainty is that of Gaṇapati Nāga. Cunningham has shown that this prince must be one of the dynasty of seven or nine Nāgas, whose capital was Narwar, between Gwāliār and Jhānsi. Although the coins of Gaṇapati, which have been found in thousands, do not bear the word Nāga, there can be no doubt that they

were issued by a member of the Nāga dynasty. Their practical identity in type and style with the coins which bear the names of the Mahārājas Skanda Nāga, Bṛhaspati Nāga, and Dova Nāga leaves no room for scepticism. The coins of all these Nāga kings are found at Narwar. The language of the inscription which describes Gaṇapati as one of the kings who were “violently exterminated” induces me to consider him the last of his dynasty.

The “kings of the forest countries” (l. 21), who were compelled to become the servants of the conqueror, and are associated in the text with the “kings of Āryāvarta,” were no doubt the chiefs of the Goṇḍs and other wild tribes north of the Narmadā. To this day there is a large extent of forest country north of the Narmadā in Bundelkhand, Central India, and the Central Provinces.

The position of the southern forest kingdom of Mahākāṇṭāraka has been discussed above (ante, p. 866).

SECTION IV.—THE FRONTIER KINGDOMS.

Having completed the enumeration of the kings of the North and the kings of the South, the author of the inscription proceeds, in line 22, to extol the glories of his master as exhibited in the relations of the imperial power with the kings and tribes outside, but immediately adjoining, the frontiers of the empire.

He states that the frontier kings of Samataṭa, Dāvāka, Kūmarūpa, Nepāla, Kārtṛpura, and of other countries; and the tribes known by the names of Mūlava, Ārjunāyana, Yaudheya, Mādraka, Ābhira, Prājrjuna, Sanakāṇika, Kūka, and others, fully gratified the sovereign’s commands by obedience, by coming to perform homage, and by the payment of all kinds of taxes. These names will now be discussed in order.

2 Dr. Fleet (p. 14, note 1) needlessly, as it seems to me, suggests that an ambiguity lurks in the term “frontier kings” (pratyanta-grapati). I think it plain that the meaning is that which has been adopted in the text.
1. The Kingdom of Samatata.

The Bṛhat Samhita places this country in the eastern division of India. The name means "the country of which the rivers have flat and level banks of equal height on both sides," and denotes Lower Bengal.\(^1\) The Ganges and other great Indian rivers in the upper parts of their courses usually have a high bank on one side, that is to say, on the concave side of each curve.\(^2\) The name Samatata is thus descriptive of a marked difference between the appearance presented by the country in the swamps of deltaic Bengal and that presented by the drier regions of Bibar and the North-Western Provinces.

The same name, Samatata, is used by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century A.D., who describes the country as being about 500 miles (3,000 \(\text{li}\)) in circuit, and bordering on the great sea. It lay 1,200 or 1,300 \(\text{li}\) (more than 200 miles) south of Kamrapa, and about 900 \(\text{li}\) (150 miles) east of the country of Tamralipti.\(^3\)

These indications prove that the kingdom occupied the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, of which the Jessore District forms the central portion, and in which Calcutta and Dacca are now included. The main stream of the Ganges, which now separates the Patna and Faridpur Districts, must have been the northern boundary.

In the sixteenth century this region was known as Bhati, and the chief town was Bikrampur, in the Dacca District.\(^4\)

The Chinese pilgrim mentions that the capital city was between three and four miles (20 \(\text{li}\)) in circumference, but unfortunately does not mention its name, or indicate its position with precision. The capital was probably situated on the coast, somewhere on the tract now known as the Sunderbans. The southern portion of this tract has long

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\(^1\) *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 189.
\(^3\) Beal, "Records," ii, 199, 200.
\(^4\) Cunningham, "Reports," xv, 145.
been a pestilential and almost impenetrable jungle, but old Portuguese maps show that the early European adventurers found five cities existing in it, and surrounded by extensive cultivation.  

2. THE KINGDOM OF ĐAVĀKA.

The situation of this kingdom is unknown, but the insertion of the name between the names of Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa naturally suggests the inference that Đavāka lay somewhere on the north-eastern frontier. Possibly the kingdom actually lay between Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa, and corresponded to the modern districts of Bogra (Bagraha), Dinajpur, and Rajsahi. The mere position of the name in the list must not, however, be allowed too much significance. We have seen that in the list of the kingdoms of the south the names are arranged without reference to their order in geographical position.

Dr. Fleet's suggestion (in Index, s.v.) that Đavāka may be another form of Dacca, or Đūka, is inadmissible. The correct spelling of Dacca is Đhūkā (Đhāka).

3. THE KINGDOM OF KĀMARŪPA.

Although, as is well known, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa corresponds roughly with the province of Assam, it must be remembered that the ancient kingdom and the modern province do not exactly coincide. The kingdom sometimes extended as far west as the Kāratoya river and Lāl Bāzār in the Rangpur District of Bengal, and included the State of Kūch Bīhār, Tīparā, and parts of Maimansingh, as well as the territory now known as the Province of Assam. The ancient name is still preserved in the name of the district of Kāmrūp, in the central portion of Assam, which lies between lat. 25° 50' and 26° 53' N., and between long. 90° 40' and 92° 2' E.  

1 Balfour, "Cyclopaedia," s.v. 'Sunderbans.'  
2 Martin, "Eastern India," ii, 403, 626 sequ.; Balfour, "Cyclopaedia," s.v. 'Assam,' 'Kāmarūpa,' and 'Kāmrūp.'
Huen Tsiang, three centuries later than Samudra Gupta, treats "the great river," that is, the Brahmaputra, as the western boundary of Kāmarūpa. Having described the kingdom of Puṇḍra-vardhana, he gives details of certain buildings in the neighbourhood of the capital, and proceeds—"from this, going east 900 li or so, crossing the great river, we come to the country of Kia-mo-lu-po (Kāmarūpa)." 1

It is, of course, impossible to be certain, whether or not the kingdom of Kāmarūpa in the time of Samudra Gupta included the Rangpur territory west of "the great river"; but I consider it probable that this great river, the Brahmaputra, was the natural frontier of the empire, which must have included the minor kingdoms or principalities known to Huen Tsiang as Puṇḍra-vardhana, Karnaśuvarṇa, and Tāmraliṃṭi. The first of these certainly included part of the Dinājpur District, 2 the capital of the second was at Raṅgamaṭī in the Murshīdābād District, 3 and the capital of the third is represented by the decayed port of Tamālūk in the Midnāpur District. 4

4. THE KINGDOM OF NEPĀLA.

The kingdom of Nepāla corresponds roughly with the modern kingdom of Nepāl or Nīpāl, but it is impossible to say what its exact boundaries were in the days of Samudra Gupta.

We know that six centuries earlier the lowlands, or Tarāi, at the foot of the hills, now included in Nepāl, formed part of the dominions of Aśoka, who personally visited that region and erected pillars as memorials of his tour. It is probable that even the valley of Nepāl was brought under the sceptre of Aśoka. 5

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1 Beal, "Records," ii, 195.
2 The references are given by Beal, "Records," ii, 194, note.
4 Beal, "Records," ii, 200, note. Fa-hian stayed two years at Tamālūk, and sailed thence for Ceylon (ch. xxxvii).
5 Aśoka pillars have been recently discovered at Nigīla, the site of Kapilavastu, and Rūmimdeppi, the site of the Lumbini Garden, the birthplace of Gautama Buddha, north of the Basīk District. There is a tradition that the valley of
But his vast empire could not be held together by weaker hands, and in the time of Samudra Gupta the valley must certainly have been included in the frontier kingdom of Nepāl, which lay outside the empire. The imperial boundary probably included the whole Tarāi, and ran along the outermost range of hills.

Huen Tsang apparently did not personally visit Nepāl. He describes the kingdom as lying among the Snowy Mountains, and says that a traveller comes to it by "crossing some mountains and entering a valley." ¹ This phrase shows that he did not consider the Tarāi, or lowlands, as belonging to the mountain kingdom, and I think we may safely assume that Samudra Gupta’s dominions extended to the natural frontier of the lower hills.

The kingdom of Nepāl is not mentioned by Fa-hian.

5. THE KINGDOM OF KARTARPURA.

Nothing is known positively concerning the situation of this kingdom, which does not appear to be elsewhere mentioned. It may have lain in the Western Himālayas, and have corresponded roughly to the modern Almora, Gaṅhwāl, and Kamāon.

The enumeration of the frontier kingdoms seems to proceed in regular geographical order, beginning with Saṃmataṭa on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, and proceeding northwards through Ṭavāka to Nepāl, and thence westwards to Kartarpura.

The western provinces of the empire certainly marched with the territories of the tribes, which will be considered in the next section. The kingdoms of the forest kings must have formed to a large extent the southern frontier, the rest of which seems to have been formed by the territories of certain minor tribes. The eastern frontier

Nepāl was included in the dominions of Asoka. (Führer, "Progress Report for 1895," p. 2; Oldfield, "Sketches in Nepal," pp. 246-9.) Other pillars are believed to exist north of the Gārakhpur District.

¹ Beal, "Records," ii, 33.
has been accounted for; and the kingdom of Nepāl must have covered a large portion of the northern frontier. It is, consequently, difficult to find any possible position for Kartūpura, a frontier kingdom, other than that suggested.

SECTION V.—THE FRONTIER TRIBES.

The frontier tribes who obeyed the emperor's order and performed homage are enumerated as follows:—

1. Mālava,
2. Ārjunāyana,
3. Yaudheya,
4. Mādrika,
5. Ābhīra,
6. Prārjuna,
7. Sanakānika,
8. Kāka, and

These names will now be discussed in order.

1. THE MĀLAVA TRIBE.

The Brhad Sanhita correctly classes the Mālavas in the northern division of India.¹

The tribe has given its name to a province which still retains it. The modern Mālwā is the extensive region bordered on the east by the Bundelkhand districts and part of the Central Provinces, on the north by parts of the North-Western Provinces and Rājputāna, on the west by Rājputāna, and on the south by the Narmadā river. The name is, in fact, used loosely as an equivalent for Central India, that is to say, the group of native states, comprising Gwāliār, Indūr, Bhopāl, and many others, which

¹ Ind. Ant., xxii, 184.
are under the control of the Governor-General’s Agent for Central India. In this sense Mālwā is distinct from Rājputāna, which consists of the group of states under the control of the Agent for Rājputāna.

But this distinction is an arbitrary, administrative one, based on the political arrangements rendered necessary by the chaos of the eighteenth century. In ancient times the Mālavā country comprised a large part of the vast region now known as Rājputāna, and the Mālavā tribe can be traced far to the north. The Mālavā section of the Sikhs is located east of the Satlaj, and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions the Mālavas as dwelling amongst the Paripātra (or Pariyātra) mountains, which seem to be the same as the Rājputāna or Āravalli hills. These hills stretch across Rājputāna, and terminate at Delhi. There is, therefore, warrant for supposing that the term Mālwā, or the Mālavā country, may at times have been understood to comprise even Northern Rājputāna. The Mālavā coins have been found in vast numbers at Nāgar in the Jaipur State, and this town must certainly have been included in the Mālavā territory.

But the Mālavā country, even in ancient times, appears to have been more ordinarily understood to mean approximately the region which still retains the name of Mālwā, with the southern parts of Rājputāna.

In this region Ujjain and Besnagar were the principal cities. Ujjain, now in the Gwāliār State (lat. 23° 11′ 10″ N. and long. 75° 51′ 45″ E.), is one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, and has been famous from the dawn of Indian history. Besnagar, or Wessanagura, is the ruined city adjoining Bhilsa in the Bhopāl State (lat. 23° 39′ N. and long. 77° 50′ E.). The famous topes of Śānci are in the neighbourhood. Cunningham considers that Besnagar was certainly the capital of Eastern, as Ujjain was the capital of Western, Mālavā.¹

The coins to which allusion has been made deserve some

¹ “Coins of Ancient India,” p. 99.
further notice here, because they throw a faint light on the mention of the Mālavā tribe in the inscription.¹

These coins are found chiefly in the country about a hundred miles north of Ujjain, in Southern Rājputāna, about Ajmer, Tonk, and Chitor. Mr. Carleyle obtained several thousands of them at the ancient city of Nāgar in the Jaipur State, forty-five miles SSE. of Tānk. They are almost all very small, ranging in weight from four to nine grains, and are evidently intended to be the sixteenth and thirty-second parts of the Indian pāṇa of 146 grains.² Some are circular and some are square. Their historical value lies in the legend which occurs on many of them, and is either simply Mālavā, “of the Mālavas,” or Mālarāhāṇa jaya, “victory to the Mālavas,” the genitive being in Prākrit (Hoernle).

This legend shows that the coinage is that of a tribe, not of a kingdom, and furnishes an interesting confirmation of Hariśena’s reference to the Mālavas as a frontier tribe. The types of the coins are very various, and some present other legends, which have not yet been interpreted.

Another confirmation of the fact that the Mālavas were organized under some form of tribal constitution, and not governed by monarchs, is afforded by other inscriptions.

The Mandasor (Dasor) inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇu Vardhana is dated in the year 589 “from the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas,” equivalent to A.D. 533-4.³

Mandasor is the chief town in the district of the same name in Sindhia’s Dominions (Gwāliār State) in Western Mālwā, and is situated on the river Śiwanā, in lat. 24° 3’ N. and long. 75° 8’ E., about eighty-five miles north-west of Ujjain.

¹ The references for the coins are: Cunningham, “Reports,” vi, 165, 174 seqq.; xiv, pp. 149-151, pl. xxxi, Nos. 19-25; “Coins of Ancient India,” pp. 95, 96; “Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum” (Rodgers), part iii, pp. 16-27, pl. ii. A few of the coins classed by the Catalogue as Mālava are really Nāga coins, e.g. Nos. 12,461 and 12,462 on page 26.
² 146 grains seem to be the true weight of the pāṇa, rather than 144, the figure adopted by Cunningham.
³ This is Fleet’s interpretation of the words ganaśṭhiti-radāt, but Kielhorn takes them as simply meaning “according to the reckoning of.”
A later inscription at Gyarispur, twenty-four miles north-east of Bhilsa, is dated in the "Mālava era"; and one from Kānaswa, in South-Eastern Rājputāna, is dated in the era of "the Mālava lords" (Mālaveśāṇām).\(^1\)

Everybody now recognizes the fact that the era indicated by these various phrases is identical with that more familiarly known as the era of Vikrama or Vikramāditya, roughly equivalent to B.C. 57. The earliest known dates in this era under the later name (V.S. 428 to 898) all occur in inscriptions from Eastern Rājputāna, chiefly that part of Eastern Rājputāna which borders on, or is included in, Mālava. This fact indicates that the era, under both names, really originated in the Mālava country, which is not surprising when it is remembered that Ujjain was the principal seat of Hindu astronomical learning, and the meridian from which longitude was calculated.

All attempts to connect the establishment of the era with any definite historical event have been hitherto unsuccessful, and scholars are now agreed that no historical foundation exists for the common belief that the era was founded by a king Vikramāditya. We cannot feel any confidence that the date B.C. 57 is that of any special crisis in the history of the Mālava tribe. Professor Kielhorn holds that the inscriptions which connect the era with the Mālavas merely "show that from about the fifth to the ninth century this era was by poets believed to be specially used by the princes and people of Mālava, while another era or other eras were known to be current in other parts of India." But the inscriptions are certainly good to prove the persistence of a tradition of the existence of the Mālavas as a tribe or nation.

The rivers Betwa and Jumna may be fairly assumed as the eastern boundary of the frontier Mālava tribe, and as the western boundary of Samudra Gupta's empire. The comparatively small province occupied by the Ābhīras, who

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\(^1\) These inscriptions are discussed by Fleet, "Gupta Inscriptions," Intr. p. 67; pp. 79, 160; and by Kielhorn, Ind. Ant., xx, 404.
will be discussed presently, seems to have formed an enclave in the extensive territory of the Mālavas.

2. THE ĀRJUNĀYANA TRIBE.

The position of the territory of this tribe is not known with accuracy. The tribe is grouped in the Brhat Samhitā with the Madras, Yaudheyas, and other tribes of Northern India, but the mere collocation of names in the Brhat Samhitā lists does not, as Cunningham erroneously supposed that it did, give any information as to the relative position of the tribes named.

A few very rare coins with the legend Ārjunāyanāṁ, "of the Ārjunāyanas," in early characters have been found. Only two or three specimens are known, of which the exact findspot does not seem to be recorded. The type is related to that of the Northern Satrap coins, and the Ārjunāyana country may reasonably be regarded as corresponding to the region between the Mālava and Yaudheya territories, or, roughly speaking, the Bharatpur and Alwar States, west of Agra and Mathurā, the principal seat of the Northern Satraps.1 The frontier of Samudra Gupta's empire at this point appears to have been practically the line which now separates the British districts from the Native States.

3. THE YAUDHEYA TRIBE.

Whether by accident or design, the enumeration of the frontier tribes by Hariśena appears to be made with some regard to their order in geographical position. He begins with the Mālavas at the south-west frontier, proceeds northwards to the Ārjunāyanas, and goes on in the same direction to the Yaudheyas and the Mādrakas. He then

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1 One of the coins is very clearly engraved in Prinsep's "Essays" (Thomas), pl. xlv, 2. Cunningham had another specimen, which is badly figured in "Coins of Ancient India," pl. viii, 20. A specimen in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal may be that figured by Prinsep.
seems to return to the south-west corner, and beginning with the Ābhira tribe (No. 5), to proceed eastward along the southern frontier.

We have seen that although the list of southern kingdoms is erratic, the enumeration of the frontier kingdoms appears to be made in the order of geographical position. The portion of the inscription now under discussion is in prose, and its author, being untrammelled by the difficulties of verse, would naturally follow in his mind the frontier lines when enumerating the frontier kingdoms and tribes.

The position of the Yaudheya tribe is known with sufficient accuracy. The name, which is Sanskrit, means 'warrior,' and is mentioned by Pāṇini (circa B.C. 300) as that of a tribe in the Pañjāb. It still survives in the form of Johiya-bār, the name of the tract on the border of the Bahāwalpur State, along both banks of the Satlaj. The findspots of the coins, which are all of copper or brass, with one exception, indicate that the extensive territories of the tribe comprised the southern portion of the Pañjāb, including the Sikh States and the northern parts of Rājputāna. Either the Biās or the Rāvi river was probably the north-western boundary of the tribal territory, which abutted on the territory of the Mādrukas in the Central Pañjāb. The cities of Lāhor, Bahāwalpur, Bikanīr, Lūdīāna, and Delhi roughly indicate the limits of the tribal position.

The tribe appears to have been of an active and aggressive temper. The Satrap Rudradāmā of Surūṣṭrā, in A.D. 150 (72 Śaka), records that "he annihilated the Yaudheyas, who had become arrogant and disobedient in consequence of their receiving from all Kṣatriyas the title of 'the heroes.'" 3

A quantity of votive tablets bearing the proud legend "of the Yaudheyas, who know how to devise victory," was found a few years ago at Sunit in the Lūdīāna

1 Bhandarkar in Ind. Ant., i, 23.
2 Cunningham, "Reports," xiv, 140.
3 "suvrata-kṣatriyāvijñā-tiva śubha" (Ind. Ant., vii, 262).
District. These seem to date from the third century A.D.,
and to be contemporary with the coins of the Warrior Type.
The coins occur in several divergent types, and certainly
extend over a period of several centuries. Their dates
may be roughly defined as extending from B.C. 100 to
A.D. 400. The tribe must have been included within the
limits of the extended empire of Candra Gupta II,
the son and successor of Samudra Gupta, and the tribal
coinage probably then ceased.

One class of coins, which may be conveniently called
the "Warrior Type," is closely related to the coinage of
the great Kuśin kings Kaniśka and Huvishka, and exhibits
the legend Jaya Yaudheya ganasya, "victory of the
Yaudheya tribe." These coins are designed and executed
with remarkable boldness and skill, and seem to date for
the most part from the third century A.D. Some may
possibly be as late as the time of Samudra Gupta. Certain
coins of this class have in the obverse field the syllable
dei (apparently a contraction of drītya, 'second'), or, more
rarely, the syllable tr (a contraction for trītya, 'third').
These syllables are usually interpreted to mean that the
coins in question were issued respectively by the second
and third sections of the tribe.¹ The similar coins without
any numeral may have been struck by the first section.

Another class of coins, more rudely executed and
perhaps later in date, exhibit on the obverse the six-
headed effigy of the god Kārtikeya, and the name of
a chief, Svāmī Brāhmaṇa Yaudheya.

The earliest coins are small brass pieces, with an elephant
on one side and a humped bull on the other, accompanied
by Buddhist symbols.² Probably the tribe, in common
with the rest of India, gradually abandoned Buddhism
and reverted to orthodox Hinduism.

¹ Bühler agrees with Cunningham in this interpretation ("Origin of Brahmi
Alphabet," p. 48).
² The best published account of the Yaudheya coins is that in Cunningham's
"Reports," xiv, 129-145. The account in "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 75-9, is more confused, but the plate in that work is better than that of the
"Reports." I possess a fine set of Yaudheya coins. The seals, or votive
tables, are described by Hoernle in Proc. A.S.B. for 1884, p. 137.
4. The Mādraka Tribe.

The Mādraka tribe is plainly the same as that called Madraka or Madra in the Bṛhat Sānhiṭā¹ and the Mahābhrāṭa. The capital of the country was the famous city Sangala, or Sākala, the Sāgala of the Milinda Paṇha. The tribe seems also to have been known by the names Jārtika and Bāhika. The tribal territory is still known as Madra-dest, the country between the Rāvi and Canāb rivers. According to some authorities, Madra-dest extended on the west to the Jhelam and on the east to the Biās river. In the narrower signification the country so named is equivalent to the Rēchnā Duāb only. In the wider signification it comprises also the Bārī Duāb between the Biās and Rāvi, and the Caj Duāb between the Canāb and Jhelam. The Mādrakas were, therefore, the immediate neighbours of the Yaudheyas, and occupied the central parts of the Paṇjāb.

Cunningham’s identification of the Mādraka capital, Sangala or Sākala, with a hill called Sangla Tibba in the Gujranwāla District, was undoubtedly erroneous. The true site of the city is probably either Chuniot or Shāhkoṭ in the Jhang District, east of the Rāvi, in the Bārī Duāb. The Biās, therefore, may be accepted as the boundary between the Yaudheyas east of that river and the Mādrakas to the west.²

The Jalandhar Duāb, between the Satlaj and the upper course of the Biās, was probably included in Samudra Gupta’s empire, of which the Biās would have been the frontier. The Mādrakas would thus be in the strict sense a frontier tribe.

¹ Ind. Ant., xxii, 183.
² Cunningham’s arguments in favour of his identification of Sākala with the petty hill Sangala Tibba will be found in “Reports,” ii, 192-200. These arguments were avowedly opposed to the data given both by the historians of Alexander and by Hsing Tsiang, and have recently been conclusively refuted by Mr. C. J. Rodgers (Proc. A.S.B., June, 1896). I am indebted to that gentleman for the information that either Chuniot or Shāhkoṭ is probably the true site of Sākala. The formidable White Huns chief Mihirakula is known to have resided at Sākala, and his coins are numerous at both Chuniot and Shāhkoṭ. I possess a good set collected by Mr. Rodgers at those places.
³ Cunningham quotes Lassen for the mention of the Madra tribe in the Mahābhārata.
5. The Ābhīra Tribe.

The name of the Āhir caste is the phonetic equivalent of Ābhīra, and this caste is so widely spread and numerous in Northern and Western India that the correct location of Samudra Gupta's frontier tribe appears at first sight a matter of some difficulty. But the fact that the tribal territory lay on the frontier of the empire gives the clue to the solution of the problem.

A very early inscription at Nūsik, NNE. of Bombay, mentions an Ābhīra king, and we know that the peninsula of Gujarāṭ was in ancient times largely occupied by Āhīrā. ¹ Ptolemy's province of Abiria was on the western coast, and the country between the Tāptī river and Devagār was known as Abhīra.² But the Ābhīras of the Bombay districts lay too far westward to be counted as a frontier tribe in the time of Samudra Gupta, whose south-western frontier appears to have been the river Betwa, and these western Ābhīras cannot be the tribo referred to.

The small tract called Ahraura, near Chanār in the Mirzāpur District of the North-Western Provinces, cannot be the region in Hariśena's mind. That tract, an unimportant pargana, was according to tradition originally occupied by Kols. Except the name there is nothing to connect it with the Ābhīras.³ Moreover, the whole of the Mirzāpur District must have been included within the limits of the empire.

One region, and one only, exactly suits the conditions of the problem, and can be identified with confidence as the seat of the Ābhīra frontier tribe in the days of Samudra Gupta. This region lies west of the Betwa river, and

¹ No. 12, "Buddhist Cave Temples" (Archaeological Survey of Western India, vol. iv), p. 104, pl. liii. This inscription of the Ābhīra king Iśvarasena may date from about A.D. 200.
² Quoted in Elliot's "Races of the North-Western Provinces" (ed. Beamce), p. 1. "Ahir."
³ See Beamce, op. cit., and the Gazetteer of the Mirzāpur District, s.e. "Ahraura."
still bears the name of Ahirwāra. The Ahirs dwelling in this region still occupy a prominent position. Cunningham's description of Ahirwāra is as follows:—

"With the accession of the Moguls, the domains of the Khichis were largely extended on the east by the accession of the two districts of Jharkon and Bāhādurghār, the former lying to the west and the latter to the east of the Sindh river. These two districts originally formed part of the ancient Hindu province of Ahirwāra, which extended from Ranod on the Ahirpat river to Sirouj on the south, and from the Pārbarī river on the west to the Betwa on the east. Within these limits the Ahirs still form the mass of the population, and the land is chiefly held by Ahir landholders. During Jay Singh's long war with the Mahrattas, the Ahirs asserted their independence, and were not subdued until Baptiste was sent against them."  

1 Cunningham, "Reports," ii, 300. The italics are mine.
its jurisdiction, the largest of which districts was recognized as the head of the Union. Each of these twenty-four districts (koṭṭams) was further subdivided into lesser jurisdictions called naḍus and naṭṭams. The tribe was successful in commerce both by land and sea, and skilled in mining, and produced notable works in literature, architecture, and sculpture. The prevailing religion of the Kurumbars was the Jaina, and this circumstance added bitterness to the hostility of the Hindu sovereigns of the Cola kingdom, who in the eighth or ninth century succeeded in crushing the Kurumbar confederation, and incorporating its lands in the Cola (Chola) territories.\(^1\)

The above brief description of the Kurumbar organization and of its overthrow by the southern monarchy appears to me to throw considerable light on the organization and fate of the similar tribes who in the fourth century covered the western frontier of Samudra Gupta's empire.

6. The Prājrūna Tribe.

We have now laboriously traced the eastern, northern, and western frontiers of Samudra Gupta's empire, and have reached a point at which the southern extension of the dominions directly under his sway must have terminated, or very nearly terminated. We have seen that the kingdoms and tribes on the frontier are enumerated by Hariśena, so far as possible, in the order of geographical position. The Bhālsa country, which lies south of Āhīrwāra, certainly lay within the Mālava territories, and the inference necessarily follows that the Prājrūna tribe, which is the next enumerated, should be looked for to the east or south-east of Āhīrwāra. Assuming that the Narmadā formed the southern boundary of the empire, the Prājrūna tribe may be provisionally placed in the Narsiṇhpur District of the Central Provinces.

\(^1\) Sir W. Elliot, "Coins of Southern India" (Intern. Num. Or., vol. iii, part 2), pp. 36, 89; and the authorities cited in the notes.
7. The Sanakānīka Tribe,
8. The Kāka Tribe, and

The exact position of any of these three tribes is not known, but we may safely assume that they lay near the Prārjuna territory, and probably in the Central Provinces, or possibly in Central India, just south of the Mālava country.

The name Kāka (‘crow’) may be locally associated with Kākaṇāda (‘crow’s voice’), the ancient name of Sānci, the celebrated Buddhist site 5½ miles south-west of Bhālsa.¹

The name Sanakānīka, or Sanakānīka, is connected with the same region by the fact that one of the inscriptions at Udayagiri near Bhālsa records the dedication of certain sculptures by a Sanakānīka chieftain.²

The Kharaparika tribe may have occupied the Seoni or Maudlā District of the Central Provinces. The circuit of the boundaries of the empire is thus completed.

SECTION VI.—FOREIGN POWERS.

We now pass from the enumeration of conquered provinces, frontier kingdoms, and frontier tribes, to a list of the independent foreign States at a distance with which Samudra Gupta maintained intercourse and friendly relations.

The passage of the inscription (I. 23) dealing with these foreign powers is thus literally translated by Fleet:—

“Whose binding together of the (whole) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (his) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves

¹ The name occurs in inscriptions of the Asoka period (‘Gupta Inscriptions,’ p. 31; Epigraphia Indica, ii, 67, 305, 390).
² The spelling Sanakānīka is used in the Allahabad inscription, and the spelling Sanakānīka in the Udayagiri inscription dated c.n. 32 in the reign of Chandr Gupta II (‘Gupta Inscriptions,’ p. 25). At that date the Sanakānīka chief had become a subject of the empire.
as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa-tokens,\(^1\) (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, etc., (rendered) by the Daivaputras, Śāhis, Śīhānusāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Śimhala and all (other) dwellers in islands.’’

The arrogant language of this passage of course exaggerates the deference paid to the subject of the panegyric, and may fairly be interpreted to mean nothing more than the exchange of complimentary embassies and gifts between the emperor of Northern India and the powers named.

Samudra Gupta’s victorious raid into the Peninsula would naturally arouse the fears of the Sinhalese princes, and no doubt an embassy from Ceylon really visited his Court.\(^2\)

The identification of the powers intended by the titles Daivaputra, Śāhi, Śīhānusāhi, Śaka, and Muruṇḍa, presents a difficult problem. I cannot pretend to solve this problem with absolute certainty, but venture to think that a reasonably probable solution may be offered with some confidence.

I. THE MURUṇḍA KING.

The Muruṇḍas may possibly have been settled in the hill country of Riwā, along the Kaimūr range, or, more probably, further south in the Vindhayas or Northern Dakhan, or possibly in Chutia Nāgpur. This conjecture is based merely on the occurrence of the name Muruṇḍadevi, or Muruṇḍa-svāmīni, in inscriptions dated c.e. 193 and 197 found near the village of Khō in the Nāgaudh State.

The princess so named was the consort of the Mahārāja Jayamātha of Uccha-kalpa, in the neighbourhood of Nāgaudh. Her name seems to indicate that she belonged to the Muruṇḍa clan, the territory of which was probably

\(^1\) The meaning of “Garuḍa-tokens” (garudmat-aṅka) is obscure. Fleet supposes it to refer to gold coins, bearing, among other emblems, a representation of the Garuḍa standard, the Gupta equivalent of the Roman eagle. I believe that the term is used in the sense of “standards.”

\(^2\) I formerly treated the allusion to Ceylon as “mere rhetoric,” but think the interpretation now placed on the passage is preferable.
not very remote from the petty principality ruled by her husband.

Only one other certain mention of the Murundas has rewarded my search, but this is sufficient to show that they were a notable tribe, clan, or reigning family, worthy to be ranked with the Guptas themselves among the rulers of India. The passage referred to is in the Jaina Purana, called Harivamsha, composed by the poet Jinasena in the Saka year 705 (A.D. 637), and runs as follows:

Verse 83. “And at the time of the nirvana of Vira, King Pâlaka, the son of (the king of) Avanti, (and) the protector of the people, shall be crowned here on earth. (84) His reign (shall last) sixty years. Then, it is said, (the rule) of the kings of the country shall endure for a hundred and fifty-five years. (85) Then the earth (shall be the) undivided (possession) of the Murundas, for forty years; and for thirty, of the Pushpamitras (or Pushyamitras); and for sixty, of Vasumitra and Agnimitra. (86 and 87) (Then there shall be the rule) of the ‘Ass-kings’ for a hundred years. Next, (the rule) of Naravâhana for forty years. After (these) two, (the sway) of Bhattubana (shall last) two hundred and forty (years); and the illustrious rule of the Guptas shall endure two hundred and thirty-one years. This is declared by chronologists.”

Mr. K. B. Pathale, who published the above passage, quotes a couplet from the Pârâvâbhuyudaya to show that Vatsarâja, the lover of Vîsavadatta, was a Murunda.¹

The chronology of the Jaina Purana is, of course, like that of all Purânas, confused, and no statement in a document of this class can be accepted with confidence. But the passage quoted has certainly so much value, that it proves the existence in the seventh century A.D. of a distinct tradition that the Murundas for a period of forty years ranked among the leading ruling races of India.

If the Murundas were identical with the Murunadas, my conjecture as to the position of the Murunda kingdom must

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 142.
be abandoned. The Murnda people is said to be identical with the Lampaka people, the inhabitants of Lampaka, or Lamghân, a small country lying along the northern bank of the Kabul river, bounded on the west and east by the Alingar and Kunar rivers. In the time of Huen Tsiang the local royal family had been extinct for several centuries, and the country was one of the dependencies of Kapiśa.1

2. The Śaka King.

The Śakas of India were undoubtedly a race of foreign origin, which entered India, like so many other races, across the north-western frontier; and Cunningham may be right in identifying them with the Su tribe, who were, in or about B.C. 125, forced into the province of Kipin or Kophene by the pressure of the advancing Yu-chi (Yue-ti), who included the famous Kuśin clan. It is certain that the geographer, Isidorus of Charax, writing probably in the first century of our era, locates the Śakas in Drangiana, which he calls Sakastene.2 Drangiana was the ancient name of the country along the Helmand river, and seems to have been included in Kipin. We must assume, therefore, that the Śakas entered India proper by the Gandhār route.

Isidorus of Charax called the inhabitants of Sakastene Saka-Scythians. The author of the “Periplus,” writing

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2 “La Sakastēne ou le Sakastān tirait son nom des Sakas, qui avaient occupé toute l’ancienne Arachosie, et peut-être aussi la vallée du Kaboul, pendant le premier siècle avant notre ère; ils en avaient été chassés par les Kouchans vers l’an 30 av. J.-C., mais le nom de la contrée y avait été conservé, et il est resté jusqu’à nos jours sous la forme Sekstān (Sagesṭēne, Seqistān, Sedjistān). Les grands Yue-teh en ont été maîtres pendant plusieurs siècles. D’après Agathias, le Sakastan fut conquis sur eux par Bahram II (276-294), qui conféra le titre de sakastēnā ou prince des Sakas à son fils Bahram II.


M. Drouin quotes Isidorus in edition of C. Müller, sec. 18. I have not been able to verify the reference to this author.
about A.D. 89, \(^1\) calls the countries at the mouth of the Indus "the seashore of Scythia," and states that Parthians were the rulers of Indo-Scythia. Probably the terms Parthian and Śaka were loosely used as interchangeable. The Parthian rulers at the mouths of the Indus were doubtless connected with the Parthian kings of the Western Pañjāb and Afghanistan, of whom Gondophares, about A.D. 30, is the best known. The kings Maues (Moas) and Azes, of slightly earlier date, who are known almost exclusively from coins, are generally considered to be Śakas, though the proof that they were really such does not seem to me satisfactory.\(^2\)

The Satraps of Mathurā and Northern India, who seem to have reigned in the century before and in the century following the Christian era, betray a Persian origin, both by their official title and by their personal names. The official title indicates at least the recollection of a real connection with the Persian empire, which certainly existed before the conquests of Alexander, and the names of Hagāna and Hagāmāsa, both Satraps, are unmistakably Persian. The name of the Satrap Śoḍāsa, too, appears to be an Indianized form of the Persian name Zodas.

The late Bhagvānlīl Indrajit, therefore, decided to call these Satraps Pahlavas, or Persians. He was certainly quite justified in doing this.\(^3\) But Dr. Bührler, who calls them "the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā," is also justified in his nomenclature.

The Lion Capital of Mathurā is covered with dedicatory Buddhist inscriptions of members of the ruling Satrap family. One of these is recorded "in honour of the whole

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\(^1\) Cunningham gives the erroneous date "about A.D. 160." See McCrindle's edition of the "Periptus."

\(^2\) Cunningham (" Reports," ii, 47) believed that "the Su or Śakas, being the descendants of Scytho-Parthian Daeha, were not distinguishable from true Parthians either in speech, manners, or in dress. Their names also were the same as those of the Parthians."

\(^3\) J.B.A.S. 1894, p. 549. "The Northern Kshatrapas." The coins of these Satraps are also discussed in "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 83-90, pl. viii. But the published accounts of the coins are far from exhaustive.
Sakastane," or Śaka country, and it is reasonable to infer that the ruling family was connected with that country.\(^1\)

I am not aware of any other proof that the Northern Satraps were Śakas. If it be assumed that they were Śakas, it appears plain that the Śaka tribe had a close connection with Persia, and might properly be described as Persians (Pahlavas), and that they were also sometimes regarded as identical with Parthians.

Mathurā was certainly included in the dominions of Samudra Gupta, and the rule of the semi-Persian Northern Satraps seems to have terminated long before his day.\(^2\) Consequently, even if it prove to be the case that the Northern Satraps were Śakas, they cannot be the foreign power in alliance with Samudra Gupta.

It is possible that in his reign Śaka settlements may still have existed in Seistān, the Qandahār country, and along the Indus, but the ruling powers of the northwestern frontier seem to be fully accounted for by the terms Daivapatra, Śāhi, and Śāhānuṣāhi, which will be discussed presently, and Seistān appears to have been included in the Persian dominions (Drouin, op. cit., p. 161). The Śaka king of the inscription, therefore, cannot be the ruler of Seistān.

The Brhat Samhītā classes the Śakas in the Western Division of India, along with the Aparāntakas, Haihayas, Jūgás, Mlecchas, Pāratas, Śāntikas, Vaiśyas, and Vokkānas.

The country Aparānta corresponded with the modern Konkāṇa, the district extending from Gokarna, in the Kūrwār collectorate, to the Damān Gangā, the frontier river of Gujarāt, or perhaps even further north to the

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\(^1\) J.R.A.S. 1894, "The Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscriptions," pp. 530, 531, 540. Sakastana (Sakasthana) is identical with the Sakastone of Isidorus.

\(^2\) The coins of the Northern Satraps, many of which I possess, are all of early date, and probably none are later than A.D. 100. An inscription of the reign of Candra Gupta II dated o.m. 82 (= A.D. 400) has been found at Mathurā ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 23), and another inscription dated "in the fifty-seventh year" is probably to be referred to the Gupta era (Bühler, Epigraphia Indica, ii, 198, 210). If this is correct, the date will fall in the reign of Samudra Gupta.
THE CONQUESTS OF SAMUDRA GUPTA.

Tāpī (Tāpti). The capital was Śūrpūraka, the modern Sopārā, near Bassein (Vasai) in the Thānā District.¹

The Pārata, or Pāruda country, must have been the Sūrat District north of Aparānta.²

The Haihayas occupied the upper course of the Narmada, in the region now known as the Central Provinces.³

The Jṛṅgas, Śāntikas, Vaiśyas, and Vokkānas have not, so far as I know, been identified.

Mleccha is a general term corresponding to the Greek βάρβαρος, and is sufficiently explained by the following passage from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, which relates how Sāgara made "the Yavanas shave their heads entirely; the Śakas he compelled to shave (the upper) part of their heads; the Pāradas wore their hair long; and the Pahlavas let their beards grow; in obedience to his commands. Them also, and other Kṣatriya races, he deprived of the established usages of oblations to fire and the study of the Vedas, and, thus separated from religious rites, and abandoned by the Brahmans, these different tribes became Mlecchas."⁴

Manu, too, classes the Śakas with the Draviḍas and certain other tribes as degraded Kṣatriyas.⁵

The date of the Brhat Satākhyā is known to be about the middle of the sixth century A.D. These passages show that at that date the Śakas were known as a foreign people settled in Western India near the Pāradas and Pahlavas, or Persians, from whom they were distinguished by a different mode of wearing their hair. The contempt of these foreign settlers for the niceties of Hindu caste and ritual excited the disgust of Brahmanical writers, who

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 259; xxii, 189.
² Kṛṣabhādatta’s Nasik inscription, No. 5, names the rivers Ibā, Pārāda, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabena, and Dāhānukā. The Pārāda is the Pāraṇji, or Pār, river in the Sūrat District ("Archaeological Survey of Western India," iv, 160, note 2).
³ Cunningham, "Reports," ix, 77.
⁵ *Manu*, x, 44; quoted in "Archaeological Survey of Western India," iii, 55, note.
grouped all such unclean foreigners under the comprehensive title Mleccha, while giving them a place in the Hindu system by inventing the fiction that the strangers were degraded Kṣatriyas.

The Śaka king of the Allahabad inscription should, in accordance with the above indications, be looked for in Western rather than in Northern India.

It seems to me hardly possible to doubt that the Śaka prince referred to in the Allahabad inscription was one of the Śaka Satraps, who “held sway, from the last quarter of the first century A.D. to the end of the fourth, over a large territory in Western India, which may be said, generally speaking, to have comprised Mālwa, Sind, Kacch, Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt proper, and the northern Konkan . . . Surāṣṭra was one province only of the kingdom.”

These powerful princes are now commonly termed the Western Satraps, to distinguish them from the Northern Satraps of Mathurā and Upper India.

It is certain that all the dates of the Western Satraps are recorded in the Śaka era, and Bhagvānīlāl Indrajī thought it probable that this era was instituted in A.D. 78 by Nahapāna, the first Satrap, to commemorate his victory over the Śatākarni, or Andhra king. Most writers ascribe the foundation of the era to the Kuṣāṇ sovereign Kaniṣka.

Usavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta), the son-in-law of the Satrap Nahapāna, appears to expressly call himself a Śaka in one of the Nāsik inscriptions, which series of records contains several other references to the Śakas collectively, and to individual members of the race.

Nahapāna was succeeded by Chaṇḍana, a member of a different family though probably also a Śaka, in or about A.D. 111. “He was probably to some extent contemporary with Nahapāna, and, like him, the general of

some Śaka sovereign; but, while Nahapāna held Surūṣṭra and the adjacent districts, Chaṣṭana would seem to have conquered a great part of Western Rājputāna and to have established himself at Ajmere, where the greater part of his coins are found. Subsequently he seems to have conquered the kingdom of Mūlwa and fixed his capital at Ujjain; there can be no doubt that he is identical with the Tiṣastasovar mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy as ruling in this capital. After the death of Nahapāna, who had no son, Chaṣṭana seems to have succeeded to his dominions; and the Kṣatrapa kingdom for the future may be described as comprising the territories conquered by their first two Satraps.”

That kingdom of the Western Satraps had probably before the time of Samudra Gupta absorbed a large portion of the tribal territory of the Mūlavas. The kingdom was itself conquered and absorbed into the empire by Samudra Gupta’s son and successor, Candra Gupta II, and remained incorporated with it until the collapse of the imperial Gupta power near the end of the fifth century.

Samudra Gupta, whose direct conquests had reached the borders of Mūlwa, must necessarily have been in communication with the Śaka Satraps of the West, and I have no doubt that those Satraps are the Śakas referred to by Hariṣena.

The Satrap Rudradāman describes himself in the year A.D. 150 as “lord of Eastern and Western Ākarāvatī, Anupadeśa, Ānarta, Surūṣṭra, Svabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparūnta, and Niṣāda.” This prince is also said to have “exterminated” the Yaudheyas, and to have twice defeated the Śatākarni, or Andhra, king of the south. These details justify the description of the Satrap kingdom in modern terms, as given by Bhagyānīlī Indraji.

The twenty-sixth and penultimate Western Satrap was Rudrasena, son of Rudradāman. His coins, which are

1 J.E.A.S. 1890, p. 644.
2 Ind. Ant., vii, 258, 259, 262. Dr. Bühler identifies the various countries named.
numerous, bear dates ranging from 270 to 298, equivalent to A.D. 348 and 376.¹ Rudrasena was, therefore, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, whose reign extended approximately from A.D. 345 to A.D. 380, and must have been the Śaka prince who sent embassies to Samudra Gupta.

3. The Daivaputra King.

The words Daivaputra-Śāhi-Śāhanuśāhi in the inscription, which are, of course, after the Indian manner, written without any marks of division or punctuation, present many difficulties of interpretation, and have been differently interpreted.

Cunningham regarded the three words as forming a single compound title, designating a king of the Kuśāṇa tribe reigning in the Pañjāb and Afghanistan. His words are: —“At this very time, A.D. 358, the Kuśāṇas were still in the height of their power, as the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahabad pillar mentions the presents sent by the Daivaputra Śāhi Śāhanuśāhi to the Indian king. As these were the peculiar titles assumed by the great Kuśāṇ kings, the presents must have been sent by one of them.” ²

But it seems to me very unlikely that in the enumeration Daivaputra-Śāhi-Śāhanuśāhi-Śaka-Murudajah the first three words are to be taken as referring to a single king. The triple title would be extremely cumbrous and unusual, and this interpretation appears to destroy the balance of the sentence. It is much more natural to take each title as referring to a single sovereign.³ It would be difficult to find any example of the use in a single inscription or coin

¹ J.R.A.S. 1890, p. 661.
² Num. Chron. 1893, p. 176; “Reports,” iii, 42.
³ M. Drosin takes the same view, and writes: “Les souverains qui les ont émaîes [sel. monnaies] sont ceux que Samudra-Gupta va ravir vers l’an 390 de J.-C., et qui sont désignés sur le pilier d’Allahabad sous les noms de Daiva-
putra, Śāhā, Śāhanuśāhi, et Śaka” (“Monnaies des Grands Kouchans,” in Rev. Num. 1896, p. 168). I do not think that the word ravir is justified by the terms of the inscription, or by the probabilities of the situation.
legend of the cumbrous complex title Daivaputra-ṣāhi-
ṣāhānuṣāhi, although it is true that all three titles were
used by the Kuśān kings, and two of them may be found
combined. The Śakas also used the titles Ṣāhi and Ṣāhā-
uṣāhi, and it would be as justifiable to connect those
words in the inscription with Śaka as with Daivaputra.1
It is just possible that the cognate titles Ṣāhi and Ṣāhānu-
ṣāhi ought really to be treated as a single compound title,
but with this reservation I have no hesitation in rejecting
the interpretation approved by Cunningham, and preferring
that adopted by Fleet, who translates the passage in
question by the words—“the Daivaputras, Śāhis, Śāhānu-
ṣāhis, Śakas, and Murunḍas.” It is, however, still better to
treat each term as singular, and to translate—“the Daiva-
putra, the Śāhi, the Śāhānuṣāhi, the Śaka, and the
Murunḍa,” the word ‘king’ being understood in each case.
I think this translation is the most correct. The passage
unquestionably refers to monarchical powers.

The Sanskrit title Daivaputra could only apply to a
sovereign ruling in India or on the confines of India.
It is probably of Chinese origin, being the literal
translation of the Chinese emperor’s title, ‘Son of Heaven’
(Tien-tze).2 Whatever be the correct interpretation of
the words Śāhi and Śāhānuṣāhi, the application of the
title Daivaputra is not open to question. It was the
chosen and, so far as is known, peculiar title of the
Kuśān kings of Peshāwar and Kābul—the kingdom of
Gāndhāra.

This title Devaputra (Daivaputra) was that specially
affected by the great Kuśān kings Kanishka, Huviṣka
(Huksa or Huṣka), and Vasudeva (or Vāsuṣka). The

1 “We find a late, but very distinct, reminiscence of these Scythic titles in
the Jain legend of Kālakācārya, which calls the princes of the Śakas—the
protectors of the saint—Śāhi, and their sovereign lord Śāhānuṣāhi.”—Stein,
“Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins” (Ind. Ant., xvii, 95; quoting

centuries of the Christian era was considerable.
Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā and the Śānci records offer numerous examples, of which a few may be quoted:

"In the year 5 of Devaputra Kaniśka."¹
"In the year . . . of Devaputra Huviśka."
"of Devaputra Hukṣa."²
"of the Rājātirāja Devaputra Śāhi Vāsuśka."³

It will be observed that in the first two quotations Kaniśka and Huviśka call themselves simply Devaputra, whereas the later Vāsuśka, in the year 78 (= A.D. 156), adds the Persian title Śāhi and the Indian title Rājātirāja, the equivalent of Śahānusāhi. He does not, however, actually combine Śāhi and Śahānusāhi.

Fa-hian, travelling about A.D. 403, distinguishes the region of Gāndhāra from the Peshawar country, which lay four days' journey further south, but does not note whether or not both districts were under the same government.⁴ At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, about A.D. 631, Peshawar was the capital of Gāndhāra, which was then ruled by a governor sent from Kapiša, north of Kābul, the local royal family of Gāndhāra having become extinct.⁵ In the interval between the two Chinese pilgrims the irruption of the White Huns had effected a revolution in all political arrangements.

The names of the successors of Vasudeva are known from coins only. The coins struck in the Pañjūb and Afghanistan agree closely in form, standard, and style with those of the famous kings Kaniśka, Huviśka, and Vasudeva. Some of the names are monosyllables in the Chinese fashion, such as Mi and Bhu. Others have been Indianized, and a prince, who probably ruled about A.D. 300, assumed the purely Indian name Samudra. The coins occur in four metals—gold, silver, brass, and copper or bronze. Some of these pieces may have been struck by provincial

¹ Epigraphia Indica, i, p. 382, inscription No. 1.
² Ibid., ii, p. 206, Nos. xxv and xxvi.
³ Ibid., ii, p. 359; a Śānci inscription.
⁴ Chapters x-xii.
⁵ Beal, "Records," i, 97.
governors or viceroys of Gândhāra or Peahuwar, and some were probably issued by the greater Kuśān sovereign whose capital was at or near Kābul.\(^1\) One of these Kuśān kings is the Devaputra of the inscription.

4. THE ŚAHI KING.

Subject to the reservation already noted that the words Śahi and Śāhānuṣṭhī may possibly be interpreted as forming a compound title referring to one king, though preferably interpreted as referring to two distinct sovereigns, I now proceed to attempt their interpretation on the latter supposition.

The title Śahi was, as we have seen, used by the Devaputra Kuśān kings of Gândhāra in the first and second centuries A.D. It continued in use on the northwestern frontier of India up to the beginning of the eleventh century.\(^2\) The problem before me is to ascertain the prince to whom the title was considered specially applicable in the fourth century.

Contemporary documents of that period are clearly the best available evidence, and the only strictly contemporary documents at present accessible are coin legends, on which, therefore, my argument will be based.

It seems to me that the Śahi king of the inscription was one of those Kidāra Kuśān princes who took the simple title of Śahi without addition, and whose money is approximately contemporaneous with Śamudra Gupta.

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\(^1\) These coins of the so-called Later Indo-Scythians, or Later Great Kuśāns, are described and discussed by Cunningham (Numismatic Chronicle for 1893, pp. 112 seqq.); V. A. Smith (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal for 1897, part i, p. 5); E. Drouin (Revue Numism., for 1896, p. 164). M. Drouin observes (p. 160): “La capitale ou une des capitales des grands Yue-chi ou grands Kouchans (car ce vaste empire, qui s’étendait encore, à l’époque Sasanide, du lac Caspienne à l’Indus, devait avoir plusieurs résidences royales) était Kābul.”

\(^2\) Alberuni, “Indica” (Sachau’s translation, ii, 10; quoted by Stein, “Zur Geschichte der Cāhis von Kābul”). The last of the Turkish Śahi kings of Kābul was Laga-Tūrmān. These kings were succeeded by a Hīpūn dynasty, who also took the title of Śahi, and lasted till A.D. 1021 (A.H. 412), when Trilocusfālā was killed. See also “Coins of Medieval India,” p. 55. Cunningham follows Thomas in reading Al Kūtardān instead of Laga-Tūrmān. In Kābul the title Śahi lingered till A.D. 1100. Cunningham says that Trilocusfālā was alive in A.D. 1027 (V.S. 1084).
Two silver coins issued by one of these princes are thus described by Cunningham:—

"Kidāra Śāhi.

"Obv. Bust of the king to the front, with bushy hair on both sides of the face, like the Sassanian kings; crown with triple ornament; long earrings. Indian inscription in early Gupta letters, Kidāra Kuṇāna Śāhi, the last letter, ī, being close to the face on the right.

"Rev. Fire-altar, with two attendants carrying drawn swords, or perhaps the barsom. Below the altar are three characters, which I take for numerals. They are the same on all my three specimens, although the coins are from different dies. I read them as 339, which if referred to the Śaka era would be 339 + 78 = A.D. 417."\(^1\)

The weight of each of the two specimens described in detail was 56 grains, and the diameter 1 10 inch. These coins, which have a very Persian appearance, in spite of the Indian legends, appear to me to be probably the coinage of the Śāhi dynasty with which Samudra Gupta had relations. The coins of which I have quoted the technical descriptions are evidently the earliest of a long series which ultimately merges into the coinage of the kingdom of Kāśmir. The kings of Kāśmir intermarried with the Śāhi dynasty of Kūbul. In the above quoted description Cunningham gives the date read on the coins as 339, but from a passage a few pages earlier it is plain that he really read the date as 239, and adopted the date a century later in deference to supposed historical necessities. He says: "The reverse has the Sassanian fire-altar, with three letters or numerals on the base, and the usual attendant priests at the side. I read the three characters as numerals forming 239, or perhaps 339, which, referred to the era of A.D. 78, would give either A.D. 317 or 417. The latter is the preferable date, as the period of Kidāra can be fixed with some certainty in the first half of the

\(^1\) Num. Chron. 1893, p. 199, pl. vi (xv), 1, 2.
fifth century A.D.\textsuperscript{1} He then proceeds to determine the
date according to his interpretation of Chinese authorities,
the correctness of which interpretation I shall not now
stop to discuss. Cunningham does not explain his reasons
for reading the three characters as the numerals 239; and
I am unable to read them; all I can say is, that no two
of the characters seem to be identical.

Kidiara is supposed to be identical with the Ki-to-lo of
the Chinese writers. The word is evidently a family or
dynastic title. A Ki-to-lo chief of the Little Yuchi
(Kuśāṇas) established himself at Peshāwar about A.D. 430.\textsuperscript{2}
But, in the time of Samudra Gupta, the Devaputra dynasty
of Kuśāṇ (Greater Kuśāṇ) princes was still reigning in
the Northern Pańjāb, and the Śāhi Kidāra (Ki-to-lo) must
apparently be placed further south, somewhere in the
direction of Qandahār. The Śāhi Kidāra princes were
probably subordinate to the kings who took the higher
title of Śāhānusāhi.

5. THE ŚĀHĀNUSĀHI KING.

The Śāhānusāhi, or King of Kings, with whom Samudra
Gupta had diplomatic relations, was probably the Sassanian
king of Persia, Sapor, or Shāhpur II, whose long reign
(A.D. 309 to 380 or 381) was almost exactly conterminous
with that of Samudra Gupta.

The relations of Sapor II with the Kuśāṇ princes on
the Oxus and on the Indian frontier were close and
intimate. Sapor's predecessor, Hormazd II, married the
daughter of a Kuśāṇ king, and has left numismatic
memorials of his pride in the alliance. He struck coins
in which he described himself as "the Maxdean, divine
Hormazd, of the royal family of the Great Kuśāṇs, king
of kings [\textit{sic}. of Irān]." Another coin of his presents the

\textsuperscript{1} Op. cit., p. 184. The italics are mine.
\textsuperscript{2} This is the date adopted by Stein in his pamphlet "Zur Geschichte der
Čāhūs von Kābul," p. 4 (Stuttgart, 1893). He quotes Von Gutschmid,
\textit{Geschichte Irān's.} Cunningham (op. cit., p. 184) takes the date as A.D.
425–430.
obverse device used by his contemporary Basana [Bāṣana],
coupled with the Sassanian fire-altar as reverse device.¹

When Sapor II besieged Amida, the modern Diarbekir,
on the Tigris, in A.D. 359, about the middle of the reign of
Samudra Gupta, his victory over the Roman garrison was
won with the aid of Indian elephants and Kuśān troops.
The aged Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, occupied
the place of honour in the army of the Great King, and
he was supported by the Segestani, or Śakas, of Sakastene,
or Seistān.

Cunningham is almost certainly right in interpreting
the term Chionitae as the Greek translation of Tushāra or
Tukhāra (Tokhari), an alternative name of the Kuśāns,
with the meaning "men of the snows."²

The term Śāhānuṣāhi in the inscription may possibly
designate not the Great King of Persia, but the Great
King of the Kuśāns on the Oxus. We have seen that the
Persian sovereign was so proud of his alliance with the
Kuśān royal family that he struck coins specially to com-
memorate the event, and claimed to have become a member
of his wife's clan. The Kuśān and the Persian sovereigns
appear to have met on equal terms, and both assumed the
title of "King of Kings." Certain coins found near the
Oxus, though of purely Sassanian style and fabric, have
purely Indian reverse devices, and the ordinary Indo-Kuśān
obverse device; that is to say, the obverse, like the coins
of Kaniṣṭha, exhibits the king throwing incense on a fire-
altar, and the reverse exhibits the figure of Śiva and his

¹ Cunningham's readings and translations (Num. Chron. 1893, p. 179,
pl. xiii (iv), figs. 2, 6) are corrected by M. Drouin ("Monnaies des grands
Sassanian sovereign was ever "king of kings of the Kuśāns," and Hormazd,
consequently, could not have assumed that title, as Cunningham supposed him to
have done. The late historian Mirkhound, or Khondamir (Rehatsiek's translation,
ii, 340), is the only writer who mentions the marriage of Hormazd with the
Kuśān princess, but, as M. Drouin observes, the coins prove that Mirkhound had
good authority for his statement. I have not had the opportunity of verifying
the reference to Mirkhound. The Basana coin has been published by the writer
in J.A.S.B. 1897.

² Num. Chron. 1893, pp. 169-177. Gibbon (ch. xix) gives A.D. 360 as
the date of the siege of Amida; Cunningham adopts the date A.D. 358. Gibbon
notes a certain amount of confusion in the chronology of the original authority,
Ammianus. Drouin gives A.D. 369.
bull, with other Indian symbols. The legends of these coins are in corrupt Greek. Cunningham supposed that these pieces (e.g. his No. 12, op. cit.) were struck by the Sassanian kings after the conquest of a province from the Kuśāns. M. Drouin rejects this hypothesis, and denies the supposed conquest. He prefers (op. cit., p. 108) to suppose that the Kuśān kings adopted Persian names along with Persian costume and headdress, just as in India Kuśān princes adopted Indian names, such as Samudra. The coins in question bear the title Śāhānuśāhī in a corrupt Greek form. Whether the Kuśān king on the Oxus was identical with or distinct from the Kuśān king of Kābul, I cannot pretend to affirm.

SECTION VII.—CONCLUSION.

The weary reader will probably welcome a concise summary of the principal historical results of the foregoing dissertation. In some points my conclusions do not exactly agree with those set forth in the article on the history of Samudra Gupta. The opinions now enunciated are the outcome of further study, and are believed to be more correct.

Pāṭaliputra (Patna) was the capital of Samudra Gupta's father and predecessor, Candra Gupta I (A.D. 318 to 345), the first independent sovereign of the Gupta family. The dominions of that prince, though considerable, were of moderate extent. They appear not to have extended farther east than Bhāgalpur (Campā), and not much farther west than Lucknow. They comprised the whole of Bihār, both north and south of the Ganges, Oudh, and the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces, the northern boundary being probably the first range of hills.

Samudra Gupta (A.D. 345 to 380) devoted his reign to the enlargement of his father's boundaries. He found Pāṭaliputra no longer suitable as a permanent residence, and after the early part of his reign his headquarters
were probably fixed most often either at Ayodhya or Kausāmbi, which latter city was not very far from Allahabad.¹

In the course of a long reign, which must have lasted at least thirty-five years, Samudra Gupta reduced to complete subjection nine kings of Northern India, and incorporated their dominions in his empire. He brought under his control the wild chiefs of the forest tribes along the Narmadal river and in the recesses of the Vindhyas mountains, and so extended his sway that his empire was bounded on the east by the Brahmaputra, on the north by the Himālaya, on the west by the Satlaj, Jamnā, and Betwa, and on the south by the Narmadā. Beyond these limits he held in subordinate alliance the frontier kingdoms of the Gangetic delta; and those of the southern slopes of the Himālaya, as well as the free tribes of Mālwa and Rājputāna. A brilliant and successful raid brought his victorious armies to the extremity of the Peninsula, and effected the humiliation and temporary subjugation of twelve kingdoms of the south. On his north-western frontier the Indian emperor maintained close diplomatic relations with the Kuśān princes of Kābul and Gandhār, and probably with the Great King of Persia. The fame of the southern raid penetrated to Ceylon and other islands, and brought to the victor’s court embassies and complimentary presents from many strange and distant lands.

¹ Kausāmbi is usually identified with Keasa, a village about twenty-eight miles west of Allahabad. The identification is in this sense correct that Keasa has been believed by local residents since at least A.D. 1834 to be the ancient Kausāmbi (Epigraphia Indica, ii. 244). But Keasa is not the Kausāmbi visited by Hiuen Tsang, which lay much farther south. Bharhut corresponds fairly well with the position of Kausāmbi as described by Hiuen Tsang. The proof of these observations, which attack a cherished belief, must be reserved for another Presencemen.
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